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President: Mr. Humayun Rasheed
CHOUDHURY (Bangladesh).

AGENDA ITEM 6

Question of Namibia (*continued*)

1. Mr. DOST (Afghanistan): I congratulate you, Sir, on your election to preside over the proceedings of the fourteenth special session of the General Assembly.

2. For more than one and a half centuries Namibia has been criminally enslaved, its people brutally exploited, its natural resources plundered and its territory arrogantly used as a springboard for aggression and destabilization. Not only have the Namibian people been robbed of their inherent right to self-determination and independence but their human dignity has been trampled under the iron heel of the horrendous *apartheid* system. Thus the people of Namibia have borne the yoke of two subjugations: outright colonialism and unbridled racism.

3. Many years ago, the United Nations, as the legal heir of the League of Nations, terminated South Africa's Mandate over the Territory of Namibia [resolution 2145 (XXI)] and established the United Nations Council for Namibia to administer the Territory until its full independence [resolution 2248 (S-V)]. Scores of resolutions have since been adopted by the Security Council and the General Assembly calling on the racist and colonialist régime of Pretoria to put an immediate end to its illegal occupation of Namibia.

4. Faced with a rising tide of awareness and condemnation by world public opinion, the racist Pretoria régime has displayed unprecedented rigidity and intransigence, totally defying the demands of the overwhelming majority of nations.

5. The institutionalized racism and colonialism chaining South Africa and Namibia, which are an affront to the most basic aspirations of free men, continue their shameful existence thanks only to those who hypocritically portray themselves as champions of human rights.

6. It is obvious that the racist régime could not have withstood the pressure of world-wide criticism had it not been for the political, diplomatic, moral, economic and military backing of United States imperialism and its staunchest followers. Through the scandalous policy of so-called constructive engagement the present United States Administration has

provided a safety net for the Pretoria régime, diminishing the efficacy of any positive international action.

7. At a time when all other peaceful avenues towards a solution have reached dead ends, the United States and the United Kingdom repeatedly resort to abuse of their veto power in the Security Council to prevent the adoption and enforcement of comprehensive mandatory sanctions under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations against South Africa.

8. To create deliberate hurdles in the way of the implementation of the United Nations plan for the independence of Namibia under Security Council resolution 435 (1978), the United States and the racist régime are introducing such irrelevant and extraneous issues as the presence of the Cuban internationalist contingent in Angola.

9. The world has categorically rejected attempts to portray the question of Namibia as one falling within the context of East-West confrontation. The international community has recognized and repeatedly confirmed the legitimacy of the struggle of the Namibian people, under the leadership of their sole, legitimate and authentic vanguard, the South West Africa People's Organization [SWAPO], for self-determination and independence within a united Namibia, including Walvis Bay and the Penguin and other offshore islands. Pretoria's efforts to win a semblance of legitimacy for its puppet and subversive clique in Windhoek have been vain.

10. Although belatedly, the conscience of the international community has awakened to reject *apartheid*, that illegitimate brain-child of imperialism and colonialism, which has been declared a crime against humanity.

11. The convening of this special session is the culmination of widespread global action to give momentum to the struggle for the eradication of the most abominable legacies of the dark ages.

12. The Extraordinary Ministerial Meeting of the Co-ordinating Bureau of Non-Aligned Countries on the question of Namibia, held at New Delhi in April 1985, the World Conference on Sanctions against Racist South Africa, held in Paris in June 1986, the International Conference for the Immediate Independence of Namibia, held at Vienna last July, and several meetings of the Organization of African Unity [OAU] have given a sober analysis of the grim situation and called urgently for a speedy solution of the problems affecting southern Africa.

13. The non-aligned countries, representing the overwhelming majority of nations, at their Eighth Conference of Heads of State or Government held earlier this month at Harare, condemned the obstructionist policies of the racist régime and its imperialist allies and called for the urgent application of comprehensive and binding sanctions against Pretoria.

14. The Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, in full solidarity with the people of Namibia, under the leadership of SWAPO, has lent its full support to this call and sincerely hopes that this special session will also recognize the urgent need to force South Africa to dismantle the obnoxious *apartheid* system, terminate its illegal hold over Namibia and put an end to its policy of State terrorism, aggression and acts of destabilization against neighbouring countries, particularly Angola.

15. While hailing SWAPO on the occasion of the twentieth anniversary of the launching of its armed struggle, we call for increased military, political, economic, moral and diplomatic assistance to be given to SWAPO to carry out its final assault on the racist and occupationist régime and to achieve the full independence of Namibia.

16. At the same time we call on the Secretary-General to take concrete action with a view to the implementation of the United Nations plan for the independence of Namibia.

17. Mr. HATATA (Egypt) (*interpretation from Arabic*): Allow me at the outset, Sir, to extend to you my personal congratulations on your election to preside over the forty-first session of the General Assembly and this fourteenth special session. I wish you every success in your important task. The chairman of my country's delegation will extend congratulations to you later, when he participates in the general debate of the forty-first session.

18. In making this statement today, Egypt has the great honour, which it values, and the responsibility, which it appreciates, of speaking on behalf of its brethren in North Africa, which bestowed that honour and responsibility upon it by choosing it to reaffirm their position on this important international occasion. Egypt appreciates the responsibility thus entrusted to it and regards this as the high point in its noble mission in support of freedom fighters on its continent—support which it has long given.

19. Our meeting today during the special session on the question of Namibia comes 20 years after the United Nations assumed direct responsibility for Namibia, when the General Assembly decided at its twenty-first session in 1966 [*resolution 2145 (XXI)*], to terminate South Africa's Mandate over the Territory in order to enable the people of the Territory to exercise their right to self-determination and achieve independence.

20. From the outset the racist Pretoria régime refused to accept that decision, and it is continuing its occupation of Namibia, with no basis in international law or norms for doing so. Thus it violates all the relevant United Nations resolutions and defies the will of the international community.

21. However, the freedom-loving people of Namibia have not succumbed to the unjust situation imposed on them. Since that date they have continued to wage a valiant struggle for independence, under the leadership of SWAPO, which is recognized by the international community as their sole legitimate representative.

22. The Namibian people have struggled for more than 100 years to gain their freedom and independence. They continue to resist the racist forces of occupation with determination, despite the terrorist, repressive measures used to try to put down their valiant struggle. Their determination earns the respect and admiration of all who cherish peace and justice.

23. SWAPO and the people of Namibia are not alone in their struggle against racism and terrorism. They are supported by all the forces in the world that cherish peace and justice.

24. The absolute, unqualified support given by the free Governments and peoples of North Africa to their brethren in Namibia since the beginning of their struggle for freedom is logical and natural. The peoples of North Africa consider freedom to be a sacred right and believe that a satisfying, free and dignified life is impossible without it. They have all passed through the same experience of a struggle against colonialism, having achieved their independence after legendary struggles which have earned the respect of history. Moreover, our States in North Africa are certain that the freedom and independence they have gained will not be complete until the whole African continent is independent and rid of the remaining pockets of traditional colonialism in its southern part.

25. Egypt was the first to play its role and fulfil its mission in that regard. It was in the vanguard of the countries of the world in its recognition of SWAPO and in hosting the first SWAPO offices to open, in Cairo.

26. Egypt's solidarity with the people of Namibia and with all the African liberation movements, of which we are proud, stems not only from the principles of justice and peace to which Egypt adheres, but from the tide of modern history.

27. In that respect Egypt's position on the question of Namibia is but a continuation of its role throughout history in its support for right and justice, based on principles that have their roots in international law and are enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations.

28. SWAPO and the people of Namibia have not been alone in the battle for freedom and independence. The international community has always supported them. Numerous meetings and international conferences have adopted resolutions and recommendations reaffirming the established, legitimate right of the Namibian people to a dignified, free life and sovereignty over their own soil and its resources.

29. In recent months there has been intense international activity, reflecting the concern of the world

public for the just cause of the Namibian people. The most prominent of those activities were the Eighth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held a short time ago at Harare, the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity at its twenty-second ordinary session, held at Addis Ababa at the end of July, and the International Conference for the Immediate Independence of Namibia, held at Vienna at the beginning of July. All those conferences attest to the extent of international support for the Namibian people and international determination to support them until they regain their usurped legitimate rights.

30. The international community's position is being confirmed in our meetings today by the condemnation and rejection of South Africa's illegal occupation of Namibian territory, the insistence on its immediate and unconditional withdrawal from that Territory, and the reaffirmation of the legitimate, established rights of the Namibian people, foremost among which are their right to self-determination and the control of their own resources. The desired goals will not be attained without the immediate implementation of the United Nations plan for the peaceful settlement of the question of Namibia, as laid down in Security Council resolution 435 (1978).

31. South Africa's aggressive policies are not confined to its illegal occupation of Namibia or its racist practices and measures of oppression, massacre and mass murder applied against the people of Namibia. It has persisted in its arrogance and intransigence, going beyond those limits to violate the sovereignty of African countries and peoples by threatening them, committing acts of aggression against them and terrorizing them, to such an extent that tension and instability have reigned in southern Africa and wars and destruction have dominated and ravaged the area, threatening dire consequences for peace and security not only in that region but elsewhere.

32. It is no secret that the situation in southern Africa will increase the prospects of cold war and foreign intervention and threaten international peace and security. The racist Government of Pretoria is fully responsible for the deterioration of the situation and the exacerbation of terrorism in southern Africa through its aggressive policies and its flagrant defiance of the will of the international community. It is high time to put an end, once and for all, to the threat that hangs over the peoples and countries of Africa.

33. Over the years, many States have severed relations with the racist South African régime. Some, to varying degrees according to their circumstances, have adopted sanctions against that régime in order to compel it to heed the will of the international community. Those sanctions have to a considerable degree been successful in isolating Pretoria internationally, but they have not been enough to achieve their ultimate goal, namely, to compel South Africa to heed the will of the international community, respond to United Nations resolutions and proceed to implement them without delay.

34. Recent international developments on the question of Namibia indicate that the majority of countries, notwithstanding their differing political sys-

tems and policies, believe that the imposition of comprehensive mandatory sanctions against South Africa is the only way it can be compelled to abandon its intransigent and arrogant stand, to abandon its delaying tactics and to heed the will of the international community.

35. Now, more than at any time in the past, there is an urgent need to bring international pressure to bear upon the Pretoria régime in order to compel it to comply with United Nations resolutions and to avoid a further deterioration of the situation prevailing in southern Africa, which poses a threat to international peace and security.

36. There is an urgent need to end the deterioration of the situation in southern Africa resulting from the inhuman, terrorist and racist practices of the Pretoria régime in that region, with all the dire consequences for the international community as a whole. Wisdom compels us to attempt to avoid any further deterioration of the situation in that part of the world and to eliminate the causes.

37. The Security Council, which is the international organ mandated by the Charter of the United Nations to maintain international peace and security, is facing a serious challenge, and it must reaffirm its credibility by facing up to that challenge and thereby maintain its prestige. In fulfilling its responsibilities under the Charter, the Security Council will not only be performing its duty, but also be exercising the rights and powers mandated to it under the Charter. The Council's only *raison d'être* is the fulfilment of those duties and responsibilities.

38. The challenge facing the Council has been created by a racist and arrogant State that not only flouts Council resolutions but also refuses to co-operate with it in any way, or with the Secretary-General, as he has made clear year after year in his reports to the General Assembly. That abnormal situation led the Security Council to adopt resolution 566 (1985), in which it strongly warned South Africa that if it failed to co-operate the Council would be compelled to meet to consider the adoption of appropriate measures under the Charter, including the comprehensive, mandatory sanctions provided for under Chapter VII.

39. The countries of northern Africa are asking themselves how long the Security Council will continue to meet, adopt resolutions and adjourn without achieving any real, positive results, and how long the Security Council will remain helpless and unable to command respect for the resolutions it has adopted over the past 20 years, even though it has within its power all the means necessary to compel and ensure implementation of its resolutions. That is the real challenge the Council is facing, because it directly concerns its credibility and prestige.

40. The peoples of northern Africa and the peoples of the African continent as a whole, as well as of the entire world, feel that the Security Council should act out of concern for its duties and prerogatives and in order to bring about a speedy and definitive solution to and settlement of the deteriorating situation in southern Africa.

41. The States of northern Africa therefore believe that the Security Council is duty-bound to impose on South Africa the comprehensive mandatory sanctions provided for in Chapter VII of the Charter, to compel it to implement the United Nations plan for a peaceful settlement of the question of Namibia, as set forth in Security Council resolution 435 (1978). These States hope that the Security Council will be able to overcome the obstacles that have hindered it in the past from fulfilling its responsibilities and compelling compliance with its resolutions, in view of the threat posed by the continuation of the situation prevailing in southern Africa.

42. The Governments and peoples of northern Africa take this opportunity to reaffirm their commitment to and support for the inalienable rights of the Namibian people to self-determination, freedom and national independence, in conformity with the decisions and resolutions adopted by the summit meetings of the OAU and the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, and in accordance with the principles and purposes of the Charter of the United Nations.

43. At the same time, the Governments and peoples of northern Africa call for the adoption of the measures necessary to implement without delay and without any pre-conditions the provisions of Security Council resolution 435 (1978), which the international community continues to regard as the only acceptable basis for a peaceful settlement of the question of Namibia. They reject any linkage between the withdrawal of the forces occupying Namibia and other extraneous issues; such linkage represents interference in the internal affairs of sovereign States.

44. The States of northern Africa wish to take this opportunity to praise the efforts of the Secretary-General to achieve implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978); they reaffirm their support for those efforts and emphasize the essential role to be played by the Secretary-General in that connection, in keeping with the numerous resolutions concerning Namibia adopted by the Security Council and the General Assembly. They also reiterate their support for the United Nations Council for Namibia, which is mandated by the United Nations to administer the Territory until it attains independence. We call upon the Members of this Organization fully to support the Council and its work.

45. Egypt, for its part, will continue to provide, within the limits of its capabilities, all material and moral support for its struggling brethren in Namibia, until the day they ultimately achieve their legitimate rights to freedom and independence under the leadership of SWAPO, their sole legitimate representative.

46. Mr. KRAVETS (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic) (*interpretation from Russian*): Sir, the delegation of the Ukrainian SSR warmly congratulates you on your election to the presidency of the forty-first session of the General Assembly. We are satisfied that such a highly skilled leader as yourself is leading the work of the special session, and we should like to wish you success in the discharge of your lofty responsibilities.

47. The work of the General Assembly's special session on Namibia bears witness to the determination of the international community to obtain the immediate granting of genuine independence to Namibia, which is illegally occupied by the South African racist régime. The great political significance of this special session is the fact that it has been called upon to eliminate a dangerous hotbed of tension in the world.

48. All reasonable deadlines for Namibian accession to independence have already elapsed. It is now 20 years since the General Assembly terminated South Africa's Mandate over South-West Africa. Disregarding the demands of the international community for the decolonization of Namibia, the racist occupiers are still subjecting the Namibian people to cruel terror and repression and have deprived it of all political and economic rights.

49. Quite naturally, the Namibian people cannot and will not reconcile itself to such a situation. Under the leadership of SWAPO, its spearhead and sole legitimate representative, and with arms at the ready, it is fighting for independence.

50. The Ukrainian SSR is convinced that a solution to the Namibian problem is possible only on the basis of unconditional assurances to the people of Namibia of its right to self-determination and independence in a unified territorial State, including the areas of Caprivi and Walvis Bay, as well as all offshore islands, and of the complete withdrawal of the occupation army and the South African administration from the country. This is our principled position, and it remains unchanged.

51. A major obstacle in Namibia's path to independence is the continued support for South Africa by a number of Western States and Israel. There can be no doubt that had this support not been forthcoming, the *apartheid* régime would long since have collapsed under the weight of its own crimes. This unholy alliance was spawned because a part of the world that calls itself free is seeking to preserve the opportunity for its monopolies to continue to plunder the natural resources of Namibia.

52. A 100,000-strong occupation army is to be found in Namibia, and systematic armed attacks on neighbouring States, which are quite rightly called front-line States, are launched from the Territory. Pretoria in fact has never concealed its intentions to surround itself with a buffer of States that are not only economically but also politically subservient. The promotion of Pretoria's nuclear potential by the Western countries and Israel and the build-up of its military might have been the cause of great concern. We fully agree with the conclusions drawn by the International Conference at Vienna,¹ that such "constructive engagement" undermines efforts by the international community to combat the *apartheid* régime and helps to perpetuate the illegal occupation of Namibia.

53. The series of attempts to promote a so-called internal settlement in Namibia, outside the framework of the United Nations, is quite clear. It is dictated by an attempt to impose a neo-colonialist order upon the people of Namibia and to prevent

SWAPO from participating in decisions about the future of those people.

54. The delegation of the Ukrainian SSR shares the concern over the general situation in southern Africa, which was the topic addressed at the high-level meetings of the non-aligned States at Harare and of the OAU at Addis Ababa. The Pretoria régime stubbornly refuses to comply with Security Council resolutions, persists in its policy of aggression and threats and continues to foment tension in southern Africa. All of this once again convincingly demonstrates that the illegal occupation of Namibia can be ended only through the determined joint efforts of all freedom-loving States.

55. An effective way to influence the actions of the unbridled racists would be the imposition by the Security Council of mandatory sanctions against South Africa, in accordance with Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations. World public opinion has long been demanding this. The fact that the adoption of sanctions has been stubbornly resisted by two permanent members of the Security Council—the United States and the United Kingdom—undoubtedly damages the authority of the Organization. Governments maintaining relations with South Africa would otherwise have long since refrained from the bankrupt policy of “constructive engagement” with the racists and finally adopted a position of support for the just cause of the Namibian people.

56. The occupation of Namibia, which in accordance with many United Nations definitions is an act of aggression against the Namibian people, is also a threat to international peace and security, and first and foremost to the sovereignty and normal daily life of the front-line States.

57. The Ukrainian SSR advocates strict compliance by all States with the limited sanctions against South Africa already imposed by the Security Council. The delegation of the Ukrainian SSR insists upon strict compliance with the embargo on arms against South Africa for all types of armaments and the ending of all forms of nuclear co-operation with South Africa.

58. In advocating the immediate decolonization of Namibia, we should like to express our high esteem for the work done to this end by the United Nations Council for Namibia, which until recently was headed by Mr. Paul Lusaka. We agree with the criticisms contained in the final documents of the International Conference for the Immediate Independence of Namibia¹ with respect to the American policy of “constructive engagement” in regard to Pretoria. We condemn attempts to introduce extraneous elements of linkage into the Namibian question and we reject the so-called internal settlement and urge that an end be put to the use of the Territory of Namibia as a springboard for aggression against neighbouring States.

59. The Ukrainian SSR firmly condemns attempts by the United States and some other Western States to undermine a political settlement to the Namibian problem and to settle that problem unlawfully on a neo-colonialist basis. The real way to solve the problem of Namibia is well known. It is to be found in the relevant decisions of the United Nations,

including Security Council resolutions 385 (1976) and 435 (1978).

60. True to our Leninist principles in the area of foreign policy, the Ukrainian SSR, along with the socialist countries and the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, is prepared to continue to give the necessary support and assistance to the just struggle of the people of Namibia, led by SWAPO, for its freedom and independence. We are also confident that a contribution to the earliest possible solution to the Namibian problem will be made by the current special session of the General Assembly.

61. Mr. MALMIERCA PEOLI (Cuba) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Twenty years have passed since the United Nations terminated South Africa's Mandate over Namibia and took direct responsibility for the Territory. Since then, that decision has been ratified by the Security Council and many other international organizations. The International Court of Justice for its part has declared that the continued occupation of Namibia by South Africa is an illegal act which constitutes a violation of international law. The United Nations has taken a categorical stand with respect to South Africa's obligation to withdraw from Namibian territory. In 1978, by virtue of Security Council resolution 435 (1978), the Organization adopted a universally accepted plan for Namibia's independence.

62. However, the efforts by the international community have met with the arrogance of the South African racists who, while availing themselves of their indecent alliance with the Government of the United States and with the support of other members of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization [NATO], have not only illegally stayed in Namibia, imposing on it, too, the hideous system of *apartheid*, but have also turned Namibia into a springboard to launch aggression against the independent neighbouring States, first and foremost the People's Republic of Angola. Thus, they have turned southern Africa into one of the most dangerous hotbeds of tension of our times.

63. International, governmental and non-governmental organizations and, in particular, the OAU, the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries and other well-known institutions and eminent persons, have fully expressed the view of international public opinion and have denounced South Africa's aggressive and expansionist policies, rejected its hegemonic aims and condemned its arrogant attitude and primitive ideology.

64. The year 1986 has witnessed a steadfast and generalized expansion of the struggle, which now covers every social sector, against the shameful *apartheid* régime in South Africa and in Namibia. Neither ferocious repression nor the imposition of states of emergency has succeeded in stopping that struggle; and severe press censorship has not been able to conceal it. During 1986 there has also been growing international solidarity with the struggle of the South African and the Namibian peoples against *apartheid* and for freedom.

65. In this year, which has been proclaimed by SWAPO as the Year of General Mobilization and

Decisive Action for Final Victory, we have also witnessed the following: in June, the World Conference on Sanctions against Racist South Africa at UNESCO headquarters in Paris; in July, the International Conference for the Immediate Independence of Namibia, at Vienna; also in July, the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity at its twenty-second ordinary session met at Addis Ababa and the Commonwealth Eminent Persons Group submitted a report on South Africa; in August, the Commonwealth mini-summit took place in London; and the Eighth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries was held in September at Harare.

66. All those gatherings, as well as others I have not mentioned, have demonstrated the isolation of *apartheid* and its supporters. They have also offered invaluable solidarity with those who are struggling against *apartheid* and showed a growing awareness of the need to contribute to its eradication. This is the most important conclusion to be derived from those debates and resolutions. The international community is faced with an inescapable responsibility, either to contribute effectively to put an end to *apartheid* or to witness how the South African and the Namibian peoples will destroy the hideous system through a blood-bath.

67. The Heads of Government of Commonwealth States, in an accord adopted at Nassau, Bahamas, in October 1985,² considered that:

“ . . . South Africa's continuing refusal to dismantle *apartheid*, its illegal occupation of Namibia, and its aggression against its neighbours constitute a serious challenge to the values and principles of the Commonwealth, a challenge which Commonwealth countries cannot ignore”;

and recalled that at their meeting at New Delhi in November 1983 they had expressed the view that:

“ . . . only the eradication of *apartheid* and the establishment of majority rule on the basis of free and fair exercise of universal adult suffrage by all the people in a united and non-fragmented South Africa can lead to a just and lasting solution of the explosive situation prevailing in southern Africa”.

68. The Commonwealth then called on the Eminent Persons Group to encourage through all means the development of the necessary process of political dialogue. Those persons, headed by former President Obasanjo, of Nigeria, and former Prime Minister Fraser, of Australia, visited South Africa and front-line States and undertook several steps.

69. In its report,³ published in July this year, the Eminent Persons Group declared the following:

“We are convinced that the South African Government is concerned about the adoption of effective economic measures against it. If it comes to the conclusion that it would always remain protected from such measures, the process of change in South Africa is unlikely to increase in momentum and the descent into violence would be accelerated. In these circumstances, the cost in lives may have to be counted in millions.”

70. In its final part the report concludes that if measures are not adopted for the imposition of sanctions against South Africa, we shall be wasting the last opportunity to prevent what could be the worst blood-bath since the Second World War.

71. We all know those who have prevented the adoption of comprehensive mandatory economic sanctions, those who have prevented the adoption of the relevant resolutions of the Security Council of the United Nations: the United States and the United Kingdom have systematically vetoed that just demand.

72. The Commonwealth mini-summit held in London in August this year once again met with the United Kingdom's opposition to the necessary and urgent imposition of economic sanctions against South Africa. The heads of Government of India, Zambia, Zimbabwe, Australia, Canada and the Bahamas reiterated that demand, despite the opposition.

73. On the other hand, the World Conference on Sanctions against Racist South Africa reiterated⁴ the position expressed by the peoples and the Governments of the world that the imposition of comprehensive mandatory sanctions is the most adequate and effective peaceful means at the disposal of the international community to eliminate *apartheid*, free Namibia and attain a climate of peace in southern Africa. The Conference appealed to the Governments of the United States and the United Kingdom not to obstruct with their veto the imposition of sanctions by the Security Council.

74. We met next at Vienna in order to take measures aimed at compelling the régime to make possible the immediate independence of Namibia through the unconditional implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978). On that occasion, a group of eminent persons who had been invited to the Conference declared that the occupation of Namibia was an affront to the principles of self-determination, racial equality and social justice. They also said that stronger measures had to be taken against the South African régime, in particular by countries like the United States, the United Kingdom and the Federal Republic of Germany, which, by virtue of their political and economic prominence, as well as their extensive relations with South Africa, “are uniquely qualified to initiate the requisite measures”.¹

75. The summit conference of the OAU held in July this year at Addis Ababa reiterated in the strongest terms its solidarity with the struggle of the Namibian and South African peoples against *apartheid*.⁵ The Conference denounced the complicity of the United States and other NATO Powers with the Pretoria régime; it rejected the so-called linkage between the independence of Namibia and the withdrawal of the Cuban internationalist forces from Angola; and it proclaimed the need to step up political, economic and military assistance to the liberation movements in southern Africa and to the front-line States, their safe rearguard.

76. Earlier this month the heads of State or Government of the non-aligned countries, meeting at Harare, expressed their deep concern about the prevail-

ing state of war in southern Africa and, aware that *apartheid* was the main cause of the conflict threatening international peace and security, they agreed on the imposition of a number of sanctions in the economic, commercial, financial, cultural, sport and tourism fields. Likewise, they called on the international community "to render increased political, diplomatic, military, financial and material support to the legitimate and heroic armed struggle waged by the Namibian people under the leadership of SWAPO, their sole, authentic and legitimate representative".⁶

77. The Political Declaration adopted at Harare⁶ denounces as a propagandistic scheme the racist régime's proposal of 1 August 1986, which was supposedly designed to launch the implementation of the plan to solve the conflict, because the proposal attempted to establish a link with the withdrawal of the Cuban internationalist troops from Angola. Thus, they reiterated the appeal to all States by the International Conference for the Immediate Independence of Namibia "to oppose resolutely, in every available forum, the universally and categorically rejected persistent attempts by the United States Administration and racist South Africa to link the implementation of the United Nations plan with irrelevant and extraneous issues, such as the presence of Cuban troops in Angola."¹

78. The fact that the many repeated attempts by the international community to put an end to the illegal occupation of Namibia and to destroy the monster of *apartheid* have not resulted in concrete and successful world action has one explanation and one explanation alone: the connivance of the United States Government and its closest allies with the racist régime in Pretoria.

79. President Fidel Castro stated at the Harare summit that:

"The present United States Administration categorically refuses to allow economic sanctions against South Africa and systematically vetoes Security Council agreements concerning the Pretoria régime, while it sets up economic blockades, with ever increasing furor, against small progressive or revolutionary countries, like Cuba, Nicaragua, Viet Nam, Libya and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea."

80. In reality, as President Fidel Castro also rightly pointed out:

"*Apartheid* is a direct consequence of the colonial system, of the brutal way the peoples of Africa were forcefully dispossessed of their land and natural resources, and their sons and daughters enslaved and sold around the world. *Apartheid* has been able to survive solely through the support of the United States and the NATO countries, which see South Africa as a strategic ally, a source of raw materials, a market for their investments and the juicy profits of transnational corporations, and this at the expense of the sweat and blood of millions of Africans."

81. Their commitment to Pretoria lies there, in the defence of the sordid interests of their corporations.

Indeed, it is a commitment to destroy human dignity, to preclude every possibility of independence, to disseminate the cancer of *apartheid* on to the other countries of the continent and subject them to imperialist and neo-colonial exploitation. Hence the struggle for the independence of Namibia of necessity entails the eradication of *apartheid*.

82. Comrade Oliver Tambo, President of the African National Congress of South Africa [ANC], in his statement at the Eighth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, warned:

"Between SWAPO of Namibia and the ANC of South Africa, between our two brotherly peoples, there are indissoluble bonds of common purpose born out of the same legacy of agony under the yoke of *apartheid*, colonialism and racist oppression. We march side by side in the struggle to victory. South Africa and Namibia are fighting against one enemy: the *apartheid* régime, and victory will signal the end of *apartheid* and the independence of Namibia."

83. SWAPO's report also to the important conference of the non-aligned countries stressed how the struggles in Namibia and South Africa complemented each other, pointing out:

"There is one single enemy. There are two battle fronts. The progress made on one of those fronts encourages those fighting on the other to wage a determined struggle until final victory."

84. In order to achieve an independent Namibia it is necessary to defeat the *apartheid* régime and to eliminate *apartheid*. As Dr. Allan Boesak, outstanding President of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches and fighter against *apartheid*, said,

"As long as the white minority exists, Namibia will not be free and independent, because they will continue to occupy that country. They will continue to exploit that country. They will continue to colonize that country. They will have their Western partners to help them in that effort."

And Dr. Allan Boesak went on in his speech addressed to the heads of State or Government of non-aligned countries gathered at Harare:

"Our people understand the struggle in Namibia and the struggle in South Africa to be one—and we appeal to you, as you meet here these days, to see that struggle as one struggle and to join hands with all of us to continue to do what is necessary to end that situation."

85. The unswerving spirit of the Namibian and South African patriots becomes evident in the increased protests, demonstrations and actions which have lately characterized their struggle for freedom, both in Namibia and in South Africa. On 27 July this year, tens of thousands of Namibians rallied in Windhoek around the acting Vice-President of SWAPO, Comrade Hendrik Witbooi, demanding the immediate independence of their homeland, in accordance with resolution 435 (1978), rejecting the "linkage" and demanding sanctions against South Africa.

86. The student protest has brought about the closure of black schools and universities by the racist occupiers. Meanwhile, the People's Liberation Army of Namibia has been increasing its guerrilla actions, courageously confronting more than 100,000 soldiers of the South African racist troops, bombing the racist military bases and destroying large amounts of war material, including four military transport aircrafts and two helicopters in the past four months.

87. Together with the strong internal movement which threatens to overthrow the rotten structure of *apartheid* in South Africa and crown the heroic Namibian people with victory, we now have the international consensus for the immediate implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978) and for the imposition of sanctions against South Africa to compel it to heed the will of the United Nations.

88. Namibia will be independent. When that day of freedom becomes a reality, thanks to the victorious struggle of its people, led by SWAPO, another battle will then begin: the battle against the awful legacy of colonial domination and South African racist occupation, against disease, illiteracy, technological backwardness, a battle to transform the Namibian people, in an independent Namibia, into a healthy, cultivated and strong people capable of marching forward through the path of development and happiness.

89. Cuba is already trying to contribute to the training of those called upon to carry out and win that battle. More than 1,200 Namibian young people are studying in Cuba, on the Isle of Youth, in polytechnics and in institutions of higher education located throughout Cuba, so that as doctors, teachers and technicians in various fields they may be in a position to fight that battle.

90. Cuba's solidarity with the African liberation movement in its heroic confrontation with colonialism, *apartheid* and racism is not merely verbal. As President Fidel Castro recalled at Harare:

"In the struggle against Portuguese colonialism, Cuban revolutionaries fought together with Amílcar Cabral and Agostinho Neto in Guinea-Bissau and Angola. Some gave their lives for that noble cause. When South Africa invaded Angola in 1975 and occupied more than half of its territory, despite the fact that an entire ocean separates Cuba from Africa, Cuban internationalist fighters battled, together with their heroic Angolan brothers, against the racist troops and forced them to retreat more than 800 kilometres to the Namibian border, thus showing the world that South African soldiers, like Hitler's, were far from invincible.

"Despite the enormous effort it implies for our small country, a contingent of tens of thousands of Cuban internationalist fighters has stood ready for 10 years, together with the valiant Angolan armed forces, to prevent a repetition of the events of 1975."

Comrade Fidel Castro went on to say:

"Our co-operation with Africa is not just military. There are more than 15,000 young Africans

studying in our country free of cost to them, while thousands of Cuban doctors, teachers, technicians and other workers lend their services free of charge on that continent. More than 250,000 of our compatriots have discharged missions in Africa as combatants or as civilian workers.

"This completely disinterested effort in the name of solidarity causes the United States imperialists and South African racists to lose sleep. They simply cannot believe that co-operation capable of raising a powerful barrier against aggression could exist today among the conquered, colonized and enslaved countries of yesterday.

"By attempting to make it a condition for the independence of Namibia, both United States imperialists and South African racists are doing everything in their power to bring about the withdrawal of the Cuban internationalist troops from Angola. The Governments of Angola and Cuba have responded in the form of a joint agreement: let Security Council resolution 435 (1978) on Namibia be implemented, let the threats of aggression against Angola cease, let the dirty war and support for the mercenary bands cease, and the gradual and progressive withdrawal of the 20,000 Cuban combatants defending strategic lines in southern Angola will begin. The remaining Cuban military personnel will be withdrawn only when the sovereign Governments of Angola and Cuba consider it convenient, with no conditions whatsoever.

"The true key to the issue is that as long as *apartheid* exists in South Africa, as long as that country is governed by a racist and Fascist Government, there will be no security for Angola or any other country in southern Africa and the independence of Namibia will be no more than a myth."

President Fidel Castro concluded as follows:

"That is why I can state categorically here that the presence of Cuban troops in Angola is based on principle; it is in no way motivated by Cuba's national interests or by matters of prestige. When *apartheid* ceases to be, when the fascist and racist South Africa régime ceases to be, no country will feel threatened. Namibia will immediately be independent, not a single Cuban soldier will then be needed, and the immediate withdrawal of Cuban troops in Angola will begin."

Mr. Treiki (Libyan Arab Jamahiriya), Vice-President, took the Chair.

91. It is time to turn words into action. The Assembly should demand the imposition of comprehensive mandatory sanctions under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations. The so-called linkage, which the imperialists and Pretoria's partners are employing as an obstacle to the independence of Namibia, must be firmly rejected. The implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978), on the independence of that Territory, brooks no delay. We should condemn the shameful connivance of the imperialists with Herr Botha's fascist régime and demand the immediate cessation of their odious support of *apartheid*. It is essential to step up

and broaden our economic, political and military assistance to the liberation movements in southern Africa, so that they can continue ever more successfully their war of national liberation for independence and social justice against racist fascism and *apartheid*. We should also increase our political and material solidarity with the front-line States in their struggle against the aggression of the *apartheid* régime.

92. The concerted action of our nations in conjunction with the irrepressible thrust of the African peoples will speed up the inexorable collapse of that evil system, which has been rightly described as "a crime against humanity" [resolution 2671 F (XXV), para. 1], and the independence of Namibia. This is the least our peoples expect of the Assembly.

93. Finally, I would like to congratulate the President on his unanimous election and assure him of the support of the Cuban delegation in the discharge of his important duties.

94. Mr. NYAMDOO (Mongolia) (*interpretation from Russian*): My delegation warmly congratulates Mr. Choudhury on his unanimous election to the presidency of this special session of the General Assembly on Namibia. We hope that the special session will conclude its work successfully under his able guidance.

95. It is a historic fact that during the lifetime of the Organization almost 100 States have obtained their political independence. A decisive role in this respect has been played by the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples [resolution 1514 (XV)], the twenty-fifth anniversary of which was widely commemorated by the international community last year. Against the background of such tangible achievements in the sphere of decolonization, the granting of independence to Namibia is a matter of extreme urgency. The Secretary-General, in his report on the work of the Organization,⁷ has called it "the most urgent remaining problem". Therefore, it takes an increasingly prominent place as one of the priority tasks of the United Nations, which, among other things, is served by the convening of the current special session of the General Assembly.

96. For more than a century now the Namibian people have been subjected to cruel colonialist exploitation. Forty years have gone by since the United Nations considered the independence of Namibia for the first time, and 20 years ago the Mandate of South Africa over Namibia was revoked by means of a General Assembly resolution [resolution 2145 (XXI)], in accordance with which the administration of Namibia became the direct responsibility of the Organization.

97. It should be pointed out that the international community is making great efforts to help to bring about the implementation of the many United Nations resolutions and decisions concerning the immediate granting of independence to Namibia. Unfortunately, these resolutions and decisions have not yet been implemented because Pretoria stubbornly ignores them and does not heed world public opinion. As a consequence of the policy of open defiance and

stubborn rejection pursued by Pretoria, Namibia is to this day illegally occupied by South Africa. In order to suppress the liberation struggle of the Namibian people, the South African racist régime is carrying out a policy of terror and repression against Namibians and is further militarizing the occupied territory and increasingly using it as a springboard for armed aggression against Angola and other neighbouring States. Furthermore, South Africa and some transnational corporations continue to step up their unlawful plundering of Namibia's natural resources, thereby flagrantly violating the relevant resolutions of the United Nations and the provisions of Decree No. 1 for the Protection of the Natural Resources of Namibia,⁸ enacted by the United Nations Council for Namibia.

98. In an attempt to buy time to continue its colonial exploitation of Namibia, Pretoria is putting forward pretexts and pre-conditions of various kinds and using other tactics to avoid complying with the decisions of the Security Council and the General Assembly. The policy of the United States and other Western Powers in condoning the actions of the racist régime and especially their use of the veto in the Security Council are obstacles to the adoption of effective measures against South Africa. All these activities have the one precise purpose of nullifying the efforts of the international community to bring about the implementation of United Nations decisions. Therefore, responsibility for the situation in and around Namibia lies not only with the South African racist régime but also with those Western States which support that régime.

99. The position of the Mongolian People's Republic on the question of Namibia is based on the class solidarity of the Mongolian people with peoples fighting for their freedom and independence. This position of principle was reaffirmed in the decisions of the Nineteenth Congress of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party, held in May of this year.

100. The Mongolian People's Republic is in favour of the earliest possible enjoyment by the Namibian people of its inalienable right to genuine self-determination and independence on the basis of the unity and territorial integrity of Namibia. We are in favour of the complete withdrawal from Namibia of South Africa's troops and administration and the transfer of all power to the people of Namibia as represented by SWAPO, which has been acknowledged by the United Nations and the OAU as the sole legitimate representative of the Namibian people.

101. The Mongolian People's Republic holds that the continued occupation of Namibia by the South African régime, the terror and repression to which that Territory has been subjected and the repeated acts of armed aggression against neighbouring States constitute a serious threat to international peace and security. It is appropriate, in this connection, to emphasize that strict respect for the right of each and every people to self-determination is one of the components of a system of international security. The establishment of such a system in the present circumstances demands new thinking in accordance with concepts of universality and indivisibility in today's complex, interdependent and highly unified world.

102. My delegation categorically rejects any delaying tactics or policy of linking Namibian independence with matters having nothing to do with it, including the withdrawal of Cuban internationalist forces from Angola. The concept of linkage has been clearly condemned and completely rejected by a majority of States. My delegation also strongly condemns the continuing military occupation of Namibia by South Africa and the continuing exploitation of the natural and human resources of Namibia by the Pretoria régime and transnational corporations of Western countries for enormous profits.

103. We agree with the conclusions and views expressed in the final document of the International Conference for the Immediate Independence of Namibia,¹ and those expressed at the Eighth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries.⁶ It is now high time to adopt concrete, effective measures to settle the Namibian problem.

104. The Mongolian People's Republic fully supports the demands of the overwhelming majority of States, which have advocated the imposition of comprehensive mandatory sanctions against South Africa under Chapter VII of the Charter. This has been demanded by the overwhelming majority of Members of the United Nations for a very long time now. Only the complete isolation of the *apartheid* régime can force it to respect and comply with United Nations decisions and the standards of international law. The Mongolian People's Republic will continue to make its own contribution to the efforts of the international community to bring about the speedy granting of true independence to the Namibian people.

105. Mr. WOOLCOTT (Australia): It gives me great pleasure to extend to Mr. Choudhury the congratulations of the Australian delegation on his election to the presidency of this special session of the General Assembly. As my country enjoys particularly warm relations with Bangladesh, we have already had an opportunity to observe his skills and talents in the diplomatic and political fields and are confident that they will be a considerable asset in piloting this special session to a successful conclusion.

106. It was about 100 years ago that the colonizers of Namibia were putting in place the colonial structures that remain in the Territory even today. Those first moves led to a significant and prolonged resistance from the Namibian people, and in the first years of this century extensive clashes took place between the colonizers and the colonized. The loss of life was great. Such a pattern was seen in other colonial situations at that time, but what makes Namibia unique is the persistence of colonialism in that Territory and the continuing resistance of its people even today.

107. Occasionally one hears it said that the era of colonialism is virtually over. Until Namibia is independent—and until several other colonial situations have been properly resolved—such assertions remain utterly false and are a mockery of the legitimate aspirations of peoples to manage their own affairs.

108. Australia fully understands and sympathizes with the growing anger and frustration that the representatives of African States and SWAPO in particular must feel over the inexcusably delayed and continuing denial of independence to the people of Namibia by South Africa.

109. The legal responsibility of the United Nations as the Administering Authority for Namibia makes it unique in a second aspect: it is the only dependent Territory to be placed under such direct control.

110. Namibia also stands out in the history of decolonization for a third reason. It is the only dependent Territory to be the subject of no fewer than four special sessions of the General Assembly, not to mention the ongoing consideration it receives from the regular sessions of the General Assembly and the Security Council.

111. The attention given to the Namibia problem by the United Nations has a central achievement to its credit. Security Council resolution 435 (1978) is acknowledged as the signpost and blueprint for Namibia's independence and it has attracted the broadest possible support, including that of all Members participating in this special session. But the detailed plan for implementing Namibia's independence has not been put into effect, due in large part to South Africa's obduracy and its refusal to abide by its commitment to its international obligations.

112. To buy time and to delay the implementation of the plan, South Africa has brought up extraneous factors like the presence of Cuban troops in Angola. Thus the independence of Namibia has become linked with wider questions. Australia rejects this linkage and deeply regrets that Namibia's right to immediate freedom and independence has become clouded by such irrelevancies. Namibia's independence is a clear and separate matter. To think otherwise is, as we say in English, to put the cart before the horse.

113. While Namibia's status remains in the balance, South Africa and other nations have continued to exploit and deplete Namibia's resources without regard to the right of the Namibian people to their natural resources. This causes my delegation serious concern, as does the fishing—or, rather, the over-fishing—off Namibia's coast by distant-water fishing nations.

114. As a basis for its own approach, Australia of course supports the immediate independence of Namibia on the basis of Security Council resolution 435 (1978). In concrete terms, we have assisted, wherever possible, in bringing about this aim.

115. We have played an active role as a member of the United Nations Council for Namibia, the legal Administering Authority for the Territory.

116. We have sustained our willingness to contribute an engineering company to UNTAG under the United Nations plan.

117. As a member of the Security Council in 1985 and this year, we have ensured that the Council retain its close involvement with the problem. We

joined in the statement of 3 May 1985 rejecting the establishment of the "interim administration" at Windhoek;⁹ we supported the adoption of resolution 566 (1985); and we have implemented the voluntary measures specified in that resolution. We have also taken other measures against South Africa which go beyond the scope of that resolution.

118. We supported the two draft resolutions which the Security Council considered in November 1985 and February 1986 but which, unfortunately, were not adopted. In the time remaining to us on the Security Council my delegation will continue to support moves to implement resolution 435 (1978).

119. My delegation pays tribute to the people of Namibia, whose country has been turned into a theatre for South Africa to use for its own illegal ends. To add insult to injury, South Africa uses this illegally occupied land to attack and destabilize its neighbours, particularly Angola. The resilience and stoicism of the people of Namibia are admirable. In this connection, my delegation takes particular note of the role of SWAPO, which will clearly play a most important and demanding role in the Government of an independent Namibia—a Government freely elected by the people of that nation. It is precisely because of our wish that the Namibians be spared further suffering that Australia so strongly supports the Secretary-General's efforts to bring about a settlement of the problem through peaceful means. The Secretary-General and his Special Representative, Mr. Martti Ahtisaari, are to be commended for their persistence in the face of such obduracy and discouragement from South Africa.

120. The special session provides another opportunity for the world community to reiterate its commitment to Namibia's independence and to the implementation of resolution 435 (1978). All members of the General Assembly agree on this goal, although there may be some differences of perception on the means by which it may be accomplished.

121. Australia sees the following considerations as the basis for effective and concerted international action on Namibia: first, a renewed commitment to Security Council resolution 435 (1978) and to the United Nations plan of action; secondly, the condemnation of any unilateral action by South Africa which could lead in the direction of a so-called internal settlement, including the establishment of unrepresentative administrations; thirdly, condemnation of South Africa's policies of aggression and destabilization and, particularly in the context of Namibia, of such policies directed against Angola; fourthly, condemnation of South Africa's insistence on linking Namibia's independence with other extraneous issues such as the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola; fifthly, if South Africa continues to resist implementation of resolution 435 (1978), the Security Council should meet to consider the adoption of appropriate measures under the Charter against South Africa.

122. These considerations are very widely shared in the international community. They have been the subject of repeated calls by preceding speakers at this session. They are elements of the demand that this session should, in a clear-cut, unambiguous and

united manner, send to South Africa in order to force it to cease its excuses, abandon its surrogates and grant the Namibians the freedom and peace for which they have waited so long.

123. Mr. GARBA (Nigeria): At the outset permit me on behalf of the Nigerian delegation to extend to Mr. Choudhury sincere congratulations on his election as President of the forty-first session of the General Assembly and President of the fourteenth special session, devoted to the question of Namibia. The delegation of Nigeria recognizes and pays tribute to his skills as a diplomat as well as to his dedication and experience as a distinguished representative of his country. I have no doubt and am confident that with his proven skills he will discharge his duties as President of the General Assembly with aplomb and distinction and steer this Assembly towards far-reaching and action-oriented conclusions on the question of Namibia.

124. Permit me also to express my delegation's gratitude to his predecessor, Mr. Jaime de Piniés, of Spain, for the successful and efficient manner in which he guided the Assembly's work at the fortieth session.

125. The question of Namibian independence is of paramount concern to the international community. As we all know, the United Nations was established on a set of fundamental principles not the least of which is the principle of equal rights and self-determination. The courageous people of Namibia have long been denied enjoyment of the inalienable right to freedom, self-determination and independence, and it is for that reason that the United Nations has since 1946 annually debated the question of Namibian independence. Furthermore, this subject continues to be on the agenda for a variety of reasons, mainly because the situation in southern Africa has been disruptive to international peace and security and also because the United Nations has a clear and unique responsibility for the Territory of Namibia.

126. The fact that this issue remains unresolved should be of grave concern to the international community as a whole. There is therefore an urgent need for us all to be far-reaching and rigorous in our analysis, to arrive at forward-looking conclusions and to have the political will to commit ourselves to immediate action towards the objective of Namibian independence.

127. Two weeks ago, on 26 August, under the auspices of the United Nations Council for Namibia, the United Nations commemorated Namibia Day for this year which coincidentally marked the twentieth anniversary of the adoption by the General Assembly of resolution 2145 (XXI), which unconditionally terminated South Africa's Mandate over Namibia and simultaneously transferred responsibility for the Territory to the United Nations. On that occasion the international community once again appealed to Member States whose policies had rendered the United Nations plan for the independence of Namibia ineffective to reconsider their position.

128. This special session of the Assembly, convened specifically for the purpose of reconsidering the question of Namibia, is therefore very significant. Its

importance lies not only in the fact that the Assembly is thereby reaffirming its primary concern for the issue; it equally highlights the Assembly's determination to break the present deadlock over the question of Namibian independence. It will also serve to reassure the struggling people of Namibia that the international community stands with them in their struggle and that the question of Namibia remains a primary responsibility of the Organization.

129. In the context of United Nations efforts regarding the independence of Namibia, the facts speak for themselves. In 1966 the General Assembly terminated South Africa's Mandate over Namibia and assumed direct responsibility for the Territory [*ibid.*] to be exercised through the United Nations Council for Namibia. The Council, as the legal Administering Authority of Namibia, was and continues to be entrusted with the responsibility of defending the rights and interests of the Territory and people. Since then the Council has worked with diligence, commitment and militancy so that the people of Namibia might exercise their inalienable right to self-determination, freedom and independence. On behalf of my country I pay it a very handsome tribute for its commitment and sense of duty.

130. Many resolutions—they are fast becoming innumerable—have been adopted on this subject, but they have been treated with disdain, arrogance and contempt by the racist Pretoria régime. In the Security Council, the United Nations Council for Namibia has also worked with equal assiduousness and intensity. Together with the vast majority of States, the Council worked intensively for the adoption of Security Council resolution 435 (1978).

131. Following the adoption of that resolution, the Nigerian delegation, with other members of the international community, had hoped that the attainment of Namibian independence was simply a question of operational modalities. However, our hopes have gone unrealized. Security Council resolution 435 (1978) has not been implemented because of the intransigence of the Pretoria régime and the support it has received from the United States of America, which seeks to make a deal that would exchange Namibian independence for the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola.

132. In this connection the position of my Government is clear. Security Council resolution 435 (1978) remains the basis of Namibian independence. Angola is a sovereign and independent State. The question of the continued presence of Cuban troops in Angola is within the undisputed jurisdiction of the Angolan Government and people. It is not and can never be related to the question of Namibian independence. The intention and objective of the United States Government to conduct a strategy of trade-offs between Cuban troops and the fundamental principles of freedom and self-determination for the people of Namibia are morally wrong and operationally impossible and violates the obligations of the United States of America under the Charter. The Nigerian Government condemns the theory and practice of this demeaning linkage.

133. It is obvious that the process of Namibian independence is currently paralysed. To my mind there are four factors that are hindering progress towards independence for the Territory: first, the policy and practice of *apartheid* of the illegal racist minority régime of Botha's South Africa; secondly, the United States policy of "constructive engagement" and the spin-off policy of linkage, to which I have referred; thirdly, foreign economic interests in and around Namibia, in particular the multinational corporations that are engaged in full-scale pillage and plunder of the natural resources of the Namibian people in violation of Decree No. 1 for the Protection of the Natural Resources of Namibia;⁸ and, finally, the policies of the United Kingdom, the Federal Republic of Germany and Japan. Those countries, we all know, possess enough influence and leverage and have maximal economic weight to bring pressure to bear on South Africa to make it not only withdraw from its illegal occupation of Namibia but also begin dismantling *apartheid*. They have chosen not to do so. The United Kingdom, in particular, has by its regular reflex veto against sanctions in the Security Council acted to hold back Namibian independence as a consequence of its support for South Africa.

134. The policy and practice of *apartheid* are central to the problems of peace and security in southern Africa. *Apartheid* is the root cause of tension, conflict and instability in southern Africa. The internal repression of the racist régime has been matched by its external aggression and subversion and destabilization of the front-line and other States. It is this evil policy that explains the illegal occupation of Namibia. However, even the Pretoria régime could not have withstood the pressure of the international community nor could that régime have been so defiant and arrogant without the support of its major Western trading partners. These allies of South Africa, which support the evil Government of Pretoria for a variety of reasons—strategic, economic, and so forth—have directly and indirectly paralysed movement on the question of Namibian independence.

135. The achievement of independence for Namibia, and indeed South Africa, is a cardinal objective of Nigerian foreign policy. My delegation therefore joined with the vast majority of States in endorsing the recommendations for action contained in the Declaration adopted by the International Conference for the Immediate Independence of Namibia,¹ held at Vienna in July.

136. The Nigerian delegation holds the strong view that the following ingredients are both necessary and sufficient for the independence of Namibia.

137. First, the armed struggle being waged by SWAPO, the sole and authentic representative of the Namibian people, is of great importance. Namibia is illegally occupied and has been since 1966. That illegal occupation is being maintained by the force of arms by a régime that is illegal, racist and minority. It is only logical therefore that the struggling people of Namibia should have resorted to armed resistance to save themselves from the aggression of the racist South African occupation forces. The Government of Nigeria supports SWAPO, the legitimate representative of the Namibian people, in this armed effort to

make the Namibian people free. Similarly, we support the recognized South African liberation movement in its struggle against *apartheid*.

138. Secondly, the urgent need exists for the application of mandatory comprehensive sanctions against South Africa in accordance with Chapter VII of the Charter. My delegation calls on the Western permanent members of the Security Council to join the international consensus for sanctions against South Africa. The Western members of the Security Council must be aware that each veto cast against sanctions is a veto against the inalienable and fundamental rights of self-determination, freedom and independence for the peoples of Namibia and South Africa. When the major Western Powers argue that sanctions will hurt the blacks more, we sometimes wonder by whose authority and on whose behalf do they speak? The struggling peoples of South Africa and Namibia have consistently demanded sanctions against Pretoria. The West should, I believe, join the rest of the international community in applying them.

139. It is indeed very revealing how little attention the Reagan Administration pays to the horrors of the bloodshed and the daily annihilation of the blacks in South Africa and Namibia by the *apartheid* régime in those countries. Only this morning in *The New York Times*, Patrick J. Buchanan, Assistant to the President and White House Director of Communications, had this to say, in a passionate appeal against sanctions:

“South Africa has never sought to be an enemy of the American people. In two world wars and Korea, her soldiers fought alongside ours. When American pilots attacked the terrorist base camps of Colonel Muammar el-Qaddafi, South Africa was almost alone among third world nations to applaud the American action”.

140. The same argument was used during the struggle for Zimbabwe's independence. Ian Smith and his fellow collaborators were portrayed to us as loyal subjects of the British Crown who had fought bravely in the Second World War and ought to be allowed to get away with their unilateral declaration of independence. Is not that argument now wearing thin?

141. But before Mr. Buchanan manipulates the history of the two world wars to serve the interests of Pretoria, let me say to him and to other high officials in the Reagan Administration that British colonists in West and East Africa and in Asia contributed army divisions to help fight and defeat the Japanese in Burma. Some of them fought alongside American troops under the command of General Stilwell. I know this because my father was one of those Africans who fought the Japanese in Burma. We Africans had no quarrel with the Japanese nor did we understand what the war was all about. We did our duty and got nothing in return.

142. Moreover, it has become very convenient for the Reagan Administration to forget that prominent leaders of the Nationalist Party, now in power in Pretoria, were incarcerated for their open support for Nazi Germany. I think the time has come to ask

ourselves who, indeed, were the true allies of the United States and Great Britain in the two world wars.

143. I think the time has also come to stop deceiving ourselves in the Assembly and to accept the reality of the intractable problem of *apartheid* South Africa and the struggle for Namibia and deal with it realistically. The General Assembly, together with the Security Council, cannot run away from its responsibility to the Namibian people to attain their inalienable right to self-determination and independence. But we know and accept that this cannot be achieved until the major Western Powers, led by the United States of America, so desire. It is incumbent on us, therefore, to continue to put pressure on them to join the rest of the international community in bringing this about. We cannot continue to support Security Council resolution 435 (1978) in words alone. We want action—and we want it now.

144. Mr. SIDDIKY (Bangladesh): This for me is a proud moment. The reason is that I have once again the honour and the opportunity to place on record the views of the Bangladesh delegation on the crucial question of Namibia.

145. The sorrows of Namibia continue to distress us all deeply. Our relentless efforts, spanning 20 years, appear to be verging on futility—all because of the intransigence of a single Government that has chosen to treat the international community with contemptuous disregard. I refer to the racist régime of Pretoria, whose abhorrent policies constitute perhaps the greatest blot on the annals of the present century—and not just its odious practice of *apartheid* at home, but also the extension of this beyond its State frontiers in criminally subjugating a people whose plaintive calls for freedom today reverberate round the globe.

146. Pretoria represents an evil that can never be “constructively engaged”. Reason and rationality are not its forte; justice and humanity are not values it can claim for itself. Today the Government of South Africa is an international pariah as a result of its own misdeeds. It has spurned with impunity the demands of the peoples of the world, and it continues to do so. It must be denied all external sources of strength; it must be denied any external source of power.

147. Sadly, even after 20 years we are nowhere near the fulfilment of the commitments we have made to the people of Namibia. We have therefore failed them. Today they have taken upon themselves the task of determining their own destiny. Theirs is a valiant struggle. We salute them, as we salute the leadership of their sole authentic representative, SWAPO. It has been the vanguard of their valiant liberation movement, and I have the fullest confidence that it will, in the not too distant future, lead their people to success and glory.

148. To the many peoples around the world who have accorded their support and sympathy to this glorious struggle, I give my thanks. To the front-line African States, which have displayed unmatched courage, fortitude and determination, I offer my congratulations. To the Secretary-General and the Council for Namibia, who have approached this issue

with edifying dedication, I extend my sincere appreciation.

149. The people of Bangladesh, as Members are well aware, have also experienced foreign domination. We too were engaged in a fierce struggle to rid ourselves of its yoke. Just as we succeeded in our attempts we should like to see our Namibian brethren succeed in theirs. Namibian independence is a cause that is dear to our hearts. That is why Bangladesh attaches the greatest significance to its membership in the United Nations Council for Namibia.

150. It is our firm belief that the racist régime of Pretoria must be brought to its knees by concerted international action. Its attempts to hoodwink the world with so-called reforms at home and the installation of a puppet régime in Winchoek have rightly earned it global derision. It has fooled no one, yet it shamelessly continues its depredation of the resources of Namibia, infringing the stipulations of Decree No. 1 for the Protection of the Natural Resources of Namibia.⁸ The régime in South Africa must be responded to in the language and idiom it understands. That is why my delegation wishes to reiterate at this special session its call for comprehensive mandatory sanctions under Chapter VII of the Charter. The sanctions must cover the following broad areas: military and nuclear equipment and technology; supply and transport of oil and gas; and investments, loans and financial concessions. This would constitute a minimal effort, but a strikingly symbolic one.

151. As to Namibia itself, in our opinion the only path to its independence lies through the implementation of the United Nations plan. This, to our mind, is the only manner in which the independence of Namibia can be achieved peacefully. The plan contains the principles embodied in the relevant United Nations resolutions, particularly Security Council resolutions 385 (1976) and 435 (1978). The plan constitutes the verdict of the global community and must be implemented without any modification whatsoever. All attempts by the racist Pretoria régime to link the independence of Namibia with certain extraneous and irrelevant issues must be thwarted. South Africa's various fraudulent practices aimed at perpetuating its illegal régime stand exposed. This is evidenced by the sentiments and opinions expressed in every forum in the world.

152. I wish also to affirm unequivocally, in the clearest terms, that my delegation asserts that Walvis Bay and the offshore islands constitute inalienable parts of Namibia. We condemn the crude machinations of Pretoria aimed at dispossessing the Namibian people of these, their rightful possessions. In this connection, we express our solidarity with Security Council resolution 432 (1978), which embodies a position reaffirmed at the last sessions of the General Assembly.

153. The litany of South Africa's misdeeds is inordinately long. But that is not the central focus of this special session. We must concentrate on the single issue of Namibian independence; this is overdue. That item alone stands between the United Nations and its success in achieving total decoloniza-

tion. At this special session the Assembly must adopt the most effective measures for the speedy implementation of the United Nations plan. The best way to do this is through a single, hard-hitting resolution containing a specific time-frame. This matter brooks no delay. Let it not be said of us in the years to come that we denied an entire people justice by needlessly delaying it.

154. Mr. STREZOV (Bulgaria) (*interpretation from Russian*): I wish to express the satisfaction of the delegation of the People's Republic of Bulgaria at the election of Mr. Choudhury of Bangladesh as President of the General Assembly, and our confidence that under his able guidance the fourteenth special session of the Assembly will accomplish its lofty aims.

155. The General Assembly is called upon at its fourteenth special session to consider and take decisions on one of the gravest problems of our time: the illegal colonial occupation of Namibia by the racist régime of South Africa.

156. Twenty years ago the United Nations terminated South Africa's Mandate and assumed direct responsibility for the administration of Namibia. Despite the important and constructive resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council affirming the inalienable right of the Namibian people to self-determination and national independence, and setting out the prerequisites for achieving independence by peaceful means, the efforts of the international community have thus far yielded no results. With unprecedented arrogance the Pretoria régime continues to flout United Nations resolutions and to deny the people of Namibia the exercise of their elementary human rights.

157. Recent events in southern Africa demonstrate that the conflict in Namibia has entered a crucial stage fraught with growing danger to peace and security in the entire region. The States parties to the Warsaw Treaty view the situation in Namibia as one of the most dangerous hotbeds of tension in the world today. The 1985 and 1986 declarations of their Political Consultative Committee expressed wholehearted support for the valiant struggle of the people of Namibia for final liberation from colonial domination.

158. The time has come to take decisive and urgent action to achieve the independence of Namibia while preserving its territorial integrity, including Walvis Bay and the offshore islands, which have been illegally annexed by South Africa. This year a number of authoritative international forums have called for precisely such action. These include the International Conference for the Immediate Independence of Namibia, held at Vienna, the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity at its twenty-second ordinary session, held at Addis Ababa, and the Eighth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Harare.

159. The People's Republic of Bulgaria fully supports the final documents adopted at those forums, in particular the special appeal for the immediate

independence of Namibia adopted at the Harare Conference.

160. The Namibian people alone are the masters of their country's destiny. In spite of unprecedented terror, the Namibian people, under the leadership of its sole and authentic representative, SWAPO, is waging a heroic struggle for national liberation against the South African occupiers. The Namibian people has a legitimate right to gain independence by all means possible, including armed struggle. All nations and all people of goodwill who cherish the ideals of the United Nations are on its side. But there are still forces, none the less, which have been helping South Africa to impose a neo-colonial solution to the Namibian problem which would perpetuate the enslavement of the Namibian people. An example of such an approach is the so-called internal settlement through the establishment by racist South Africa of a puppet "interim government."

161. The lack of progress in obtaining Namibia's independence is largely the result of the discredited United States policy of "constructive engagement" with Pretoria and of the political and economic support given to South Africa by certain Western countries. This co-operation bolsters the South African régime and encourages the predatory colonial exploitation of the human and natural resources of Namibia by transnational corporations.

162. The objective of thwarting the attainment of a just solution to the Namibian problem is also being served by the attempt to link Namibia's independence to unlawful claims against the People's Republic of Angola. These attempts at establishing a "linkage" or "parallelism" between the withdrawal of South Africa's occupation troops from Namibia and the pull-out of Cuban forces from Angola have been decisively rejected by decisions and resolutions of the United Nations and other international forums. Such attempts constitute in themselves inadmissible interference in the internal affairs of Angola. The question of Namibia is, first and foremost, a question of decolonization and there are only two sides to this conflict, namely the people of Namibia fighting for its independence and the occupation régime of South Africa. As was rightly pointed out in the Declaration of the International Conference for the Immediate Independence of Namibia,¹ all attempts to distort the essence of Namibia's question and to present this problem as part of the global East-West conflict pursue unseemly political aims and are utterly baseless.

163. South Africa's armed aggression against neighbouring States has seriously aggravated the threat to peace and security in the region. The constant military raids launched from the Territory of Namibia are aimed at subordinating the front-line States to the imperialist and neo-colonial interests. Solidarity with, and all-round support for, the front-line States is essential for the settlement of the Namibian problem.

164. The United Nations and the international community can and must give Namibia their full support for the purpose of putting an end to the illegal occupation of that country and to the inadmissible violence and terror against its freedom-loving

people perpetrated by the racist Pretoria régime. As has already been pointed out by many speakers here, there is still a chance for resolving the Namibian problem by peaceful means in accordance with the United Nations plan, contained in Security Council resolution 435 (1978). SWAPO has declared time and again that it accepts the United Nations plan, the essence of which is the unconditional withdrawal of South African forces from Namibia and the holding of free elections under United Nations supervision.

165. Developments so far have left no doubt that only the imposition of comprehensive mandatory sanctions under Chapter VII of the Charter could bring about the total isolation of the racist régime of South Africa and compel it to grant independence to Namibia in accordance with the United Nations plan.

166. The People's Republic of Bulgaria unconditionally supports the decisions of the World Conference on Sanctions against Racist South Africa, held this year in Paris, and is ready to contribute to the cause of eliminating the disgraceful policy of *apartheid* being practised by South Africa, not only within its State boundaries but in Namibia as well, in this day and age late in the twentieth century.

167. As a member of the Security Council, the People's Republic of Bulgaria will take into consideration the recommendations of the International Conference for the Immediate Independence of Namibia and it will do its best to ensure their implementation. I can assure the Assembly that our delegation will make its contribution to seeing to it that the special session of the General Assembly adopts effective measures for the solution of the Namibian problem.

168. In conclusion, I should like to state that the Bulgarian people, who for many years waged a stubborn struggle for national independence, are in complete solidarity with the just struggle of the Namibian people, under the leadership of SWAPO, and will continue to give that people full support for the attainment of its independence.

169. Mr. HÜPER ARGÜELLO (Nicaragua) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Permit me, first, to convey to Mr. Choudhury my delegation's congratulations on his election to preside over this historic special session. His distinguished qualities, as well as the tradition of respect for the principles of the Charter and solidarity with the just causes of peoples, reflected in his country's foreign policy, are more than sufficient assurances of the success we will have at this special session.

170. When the United Nations Council for Namibia decided to request the convening of this special session of the General Assembly, it was reflecting the sense of the vast majority of the international community, which was deeply concerned over the illegal indefinite postponement of the independence of Namibia and the prolonged suffering of its people. This same view was clearly expressed barely two months ago at Vienna at the International Conference for the Immediate Independence of Namibia, and, more recently still, at Harare, where many heads of State and Government of States members of the

Non-Aligned Movement ratified their active solidarity with the Namibian people and SWAPO, its sole and legitimate representative, in their struggle for self-determination and independence, and against colonial occupation and *apartheid*.

171. The struggle of the Namibian people has gone on for a century. However, the legitimacy of that struggle against foreign occupation was not recognized until 1960, the year in which the General Assembly adopted resolution 1514 (XV), the so-called Magna Carta of decolonization. In 1966 the Assembly terminated South Africa's Mandate over Namibia, and in 1969 the Security Council declared South Africa's continued presence in that Territory to be illegal.

172. In its advisory opinion of 1971¹⁰ the International Court of Justice recognized the legality of the action taken by the Assembly and declared null and void South Africa's actions relating to Namibia. Those are the legal grounds, established by the three supreme organs of the United Nations system, for our position, the position of the vast majority of Members of the Organization, on the problem of Namibia. They are the basis of what became Security Council resolution 435 (1978), the result of the initiative of five Western members of the Council, which contains a plan for Namibia's independence through South Africa's withdrawal from that Territory and the holding of elections guaranteeing the full exercise of the right to self-determination of the Namibian people, under United Nations supervision and control.

173. That entire body of law, intended to guarantee the sacred, inalienable right of the Namibian people to self-determination and independence, has been undermined by South Africa's continued presence in the Territory and by the behaviour of those who, advancing pretexts totally unrelated to the legality and full validity of United Nations decisions, continue to support Pretoria and to bolster its intransigence and its contempt for the universal will expressed by the Assembly, the Security Council and the International Court of Justice.

174. There is today no valid reason for continuing to deny Namibia its right to independence. The presence of Cuban troops in Angola is simply an expedient link used to hide the lack of will on the part of South Africa and its protectors to meet their international obligations. As the Secretary-General said in his report on the work of the Organization this year:⁷

"All the conditions for implementation of the United Nations plan for Namibia laid down by the Security Council have been met. The United Nations has long been prepared to carry out its extensive role in the transitional arrangements. Yet, Namibia is still unjustly denied the right of self-determination because of illegal perpetuation of control by South Africa, which continues to insist on the extraneous linkage to the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola."

175. What lies behind that lack of will? Namibia represents a major pillar of support for the *apartheid* régime of South Africa. First, it is a militarily

strategic territory from which to attack the front-line States. It is also an economically strategic territory, with enormous natural and mineral wealth, especially uranium. Finally, it is a source of cheap labour, its population being ruthlessly exploited by South Africa and also being subjected to an *apartheid* régime.

176. The roots of the problem of Namibia are therefore to be found in the perpetuation of the shameful *apartheid* régime in South Africa. The struggle for Namibia's independence and the struggle against the odious *apartheid* régime are inextricably intertwined.

177. Those who invented the linkage theory are the very people who have applied the so-called policy of constructive engagement, the sole purpose of which, in the face of South Africa's persistent refusal to undertake dialogue, its intensification and institutionalization of *apartheid* and its State terrorism against its neighbours, the front-line States, has been to ensure the survival of that abhorrent system and encourage the Pretoria régime in its vandalism and its disregard for the universal call for an end to *apartheid*. There is today more than ever before a clear awareness that only through the imposition of mandatory sanctions will South Africa be forced to dismantle that odious system.

178. The Security Council and in particular those permanent members that have persistently used the veto to prevent the application of the provisions of Chapter VII of the Charter—the United States and the United Kingdom, which we should mention by name—bear a grave historic responsibility. The argument that sanctions do not work is groundless; Pretoria itself has been able to show Washington their effectiveness when it has applied them against its neighbours.

179. We must acknowledge the efforts of many Western Governments to reduce to a minimum their ties with South Africa and to strengthen the embargo against it. However, while the two countries that I have mentioned fail to implement a policy to defend human rights and freedoms, and continue their present policy, the situation in southern Africa will continue to worsen, with consequent dangers for international peace and security.

180. The great quantity of documents produced in the analysis of the problem of Namibia and South Africa is nowhere near large enough to dam the rivers of blood or to hide the mountains of suffering of both peoples in their struggle for freedom and independence.

181. This special session cannot simply be an echo—a quiet echo—of the loud outcry that has been heard on other occasions. Our deliberations must result in something new, in concerted, specific action that will truly contribute to ending *apartheid* and the illegal occupation of Namibia. That is the challenge facing us.

182. Before I conclude I must acknowledge the work done by the United Nations Council for Namibia, Namibia's legal Administering Authority until its independence. Its efforts deserve our full support.

183. Finally, I wish to express in the name of my people and Government to our comrade, Sam Nujoma, President of SWAPO, and to SWAPO's representatives and combatants, our strongest solidarity with them in their heroic struggle. SWAPO, the sole legitimate representative of the Namibian people, deserves at this crucial time the full political, diplomatic and military support needed to maintain and step up its struggle for the self-determination and independence of the Namibian people.

184. Miss DEVER (Belgium) (*interpretation from French*): The statement made on behalf of the States members of the European Economic Community by the Permanent Representative of the United Kingdom [3rd meeting] fully reflected Belgium's views on the question of Namibia.

185. My delegation, therefore, would not consider it necessary to speak in this debate were it not conscious of the special importance the General Assembly, at its fortieth session, rightly wished to give it. As a member of the Council for Namibia, my country thus felt bound to participate.

186. In 1966 Belgium joined the overwhelming majority of countries which, in General Assembly resolution 2145 (XXI), decided to put an end to South Africa's Mandate over South West Africa and to place that Territory under the direct responsibility of the United Nations.

187. Five years later, when it was a member of the Security Council, Belgium also voted in favour of resolution 301 (1971), which agreed with the advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice¹⁰ and called upon all States to abstain from relations with South Africa in all cases in which the Government of that country purported to act on behalf of Namibia.

188. In 1979 Belgium became a member of the United Nations Council for Namibia. In keeping with that commitment, it has since joined in the great majority of the Council's decisions, notwithstanding the efforts of some delegations to superimpose their own ideological goals on a cause already sufficiently clear in and of itself.

189. Since 1966 my country has always denounced the illegal occupation of Namibia. It has supported the peace plan adopted by the Organization in 1978 and has categorically opposed any attempt to bypass it or to attach extraneous conditions to it.

190. The Belgian Government has always supported the efforts of the Secretary-General, his predecessors and his Special Representative.

191. Throughout that same period, South Africa has continued to reject as invalid the appeals and demands of the international community. That attitude, far from gaining ground, with time, as the expression of a firm determination, has increasingly taken on the appearance of a tragic stubbornness: tragic in the first instance for the Namibian people who have been deprived of their independence and control over their economic patrimony; tragic too for the neighbouring people of Angola, who are subjected to countless acts of aggression; and, finally, tragic for a South African minority that has been gradually

boarding up, one after the other, the doors and windows giving on to its African future.

192. The restrictive measures adopted against Pretoria in recent years have not yielded results. Within South Africa, internal dialogue has not yet begun; attempts at mediation from outside have not so far been successful. In Namibia, implementation of resolution 435 (1978) is still being subjected to conditions that are unacceptable to the international community.

193. Thus, a more severe reaction has become inevitable, and on 27 June and 16 September of this year Belgium, together with its European partners, made a firm commitment to strengthen the measures already adopted.¹¹ In this way, a process has been evolving over which these countries no longer have complete control: whether the decisions taken are quickly suspended or, possibly, strengthened will depend on South Africa.

194. It is in this grim context that we are once again calling upon Pretoria to co-operate, forthwith and without pre-conditions, in the implementation of the United Nations plan for the independence of Namibia.

195. In July, at Vienna, my delegation appealed for rapprochement and reconciliation among all Namibians. It is clear that as long as South Africa continues its illegal occupation of Namibia such reconciliation will be difficult, indeed impossible, to achieve. Nevertheless, the fact remains that in due time it will be the crucial task for that Territory's political leaders.

196. Mr. SAMUDIO (Panama) (*interpretation from Spanish*): First, I should like to express to the President my delegation's sincere congratulations on his well-deserved election to that position at this special session of the General Assembly. My delegation values the experience of such a distinguished diplomat and we are pleased that he will guide our deliberations on the question of Namibia at a moment that is so crucial and decisive for the fate of that country's suffering people.

197. My delegation hopes that under his able leadership we shall achieve the goals we have set for ourselves.

198. Panama, along with the overwhelming majority of the international community, welcomed the timely suggestion to convene a special session of the General Assembly on the question of Namibia, not only because we shall soon be observing the twentieth anniversary of the termination of South Africa's Mandate over the Territory of South West Africa, today Namibia, and of the assumption by the United Nations of responsibility for that Territory and its people, but also because the decision to convene a special session is a reflection of the high priority the world community attaches to the immediate and definitive solution of the question of Namibia.

199. The question of Namibia, which has been the subject of continuous consideration by the General Assembly and the Security Council, has today, unfortunately, become a blatant example of the

inability of the international system to take coercive action to enforce its mandates.

200. Today, faced with the persistent illegal occupation of Namibian territory by the minority Pretoria régime, in open contravention of numerous United Nations resolutions and decisions, we must once again take up the item with a view to deciding upon appropriate corrective action to give effect without further delay to the inalienable right of the Namibian people to self-determination, freedom and total independence.

201. Panama has traditionally upheld that the legal and political grounds for a peaceful settlement of the Namibian question in the context of the United Nations should be found in the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, contained in resolution 1514 (XV), the declaration on permanent sovereignty over natural resources, contained in resolution 1803 (XVII), resolutions 2145 (XXI) and 2248 (S-V), the advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice dated 21 June 1971¹⁰ and Security Council resolutions 385 (1976), 431 (1978), 435 (1978) and 439 (1978), as well as Assembly resolutions 3111 (XXVIII), 31/146 and 31/152, which, among other things, recognized SWAPO as the sole legitimate representative of the Namibian people and granted it observer status at the deliberations of the General Assembly.

202. More recently, we gave our firm support to resolutions 39/50 A to C and to resolutions 40/97 A to F which, among other things, reaffirmed once again the inalienable rights of the Namibian people to self-determination and independence in a united Namibia, condemned racist South Africa for having caused the collapse of the Lusaka and Mindelo independence talks and rejected any attempts to introduce into the Namibian question insidious and fraudulent subterfuges as alternatives to the implementation of the United Nations plan for the independence of Namibia contained in Security Council resolution 435 (1978).

203. Despite the efforts of the United Nations and the support and solidarity of the international community, however, Namibia continues to show no effective progress, and its suffering people continue to be subjected to the most ruthless repression and the denial of its fundamental human rights.

204. Today, as yesterday, my country reaffirms its conviction that the situation in Namibia is essentially one of a colonial nature and that South Africa's stubborn refusal to withdraw from that Territory is a threat to international peace and security. The charter on decolonization contained in resolution 1514 (XV), formally proclaimed by the General Assembly over a quarter of a century ago in order to put an end to all forms and manifestations of colonialism, cannot continue to be flouted. That resolution is part of the spirit of our times and only by means of its strict implementation will we be able to overcome the continuous opposition of South Africa's anachronistic colonialism.

205. As the Secretary-General correctly stated in his 1986 report on the work of the Organization,⁷ "the most urgent remaining problem of decolonization is

certainly that of Namibia", and with regard to that problem, he mentioned that "all the conditions for implementation of the United Nations plan for Namibia laid down by the Security Council have been met". This is the plan contained in Security Council resolution 435 (1978).

206. In this respect, my delegation wishes once again to reiterate the pressing need to proceed to implementation of this plan without modification, reservations or preconditions.

207. My delegation wishes publicly to recognize the intensive diplomatic activity undertaken by the Secretary-General in recent years for the Namibian cause, and we wish to point out that if his efforts have not been crowned with the success all hoped for, this was merely the result of the irrational and obstructionist attitude of the Pretoria colonial régime.

208. My delegation has taken note with satisfaction of the report of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, on the question of Namibia, and in particular of the consensus decision adopted at its 1301st meeting, held on 11 August 1986,¹² which contains the essential elements that must be taken into account in resolving this crucial problem within the framework of resolution 1514 (XV).

209. Panama has condemned and continues to condemn South African manoeuvres intended to deprive the Namibian people of its legitimate right to self-determination and independence in a territorially united and integrated Namibia, including Walvis Bay, the Caprivi Strip, the Penguin Islands and other offshore islands.

210. With the same vigour with which we deplore the manoeuvring by the Pretoria racist régime to delay implementation of the United Nations plan for the independence of Namibia, we denounce its policy of "bantustanization", its attempts to impose internal arrangements not in keeping with the majority will of the Namibian people and its repressive terror tactics, intended to break the will to gain freedom of that heroic people under the leadership of its sole and authentic representative, SWAPO.

211. On several occasions, my country has decried—and this will not be an exception—the neocolonialist plans of the South African régime to proclaim a sham independence for the purpose of perpetuating its domination over Namibian territory. The so-called provisional Government as well as the so-called Multi-Party Conference are among the failed attempts of the minority régime to thwart the anti-colonial designs of the Namibian people and the collective solidarity of the international community. This has been recognized by the Security Council itself in resolution 566 (1985), which states, in paragraph 3, that such a measure "constitutes a direct affront to the Council and a clear defiance of its resolutions, particularly resolutions 435 (1978) and 439 (1978)" and therefore declares it, in paragraph 4, "illegal, null and void".

212. In this connection, my delegation once again joins its voice to that of the international community so that South Africa, as well as its extraregional allies, will abandon the policy of artificially linking implementation of the United Nations plan to matters that are not germane to the question of the independence of Namibia and of insisting that this question be inserted into the East-West conflict, and so that once and for all a cease-fire, as offered by SWAPO, will be decreed and the implementation of the United Nations plan for Namibia which should have been started on 1 August last, will begin.

213. Panama has condemned and continues to condemn the ruthless plundering of Namibia's natural resources by South Africa and other foreign economic interests, in violation of several United Nations resolutions, the advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice of 21 June 1971 and Decree No. 1 of the United Nations Council for Namibia, adopted in 1974. We likewise denounce South Africa's continued policy of destabilization against independent neighbouring States, particularly the front-line States. Panama once again speaks in solidarity with and in recognition of the renewed will among the leaders of those countries to continue to resist military as well as economic pressures which inexplicably continue to be exercised not only by racist South Africa but also by some of its extraregional allies.

214. In the view of my delegation, this special session has been preceded by a fruitful process of discussion and assessment of the situation in Namibia and as a result, we have available to us a valuable set of proposals, recommendations and programmes of action which deserve our closest consideration.

215. In this regard, Panama wishes to pay a warm tribute to the United Nations Council for Namibia, currently under the wise leadership of Mr. Noel Sinclair, of Guyana, for the praiseworthy work it has done as the legal Administering Authority for Namibia until its independence. Its intensive work aimed at mobilizing international action leading to the prompt termination of the illegal occupation of Namibia by South Africa has been clearly reflected not only in its twentieth annual report to the General Assembly at its fortieth session but also in the many international regional and subregional activities which have taken place in the past year and have brought about increased awareness at the international level of the serious threat to international peace and security posed by Pretoria's intransigence.

216. We also attach special importance to the Declaration and Programme of Action adopted by the International Conference for the Immediate Independence of Namibia, held at Vienna from 7 to 11 July this year, from which came a clear message of support for the aspirations of the Namibian people to self-determination and independence, a renewed call for the immediate and unconditional application of Security Council resolution 435 (1978) and concrete proposals for the stepping up of the efforts of the international community to promote a just and peaceful settlement of this question. Panama also attaches special significance to the Appeal for the Immediate Independence of Namibia made on 9 July this year by the eminent persons who took part in

that Conference, and in particular their clear appeal to countries which have influence on the South African régime to prevail upon it to accept the imperative need for the unconditional implementation of the plan for the independence of Namibia and to take decisive action to ensure that the Namibian people soon enjoy the freedom and justice which their own peoples enjoy.

217. My delegation has noted with satisfaction that, together with an intensification of efforts to mobilize the political and moral support of the international community for an independent Namibia, an intricate process of planning the development of that future State has begun through plans and projects and through the training of its human resources.

218. In considering this question the Assembly must bear in mind the important statements issued by the World Conference on Sanctions against Racist South Africa, held in Paris from 16 to 20 June 1986, and by the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity at its twenty-second ordinary session, held at Addis Ababa from 28 to 30 July this year. Nor can we disregard the Political Declaration adopted at the Ministerial Meeting of the Co-ordinating Bureau of Non-Aligned Countries, held at New Delhi from 16 to 19 April last, or the important provisions and appeal adopted on that question by the heads of State or Government of the non-aligned countries at their Eighth Conference, held at Harare earlier this month.

219. This whole set of proposals must serve as the source for the recommendations and decisions to be adopted at this important session of the Assembly, which, rather than reproduce or repeat lofty statements, should formulate concrete measures and action for immediate implementation to bring to its knees the arrogant Pretoria régime, which is defying the will of the international community and the established international legal order. In this connection, the Security Council, in particular its permanent members, bear a grave responsibility.

220. Having explored all the avenues towards an orderly political solution of this question, the only course left, in the opinion of my delegation, is the imposition of comprehensive mandatory sanctions against South Africa under Chapter VII of the Charter.

221. Panama, in keeping with the traditional anti-colonialist, anti-racist character of its foreign policy, once again appeals to all countries that cherish peace and respect international law to redouble their efforts to bring to an end as soon as possible the illegal occupation of Namibia, which constitutes a flagrant challenge to United Nations resolutions, an act of aggression against the heroic Namibian people and an affront to the international community.

222. Mr. SHIHABI (Saudi Arabia) (*interpretation from Arabic*): As we hold this special session I take pleasure in congratulating Mr. Choudhury on his election to the presidency of the General Assembly. His excellent personal qualities, and the distinguished international position that his country occupies make this fortunate choice a veritable expression by the international community of its profound

esteem for him and for his country and of its great hope that, with his wisdom and expertise, he will be able to guide the proceedings of this special session towards the realization of the aspirations of the world community and the fulfilment of peoples' hopes in a United Nations that expresses the world's conscience.

223. I should also like to express my appreciation to the Secretary-General and to the United Nations Council for Namibia for the efforts they consistently exert to ensure implementation of the decisions of the United Nations and its organs and to arrive at a coherent international position on the problem of Namibia and South Africa.

224. Two and a half months ago the International Conference for the Immediate Independence of Namibia was held at Vienna. The world consensus achieved then made it clear that there was no place today for colonialism and colonialists, no place from now on for conquering parties and alien establishments of exploitation, no place for man's exploitation of man or for a man's being deprived of his national and human rights because he is an African in Namibia or South Africa or because he is an Arab in Palestine.

225. The Government of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia issued the following special statement after the recent declaration of the state of emergency in South Africa, in which it strongly deplored the acts of the racist, colonialist authorities in South Africa and reaffirmed its concern over events in Namibia:

"The Government of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia declares its continued adherence to United Nations resolutions and the resolutions of all other international organizations concerning South Africa and Namibia, and reaffirms its full support for the African peoples and States in defending the rights of the people of South Africa and Namibia. It also reiterates its full conviction that no human power can defeat the cause of a people deprived of their rights in their homeland, irrespective of whether that is in South Africa, Palestine or any other place of the world, no matter what the methods used."¹³

226. The position of my country with regard to what is taking place in Namibia and South Africa is the same as that of the overwhelming majority here. It is based on the same conviction that Namibia is an African land and country owned by an African people. It must live free without restrictions, African in all its aspects and means. There is no place for justifications and explanations, no place for caution and reluctance. These fundamental facts must be accepted and adhered to. Those who have failed to see the light must return to the path of justice and find their proper way. We say to the people of Namibia, this is your country; there is no place for others on its land without their consent. The United Nations is committed to the total and complete independence of Namibia. There is no other way for the international community to follow from now until independence is achieved.

227. The recent International Conference at Vienna concerning the immediate independence of Namibia requested us to reaffirm the direct responsibility of

the United Nations for Namibia and the status of the United Nations Council for Namibia as the legal Administering Authority for Namibia until independence is achieved. We must reaffirm categorically these two basic principles regarding the responsibility and commitment of the United Nations until we get Namibia safely to shore and its independence is achieved.

228. The Vienna Conference also requested us to reaffirm the necessity of imposing, through the Security Council, comprehensive economic sanctions on South Africa, the usurping Power and the oppressive authority, for its illegal presence in Namibia. We consider the Security Council's inability to impose these sanctions to be indicative of the vestiges of the imbalances of the past which encourage exploitation, support colonialism and protect the perpetrators from international pressure. We ask the countries that are impeding the imposition of sanctions to fulfil their moral and legal responsibility by participating in the imposition of those sanctions, instead of protecting exploitation and colonialism. We must also reinforce the authority of the Council for Namibia in its efforts to ensure implementation of its Decree No. 1 which it enacted to protect the natural resources of Namibia, which are being subjected to appalling accelerated plunder, and to preserve what is left of that wealth for its legitimate owners.

229. A glance at the rate of exploitation of minerals, agricultural land and livestock by South Africa's enterprises and the foreign companies collaborating with them, as well as by the tiny minority of white settlers, shows the full horror of what is taking place in Namibia and the extent of the plunder and waste to which the wealth of present and future generations is being exposed. Those enterprises must be held accountable in the future.

230. By participating in the consolidation of the world stand in supporting the independence of Namibia and seeking to deter the racist régime of South Africa, we are in effect strengthening the position of this international organization and all its organs against economic exploitation, political colonialism and military occupation, and reaffirming the position of the countries and peoples of the United Nations against physical colonialism, moral oppression and intellectual despotism. We deplore and condemn unequivocally the crimes of *apartheid*, the exploitation of people and the usurpation of their rights because of their racial origins, whether in Africa or elsewhere in the world.

231. In the name of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, I condemn these crimes in South Africa and Namibia in the strongest terms and reaffirm, with other Member States, the need to act to remove the remaining pockets of colonialism, exploitation and occupation, and to end the crime of depriving peoples of their land and rights simply because they are of a different race from that of the invading colonialist. I must mention in this context another aspect of the same tragedy, another situation of racial discrimination against a people by an immigrant invading foreign Power. It is the situation in which the Palestinian people are being subjected to these racist and settler colonialist crimes in their most horrible forms on their own land, the land of their

fathers and ancestors, by Zionist forces. These forces occupy Arab lands and there perpetrate their crimes and they are bound in the final analysis to meet the same end as will be met by the counterpart forces in South Africa, which we are discussing now.

232. In the hope that this special session will achieve its goals, we shall support every measure adopted by the Assembly which is likely to bring about the immediate independence of Namibia. We shall support our brothers in the African continent until international legitimacy is achieved, until the foundations of human values on the land of Africa are established, and until racism and oppression have vanished for ever from the face of the Earth.

233. Mr. MACIEL (Brazil): The overall crisis in southern Africa and particularly the plight of the Namibian people are issues that rank very high on the agenda of the United Nations. The international community has repeatedly expressed the view that the complete eradication of *apartheid* in South Africa and the independence of Namibia are among the main priorities of the Organization. We are joining in this special session of the General Assembly to underscore once again that the presence of South Africa in the Territory is totally unacceptable and that specific urgent action will have to be implemented in order to promote the prompt emergence of a free Namibia under the leadership of SWAPO, its sole and authentic representative.

234. Meeting at Vienna, the International Conference for the Immediate Independence of Namibia reaffirmed the inalienable right of the Namibian people to self-determination and national independence in a united country. It also noted with concern that 20 years after the United Nations undertook direct responsibility for the Territory South Africa persisted in its illegal occupation of Namibia, in flagrant violation of the relevant resolutions of the United Nations, particularly resolution 435 (1978) of the Security Council.

235. The Brazilian Government joined in the Appeal of the International Conference for the immediate and unconditional independence of Namibia. President José Sarney, of Brazil, recently made public a message on the occasion of Namibia Day in which he stressed that racial discrimination in Brazil was both illegal and a crime covered specifically by the penal code and that the Brazilian Government rejected the persistence of any colonial configuration dictated by racist intolerance. In his message President Sarney underlined that the attempts by the *apartheid* régime to install a so-called provisional Government in Windhoek and to impose extraneous conditions for the granting of independence to Namibia were consistent only with the practice of open aggression, which South Africa has continued to pursue against its peaceful neighbours. President Sarney went on to say that such policies should not prevail and that he was confident that, regardless of all the desperate efforts by South Africa to set back the course of history, the day was fast approaching when we would witness the full implementation of resolution 435 (1978), together with Namibia's accession to independence.

236. The Declaration of the International Conference for the Immediate Independence of Namibia,¹ contains several elements that deserve careful attention, first and foremost of which is the reaffirmation of the legitimacy of the struggle of the Namibian people to achieve self-determination, freedom and independence. We must pay a tribute to their courage in the face of the policies of repression carried out by the colonial government.

237. We can neither remain silent before these ruthless internal policies nor be misled by the attempt to justify the South African presence in the Territory on the basis of extraneous rivalries, which are totally irrelevant to the question of the decolonization of Namibia. The Brazilian Government has already condemned Pretoria's manoeuvres to gain time and allow for internal settlements in Namibia, which are clearly of a racist and neo-colonialist nature. Brazil has rejected the decision to install a transitional government in the Territory and has considered it unacceptable to portray the question of Namibia as part of an East-West confrontation.

238. The use of the Namibian territory by the Pretoria régime as a launching pad for aggression against neighbouring African States is a source of great concern to all peace-loving countries. The Brazilian Government believes that the immediate independence of the Territory and the emergence of a new southern Africa, free from colonialism and *apartheid*, are developments that will contribute to eliminating many sources of tension from the area of the south Atlantic. Brazil hopes that the free peoples of Africa and South America will be able to play an important role in promoting the social and economic development of their countries and in preserving the south Atlantic as an area of peace and co-operation.

239. It is the primary responsibility of the United Nations to guide the process towards the independence of Namibia. It is therefore to be regretted that the actions of the Organization have been crippled by strong resistance against the role and the authority of the Security Council. Brazil shares the view of the Vienna Conference that the Security Council should act in a decisive manner in fulfilment of the direct responsibility of the United Nations with regard to Namibia. The Security Council must take urgent measures to ensure that the United Nations plan is implemented without modification or pre-conditions.

240. Brazil has already adopted a set of unilateral voluntary sanctions intended to exert pressure on the South African Government. We have also initiated co-operation activities with SWAPO, with the support of the United Nations, and have already declared our willingness to enhance this relationship, especially in the field of training for the future administration of a free and united Namibian State. Individual actions, however, are not likely to have the same impact as measures adopted by the Security Council.

241. It is clear that stronger pressure must be exerted on the South African régime. Countries that have a prominent position on the international scene should now support and adopt specific economic sanctions that could considerably reduce the ability

of South Africa to maintain its racist and colonialist policies.

242. At this special session the General Assembly must support comprehensive measures against South Africa, which will also serve as a clear sign to Pretoria that this body unconditionally backs the Namibian people in their struggle for justice and freedom. The General Assembly must act decisively, with the support of all its members. South Africa's arrogant and provocative attitude must be effaced. It should not be allowed to undermine the credibility of the United Nations or stand in open defiance of the will of the international community.

243. Mr. VONGSAY (Lao People's Democratic Republic) (*interpretation from French*): On behalf of the delegation of the Lao People's Democratic Republic I should like to extend to Mr. Choudhury my heartiest congratulations on his unanimous election to the presidency not only of this fourteenth special session of the General Assembly devoted to the question of Namibia, but also of the forty-first session of the Assembly. My delegation sees this as a tribute both to Bangladesh, a country of which he is a worthy son, and to our enormous continent of Asia, of which he is an eminent representative.

244. My delegation is convinced that thanks to his great knowledge and diplomatic experience, and given the support and good will of all Member States represented here, the work of this fourteenth special session will be successful and that the question of Namibia, which has dragged on for 40 years, will finally be given a just, lasting and universally acceptable solution.

245. We would like also to assure him of our full cooperation and that we will spare no effort to help in contributing to the success of this historic session, which is the last hope of the martyred people of Namibia in their struggle for self-determination and independence.

Mr. Osman (Somalia), Vice-President, took the Chair.

246. At the commemorative session of the General Assembly, last October, the international community noted with regret and bitterness that the martyred people of Namibia were still being prevented from exercising their inalienable right to self-determination, independence and freedom. In fact, the suffering of the valiant people of Namibia has lasted now for more than a century. Two decades have elapsed since the Organization terminated South Africa's Mandate over the Territory. Despite that historic action, and in defiance of the advisory opinion handed down 15 years ago by the International Court of Justice,¹⁰ and a number of relevant resolutions of the United Nations, more specifically Security Council resolution 435 (1978), the racist Pretoria régime still continues with impunity to prolong and consolidate its illegal, colonial and brutal occupation of that international Territory. The present special session is an opportunity for all Members of the United Nations not to reaffirm in words, as has been the case thus far, our solidarity and sympathy for the valiant people of Namibia in their heroic indomitable struggle for self-determination, independence and free-

dom, but to make an active contribution to the taking of specific, effective steps to speed up the process of granting true independence to that martyred people in a united Namibia, in keeping with the spirit and letter of Security Council resolution 435 (1978).

247. The apparently almost insuperable obstacles in the way of a scrupulous, unconditional implementation of that resolution adopted by the Security Council have been pinpointed. They arise from the intransigence, duplicity and bad faith of the racist Pretoria régime, which practises the diabolical system of *apartheid* in South Africa, continues its illegal occupation of Namibia and its policy of State terrorism against the front-line States and other independent neighbouring States. What is more serious is that that criminal régime has been massively supported and encouraged in its monstrous policy by the imperialist super-Power which practises a policy of "constructive engagement" towards it, as well as by some Western and other Powers. The Lao Government and people have vehemently condemned the heinous crimes perpetrated last May and June by the illegal racist Pretoria régime against Botswana, Zimbabwe, Zambia and Angola, as well as the savage repressive measures adopted last June by the diabolical régime against the people of South Africa by the illegal decree of the state of emergency. Peoples that cherish peace, freedom and justice throughout the world learned with indignation that two permanent members of the Security Council on 18 June 1986 once again blocked a resolution submitted in the Council by the non-permanent African countries, which simply proposed selective sanctions against South Africa in response to the criminal attack against the Angolan port of Namibe.

248. Taking as an example the national liberation struggle waged for more than 30 years by the peoples of Indo-China and other national liberation movements, and in view of the intransigence of the racist Pretoria régime and the aggressive nature of the imperialists and the champions of *apartheid*, who will not give up their privileges or their domination so easily, there is no alternative left to the oppressed people of Namibia and the black South Africans but armed struggle, whose legitimacy has been recognized by the international community, in order to eliminate once and for all the *apartheid* régime and all its attendant ills. The Lao Government and people continue to support the struggling peoples in Africa, Asia and Latin America as they fight to throw off the yoke of imperialist, colonialist and neo-colonialist domination. They reaffirm, through their delegation, from this rostrum, their unswerving support for the liberation struggle of the valiant, heroic Namibian people, under the leadership of SWAPO, their authentic, legitimate representative.

249. My delegation unstintingly supports the Declaration of the World Conference on Sanctions against Racist South Africa,¹¹ the Declaration and the Programme of Action adopted by the International Conference for the Immediate Independence of Namibia,¹ the final document adopted at the twenty-second summit conference of the OAU,⁵ and the special declaration on southern Africa adopted at the eighth summit conference of non-aligned countries,⁶ and, it goes without saying, all the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security

Council, in particular Security Council resolutions 385 (1976) and 435 (1978) which embody the United Nations plan for the independence of Namibia, the only internationally accepted basis for a peaceful, just and lasting settlement of the Namibian issue.

250. My delegation strongly condemns the continued illegal occupation of Namibia by the South African racist régime and all its consequences, as well as the use by that régime of the Territory of Namibia to launch operations of aggression, sabotage, subversion and destabilization against front-line African States. My delegation resolutely condemns and firmly rejects the continuing attempts by the United States and the racist régime of Pretoria to establish linkage between the independence of Namibia and extraneous matters, in particular, the presence of Cuban internationalist forces in Angola. It rejects, furthermore, any attempts by the imperialists to distort the question of Namibia by placing it in the context of world-wide East-West confrontation and not as a mere decolonization problem which must be resolved in keeping with the provisions of the Charter and the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

251. We vehemently condemn the racist Pretoria régime for establishing the provisional puppet government set up in Namibia on 17 June 1985, the continued collaboration by some Western capitalist States and Israel with the South African racist régime and Washington's so-called constructive engagement policy, the consequences of which have been disastrous.

252. With the fourteenth special session of the General Assembly being held shortly after the World Conference on Sanctions against Racist South Africa, the International Conference for the Immediate Independence of Namibia and the Eighth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, at a time when the struggle of the Namibian and black people of South Africa against the barbaric Pretoria régime is coming to a head, when the anti-apartheid movement throughout the world is gaining ground, it is the sacred duty of the General Assembly at this special session, and of the whole international community, to give the final impetus to the collective action to put an end to the inhuman, monstrous Pretoria régime by implementing forthwith the United Nations plan for the independence of Namibia. Accordingly, some Western countries that have the right of veto in the Security Council, and in particular the Power which practises the policy of "constructive engagement" towards Pretoria, which international opinion has consistently deplored, must, for the good of humanity as a whole, join sincerely in the major, commendable efforts that the international community, the Secretary-General and the United Nations Council for Namibia have made thus far in that noble cause. In other words, the fundamental rights and legitimate aspirations of the valiant people of Namibia, to whom the Lao Government and people wish to reaffirm total, unswerving support, cannot be sacrificed on the altar of immoral, illegal profits of a multitude of transnational corporations that plunder and wantonly exploit Namibia's vast natural and human resources. If the racist régime of Pretoria continues to refuse to implement that plan, the international community is left with

only one solution, that is, the imposition of comprehensive mandatory sanctions against the régime under Chapter VII of the Charter. To that end the Security Council should meet without further delay, because the future of peace and security in southern Africa and indeed throughout the world is at stake.

253. Mr. DAZA (Chile) (*interpretation from Spanish*): The head of the Chilean delegation to the forty-first session of the General Assembly will soon be extending to the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Bangladesh the congratulations of the people and Government of Chile on his assumption of the presidency of the Assembly. However, Mr. President, I should like to take this opportunity to express to you my personal greetings and to ask you to transmit my greetings also to the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Bangladesh.

254. Chile, being a mining country, has for centuries known of the hidden dangers and distresses that usually accompany mining activities. We know how the men who go down into the mines become identified with the depths of the earth. That is why we have a special understanding of the tragedy that took the lives of many workers in South Africa a few days ago. The expression of our sorrow and sympathy goes today to their grieving families.

255. Peoples, like individuals, must keep abreast of the times. The particular situation that brings us here today, the illegality of the occupation of the Territory of Namibia by South Africa, represents a violation of that principle, which is an essential accompaniment of co-existence among nations. To disregard the right of the people of Namibia to self-determination and independence is unacceptable and will have inevitable historical consequences. To fail to understand that the present situation of that Territory is completely contrary to international law is to fail in that duty of keeping abreast of the times.

256. The nations meeting here have a great responsibility in the conduct of present-day world affairs and the management of world institutions. It is they that mould international affairs and, to a certain degree, shape the future world. Being incapable of solving the problem of Namibia and passing on that problem to future generations, they are prolonging a problem that is not merely political but deeply moral and human.

257. My country long ago recognized the inalienable right of the people of Namibia to self-determination and independence in accordance with General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV). That is why Chile has condemned the continuance of an illegal situation in the Territory of Namibia. That is why Chile advocates respect for the national unity and territorial integrity of Namibia. That is why my country recognizes and understands that the natural resources of Namibia are a national heritage of its people and not spoils to be sacked, as is happening now with those natural resources and with the country's marine wealth, which are being plundered by many who are exploiting them to the detriment of the sovereign rights of that people.

258. Chile considers that Security Council resolution 435 (1978) should be the basis for a solution to

the problem of Namibia which takes into account the positions of all the parties concerned. We are firmly convinced that its implementation would make it possible to achieve the ultimate aim of independence for Namibia. In this context, my country is not afraid, on every occasion when the organized international community meets, to express formally its support for that resolution, as well as for the Security Council plan embodied therein and, generally, all efforts to make it possible to achieve a solution, one which should, in our view, have two essential features: it should be a negotiated solution and a peaceful solution. These two features are merely two aspects of a single drive for justice and dialogue.

259. At this crucial time, we should like to appeal rather to the will than to the intellect, to appeal rather to that profound sense of justice and decency which we feel dwells in the human heart, so that our pronouncements as States may be ever firmer, more weighty and more sincere in our commitment to the just and well-understood cause of the Namibian people.

260. Chile hopes that understanding and comprehension will bear fruit and that a solution will soon be found—a solution that has been too long in coming. Further delay will increase our frustration at having been incapable, in a situation such as the present one, of reaching agreement to grant to a group of human beings as important as the population of Namibia the degree of dignity it merits.

261. Since the beginning of the process of decolonization at the end of the Second World War, Chile has maintained that the principle of the self-determination of peoples is an essential foundation for peace and the exercise of human rights. We all have the obligation to implement that principle and to protect it. We raise our voices to express the hope that Namibia's hour, so long delayed, will come.

262. Mr. ESZTERGALYOS (Hungary): At this special session of the General Assembly we are gathered to discuss one of the most serious problems the United Nations has had to face. It is a great challenge to the effectiveness of the Organization which by General Assembly resolution 2145 (XXI) terminated South Africa's Mandate over Namibia and assumed direct responsibility for the Territory.

263. We are discussing the question of Namibia while the racist régime of South Africa, despite the relevant United Nations resolutions, tries to maintain its illegal occupation of that country. In defiance of Security Council resolutions 385 (1976) and 435 (1978), the South African régime continues its manoeuvres to prevent the implementation of the relevant resolutions. The régime attempts to impose on the Namibian people a so-called internal settlement in order to consolidate its illegal occupation of the Territory of Namibia by creating puppet political institutions to serve its own interests.

264. In the past year there was no change in the South African régime's position concerning the unconditional implementation of resolution 435 (1978), which established the framework for a peaceful solution to the question and which has come to be known as the United Nations plan for the indepen-

dence of Namibia. Despite the clear and repeatedly expressed will of the international community, racist South Africa has refused to co-operate in the implementation of the plan and has thus prolonged the suffering and subjugation of the Namibian people.

265. The militarization of Namibia, aimed at using its territory for the launching of acts of aggression and destabilization against the neighbouring States, has increased. The acts of aggression, in addition to threatening peace and security in the region, are further aggravating Africa's serious economic situation which was the subject of the recently held thirteenth special session of the General Assembly.

266. While those countries which are supporting South Africa consider only the possible effects of their economic restrictions and divestments, the régime has already blocked commercial transportation towards the front-line States.

267. The *apartheid* system of oppression and subjugation makes every effort to put the question of Namibia in the context of a global East-West confrontation by seeking to portray southern Africa as of vital strategic importance to the West.

268. The Declaration of the International Conference organized by the United Nations Council for Namibia at Vienna in July underscored that the question of Namibia must be resolved in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations and the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

269. My delegation has listened with concentrated attention to the statements made from this rostrum. We hold that this special session has a very significant role to play in contributing to the elaboration of the most appropriate ways and means effectively to promote the solution of the ever more acute problems before the situation reaches the point of no return.

270. There must not be any doubt that the régime will remain a constant source of violence and injustice. Hence, the delegation of Hungary cannot agree with the position that further high-level talks with the régime will produce results leading to the elimination of *apartheid*. Taking into consideration the interests of the Namibian people, I should like to reiterate that in the present circumstances only effective sanctions against racist South Africa, in accordance with Chapter VII of the Charter, seem to be the most appropriate and effective way to manifest the will and firm determination of the community of nations to abolish the shameful system of *apartheid*.

271. The Government of the Hungarian People's Republic, acting in harmony with its foreign policy principles, consistently stands for the elimination of all vestiges of colonialism and of all forms of racial discrimination.

272. The Hungarian Government is of the view that the United Nations should continue to play a central role in the struggle against the inhuman *apartheid* régime of South Africa.

273. My Government values highly the efforts of the United Nations Council for Namibia. We believe that its work can contribute to the successful solution of this question—the early granting of independence to Namibia.

274. In conclusion, I should like to express the solidarity and full support of the people and the Government of the Hungarian People's Republic for the struggling people of Namibia, under the leadership of SWAPO, its sole legitimate representative.

275. We are confident that the resolute, collective international efforts will contribute to the success of the liberation struggle of the Namibian people.

276. Mr. SASTRADIDJAYA (Indonesia): Allow me to extend to Mr. Choudhury, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Bangladesh, the Indonesian delegation's warm congratulations on his unanimous election to preside over this important special session of the General Assembly on the question of Namibia. His staunch commitment to the cause of decolonization and Namibia's independence in particular is well known to all of us. We are confident, therefore, that under his able guidance this session will achieve the objectives for which it has been convened.

277. I should also like to take this opportunity to extend my best wishes to the other officers.

278. The fourteenth special session of the General Assembly, mandated by resolution 40/97 F, is the third such session convened to consider exclusively the question of Namibia. It is most appropriate and fitting that it should be held in the year of the twentieth anniversary of the historic decision of the United Nations to terminate South Africa's Mandate over Namibia and to assume direct responsibility for the Territory until independence. That unprecedented action signalled the resolve of the international community to put an end to South Africa's flagrant breaches of its obligations undertaken as administering Power by attempting to deny the Namibian people the exercise of its inalienable right to self-determination.

279. Since then the demand for the unconditional withdrawal of South Africa's illegal occupation forces from the Territory and for the speedy attainment of independence by Namibia has become the priority concern of the entire membership of the Organization. Indeed, no other decolonization question has engendered such unanimity of view and mobilization of purpose by the international community as has the question of Namibia.

280. Yet, despite the fact that Namibia has been the acknowledged responsibility of the United Nations for two decades now; despite the 1971 ruling of the International Court of Justice; despite scores of General Assembly and Security Council resolutions—most notably Security Council resolutions 385 (1976) and 435 (1978), which embody the United Nations plan for Namibian independence; and despite special sessions of the General Assembly and United Nations-sponsored international conferences, the most recent of which was held at Vienna in July last, Namibia continues to suffer under the brutal oppression of Pretoria's colonial domination.

Indeed, to this very day racist South Africa maintains its stranglehold over the Territory, in utter defiance of the will of the international community.

281. There is hardly any need, therefore, to reiterate in any great detail the case for Namibian independence. Nor is it necessary for me to reaffirm Indonesia's unwavering support for the just liberation struggle of the Namibian people under the leadership of SWAPO, their sole and authentic representative.

282. At this session we do, however, want to give expression to our sense of acute foreboding that any opportunity to effect an orderly and peaceful transfer of sovereign power to the Namibian people may soon be lost unless this Assembly and the Security Council decide to act, and to act decisively.

283. This foreboding is not Indonesia's alone, for 101 heads of State or Government of non-aligned countries, in their summit meeting held at Harare just two weeks ago, unanimously underscored the imperative need to act and to do so by implementing forthwith the only universally acceptable plan for action, which is the United Nations plan.

284. My delegation believes that the international community has shown enough patience in the face of South Africa's duplicity and prevarication. Namibia's decolonization cannot and should not any longer be held hostage to the resolution of issues that are extraneous to its essence, such as linkage with the presence of Cuban troops in Angola. We also reject all attempts to distort the question of Namibia by portraying it as an issue of East-West contention.

285. Our mounting sense of urgency is fully underscored by the fact that since the adoption of Security Council resolution 435 (1978) eight years ago South Africa has doubled its military forces of occupation from 50,000 to 100,000, thus transforming Namibia into one huge military base, with martial law imposed over two thirds of the population. It has stepped up the ruthless exploitation of Namibia's human and natural resources, aided and abetted by the morally repugnant investments of South Africa's major trading partners, in total disregard of Decree No. 1 for the Protection of the Natural Resources of Namibia.⁸ And it has hatched further schemes to impose a *fait accompli* by creating pseudo-political parties and puppet régimes. The people of Namibia also continue to be subjected to the full array of the most demeaning and degrading policies and practices of *apartheid*. Thus no facet of life has been left unscathed by Pretoria's terror campaigns against the Namibian population and its desperate attempts at the physical annihilation of SWAPO so as further to entrench colonialism and *apartheid* in Namibia.

286. The States of the region have also continued to be targeted by Pretoria. Indeed the repeated acts of aggression, destabilization, subversion and terrorism against the front-line and other neighbouring African States reveal the ultimate hegemonistic designs of the racist régime on the region as a whole.

287. This Assembly is therefore duty-bound to exert renewed efforts to achieve concrete progress in implementing the United Nations plan. The time has

come to go beyond the reiteration of declarations, demands and exhortations and to adopt a course of action that will serve clear notice to the Pretoria régime that the international community will not tolerate any longer its wilful flouting of the most fundamental norms of international behaviour and the rule of law.

288. In this connection, it should be recalled that the Security Council has by its resolution 566 (1985) already placed South Africa on notice that failure to co-operate with the Secretary-General will compel the Council to impose mandatory sanctions. None the less the Council failed to make good on that warning at its meetings in November 1985. That is particularly deplorable in the light of the Secretary-General's report to the Council at that time that all issues relevant to the implementation of resolution 435 (1978) had been resolved and that, but for South Africa's intransigence, it would have been possible to commence implementation.

289. Despite that set-back the Secretary-General has continued his efforts throughout this year but has been constrained again to report that South Africa still insists on the linkage pre-condition.

290. Under these circumstances there is an imperative need for the Security Council to reconvene and to reassert its authority and establish a definite time frame for Namibian independence. At the same time Indonesia cannot but express its view that it is utterly indefensible for certain permanent members of the Council to continue to rely on the misguided policy of "constructive engagement" and linkage, which has undeniably obstructed the efforts of the Secretary-General and only played into the hands of racist régime's stalling tactics to prolong the occupation of Namibia.

291. It is therefore urgently necessary for South Africa's friends to reassess their positions and to act decisively in concert with the international community to secure the total isolation of South Africa politically, economically, militarily and culturally. Towards that end, it has become abundantly clear that there is a need for Security Council action under Chapter VII of the Charter in order to overcome South Africa's untenable challenge to the authority and integrity of the United Nations. Only then can the Pretoria régime be compelled to co-operate with the Secretary-General in the immediate implementation of the United Nations plan.

292. My Government, for its part, has always scrupulously abided by the mandatory arms embargo, the oil embargo and all voluntary sanctions and boycotts against South Africa. Indonesia has not, and will not, establish relations of any kind with the racist Pretoria régime until Namibia and the people of South Africa have fully achieved true emancipation and independence and the odious policy of *apartheid* has been forever abolished. We remain unswervingly committed to Namibia's liberation and to supporting SWAPO in the intensification of its struggle for the liberation of Namibia. In addition, Indonesia stands ready to extend, within its capabilities, whatever assistance may be required in terms of scholarships, technical training, and so on, as well as other forms of material co-operation, so as to prepare Namibian

cadres for the future task of administering and rebuilding an independent Namibia. The front-line African States also deserve increased support and assistance as they are playing an indispensable role in the international community's efforts to secure Namibia's independence.

293. In conclusion, my delegation would like to seize this opportunity to express its deep appreciation to the Secretary-General for his tireless efforts to secure the implementation of the United Nations plan. We fully concur with the assessment contained in his report to the General Assembly at its forty-first session⁷ that "the particular problem of Namibia . . . is ripe for solution now. Delay can only increase instability and violence in the region and unnecessarily prolong the suffering of Namibia's inhabitants".

294. Mr. MENDEZ (Philippines): It is a great pleasure for me as the representative of the new Government of the Philippines to extend to Mr. Choudhury my delegation's congratulations. His unanimous election as President of the forty-first session of the General Assembly and his assumption of the presidency of this special session constitute a proud moment for Asia. They are a recognition of his eminent personal skills and wisdom, as well as the contributions of Bangladesh to the furtherance of the objectives of the Organization.

295. The Philippine delegation views this special session with mixed feelings. On the one hand, it gives us cause to believe that by convening this special session we are reaffirming our faith in the basic principles embodied in the Charter of the United Nations and our commitment to the immediate independence of Namibia. After all, we were united in taking that decision on 27 October 1966. On the other hand, we feel disheartened by the fact that 20 long years after the United Nations agreed to terminate the Mandate of South Africa over the Territory of Namibia we are still debating the question of Namibia's independence. Twenty years after that decision which gave the people of Namibia reason for hope their country remains in the vise-like grip of the racist Pretoria régime.

296. In the search for a solution to any problem, it is always best to know the facts, and the unvarnished facts about the situation in Namibia are these: first, the illegal occupation of Namibia by South Africa continues; its evil policy and practice of *apartheid* has been extended to the Namibian people; it plunders Namibia's natural resources in contravention of Decree No. 1 of the United Nations Council for Namibia; and it has engaged in the massive militarization of the Territory. All of that constitutes acts of aggression against the people of Namibia.

297. Secondly, South Africa commits acts of aggression against the independent States neighbouring it and pursues a deliberate policy of destabilizing them. That not only undermines the peace and stability of the southern African region but also poses serious threats to international peace and security.

298. Thirdly, South Africa's imposition of the "interim government" in Namibia, in clear defiance of Security Council resolutions 435 (1978) and 439

(1978), outlining the only internationally accepted basis for a peaceful settlement of the Namibian question, is designed to perpetuate the racist régime's domination of Namibia.

299. Fourthly, South Africa derives encouragement to continue its defiance of relevant United Nations resolutions from the regrettable reluctance of some powerful nations to impose mandatory and comprehensive sanctions against the racist régime.

300. Lastly, the attempt to link the independence of Namibia to other, extraneous issues causes an unwarranted delay in the attainment of Namibia's independence.

301. Those are the facts, the truth about the situation in Namibia. We have to accept them and deal with them honestly, if we really want to help bring about the immediate independence of Namibia.

302. The United Nations has been very patient in dealing with the problem we are discussing today. Resolutions and programmes of action have been painstakingly drafted, debated and subsequently adopted by the General Assembly and the Security Council, only to be defied by South Africa. Should South Africa be allowed to continue to trample upon the inalienable rights of the Namibian people?

303. I wish to reiterate my Government's support for the immediate and unconditional implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978), as well as of other resolutions we have adopted on this question. In the face of the persistent refusal by South Africa to abide by these resolutions, my delegation joins those who urge the Security Council to adopt and impose comprehensive mandatory sanctions, under Chapter VII of the Charter, against South Africa. It has been recognized in many United Nations forums, most recently at the International Conference for the Immediate Independence of Namibia which was held at Vienna two months ago, that the imposition of comprehensive mandatory sanctions against South Africa remains the most effective peaceful means of inducing South Africa to terminate its illegal occupation of Namibia.

304. The Philippine people share with their brothers and sisters around the world a passionate and abiding love for peace, freedom and justice. On this occasion I should like to express, on behalf of the Philippine people, the fond and sincere wish that the people of Namibia will soon realize their coveted dream of freedom, justice and peace.

305. Mr. KNIPPING VICTORIA (Dominican Republic) (*interpretation from Spanish*): One may say without exaggeration that in the international community there is no issue that arouses a more widespread sense of sympathy and solidarity than that of Namibia. This special session of the General Assembly constitutes the most eloquent and unequivocal proof of that. Indeed, throughout the session we have noted the categorical way in which the organized international community has spoken out in favour of the just cause of the people of Namibia, its liberation and the establishment of an independent State based on the principles of equality, freedom and justice.

306. A constant part of the Dominican Republic's foreign policy has been the rejection and condemnation of all forms or vestiges of colonialism in the world. That is the reason for our support of and solidarity with the people of Namibia in its heroic struggle to achieve and fully enjoy that most sacred of the rights of peoples: self-determination. In that context, we cannot fail to express our deepest concern over the negative and intransigent attitude shown by South Africa in setting up obstacles to the United Nations plan for the independence of Namibia. For that reason, we repeat our firm view that Security Council resolution 435 (1978) remains the only basis for the peaceful settlement of the question of Namibia. We therefore energetically reject all the legal, administrative and political stratagems and sophistry engaged in by the South African régime in contravention of the provisions of the relevant United Nations resolutions and decisions on Namibia.

307. There is no doubt that so long as the Namibian people are deprived of full independence as a result of the persistent refusal of South Africa to respect United Nations resolutions, that question will be a factor for instability and a lack of security in southern Africa and one which could jeopardize the maintenance of international peace and security. Nor can it be denied that the question of Namibia is a test of the image, the credibility and the effectiveness of the United Nations. Therefore, we trust that this special session will result in suitable measures and recommendations to bring about the implementation of the United Nations plan for the independence of Namibia. Not to take that path would be to go against the flow of history and the wishes of all peoples that cherish freedom, peace and justice.

308. With great courage and much sacrifice, the people of Namibia have been writing a shining page of contemporary history; it is time for that page to come to an end. The delegation of the Dominican Republic trusts that the Organization will very soon count among its Members the free, independent and sovereign State of Namibia. Let us hope that we shall celebrate that historic event very soon indeed.

309. Mr. THOMPSON (Fiji): My delegation adds its warm congratulations to those already expressed on the election of Mr. Humayun Rasheed Choudhury as President of the General Assembly at this historic fourteenth special session.

310. South Africa's Mandate over Namibia was terminated 20 years ago. By that act the United Nations accepted a sacred trust, one which the people of Namibia expected to be fulfilled speedily and peacefully. With the membership comprising, as it did, nations of the world united under a Charter in whose lofty ideals their own aspirations found expression, that faith and expectation appeared to be well founded.

311. It is a tragedy of our time that today, two decades later, when 50 other former colonies have become independent, the people of Namibia are no nearer to achieving their inalienable right to freedom than they were in 1966. After meetings, conferences, declarations, proclamations and decisions—held and issued with frustrating regularity in bodies ranging

from *ad hoc* committees to the Security Council and the General Assembly, no immediate solution is in sight. This special session is only the latest in a long series of such events, but it is another occasion for the international community to reaffirm its strongest support for freedom and for a life of dignity for the people of Namibia.

312. The emancipation of the unhappy people of Namibia is being thwarted by the jockeying for power and influence engaged in by the forces of East-West confrontation and super-Power rivalry. Those who have the means to ensure compliance by South Africa with the decisions of the Security Council and of the General Assembly have not found it sufficiently in their interest to follow this through. The issues involved may be complex and difficult, but that is no excuse for inaction and for holding the people of Namibia hostage. Where such fundamental and basic human rights are involved, the way ahead is clear.

313. The International Conference for the Immediate Independence of Namibia, held this summer at Vienna, agreed upon a Programme of Action to give freedom, justice and democracy to the people of Namibia. Those people should be given their right to free and fair elections and to decide their own future. Insistence on pre-conditions and extraneous considerations, by South Africa or anyone else, should be rejected. Those who have the power and influence to make South Africa comply with its obligations should act accordingly.

314. The Commonwealth Group of Eminent Persons, a recent initiative in a long history of Commonwealth involvement in the search for a just and equitable solution to the problem of *apartheid*, considered that the only peaceful option now left open is the imposition of comprehensive mandatory sanctions against South Africa. At the 2nd meeting, Dame Ruth Nita Barrow, one of those eminent persons, spoke from first-hand experience and gave us a graphic account of the tragedy that is *apartheid* South Africa.

315. Although many efforts to deal with South Africa's pre-conditions have been made, Pretoria has always found some pretext or other for not giving Namibia independence. South Africa's credibility on the issue is totally unreliable. How much longer must this ritual go on before we give our decisions the teeth they need to be effective?

316. In spite of overwhelming international support for tangible and effective action, we remain impotent and immobilized. Because it does not suit some who have the weight and leverage to take the necessary steps, the whole world is unable to exert meaningful and effective pressure. Even those whose Constitutions embody the very ideals the people of Namibia wish to emulate cannot find the will to put their words into practice.

317. Surely it is not beyond the diplomatic ingenuity of the major States concerned to find a way out of this sorry and intolerable situation. They have done so in many other problem areas. Africa—and the world—should not have to wait forever. The fact that in 20 years very little change has come about seriously challenges their good faith.

318. My country is in a region of the world well known for its relative peace and tranquility. In recent history we have not known the bitter animosity, violent struggle and terrible bloodshed that have been common in southern Africa. We earnestly hope that the very few potential trouble spots in our region can be defused through dialogue and through what we have come to call the Pacific way.

319. This past year has seen an intensifying series of measures against South Africa. Fiji and other countries in our region have been totally behind moves fully to implement Security Council resolution 435 (1978). We sincerely hope that the present trend will continue to gather momentum and that the pernicious system of *apartheid* will soon end. Only then can we look forward with confidence to peace and stability in southern Africa.

320. Mr. RAJAIE-KHORASSANI (Islamic Republic of Iran): It is my great pleasure to congratulate Mr. Humayun Rasheed Choudhury on his election to the high office of President of the General Assembly at this special session and at the forty-first session. I wish also to convey my best wishes to the other Assembly officers. The Iranian Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr. Ali Akbar Velayati, who will be in New York in early October, will express his own gratification at Mr. Choudhury's election as President.

321. However, the living spiritual and fraternal bonds that exist between the two Muslim nations of Iran and Bangladesh, and the cordial relations that exist between the two Governments, make the presidency such a joyful occasion that I cannot fail to extend my personal felicitations to the President and to the other officers.

322. This special session recalls a long period of criminal history written for the victimized people of Namibia by the *apartheid* régime of South Africa and those behind it. It shows that all the efforts of the entire international community for the liberation of Namibia have remained of no avail up to this date. Otherwise, the convening of this special session of the General Assembly would not have been necessary at all.

323. The Mandate of South Africa over Namibia was terminated 20 years ago. But that date was already too late for the Namibian people, who had started their struggle for independence a century earlier, long before the inception of the Organization. Decolonization being the leading motto of the Organization, one wonders why it took the United Nations 20 years to terminate the Mandate of South Africa over Namibia. Moreover, and more seriously speaking, how can the minority régime of Pretoria, with its heinous, disgusting criminal character of *apartheid*, a régime that has no legitimacy to rule over its own people, the people of South Africa, be mandated to supervise the political destiny of the people of Namibia, renowned for their historic struggle against foreign occupation?

324. But let us, just for the sake of convenience, ignore serious arguments regarding the moral and/or legal validity of what was imposed upon the people of Namibia prior to 1966. The fact is that South Africa's Mandate over Namibia was officially termi-

nated. The fact is, also, as the report of Standing Committee II of the United Nations Council for Namibia on the military situation in and relating to Namibia stated at the International Conference for the Immediate Independence of Namibia at Vienna:

“The people of Namibia are not only subjected to the institutionalized violence of the *apartheid* régime, but also endure an army of occupation and a police force, which increasingly use the broad powers conferred upon them by the Pretoria régime to intimidate and brutalize the entire Namibian population.”¹⁴

325. The sad fact is that these and many other crimes reported by impartial bodies have been perpetrated since the international body terminated the so-called Mandate of South Africa, and the South African régime has no excuse for its criminal presence or interference in Namibia.

326. The issue of the illegal occupation of Namibia has been a central theme of the deliberations of every session of the General Assembly since 1966. International conferences have been held. Anniversary meetings have been convened at which messages of solidarity from heads of State have been read. Solemn sessions, Security Council meetings, non-aligned ministerial and summit meetings, and so many other important historic international functions, have been held since 1966, in defence of the inalienable rights of the people of Namibia to independence and self-determination. A flood of well-documented reports, resolutions, declarations, books, papers, articles and pamphlets have been written; radio and televised programmes have been broadcast, and so many public speeches have been delivered since 1966, so many massive demonstrations have been held in university campuses and in the streets of metropolitan cities and in front of various embassies. The voice of the oppressed Namibian people has reached all corners of the world through their representative body, SWAPO.

327. And after those 20 years, and all that has been done, we have today proudly come together again to reiterate the same mournful speeches that we have been delivering to ourselves during the past 20 years. Here again, we enumerate the endless and open-ended list of South Africa's crimes; praise the courageous constructive and revolutionary achievement of SWAPO; expose the *apartheid* régime and refer back to previous records, documents and resolutions of the international body and register yet more documents and resolutions for further future references. Why are we caught in this vicious circle? Why do we find ourselves back where we were 20 years ago?

328. Let us see what has happened on the other hand to the South African régime in the past 20 years. Undoubtedly the exploitative economy of South Africa has been expanding and amassing wealth; the amounts made in interest by the multinational corporations owned by the United States and some other Western countries have been sky-rocketing. South Africa's military capabilities, and its military technology and industry, have been growing at an increasing rate. Its nuclear technology has, thanks to the Zionist occupiers of Palestine and the

overt and covert co-operation of the United States with South Africa, borne deadly fruit and is jeopardizing international peace and security in that region. While the comprehensive sanctions against South Africa have always been vetoed by one or more permanent members of the Security Council, South African sanctions against its neighbouring countries have been fully and successfully applied, and yet the United States has been shamelessly and audaciously continuing with its unreserved support for the *apartheid* régime of Pretoria. That is a very brief report of what has happened to the Pretoria régime during the past 20 years.

329. The Pretoria régime has treated the black majority like herds of cattle, dividing them into groups of its own choice and locating them in barns of its own choice. Such crimes have been made possible by the power of the gun and the brutality of a minority that has no legitimacy except the support of the United States. And after the sanguinary struggle of the oppressed black majority in South Africa reached the point of a face-to-face confrontation of the unarmed people of South Africa against the well-armed brutal forces of the white minority, the President of the United States decided to chastise the racist criminal régime of South Africa and therefore threatened the South African Government that he would send a black ambassador to that country. What a chastisement that was, was it not?

330. There lies the secret of that vicious circle that we have been in for all the painful 20 years since the termination of the South African Mandate. The secret lies in American imperial support for the criminal régime of South Africa. The secret lies in the multi-billion-dollar interests of the American and Western European transnational corporations; the secret is in the safes of the Zionist bank owners of the United States and Europe. The secret is in the millions of dollars worth of diamonds that the régime occupying Palestine exports every year, while not an ounce of diamonds exists in occupied Palestine. Finally, the secret is in such inhuman, hypocritical policies as linkage and so-called constructive engagement.

331. The invincible giant of South Africa receives its nourishment from the United States State Department. Those who seek sufficient satisfaction in enumerating South Africa's crimes are putting the blame on the symptom and not on the actual cause, the final link in the chain, while ignoring the original agent behind the puppet show. If the black majority is being victimized by the white minority racists in South Africa, the blame must go to the imperialist forces, headed by the United States. If the illegal occupation of Namibia has been perpetuated, the blame must go to United States foreign policy, which has been impeding and neutralizing the work of the Organization on the one hand and giving material support to the South African racists on the other.

332. The purpose behind the imperialist forces' support for South Africa is simply to prolong the period of plunder and exploitation as much as possible. Pressure must therefore be directed towards the ruthless United States policies which make the continuation of the *apartheid* régime possible.

333. We believe the Assembly should enhance the constructive role of the Secretary-General, who, in his report to the General Assembly at its forty-first session,⁷ specified that "the most urgent remaining problem of decolonization is certainly that of Namibia, for which the United Nations bears direct responsibility". We believe that, through the co-ordinated and concerted efforts of all, the Organization should be assisted to meet its "direct responsibility".

334. We believe that the struggle of the people of Namibia, under the leadership of SWAPO, must receive as much international support as possible. With the new anti-*apartheid* developments in South Africa, the struggles of the oppressed people of South Africa and Namibia have reached an unprecedentedly acute stage, in which the concerted effort of the international body can prove more effective than ever before. Today those oppressed people, who are often deprived of access to the international press and other media, desperately need the incisive support of the international body. The United Nations and the United Nations Council for Namibia have been of great help in disseminating information about the internal situation of South Africa. Their efforts should be enhanced.

335. The General Assembly should at this special session extend its unreserved support for the untiring struggle of the people of Namibia and South Africa and the front-line States, and should strongly condemn United States support for the *apartheid* régime, which has kept Namibian territory under its illegal occupation. The General Assembly at this session will, let us hope, exert the maximum pressure for the implementation of comprehensive mandatory sanctions against the *apartheid* régime in order to bring about the withdrawal of its occupation forces from Namibia and guarantee the liberation of the people of South Africa from the claws of racist minority rule.

336. Finally, in view of the conspicuous role of the United States and the Zionist occupiers of Palestine in supporting and collaborating with the racist rulers of the Pretoria régime, it is unfair to refrain from condemning the United States and Israel together by name. At this juncture it would be a great victory for the racist rulers of the Pretoria régime to see their masters' actions condoned in a session specifically held for the cause of Namibia.

337. Mr. KASEMSRI (Thailand): I am grateful for the opportunity to join preceding delegations in extending our sincere congratulations to the President on his unanimous election to the presidency of this special session. We are deeply gratified to have a person of his proven diplomatic skill and experience to preside over our deliberations. We are also gratified to see a President who comes from a country with which Thailand entertains cordial relations. My delegation is confident that under his wise guidance and leadership our proceedings will yield successful results.

338. My delegation also congratulates all the Vice-Presidents of this special session, who represent the different regions of the world, reflecting thereby the universality of the Organization.

339. It is both timely and appropriate for the Assembly to convene a special session on the question of Namibia, since the *apartheid* régime in Pretoria has continued to defy the relevant United Nations resolutions and decisions, in particular, Security Council resolution 435 (1978), which contains the United Nations plan for the independence of Namibia. It is, therefore, our direct responsibility to take up the issue once again and to give it greater urgency, with a view to attaining the immediate independence of Namibia, so that the Namibian people may exercise their inalienable rights, including the right to self-determination, without further delay. Hence, my delegation fully supports the convening of this session, as called for by the General Assembly in its resolution 40/97 F, to consider the serious situation in Namibia.

340. My delegation notes with deep regret that 20 years after the termination of South Africa's Mandate over Namibia, and eight years after the adoption of Security Council resolution 435 (1978), the situation in Namibia remains unchanged. The Namibian people today are still under the yoke of illegal occupation and subjugation imposed by the racist Pretoria régime.

341. The recent chronicle of Pretoria's actions has further convinced my delegation that the racist régime intends to scuttle the United Nations plan for the independence of Namibia, as evidenced by its proposing to the Secretary-General, once again, on 3 March 1986,¹⁵ that 1 August of this year be set as the date for the commencement of the implementation of the settlement plan, on condition that a firm and satisfactory agreement be reached before that date on the withdrawal of Cuban forces from Angola. In response to South Africa, the Secretary-General, in his letter dated 12 June 1986,¹⁶ stated that while the South African suggestion of a specific date for the commencement of implementation constituted an important development that was welcomed, the specific date was linked to an issue he considered extraneous to the Namibian question. Such linkage has been rejected by the Security Council as being incompatible with its resolution 435 (1978).

342. Thailand, as a non-permanent member of the Security Council, has reiterated time and again, both in the Council and in the Assembly, its demand on South Africa to implement immediately and unconditionally the relevant United Nations resolutions and decisions, in particular Security Council resolution 435 (1978), which is the only internationally accepted basis for a peaceful settlement of the Namibian question. However, Pretoria has resorted to various pre-conditions and fraudulent attempts designed merely to confuse the international community and to delay further the implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978). Today, however, international public opinion is much more aware of the true situation in Namibia. Therefore, it is impossible for Pretoria to conceal its illegal actions from the world.

343. In this connection, my delegation joins the international community in condemning, in the strongest terms, the continued illegal occupation of Namibia by Pretoria, as well as its delaying tactics. We denounce the Pretoria régime's insistence on the

so-called linkage of the Namibian question to the extraneous issue of Cuban forces in Angola. Furthermore, we strongly condemn South Africa's continued use of Namibian territory as a springboard for launching military attacks against and incursions into independent African States in the region, such as its recent invasions of Angola, Botswana, Lesotho, Zambia and Zimbabwe. South Africa's acts of destabilization, military incursions or aggression against the independent African States and its policy and practice of *apartheid* constitute a gross violation of international law and the Charter of the United Nations. Those acts pose a persistent threat, not only to peace and stability in the southern African region, but also to international peace and security. Moreover, the situation gives rise to the problem of refugees and displaced persons, which increases the burden on countries of first refuge as well as on the international community as a whole. We in the South-East Asian region also have a similar situation. Today, Thailand suffers from the influx of Indo-Chinese refugees and displaced persons resulting from the foreign aggression against and illegal occupation of Kampuchea. It is therefore patently clear where Thailand stands on this issue.

344. My delegation also joins the international community in condemning South Africa for the imposition of a so-called interim government in Namibia, in contravention of Security Council resolution 566 (1985), and resolutely denounces it as illegal, null and void. Any action taken by the so-called interim government will be considered by my Government as illegal. To all intents and purposes my delegation is of the view that such heinous acts committed by South Africa will only aggravate the situation and prolong the agony of the Namibian people. We firmly believe that the United Nations plan, as contained in Security Council resolution 435 (1978), remains the only reasonable solution to this problem.

345. The natural resources of Namibia are the inviolable heritage of the Namibian people. South Africa must refrain from exploiting such resources for its own enrichment and to the detriment of Namibia's sovereign rights over those resources. The illegal exploitation of Namibia's natural resources, in contravention of Decree No. 1 enacted by the United Nations Council for Namibia, constitutes one of the obstacles to the achievement of a peaceful solution and thus thwarts the achievement of Namibian independence. It must, therefore, be brought to a speedy end.

346. My delegation also notes with serious concern the report of increasing access by South Africa to sophisticated weapons and nuclear technology, in violation of Security Council resolution 418 (1977) on arms embargo. In this regard, we should renew our effort to monitor developments closely and to put an end to any collaboration with the racist régime in Pretoria.

347. My delegation wishes to reiterate its position with regard to the question of Namibia, a position which is clear and consistent. Thailand continues to support the Namibian people in their quest for sovereignty and independence in a united Namibia under the sole and authentic leadership of SWAPO.

In a message addressed to the President of the United Nations Council for Namibia on the occasion of Namibia Day on 26 August 1986, General Prem Tinsulanonda, Prime Minister of Thailand, stated, *inter alia*:

"Peace and stability in the southern-African region can only be realized when the Namibian people are allowed to exercise their inalienable right to self-determination, free from external interference. The *apartheid* régime in Pretoria must understand that no amount of terror and repression can conquer the indomitable will of the people of Namibia for national independence."

348. My delegation firmly believes that the United Nations plan for the independence of Namibia, which remains the only internationally accepted basis for a peaceful settlement of the Namibian question, must be implemented immediately and unconditionally so that peace and stability may be restored in the region. In view of South Africa's persistent refusal to comply with relevant United Nations resolutions and decisions, Thailand, as a non-permanent member of the Security Council, unreservedly supports the call for a world-wide imposition of comprehensive mandatory economic sanctions against South Africa, as provided for in Chapter VII of the Charter, in order to bring about a just settlement of the question of Namibia as well as a peaceful, pluralistic society in South Africa. Thus far, Thailand has voluntarily imposed a trade embargo against South Africa since 1978.

349. My delegation notes with appreciation the Declaration adopted by the World Conference on Sanctions against Racist South Africa⁴ the Declaration of the International Conference for the Immediate Independence of Namibia and the Appeal for the Immediate Independence of Namibia issued by the eminent persons participating in the Conference,¹ as well as the final documents of the Eighth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries.⁶

350. My delegation would like to take this opportunity to place on record its deep appreciation to the United Nations Council for Namibia for its dedicated work on behalf of the Namibian people and the international community on the question of Namibia.

351. In conclusion, my delegation wishes to pledge once again Thailand's unstinting support for any constructive effort by the Group of African States on this important issue to ensure implementation of the United Nations plan and to bring about the genuine independence of a united Namibia.

The meeting rose at 8 p.m.

NOTES

¹See *Report of the International Conference for the Immediate Independence of Namibia, Vienna, 7-11 July 1986* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.86.I.16 and addendum).

²See A/40/817, annex, p. 7.

³The Commonwealth Group of Eminent Persons, *Mission to South Africa: The Commonwealth Report* (The Chaucer Press Ltd., Bungay, Suffolk, Great Britain, 1986).

⁴See *Report of the World Conference on Sanctions against Racist South Africa, Paris, 16–20 June 1986* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.86.I.23).

⁵See the final documents of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity, held at Addis Ababa from 28 to 30 July 1986 (A/41/61/4, annex II).

⁶See the final documents of the Eighth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Harare from 1 to 6 September 1986 (A/41/697, annex).

⁷*Official Records of the General Assembly, Forty-first Session, Supplement No. 1.*

⁸*Ibid.*, Thirty-fifth Session, Supplement No. 24, vol. I, annex II.

⁹See *Official Records of the Security Council, Fortieth Year, Resolutions and Decisions*.

¹⁰*Legal Consequences for States of the Continued Presence of South Africa in Namibia (South West Africa) notwithstanding Security Council Resolution 276 (1970), Advisory Opinion, I.C.J. Reports, 1971, p. 16.*

¹¹See *Official Records of the Security Council, Forty-first Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1986*, document S/18357.

¹²See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Forty-first Session, Supplement No. 23*, chap. VIII, sect. B.

¹³See *Official Records of the Security Council, Forty-first Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1986*, document S/18233.

¹⁴See A/CONF.138/4-A/AC.131/179/Add.1, para. 9.

¹⁵See *Official Records of the Security Council, Forty-first Year, Supplement for January, February and March 1986*, document S/17892.

¹⁶*Ibid.*, Supplement for April, May and June 1986, document S/18150.