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Fourteenth special session

GENERAL ASSEMBLY

PROVISIONAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE THIRD MEETING

Held at Headquarters, New York,
on Thursday, 18 September 1986, at 10 a.m.

President: Mr. CHOUDHURY (Bangladesh)
later: Mr. MATTURI (Sierra Leone)
(Vice-President)

- Question of Namibia: [6] (continued)

- (a) 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
- (b) Report of the International Conference for the Immediate Independence of Namibia

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The meeting was called to order at 10.15 a.m.

AGENDA ITEM 6 (continued)

QUESTION OF NAMIBIA

- (a) 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 (A/41/23 (Part V))
- (b) REPORT OF THE INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE FOR THE IMMEDIATE INDEPENDENCE OF NAMIBIA (A/CONF.138/11)

The PRESIDENT: I should like to remind representatives that, in accordance with the decision taken yesterday, the list of speakers on this item will be closed at 12 noon.

Mr. MOYA PALENCIA (Mexico) (interpretation from Spanish): Mr. President, accept my delegation's sincere congratulations on your unanimous election to guide the work at this special session of the General Assembly devoted to the question of Namibia. Your wide experience in the international field and your diplomatic ability ensure the success of our meetings.

Twenty years ago the United Nations assumed direct responsibility for the Territory of Namibia. For 20 years South Africa has prevented Namibia's accession to independence in open violation of the will of its people and in flagrant defiance of our Organization's resolutions. Through its illegal occupation, Pretoria not only denies the Namibian people free exercise of its right to self-determination; it also imposes on it the abhorrent apartheid régime.

Decolonization constitutes one of the most positive chapters in the work of the United Nations. In the past the Organization has acted in this field in accordance with the letter and spirit of the provisions of its Charter and the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. It has done so also in the case of Namibia. Moreover, a decade ago, through

(Mr. Moya Palencia, Mexico)

Security Council resolutions 385 (1976) and 435 (1978), the United Nations drew up the Plan for the Independence of Namibia, which without a doubt remains the only internationally accepted basis for the peaceful solution of the question of Namibia. My delegation again joins the vast majority of the international community in demanding its immediate implementation without pre-conditions or changes.

The United Nations Council for Namibia has done everything within its reach to carry out the General Assembly's mandate. We reiterate our support for the Council for Namibia and our willingness to continue to contribute to its work. We also reiterate our firm support for the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO), the sole and authentic representative of the Namibian people, and we join in the call for greater and more varied support for it as a sign of international solidarity in recognition of its leadership and the sacrifices it has made in the quest for Namibian independence.

The United Nations has defended Namibia's territorial integrity. My country views as illegal, null and void any attempt by South Africa to annex territory such as Walvis Bay and the offshore islands. Mexico joins the General Assembly in condemning Pretoria's plans to perpetuate its colonial domination of Namibia through the imposition of the so-called interim government, which my Government rejects as totally unrepresentative.

Regarding the activities of foreign economic interests in Namibia, the General Assembly has condemned the illegal exploitation of that Territory's natural resources. Mexico has joined in the condemnation of those activities and has repeatedly called for their cessation. Moreover the General Assembly has approved the decision of the Council for Namibia to initiate legal proceedings in the domestic courts of States against corporations or individuals involved in the exploitation, transportation, processing or purchase of Namibia's natural resources.

(Mr. Moya Palencia, Mexico)

We support that decision and call for its immediate implementation. The General Assembly also approved the decision of the Council for Namibia to proclaim an exclusive 200-mile economic zone for Namibia. My country supports that decision and stresses the necessity of any action regarding this matter being taken in consultation with SWAPO.

The General Assembly has strongly condemned the South African régime for the utilization of Namibian territory as a springboard for armed invasions and for the perpetration of subversion, destabilization and aggression against neighbouring African States. My Government supports that condemnation and considers that such acts not only violate the elementary norms of international relations but also increase tensions in the area and threaten international peace and security.

Southern Africa is today the scene of renewed attacks. The situation becomes more dangerous with each passing day as Pretoria's minority redoubles its efforts to perpetuate its racist policies. It also becomes more dangerous with each military action by South Africa against the Namibian people and the front-line States. Therefore world public opinion has been demanding a concerted effort by the international community to force Pretoria's authorities to change their policies. The imposition of economic sanctions against South Africa is a measure that has received the full support of very nearly all the Members of the United Nations. It is therefore difficult to understand why some of the countries that have contributed most to the definition and implementation of democratic principles in pluralistic and multiracial societies would resist the imposition of such sanctions.

(Mr. Moya Palencia, Mexico)

Last July in Vienna, the International Conference for the Immediate Independence of Namibia adopted a Declaration and a Programme of Action. The Conference affirmed the immediate independence of Namibia decreed by the United Nations and added:

"The United Nations plan for the independence of Namibia is unconditional. Namibia's independence cannot, therefore, be held hostage to the global political and economic designs of some Powers and the convenience of a universally condemned régime. The determination and courage of the Namibian people must be invigorated by complementary international action for freedom, independence and human dignity ... ". (A/CONF.138/11, para. 167)

Mexico reiterates its profound concern at the continued illegal occupation of Namibia by the Pretoria régime. We reject all attempts to change the nature of the problem, such as linking Namibia's independence to the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola or any other pretext aimed at delaying further the implementation of the resolutions of the Security Council. We therefore urge the members of the Security Council to discharge their responsibilities and permit the concerted action of the Organization to ensure the speedy independence of Namibia.

Conscious that the Pretoria régime's policy of apartheid continues to subjugate the peoples of both Namibia and South Africa, the United Nations must redouble its efforts to achieve a peaceful transition to a fully democratic society in which all racial groups may live in peace. Any other road will lead to unprecedented violence in the region. If we do not act with energy today, tomorrow will be too late.

Sir John THOMSON (United Kingdom): I speak on behalf of the 12 States of the European Community, but I cannot resist a national statement to begin with. It is a statement of great pleasure, Sir, on behalf of my Government and delegation,

(Sir John Thomson, United Kingdom)

in your election as President. Our two countries have had many historical links, and we share the ideals of democracy.

This is the fourth time the General Assembly has been called into special session to discuss the question of Namibia. During the eighth emergency special session, in September 1981, my predecessor, Sir Anthony Parsons, had the honour to speak on behalf of the member States of the European Community. I do so again today.

Namibia has been an acknowledged international responsibility for over 60 years, and an issue which has been before the United Nations virtually since its inception. Since the termination of South Africa's Mandate over the Territory the matter has become one of grave international concern. This year, 1986, sees the twentieth anniversary of the adoption of General Assembly resolution 2145 (XXI). It is now nearly eight years since the Security Council adopted its resolution 435 (1978) endorsing a settlement plan for the Territory. Five years ago my predecessor expressed the grave concern of the member States of the European Community about the consequences for southern Africa that would result from delay in reaching agreement on the implementation of that plan. Time has shown how right that warning was. We share the bitterness and frustration felt by African States and other members of the international community at this long-lasting impasse over Namibia's future.

The position of the Twelve on the question of Namibia is clear and unambiguous. The illegal occupation of the Territory by South Africa must be brought to an end. The only acceptable basis for a peaceful and lasting solution to the problem is the implementation, without preconditions or pretext, of Security Council resolutions 385 (1976) and 435 (1978). The settlement plan endorsed by the second of those resolutions has been accepted both by the Government of South Africa and by the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO). It embodies the

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only universally accepted framework for a peaceful transition to independence in a manner which is guaranteed by this Organization to be free and fair. We firmly believe that the people of Namibia must be permitted to exercise their right to self-determination through free and fair elections under the supervision and control of the United Nations in accordance with the settlement plan. It is essential that South Africa should not subordinate the implementation of the settlement plan to the fulfilment of conditions which are extraneous to the independence of the Territory. We do not accept that it should be delayed or put aside for such reasons or for arrangements inconsistent with Security Council resolution 435 (1978). We wish to see the plan implemented in its entirety without further delay so that the people of Namibia can move forward to the internationally recognized independence which is their due.

Unfortunately, the South African Government has not yet seen fit to move forward in this way. On the contrary, that Government has so far chosen to maintain its illegal occupation of Namibia in defiance of international opinion. In this context, the Twelve particularly deplore the decision of the South African authorities to establish a so-called transitional government in Namibia in violation of the explicit provisions of Security Council resolution 435 (1978). That resolution does not authorize the South African Government to delegate its responsibilities in the implementation of the United Nations settlement plan. The purely unilateral South African initiative establishing a so-called transitional government in Namibia represents a mere manoeuvre aimed at further delaying Namibia's peaceful achievement of independence as well as circumventing the United Nations and excluding it from the settlement process.

(Sir John Thomson, United Kingdom)

The Twelve consider as null and void this measure taken by Pretoria and categorically reject any unilateral moves by the South African Government to transfer power in Namibia. Such moves can have no effect on the United Nations plan except to set back the cause of peace and independence in the Territory and to increase tension in the region, as indeed the establishment of the so-called transitional government has already done.

(Sir John Thomson, United Kingdom)

The Twelve also deplore the policies of intimidation and repression pursued by South Africa within Namibia itself. These have been the subject of repeated condemnation by the international community. The catalogue of arbitrary arrests and detentions makes depressing reading; and South Africa has continued to pursue a policy of forced conscription of Namibian adults into the occupation army. Apartheid is still enshrined in the legislation in force in the Territory and evident in provisions at the second-tier administrative level for separate schooling, hospitals and other facilities.

Since the General Assembly last debated the subject of Namibia, South Africa has continued its armed incursions into Namibia's neighbours, particularly Angola. These acts have taken place in defiance of international law and have created a grave danger to peace and security in the region. At the meeting between the Foreign Ministers of the Twelve and of the front-line States in Lusaka last February, Ministers condemned South Africa's policy of destabilization in all its manifestations, including the use of any direct or indirect armed actions against neighbouring States. We once again strongly urge South Africa to desist from such activities.

The Twelve forcibly condemn the use of violence by South Africa either against neighbouring States or in the maintenance of its illegal presence in Namibia. These developments make even more necessary the maintenance of the general and primary duty of the United Nations to promote peaceful solutions in conformity with the Charter, thus avoiding any encouragement of the use of force.

Over the years strenuous efforts have been made by the Secretary-General and his Special Representative, the front-line States, the South West Africa People's Organization, the Organization of African Unity and the Contact Group aimed at bringing about a just and peaceful solution to the Namibian question in accordance

(Sir John Thomson, United Kingdom)

with Security Council resolution 435 (1978). We strongly support these efforts and hope that the Secretary-General's current round of consultations will bear fruit. Meanwhile, the European Community and its Member States will continue their aid to the Namibian people, particularly through their support for the United Nations Institute for Namibia. They reaffirm their readiness to assist in the development of a free and independent Namibia.

The fact of this special session testifies to the importance attached by the international community to the question of Namibia. It is to be hoped that our deliberations will help to open the way for the early implementation of the settlement plan. For our part the Twelve will continue to press South Africa to abide by the clearly expressed decisions of the international community by withdrawing the constitutional arrangements put into effect in 1985 and by terminating its illegal occupation of Namibia, thus allowing Namibians to exercise their right to self-determination and independence.

Mr. ASAMOAH (Ghana): I wish to begin by expressing my delegation's pleasure at seeing you presiding over the special session of the General Assembly on the critical question of Namibia's independence. Your personal contribution to the decolonization effort is a matter of public record, and we hope that under your wise leadership and with your wisdom and sense of justice you will guide these deliberations to positive conclusions. In this daunting task the Ghana delegation pledges its full support.

The reasons for convening this special session of the General Assembly have been eloquently and clearly stated by the representative of the Chairman of the Organization of African Unity. My delegation is honoured and privileged to speak in support of the current Chairman of our regional organization, in the hope that Africa's voice and deep feelings on the question of Namibia will be unmistakably clear.

(Mr. Asamoah, Ghana)

Among the issues that have posed serious challenges to the international community and to this Organization since its creation is the question of independence for Namibia. It constitutes a challenge because it is the sort of problem that the United Nations system was designed to deal with in the search for conditions that would guarantee international peace and security and eliminate the scourge of war. And yet it is eluding solution. There are other ends for which the United Nations was established but which are generally acknowledged to be difficult of solution. There is, for example, the problem of disarmament. Given the power structure of the United Nations, it is understandable that such a problem would take time to resolve. But Namibia is a different issue and our failure to have solved it so far is more damaging to the integrity and authority of this Organization than anything else.

If there was any issue on which there was a general consensus after the First World War, it was the realization of the potential danger to world peace inherent in colonialism. Because of that, the system of the League of Nations and its successor organization, the United Nations, provided for a process of decolonization which has largely worked except in a few cases - notably Namibia.

With the benefit of hindsight, I would say that the greatest error the League of Nations committed was to have tolerated South African control over Namibia. The League failed to realize then the incompatibility of the racism being practised in South Africa with the concept of a mandate. What was worse, it failed to realize that this racism was the forerunner of nazism, which would bring such untold hardship upon the world. Is it any wonder that the racists in Pretoria had Nazi sympathies? The whole world fought to eliminate nazism and the peoples of the third world fought to save Europe from Nazi slavery - only for their brothers in

(Mr. Asamoah, Ghana)

South Africa and Namibia to be left to a cruel fate. What injustice! Emboldened by the failure of the world to end racial injustice at the same time as it ensured the demise of nazism, South Africa refused to place Namibia under the United Nations Trusteeship System and has held on to the Territory ever since, in defiance of all norms of civilized behaviour and in total disregard of the dictates of the concepts of the Mandate under the League of Nations and of Trusteeship under the United Nations System. No impression is made on South Africa by the numerous declarations of the illegality of its conduct, including opinions of the World Court. That is how wars originate, and we must not delude ourselves into thinking that South African conduct does not have that potential.

My delegation believes that the illegality of the South African occupation of Namibia is universally acknowledged even by its friends. However, the need to bring South Africa to its knees, which is within the power of the United Nations, is being challenged. Why? The reasons are many but I would be charitable enough to ignore racist interpretations.

(Mr. Asamoah, Ghana)

What is clear is that the net result is the unexpected erosion of the relevance of the United Nations to the establishment of a peaceful and just world order. Those countries which have contributed to that state of affairs must accept the responsibility for undermining the United Nations system beyond what was inevitable by virtue of its inherent weaknesses. Is it any wonder that we now see a frontal assault on the United Nations system?

Humanity is notorious for its inability to learn the lessons of history. No wonder history repeats itself! The black man may not deserve the support of those who have made it a habit to exploit him for their survival; Africa may not deserve support in the search for black dignity for whatever reasons our detractors can drum up; but we must all appreciate that the struggle for the eradication of apartheid goes beyond those concerns. It is predicated on the need never again to create conditions for a world war. The pursuit of material gains, the emotional support for kith and kin, regardless of the circumstances, and the introduction of ideological considerations into the Namibian situation for selfish strategic reasons threaten the overlooking of this all-important objective.

Conditions in Namibia are intolerable. The obnoxious system of apartheid thrives in the Territory; the country is being laid waste by greedy exploitation of its natural resources by transnational corporations, notwithstanding Decree No.1 for the Protection of the Natural Resources of Namibia, enacted in 1974 by the United Nations Council for Namibia, which has had immediate legal responsibility for the administration of the Territory following the assumption in 1966 by the United Nations of direct responsibility for the Territory; South Africa refuses to accord to the African majority elementary human rights as defined in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and other instruments of the United Nations; and it refuses to prepare the Territory for independence in accordance with the General Assembly Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and

(Mr. Asamoah, Ghana)

Peoples. It is engaged, rather, in savage repression of the efforts of the people, under the guiding leadership of the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO), the sole and authentic representative of the Namibian people, to liberate themselves from such intolerable bondage.

Furthermore, in its efforts to suppress the people of Namibia and South Africa and to control neighbouring independent African States, the racist South African régime engages in invasions, bombardments and subversion. We are all witnesses to the regular incursions into Angola, the illegal occupation of parts of Angola in collaboration with UNITA bandits, the frequent raids into Botswana, Swaziland, Lesotho, Zimbabwe, Zambia and Mozambique and the support given to the bandits in Mozambique. The racist Pretoria régime has systematically developed a powerful military machine with the proceeds of the blood and sweat of the oppressed and despised blacks, and in that endeavour has received the collaboration of another international outlaw - Israel.

In this situation, however noble the motives, constructive engagement will be interpreted - and is interpreted by the racist régime and indeed the world at large - as a measure of political support for the policies of the Pretoria régime. And what else can one think, with overt military support for UNITA rebels in Angola and the introduction of the linkage theory, which has become a veritable obstacle to the implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978), all for spurious ideological considerations and selfish material gains?

That is how the prospect of peaceful change becomes dimmer and dimmer. It is the adamant refusal of the racist Pretoria régime for decades to accept peaceful change that has led to the armed struggle in Namibia, the presence of Cuban troops in Angola and the cycle of violence that is developing in southern Africa.

It is important to emphasize the total aversion of the racist Pretoria régime to meaningful dialogue for peaceful change. It has spurned all overtures from the

(Mr. Asamoah, Ghana)

United Nations; it has refused to negotiate with the nationalists, clamping them in jail and only engaging them in a propaganda exercise in the so-called pre-implementation talks in Geneva in 1981; it is not prepared to implement Security Council resolution 435 (1978), which is universally recognized as the only legitimate basis for the solution of the Namibian problem, instead setting up a puppet régime - the so-called interim administration or transitional government. In short, the racist Pretoria régime is not open to reason. Even the British Prime Minister, perhaps the most reliable friend that South Africa has in the West, has found that out through the missions of the Eminent Persons Group set up by the Commonwealth and through the stark experiences of her Foreign Minister, Sir Geoffrey Howe.

Dialogue with the racist Pretoria régime is not a viable option, and it is easy to understand why constructive engagement is misconceived. Positive action is the only answer. Military force would be ideal, but, failing that, comprehensive economic sanctions must be adopted. Strangely enough, the leaders of certain Western countries still think otherwise, basing themselves on grounds which do not stand up to critical examination. It is pathetic, ironic and tragic that countries such as Portugal should be party to that.

How is it possible to talk of the harmful effects of sanctions on the black population when the freedom and economic emancipation they will enjoy as a result of their being freed from the bondage of apartheid will more than compensate for the hardship they will undergo when sanctions are imposed? Since when have those countries applied themselves assiduously in the interest of black dignity? How can one talk of the ineffectiveness of sanctions when they have not been seriously applied? And how can those concerned avoid allegations of cynicism when they have shown readiness to apply sanctions in other situations - for example, against Poland, Nicaragua, Cuba and Libya? Having realized the hollowness of those

(Mr. Asamoah, Ghana)

arguments, they now emphasize the strategic value of some products from South Africa and the loss of jobs in their countries, as though those strategic materials cannot be obtained elsewhere in the so-called free world, and without appreciating that the loss of jobs would be even more devastating for them in conditions of prolonged armed struggle. Obviously, their economies count far more to them than black dignity.

Even significant segments of the populations of those countries whose Governments engage in such arguments do not believe in the rightness of their case. Individuals, organizations, companies and so on have come to believe in the efficacy of economic sanctions against South Africa and have voluntarily agreed to disinvest from companies operating in South Africa or associated with the racist Pretoria régime. They have further been urging their Governments to take more positive measures.

Ghana acknowledges the contribution of those groups to the establishment of human dignity and is particularly pleased by the positive attitude of the Scandinavian countries and Canada. The United States Congress must also be congratulated on distancing itself from the thinking of the present Administration. It is to be hoped that public opinion will eventually force the Governments of the United States, Britain, West Germany, Portugal and Japan to sever economic links with South Africa. The existence of progressive opinion in several Western countries is a welcome development. The General Assembly should develop strategies for utilizing that body of opinion and enhancing its effectiveness.

It is true that to achieve the demise of apartheid in the shortest possible time sanctions, if agreed upon, must be universally applied. It is for this reason that Ghana views with grave concern the recent visit of the South African Foreign Minister to certain Asian countries. Whatever the reason for that surprising

(Mr. Asamoah, Ghana)

visit, we remind them that the struggle for black dignity is as much a struggle for Africa as it is for their dignity. They should appreciate that in the long run they will be jeopardizing the very economic interests they wish to promote. However hard the choice, Africa, and indeed progressive international opinion, will have to face up to treachery from any quarter and deliver appropriate responses.

(Mr. Asamoah, Ghana)

Because of the paralysis of the Security Council, we can only rely on the Assembly for action, whatever the shortcomings where its powers are concerned. After all, the effectiveness of the sanctions imposed - even if imposed by the Security Council - ultimately depends on the willingness of the States Members of the Organization to enforce them. The Assembly does not suffer from the handicaps of the Security Council. It must order comprehensive economic sanctions against South Africa and create an effective monitoring organ to expose and advise on punitive action against sanctions-busting, as appropriate. At the same time, we must reaffirm earlier United Nations resolutions along those lines.

The sanctions we would urge as vital, some of which may already have been imposed to various degrees, are the following:

First, an embargo against arms sales to South Africa, including the sale of any strategic equipment or technology for arms manufacture, prohibition on work in the arms industry of South Africa by nationals of Member States and prohibition on imports of arms from South Africa;

Secondly, an embargo against the sale of oil to South Africa, including the sale of equipment for oil prospecting and development and provision of technology in that connection, prohibition on work in the South African oil industry by nationals of Member States and prohibition on technical assistance in the development of alternative sources of energy;

Thirdly, the banning of all ships of all nations from calling at South African and Namibian ports and prohibition on South African ships from calling at the ports of Member States, any ship disregarding such prohibitions to be liable to seizure by any State as a prize of war;

Fourthly, the cessation of flights to and from South Africa and the prevention of South African whites from entering into the territories of Member States;

(Mr. Asamoah, Ghana)

Fifthly, a ban on the operation of transnational corporations in Namibia and the boycott of the goods of any corporation that continues to so operate;

Sixthly, a call upon the workers of all nations to refrain from handling imports from or exports to South Africa.

In addition to those measures, we must recognize the validity of armed struggle so long as the racist régime continues to refuse to grant independence to Namibia and, in this regard, we must recognize the need for material and diplomatic support for SWAPO.

I should like to conclude my statement by placing on record my country's appreciation for the useful work being done by the United Nations Council for Namibia. Perhaps its role could be expanded to include the all-important task of monitoring compliance with the decisions we will take at the conclusion of these proceedings.

Mr. ADAMISHIN (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (interpretation from Russian): Mr. President, the Soviet delegation would like to associate itself with the good wishes that have been addressed to you and to express its confidence that, under your guidance, the work of the present session will be brought to a successful conclusion.

For the third time this year the States Members of the United Nations, meeting in their authoritative forum, are specifically addressing the question of Namibia. The world community continues to refuse to reconcile itself to the illegal occupation of Namibia and is indignant at the violence being carried out against its people. The legitimate question that has been heard many times in this Hall is: what purpose do the existing elementary norms of international law and order serve? South Africa and its protectors can be sure that political pressure against them - and this is also the purpose underlying the current special session - will continue and that their moral isolation in the world will be intensified.

(Mr. Adamishin, USSR)

In the course of the many years of struggling for their freedom, thousands of Namibian patriots have fallen victim to South Africa's military clique. Those Namibian losses are fully comparable, in terms of percentage, to the United States loss of life in the Second World War. Such losses better express the tragedy of the Namibian people than do any words.

The ground is burning beneath the boots of the colonialists in Namibia; the foundations of racism in South Africa are trembling and the wave of anti-apartheid sentiment is rising. Yet there is but one answer from Pretoria: foolhardy reliance on armed force. Violence has increased in every sector, from the massacres of its own people within the country to aggressive attacks against its neighbours. A real war is being waged against Angola, using the territory of Namibia as a springboard. All this has drawn the conflict situation in southern Africa into a tight knot and threatens international peace and security.

The responsibility of those who support South Africa's policy of State-sponsored terrorism is great. That support is based upon a long-standing weakness for the wealth of others. The accomplices of the racists are voraciously plundering Namibia's resources, and there is reason to fear that by the time Namibia achieves independence - and that time will inexorably come - the country may find itself with empty coffers. Then, those who participated in the plunder, those who tried to perpetuate their colonial domination, will reproach the Namibians for their inability to organize their economy.

It is a political truism that South Africa's rulers could not so brazenly defy international public opinion were it not for the conniving posture of the United States and Great Britain, along with some other countries. The two aforementioned countries systematically veto resolutions containing effective measures specifically provided by the United Nations Charter against those who fail to obey Security Council decisions.

(Mr. Adamishin, USSR)

South Africa is blackmailing certain circles in the United States with the "communist threat" and is playing on their ideological narrowmindedness, while it is fact pursuing its own purely selfish goals.

The demand for a boycott against South Africa - demonstrated by the work of this special session as well - has certainly not been dropped from the agenda. It was once again reiterated at the World Conference on Sanctions against Racist South Africa and by the International Conference for the Immediate Independence of Namibia. The Security Council must now impose comprehensive mandatory sanctions against South Africa under Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter.

The Soviet Union also supports another demand being made by African and non-aligned States, namely, that vigorous efforts be made to achieve a political settlement of the Namibian problem. There is an internationally accepted basis for this in the form of a whole series of United Nations decisions, including Security Council resolutions 385 (1976) and 435 (1978). I would stress that resolutions adopted by the Security Council, as is well known, are binding upon all.

(Mr. Adamishin, USSR)

The United States, however, has taken a different approach - that of constructive engagement with South Africa. It is obvious that all of this fits into a broader framework - that of the policy of neo-globalism, imperialist arrogance, the intimidation of national liberation movements and open interference in the internal affairs of sovereign States.

The United States is deliberately pursuing a policy of delaying independence for Namibia. That is the point of the various types of linkages put forward by Washington. Indeed, it is perfectly justified that the special appeal on Namibia adopted at the Eighth Summit Conference of Non-Aligned Countries at Harare puts forward first and foremost a demand to the United States Administration that it desist from linking the independence of Namibia to the withdrawal of Cuban internationalists from Angola.

A double standard can clearly be seen yet once again in United States policy - one standard for the United States and another for everyone else. When the United States maintains troops in dozens of countries, this is to be viewed as legal. But when Cuba, at the request of the legitimate Government of Angola, helps that country's people to repel aggression, then that is a thorn in the side of the United States.

But it is not only a question of double standard; it is also a matter of double dealing. Official Washington does not hesitate to pretend that it does not approve of everything taking place in South Africa - after all, the posture of a champion of human rights does entail certain obligations. But when it comes to doing something real in terms of calling South Africa to order, then they excuse themselves. However, it is a specific feature of the current stage reached in the policy of other Western countries as well, and a specific feature of the current stage of international development as such, that each State must show itself for what it is. People today are sufficiently mature politically to see someone's true worth and to distinguish hypocrisy from genuine political motives.

(Mr. Adamishin, USSR)

The Soviet Union fully understands the actions of independent Africa, which at its highest conference - the assembly of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) - has strongly condemned all types of linkage as well as direct American assistance to UNITA mercenaries who are conducting subversive activities against the legitimate Government of Angola.

The Soviet Union's position in regard to southern Africa stems from our general policy of peace, détente and the protection of peoples' legitimate rights. Just as in the past we did not, and still do not, have colonies in Africa, today, too, the Soviet Union, in Africa as in other regions of the world, is not pursuing any specific interests which would go beyond the bounds of the legitimate demands of African States struggling against colonialism and racism and for the elimination of apartheid, as well as for genuine independence - not only political, but economic independence.

Our country proposes that the international community discuss the concept of a comprehensive system of international security. We believe that this is an example of new political thinking, grounded in the realities of a nuclear and space age. At the forty-first session of the United Nations General Assembly, the socialist countries are introducing the question of initiating the establishment of such a system. A major element of its structure should be unconditional respect for the right of each people to choose, in a sovereign manner, the ways and forms of its development, respect for the rights of each and every individual and a just political settlement of regional crises, such as the one that has been evolving in southern Africa.

(Mr. Adamishin, USSR)

In that region, too, our position is in full accord with the principled course adopted by the Twenty-Seventh Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, of defusing conflict situations in the world through negotiation. One of the most important elements of the Soviet position is the demand for the immediate granting of a genuine rather than fictitious independence to Namibia. To that end, it is necessary that we make full use of the capabilities of the United Nations. In our view, those capabilities are considerable.

The Soviet Union takes seriously United Nations decisions regarding moral and material assistance to those peoples fighting against colonialism, racism and apartheid. We thus firmly support the struggle being waged by the Namibian people for self-determination, under the leadership of the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO), its sole legitimate representative. This is also the basis for our assistance to the front-line States, which are the victims of aggressive onslaughts. This is a struggle for historical justice, for national justice and for social justice. It is a struggle worthy of human dignity.

As it has been stated and emphasized at the highest level, in the speech by the General Secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Mikhail Gorbachev, the Soviet Union is prepared, together with all interested parties who are genuinely working for freedom, justice and peace in southern Africa, to proceed immediately to the working out of appropriate measures. People of all races, both in South Africa and in Namibia, should live in peace, equality and harmony. The Soviet delegation will do everything in its power to ensure that the current special session takes clear-cut decisions to bring about unconditional independence for Namibia.

Mr. WU Xueqian (China) (interpretation from Chinese): First of all, Sir, please allow me to express warm congratulations to you on your assumption of the presidency of the current special session of the United Nations General Assembly. I sincerely hope that under your guidance and with the joint efforts of all the delegations this session will yield positive results.

The emergence and continued upsurge of Africa's national liberation movement after the Second World War was an event of great historical significance. The vast majority of the African countries which suffered prolonged enslavement and oppression under the rule of imperialism and colonialism have, through arduous struggles, won their political independence one after another, thus putting an end once and for all to the era of colonialism. Today, the African countries and peoples are marching with pride and confidence into a new historical stage in the development of their national economy and the consolidation of their political independence. They are playing an increasingly important role in maintaining world peace, furthering international co-operation and promoting common progress.

However, although colonialism as a system has already been dumped in the ash-heap of human history, its remnants, to our great indignation, have not disappeared completely from the world arena. While practising apartheid at home, the South African authorities have clung stubbornly to their colonial rule over Namibia up to the present day, that is, the eighties of the 20th century. As early as 20 years ago, the twenty-first session of the United Nations General Assembly adopted a resolution announcing the termination of South Africa's Mandate over Namibia so as to let the people of Namibia enjoy their sacred and inalienable rights to self-determination and independence. Eight years have elapsed since the adoption of Security Council resolution 435 (1978), which has been widely accepted by the international community as the basis for settling the question of Namibia. But, to maintain their vested interests, the South African authorities have

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continued their illegal occupation of Namibia, in defiance of the strong demand of the Namibian people and African countries as well as all the countries and peoples in the world that uphold justice.

The South African authorities have all along turned a deaf ear to the relevant resolutions of the United Nations General Assembly and the Security Council. They sometimes go back on their own words or deliberately create obstacles and pretexts for refusing to implement these resolutions. While intensifying their brutal suppression of the Namibian people's struggle for national independence, they have in recent years pressed ahead with the policy of so-called internal settlement in Namibia and established a "transitional government" so as to sow discord and undermine the Namibian people's unity in an attempt to perpetuate South Africa's illegal occupation of Namibia. The South African authorities have also grossly violated the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the front-line States in southern Africa by blatant military threat, armed invasion and economic pressure, trying to force them to abandon their support for the just struggle of the people of Namibia and South Africa. The perverse acts of the South African authorities have seriously undermined peace and stability of southern Africa and constitute a threat to world peace and security.

At present, a major obstacle to Namibia's independence is the so-called linkage formula, that is, the linking of Namibia's independence with the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola. As is known to all, the "linkage" formula is, in fact, an attempt by the South African authorities deliberately to create confusion and to find a pretext for delaying the implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978). The Namibian people, the African countries and the international community have categorically rejected and sternly condemned this formula, and most Western countries have also explicitly expressed their

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disapproval. It should be pointed out that the realization of Namibia's independence is one thing, while the solution to the question of the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola is another. Linking them together will only further complicate the question of Namibia's independence and prolong and deepen the sufferings of the Namibian people.

Over a long period of time the Namibian people have waged unrelenting struggles against the South African authorities' illegal rule and to win national independence. Under the leadership of the South West Africa People's Organization, they have strengthened their unity, overcome numerous difficulties, continuously tried and carried out various forms of struggle in line with their national conditions and made significant headways in many fields. They have thus created a very favourable political situation in their struggle for national independence.

The struggle of the Namibian people is an important component part of the southern African people's struggle against South Africa's racism. It is also inseparable from the cause of the peoples of all countries of safeguarding world peace. The Namibian people's just struggle has won not only powerful support from the front-line States and other African countries, but also increasingly broader sympathy and support from the international community. In order to support the Namibian and South African peoples in their just cause, the front-line African States have withstood enormous pressure and made great national sacrifice. I should like to take this opportunity to express my heartfelt admiration for the lofty spirit of militant unity displayed by these countries.

Both the recent twenty-second summit meeting of the Organization of African Unity and the Eighth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries stressed the question of southern Africa in their deliberations and reiterated in explicit terms their firm support for the just struggles of the

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Namibian and South African peoples. Bodies such as the United Nations Council for Namibia have also done a large amount of useful work in mobilizing the support of the international community for the struggle of the Namibian people. At present, a new high tide on a global scale is surging in the movement in support of the just struggles of the Namibian and South African peoples and in opposition to the racist policy and colonial rule of the South African authorities. More isolated than ever before, the South African authorities have become the target of public condemnation. This fully testifies to the truth of the Chinese saying that a just cause enjoys abundant support while an unjust cause finds little support. The situation is developing increasingly in favour of the Namibian people in their struggle for victory. It is the trend of the times and the common desire of the people to effect a prompt and just settlement of the Namibian question and bring about independence for Namibia in accordance with the relevant General Assembly and Security Council resolutions. Any attempt to resist this historical trend is doomed to complete failure.

The Chinese and African peoples have shared similar experiences in the past. In the common struggle we have all along sympathized with and supported each other and have forged a profound friendship. It has always been and will continue to be a basic national policy of the Chinese Government to strengthen its solidarity and co-operation with African countries and support the African peoples' struggles. Whether in their struggles to oppose imperialism, colonialism and racism and win and safeguard national independence or in their post-independence struggle to develop the national economy and achieve economic independence, the Chinese Government and people have stood steadfastly by the African countries and peoples and provided them with assistance and support to the best of our capability. On the other hand, the Chinese Government and people have always highly evaluated and deeply appreciated the help and support the African countries and peoples have extended us in international affairs and economic development.

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I would like to reiterate here that the Chinese Government and people firmly support the Namibian people in their struggle for national independence and support the just struggle of the South African people for racial equality and the struggle of the independent countries in southern Africa to safeguard their State sovereignty and security. The South African authorities must totally renounce their policies of colonialism, racism and destabilization of the neighbouring countries, immediately and unconditionally implement resolution 435 (1978) of the Security Council, and put an end to their illegal occupation of Namibia so that the Namibian people can achieve national independence according to their own will.

We hold that the international community should exert greater pressure on the South African authorities while providing more effective political, moral and material support to the Namibian people. It is our hope that all countries in the world will uphold justice, respect the will of the Namibian people and take actions and measures which are conducive to the independence of Namibia and relaxation of tension in southern Africa. We propose that while strongly condemning once again the South African authorities for their obduracy, this special session should, in response to the universal demands and opinions of the international community, urge the Security Council to apply effective sanctions against the South African authorities in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter of the United Nations.

The cause of national independence of the Namibian people is a just one, which will surely triumph despite difficulties and obstacles on the road ahead. Unity means strength, and unity ensures victory. With the strong support of the African countries and the international community, the people of Namibia will ultimately win their national independence and freedom, so long as they strengthen unity among all the patriots, win over all the forces that can be won over to form the broadest

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united front against the South African colonial rule, adopt policies and guidelines suited to the present stage of the struggle and carry out diversified forms of struggle.

Mr. AL-ATASSI (Syrian Arab Republic) (interpretation from Arabic): The head of my delegation to the forty-first session of the General Assembly, who is also the Foreign Minister, will congratulate you formally, Sir, on your unanimous election to the presidency of this special session. In the meantime, I simply wish to congratulate you personally on your assumption of that high office.

There is no doubt that the question of the independence of Namibia has become the main concern of the international community. The deteriorating situation in Namibia resulting from its continued illegal occupation by the Pretoria régime constitutes a threat to international peace and security in the region and an increasing threat to world peace. The persistence of this situation increases the turmoil in the region and the resultant suffering of the people of the Territory, who are struggling against one of the most oppressive régimes in the world for freedom, independence and sovereignty in their national homeland, under the leadership of the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO), their sole legitimate representative.

I should like to take this opportunity to reaffirm the solidarity of my country, Government and people with SWAPO in its struggle for freedom and independence. The world has become aware of the dangers inherent in the continued illegal occupation of Namibia and the scourge it represents for the inhabitants of the Territory and neighbouring States.

The Security Council adopted resolution 435 (1978), including the United Nations plan for the independence of Namibia, the basis of which is the ending of South Africa's illegal occupation of Namibia and the transfer of power to the legitimate representatives of the Namibian people.

(Mr. Al-Atassi, Syrian Arab Republic)

The racist Pretoria régime opposes that plan. It has obstructed its implementation either by establishing the so-called transitional government in Windhoek or by resorting to other means. The attempt to link the implementation of resolution 435 (1978), which calls for the immediate independence of the Territory, with other extraneous issues which are totally irrelevant to the letter and spirit of the resolution - for example, the withdrawal of Cuban forces from Angola - is a barefaced effort by the régime to perpetuate its presence and its occupation of the Territory. The attempt to obstruct and circumvent the resolutions of the highest international authority pose a clear and public challenge to the authority and credibility of this Organization.

My delegation firmly believes that the Pretoria régime would not have been able to challenge the authority of this international Organization had it not been for the continued support and constant co-operation provided by the United States of America, its strategic ally, and the constructive engagement policy that ally pursues. By providing continued support on all levels - economic, political, military and nuclear - the United States challenges not only the will of the international community but this Organization and tries to obstruct the implementation of its resolutions.

The support given by the United States to the racist régime and its policy of constructive co-operation with Pretoria have encouraged that régime to refuse to implement Security Council resolution 435 (1978) and to continue to ignore the will of the international community.

The opposition of some Western delegations to the imposition of sanctions against the racist régime of Pretoria encourages that régime to continue to occupy Namibia and to deplete its natural and human resources, with the participation of multinational corporations. That opposition is equivalent to supporting the

(Mr. Al-Atassi, Syrian Arab Republic)

aggressive racist policies against the peoples of South Africa and Namibia and the front-line African States.

The strongest factor that helps the racist régime in Pretoria to perpetuate its occupation of Namibia and consolidate its brutal oppression of the struggling people is the close co-operation between that régime and the Zionist racist régime in occupied Palestine in the economic, military and nuclear fields and the strategic and military co-ordination between the two régimes in suppressing the people of Namibia and the people of Palestine. This co-operation consolidates apartheid in South Africa.

(Mr. Al-Atassi, Syrian Arab Republic)

The settler colonial racist and Fascist régime in occupied Palestine is the twin of the Fascist racist régime in South Africa. Both receive the support of the master of imperialism and believe in one creed - the supremacy of one people over another. Both threaten the stability, security and safety of the Arab and African peoples.

We meet here today in this fourteenth special session on Namibia to discuss the measures that could be taken against the racist régime in South Africa, especially in view of the fact that the Security Council has failed to formulate a solution in accordance with the provisions of the Charter and international law, while the racist régime continues its practices and prevarications, thus obstructing the implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978). We believe that the only meaningful solution that Pretoria would understand would be the implementation of Chapter VII of the Charter, namely, the imposition of mandatory comprehensive sanctions against South Africa and its regional and international isolation.

My delegation, which had the honour to participate in the Paris International Conference on sanctions against South Africa, in the International Conference for the Immediate Independence of Namibia, held in Vienna in July and in the Eighth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held in Harare, calls on the members of the international community to implement the recommendations contained in the Declarations of Paris, Vienna and Harare and for the implementation of the Vienna Plan of Action on Namibia. These recommendations, among other things, reaffirm support for the inalienable right of the people of Namibia to self-determination and national independence within a unified Namibia. They also included a restatement that the illegal occupation by South Africa of Namibia is an act of aggression against the Namibian people and call on South

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Africa to withdraw immediately and unconditionally from Namibian Territory. They further confirm the legitimacy of the struggle of the people of Namibia by using all available means, including armed struggle, to confront the aggression of South Africa.

The continued illegal occupation of Namibia by the racist régime more than two decades after the termination by the United Nations of South Africa's mandate over the Territory and the consequent assumption by the Organization of direct responsibility for Namibia, can no longer be tolerated. The illegitimate occupation and the repression, and the military operations against the Namibian people and its national liberation movement, constitute not only an insult to the United Nations but also an act of aggression against it.

The Declarations also call for international action to avert an increased threat to peace in southern Africa, and for the bringing of more pressure to bear on the South African régime by providing more assistance to the oppressed people, so that Namibian independence can be achieved without further delay, in conformity with the relevant General Assembly and Security Council resolutions, particularly Security Council resolution 435 (1978).

On this occasion, my delegation would like to pay a tribute to Mr. Javier Perez de Cuellar, the Secretary-General, and to Mr. Najmuddine Rifai, the Secretary-General of the International Conference for the Immediate Independence of Namibia, for their unremitting efforts and those of their assistants, to ensure a successful conclusion to the Conference.

The Syrian Arab Republic condemns all forms of military co-operation and nuclear collaboration with South Africa, and views with grave concern the consolidation of the military might of South Africa in the Territory of Namibia and the use of the Territory as a spring-board for acts of aggression against

(Mr. Al-Atassi, Syrian Arab Republic)

neighbouring States. It also condemns the attempts to crush the legitimate struggle of the People's Army for the Liberation of Namibia, the military arm of the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO). We believe that a continuation of this situation will further increase tension and broaden confrontation and thus lead to a more volatile situation in the region.

The Syrian Arab Republic condemns acts of aggression, destabilization and sabotage and the policy of State terrorism constantly pursued by the racist régime against the sovereign regions of front-line and other neighbouring States in an attempt to topple their legitimate Governments. The Syrian Arab Republic calls upon the international community to shoulder all its responsibilities, and to confront these acts of aggression.

We, too, are in the front-line, in confrontation with another fascist régime in occupied Palestine, and we reiterate once again our full support for the struggle of the Namibian people to attain its immediate independence. We also reiterate our support for the front-line States in their resistance to aggression.

Mr. TURKMEN (Turkey): Sir, before long the Head of the Turkish delegation to the forty-first session will convey my Government's congratulations on your election to the presidency of the forty-first session of the General Assembly. Let me say, however, how happy my delegation is to see the Foreign Minister of Bangladesh, a friendly country with which Turkey enjoys fraternal relations, presiding over our deliberations on Namibia. We are confident that your outstanding diplomatic abilities and rich experience will promote a successful conclusion to this significant debate.

The decision of the General Assembly to hold a special session on the question of Namibia is certainly a further demonstration of the importance that the international community attaches to this burning issue. It is also a new step to

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bring mounting international pressure to bear on South Africa to induce it to terminate its illegal occupation of the Territory in defiance of the relevant United Nations decisions and resolutions. This special session will voice the aspirations of the international community for the earliest possible settlement of this long-standing problem.

Since the General Assembly terminated the mandate of South Africa over Namibia approximately 20 years ago many international conferences have been held on Namibian independence. The latest Conference for the Immediate Independence of Namibia, held in Vienna this year, sent a clear message of support for the justifiable aspirations of the Namibian people to self-determination and independence, and called for the immediate and unconditional implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978). My Government subscribes to the main thrust of the final document adopted at the end of this international Conference. This must be seen as a further indication of the urgency which the international community attaches to taking decisive action on the critical situation in Namibia. The concerns of the international community stem from the very fact that the policies and practices of the South African Government pose a serious threat both to southern Africa in particular and to international peace and security in general.

We all know that it is very rare for the majority of the international community to concur on the terms of a settlement of an international conflict such as the question of Namibia. The immediate and unconditional implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978), which was adopted unanimously, constitutes therefore the only universally acceptable basis for a peaceful solution to the Namibian question. Yet, South Africa grasps at any pretext to perpetuate its illegal interests, to the detriment of the justifiable aspirations of the Namibian people and the wish of the whole world.

(Mr. Turkmen, Turkey)

It is evident that in the absence of effective international action the Namibian people has no other choice but to continue its determined struggle for independence. In this respect the Turkish nation feels solidarity with the people of Namibia in their struggle for national independence, under the guidance of SWAPO, which the General Assembly has recognized as the sole and authentic representative of the Namibian people. Turkey has always profoundly admired the patience, flexibility and common sense which SWAPO has displayed on various occasions. The support of Turkey for the justified cause of the Namibian people is and will remain unswerving.

There will be neither stability nor a genuine peace in southern Africa as long as the Namibian people do not enjoy their right to self-determination and independence, while South Africa continues impudently to maintain its presence there, pursuing, as was the case recently, its military activities and aggression beyond the frontiers of Namibia, reaching into the territories of neighbouring countries.

Turkey strongly condemns the illegal presence of South Africa in Namibia and the attacks it carries out against neighbouring countries. We can only stigmatize the persistent efforts of South Africa to impose in Namibia an "internal solution" through the establishment of a puppet administration in allegiance with South Africa. Last year, after having established such an administration in Namibia, South Africa in fact turned further away from any negotiating process.

All the provisions of Security Council resolution 435 (1978) have been accepted by the parties concerned. Yet the value of the communication conveyed to the Secretary-General by South Africa on 3 March 1986 regarding the date of the commencement of the settlement plan contained in resolution 435 (1978) has been reduced to nil, since South Africa continues to insist on irrelevant and extraneous issues as pre-conditions. We are glad to note that the vast majority of the

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international community rejects this stand, which is completely incompatible with the letter and spirit of the Security Council resolution. Since the question of Namibia is merely a decolonization issue, efforts to present it as an East-West conflict and the insistence on linking the independence of Namibia to unrelated issues should be abandoned immediately.

On this occasion I wish to reiterate how much my Government appreciates the tireless efforts of the Secretary-General for the attainment of an equitable and peaceful solution of the Namibian question. We associate ourselves entirely with the response that the Secretary-General gave on 12 June 1986 to the South African side. In view of the intransigence and lack of good will of the South African authorities, the response of the Secretary-General reflects a firm stand in conformity with resolution 435 (1978).

Although as a decolonization issue the Namibian problem is by its nature different from the question of apartheid, the two issues interact upon each other and require strong and determined pressure on the South African régime and cohesive and credible policies on the part of those who can and should exert such pressure. On the other hand, it should be borne in mind that the implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978) at this stage and the emergence of a united, sovereign and independent Namibia will constitute major progress for peace in Africa. It will prove that peaceful processes undertaken within the framework of the United Nations work and provide an atmosphere more conducive to the initiation of a dialogue in South Africa itself to eliminate apartheid.

There have been recently certain steps undertaken by certain Governments and legislatures. While they go in the right direction, these measures are not at present adequate to ensure the necessary impact on the South African Government.

In the specific case of Namibia we believe that it is up to the Security Council to take the initiative without delay, to adopt a clear and forceful

(Mr. Turkmen, Turkey)

position and prove its readiness to resort to coercive measures, including, if necessary, those provided under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations if South Africa continues its intransigence and defiance of the world community.

For our part, my country made its choice a long time ago. Turkey maintains no diplomatic or consular relations with South Africa and does not support it in any way, economically, militarily or otherwise.

Turkey will continue its policy towards South Africa in conformity with the relevant resolutions and decisions of the Security Council and the General Assembly. As a founding Member, Turkey will continue firmly to support all the efforts of the United Nations Council for Namibia in discharging its responsibilities as the legal Administering Authority for Namibia.

In conclusion, I wish to reaffirm the unconditional support of the Turkish Government for the efforts being made for the independence of Namibia. Turkey believes in the final victory of the just cause of the people of Namibia. With this confidence and in this spirit we shall continue to support the struggle of the Namibian people for their national independence.

Mr. FERM (Sweden): Mr. President, the head of the Swedish delegation, my Foreign Minister, will convey to you our congratulations when he addresses the Assembly next week. However, I cannot fail personally to congratulate you today on your election as President of this body. We are particularly pleased to see you presiding over our work.

This special session serves as an important reminder of the serious and deteriorating developments in and around Namibia and the urgent need for the international community to rectify this situation. We must not allow the question of Namibia to be forgotten because of the lack of news regarding the implementation of the plan for the independence of Namibia. The limited access of foreign news media to Namibia and the censorship placed on reporting from there also enhance the danger of international forgetfulness.

(Mr. Ferm, Sweden)

The people of Namibia are suffering under the continued brutal occupation of their country and are rightfully outraged by the fact that the United Nations plan has not yet been implemented. This frustration was eloquently spelt out by the representative of SWAPO here yesterday. My Government strongly shares those sentiments.

Namibia is certainly the most urgent decolonization problem outstanding. Furthermore, the people of Namibia are subject to the abhorrent system of apartheid through South Africa's illegal occupation of Namibia; and South Africa is using Namibia as a springboard for its terrorist and military actions against neighbouring States, in particular against Angola. South Africa's policy relating to Namibia thus constitutes a serious threat to international peace and security.

(Mr. Ferm, Sweden)

My Government wishes to express its great appreciation for the untiring efforts of the Secretary-General and his Special Representative to have Security Council resolution 435 (1978) implemented and for their active dedication in trying to find ways to achieve this goal through negotiations. Their commitment to Namibia's independence is of great value in promoting the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter.

Reason, fairness, international law and dialogue have obviously not persuaded the Government in Pretoria. Nor have condemnations of the South African policies proved to be sufficient to attain needed change. The United Nations Charter prescribes in its Chapter VII the measures to be taken against the defiant South African Government in order to restore international peace and security. My Government considers effective measures - including mandatory sanctions decided upon by the Security Council - imperative if South Africa is to be made to accept the United Nations plan for a speedy implementation.

The Security Council, in its important resolution 566 (1985) of 19 June 1985, strongly warned South Africa that failure to co-operate with the United Nations to implement its Namibia plan:

"... would compel the ... Council to meet forthwith to consider the adoption of appropriate measures under the Charter, including Chapter VII ...".

Taking into account the South African Government's continued refusal to implement the plan, as demonstrated in its latest letter to the Secretary-General, my Government finds it only logical for the Security Council to take such measures. The failure of the Security Council so far to take action is a matter of grave concern to us. The Security Council must live up to its role as the primary organ of the United Nations responsible for the maintenance of international peace and security. Indeed, the credibility of the Council and the United Nations is at

(Mr. Ferm, Sweden)

stake. The permanent members of the Security Council have a historic opportunity to bring this important matter closer to its long-awaited solution.

My Government strongly condemns the continued attacks by South Africa against Angola, and the training, arming and financing of UNITA forces. The assistance to UNITA has the obvious aim of destabilizing Angola and makes the solution of the Namibian issue even more difficult.

My Government firmly rejects all attempts to introduce extraneous issues into Security Council resolution 435 (1978). Such an issue is the condition that the Cuban forces should be withdrawn from Angola before the implementation of the plan for Namibia can start. This pre-condition has rightly been rejected by the Security Council.

Pending effective measures to make South Africa co-operate in the immediate implementation of the United Nations plan, the international community should respect the rights and interests of the Namibian people. The provisions of Decree No. 1 for the Protection of the Natural Resources of Namibia should be observed. All foreign exploitation of Namibia's natural resources, including its maritime resources, should thus be halted. To that effect an international ban on imports of uranium from Namibia should be universally applied. Furthermore, we support the demand to establish a 200-mile exclusive economic zone for Namibia as soon as possible. Meanwhile, we urgently appeal to those foreign economic interests and States now engaged in the exploitation of natural resources there - whether mineral or animal, and including offshore fishing - to respect the interests of the Namibian people and to ensure that these resources are not further depleted. Sweden for its part has already taken measures to this effect.

(Mr. Ferm, Sweden)

It is also essential that the international community, in addition to the measures mentioned earlier, intensifies its concrete support to the Namibian people and to the States of the region that are victims of destabilization and aggression by South Africa. In this context my Government would like to stress in particular the need for extending increased support to the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO). Sweden has been providing humanitarian assistance to SWAPO ever since 1970. This fiscal year our contributions to the various health, food, education, transport and information projects exceed \$8 million.

The United Nations has a direct responsibility to assist the people of Namibia. An invaluable role is played by the Council for Namibia and the Commissioner for Namibia in that context. We should all support our Organization in its efforts to fulfil these obligations. My Government appeals to all Member States, in particular to those which have not done so, to increase their contributions to the various United Nations programmes for Namibians, especially to the United Nations Fund for Namibia. In our view, it is not reasonable that more than 70 per cent of all government contributions to the Fund come from the Nordic countries alone, as is now the case.

This special session of the General Assembly on Namibia should send a clear and strong signal to the South African Government. It must accept without further delay a peaceful transition through democratic means, in accordance with the universally accepted United Nations plan. Otherwise South Africa will find itself confronted with stronger pressures, economic and other, from the international community in accordance with its obligation under the United Nation Charter. It is my Government's fervent hope that the South African Government, in its own interest, will realise that those are the two alternatives.

(Mr. Fern, Sweden)

A concerted international action to have the United Nations plan implemented now would do a historic service to the Namibian people and, indeed, an invaluable contribution to the strengthening of the United Nations, its purposes and principles. The people of Namibia should not have to wait any longer for their independence. Their legitimate aspirations for freedom and independence cannot be silenced. The international community has a direct and unique responsibility to fulfil here. We know our objective. We have the means to act. We should also have the necessary political will to do so - now.

Mr. ALBAN-HOLGUIN (Colombia) (interpretation from Spanish): On behalf of the Colombian delegation, I should like to convey to you, Sir, our warmest congratulations on your election to preside over the fourteenth special session of the General Assembly. Your vast experience, recognized diplomatic expertise, and continued personal dedication, as well as that of Bangladesh, your country, to the Namibian cause make you particularly well-suited to preside over these deliberations.

A clear demonstration of the importance that the international community attaches to the "Question of Namibia" is the holding of this fourteenth special session of the United Nations General Assembly, devoted exclusively to a new and, we hope, final boost to the international efforts to speed up the implementation of the provisions of Security Council resolutions and decide on the procedure to ensure their implementation.

(Mr. Alban-Holquin, Columbia)

The repeated recounting here of the tragic path the Namibian people has been forced to follow for more than a century of heroic resistance against repression and domination is unnecessary, for we are all familiar with it; it is for all of us a continuing and painful problem. But we cannot fail to insist on the imperative need to increase the efforts of the international community to bring about a rapid settlement. Namibia is the legal and direct responsibility of the United Nations, and it is up to the Organization urgently to implement its plan for the Territory's independence. In particular the Security Council should without delay exercise the authority with which it has been entrusted.

Twenty years have passed since the end of South Africa's Mandate over Namibia, and it is eight years since Security Council resolution 435 (1978), which contains the plan for independence, was adopted without opposition. None the less the question of Namibia remains among the principal items on the United Nations agenda, and it is a problem that affects all its Members. With a unanimity very seldom seen, the world Organization has loudly called for the immediate independence of Namibia. There is verbal consensus, but it has not been translated into effective action. What are the obstacles? What is impeding the inevitable conclusion of the decolonization process in Africa? Only the exceptional intransigence of the heinous Pretoria régime and its persistent refusal to respect the dispositions of the world body. But this situation cannot continue. There can be no further delay. The people of Namibia must be enabled to exercise its right to self-determination. The whole world is committed to the cause of justice and human dignity, and it demands immediate Namibian independence.

It was hoped that 1986 would not end without very definite progress being made in the process of achieving independence for the Territory, but that hope has been frustrated by South Africa's stubbornness, which has made impossible its fulfilment by the international community.

(Mr. Alban-Holquin, Colombia)

As the Secretary-General of the United Nations has informed us, the questions that were still pending before implementation of the Security Council resolution, with regard to the results achieved in 1985, concerned agreements on the electoral system. That would have opened up the way for the Secretary-General to urge South Africa to set as early a date as possible for a cease-fire and implementation of the resolution.

The United Nations Council for Namibia, to which Colombia has the honour to belong, in its capacity as the legal Administering Authority of the Territory, continues to make immense and praiseworthy efforts to carry out the difficult task for which it was created, and it will not flinch in its efforts to ensure that it can fully carry out the mandate it has been given.

In the course of the present year various international bodies have continued to give special attention to the cause of Namibia. At the beginning of the month of June the International Conference for the Immediate Independence of Namibia was held in Vienna. The very title fully reflects the aim of the international community in this regard. That Conference led to a Declaration and a Programme of Action that in the main represent a decision to redouble our efforts.

The twenty-second ordinary session of the Assembly of Heads of State or Government of the Organization of African Unity, which met in Addis Ababa at the end of July last, and the Eighth Conference of the Heads of State or Government of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, held in Harare at the beginning of this month, devoted very significant parts of their final documentation to the question of Namibia.

Individually and collectively, at the level of government, legislative bodies, non-governmental organizations, academic institutions, religious associations and undertakings of various kinds, and with the participation of all sectors, the

(Mr. Alban-Holguin, Colombia)

sectors, the nations of the world have spoken out in favour of Namibian independence and called for energetic action to do away with the execrable crime of apartheid.

All these efforts have led to an increase in momentum and rhythm that should not only be continued but accelerated. They should inevitably lead to the attainment of the goals that have been set. It is true that as a result of a series of well-known factors the problem of Namibia is closely linked to the overall situation in southern Africa, and South Africa's refusal to co-operate in the implementation of the United Nations plan is deeply rooted in its apartheid policy. But it is equally true that the question of Namibia has its own identity and inherent special characteristics that should make it possible for it to be solved more quickly than the broader, more complex problem of South Africa. The international action of great magnitude that has been set in motion to bring about the elimination of the abhorrent system of apartheid must proceed in parallel with the achievement of the paramount goal of Namibian independence.

The determined support of the Government and the people of Colombia for the cause of the Namibian people is constant and unalterable. My delegation renews its commitment to co-operate in every way within its power speedily to obtain genuine independence for Namibia. In this respect my Government reiterates that Namibia must achieve its independence with its national unity and territory intact - including Walvis Bay and all the islands that are part of its territory.

Similarly, we once again voice our concern with regard to the protection of the Territory's natural resources, which constitute the heritage of the Namibian people and represent the backbone for its stable development as an independent country. The United Nations Council for Namibia has already initiated implementation of Decree No. 1, aimed at protecting natural resources on land, and it must now proceed to adopt the appropriate measures, both legislative and other,

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to protect and safeguard the tremendous wealth Namibia possesses in its marine areas, which will also be of vital importance for its future.

Colombia once again condemns the abhorrent and inhuman system of apartheid. We reject unilateral attempts by South Africa to settle the Namibian question, and we strongly object to continuation of the so-called transitional government, or indeed any other type of measure that could affect the survival of the people of Namibia in an independent Namibia. We also deplore the repression of the people of Namibia, and we join in the universal demand that an immediate end be put to the illegal occupation of Namibia and that Security Council resolution 435 (1978) be implemented without any further delay or pre-conditions.

(Mr. Alban-Holguin, Colombia)

My country unreservedly supports the dynamic and tireless efforts of the Secretary-General to achieve a solution of the problem of Namibia.

Similarly, my delegation reiterates its solidarity with the front-line States, whose courageous and selfless position, which no intimidation has made them abandon despite their vulnerability, deserves the support and assistance of all who are able to provide it. My delegation vigorously condemns the attacks to which those countries are being subjected and the support which is being given to guerrillas in neighbouring countries.

This special session, which has once more focused the attention of the world on the problem of Namibia, must lead to a firm international consensus in favour of action. We must make full use of the peaceful means at the disposal of the United Nations to compel the South African Government to respect the provisions with which it has an obligation to comply. All countries which cherish freedom and justice should join in this task, whatever sacrifices this may require; the independence of Namibia is an inexorable and irreversible process, and the repression and domination of a people cannot go on forever. Only thus can this problem cease being a painful and humiliating burden on the conscience of mankind.

Mr. CHEOK (Singapore): The Chairman of my delegation, who has yet to arrive in New York, will no doubt extend to you, Sir, when he addresses the General Assembly his warm felicitations on your election to the presidency of the General Assembly at its forty-first session and at its fourteenth special session, on Namibia. Nevertheless, it gives me great pleasure personally to congratulate you on your unanimous election to both these posts. My delegation is confident that your experience and wisdom will play an important role in guaranteeing the success of this special session.

(Mr. Cheok, Singapore)

My delegation would also like to pay a high tribute to the Secretary-General for his untiring efforts to bring about freedom and independence for the people of Namibia.

Since the founding of the United Nations 41 years ago over 100 countries have gained independence. The process of decolonization is almost complete. The one major exception is Namibia. We must not relax our efforts to end this relic of colonialism. South Africa should not be allowed to continue its illegal presence and abhorrent practices in Namibia in defiance of numerous United Nations resolutions and decisions.

Singapore believes that the Namibia question should be resolved within the framework of those United Nations resolutions, in particular Security Council resolution 435 (1978), which establishes the modalities for the people of Namibia to determine their own future through free and fair elections under United Nations supervision. It is the only realistic basis for a peaceful negotiated settlement of the Namibian problem and should be implemented immediately and unconditionally. But South Africa continues to undermine it by various subterfuges. South Africa's insistence on linking the question of full independence for Namibia to irrelevant and extraneous issues is unacceptable.*

In defiance of the world community, the Pretoria régime initiated a so-called interim government in Windhoek, through the Multiparty Conference, on 17 January 1985. That has compounded the difficulties faced by the United Nations in implementing Security Council resolution 435 (1978). It is well known that the Multiparty Conference owes its allegiance to Pretoria, the sole provider of its finances and the guarantor of its existence. The international community has

* Mr. Matturi (Sierra Leone), Vice-President, took the Chair.

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unanimously rejected that attempt to impose a puppet administration in Namibia, and has declared the action illegal, null and void.

The Security Council, in June 1985, held a full-scale debate on Namibia at the request of the members of the Non-Aligned Movement. At the conclusion of the debate the Security Council adopted its resolution 566 (1985), which warned South Africa that failure to co-operate fully with the Council and the Secretary-General in implementing the resolution

"would compel the Security Council to meet forthwith to consider the adoption of appropriate measures under the Charter, including Chapter VII, as additional pressure to ensure South Africa's compliance". (Security Council resolution 566 (1985), para. 13)

Regrettably, there has not been any change in South Africa's position, and it has continued its refusal to implement Security Council resolution 435 (1978).

The Secretary-General has reported that, as indicated in a letter dated 3 March 1986 from the Minister for Foreign Affairs of South Africa, the President of South Africa had proposed that 1 August 1986 be set as the date for the commencement of the settlement plan based upon Security Council resolution 435 (1978). However, South Africa again linked this to the condition that a firm and satisfactory agreement be reached before that date on the withdrawal of Cuban forces from Angola. Following consultations with the President of Zambia, in his capacity as Chairman of the front-line States, the President of Angola and the President of the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO), the Secretary-General informed the South African Government on 12 June 1986 that the United Nations was ready to begin with the implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978) on 1 August 1986, but without pre-conditions. The

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Secretary-General further mentioned that all parties he had consulted with had rejected "linkage". He also reconfirmed the readiness of SWAPO to proceed to a ceasefire in order to commence the implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978) on 1 August 1986.

Today the international community is confronted with a very serious situation in the whole of southern Africa. The Namibia question is a primary issue in its own right. In this respect, the recently concluded International Conference for the Immediate Independence of Namibia, held at Vienna from 7 to 11 July 1986, was a reaffirmation of the international community's commitment to the freedom of the Namibian people and of its total support for SWAPO as the sole authentic representative of the Namibian people. Singapore supports the Declaration adopted by the International Conference.

Singapore looks forward to the day when Namibia joins the United Nations as a free and independent State. As a Member of the United Nations, we shall continue to work steadfastly towards that day when the people of Namibia can finally exercise their inalienable right to self-determination and independence.

The PRESIDENT: In accordance with General Assembly resolution 3237 (XXIX) of 22 November 1974, I now call upon the Observer of the Palestine Liberation Organization.

Mr. TERZI (Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO)): At the outset, I wish to extend the heartfelt congratulations of the Palestine Liberation Organization to Mr. Choudhury on his unanimous election as President of this special session on Namibia. It is significant that he and his country are strongly linked to the struggle of peoples for their dignity, for their freedom, for the termination of foreign occupation, for the exercise of the right to self-determination, for independence and sovereignty.

We the Palestinian people and our sole and legitimate representative, the Palestine Liberation Organization, view with great satisfaction and gratitude the active role that Bangladesh has volunteered to shoulder in defence and support of our struggle. We are certain that under the President's wise and highly experienced stewardship the current deliberations of the Assembly will lead to effective action and concrete measures, so that our comrades-in-arms and our brothers and sisters - the peoples of Namibia and their sole and authentic leadership, the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO) - will achieve independence and sovereignty in their own homeland, Namibia.

The fate of the Namibian people is strikingly linked to the fate of the Palestinian people. Both of us are victims of the betrayal of a sacred trust known as the mandatory régime. In both cases we were betrayed and in both cases our peoples, in their respective countries, have fought and continue to fight against the forces of evil.

Both the racist régime in Pretoria and that in Tel Aviv are "occupying Powers" which violate all human rights and political and social rights of the Namibian and Palestinian peoples under their respective military occupation. In both cases

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racist doctrines - be it apartheid or Zionism - are concretely manifested by repressive measures and acts of State terrorism against our peoples. They deny us, at the end of a bayonet, the exercise and enjoyment of our fundamental rights, even the most fundamental of them - that is, the right to life and the right to self-determination.

Both racist régimes - ironically, Members of this glorious Organization of the United Nations - have demonstrated great disrespect, nay contempt, for the principles enshrined in the Charter which was meant to free humanity from aggression and the scourge of war, the Charter which was meant to establish, for good, respect for the principles of equal rights and self-determination of peoples.

The General Assembly and the Security Council have adopted scores of resolutions, and they have not been heeded. It is tragic that the racist régimes are entrenched and strongly supported in their contemptuous behaviour by Powers that refuse to ensure respect for the principles of the Charter and the provisions of international conventions on human, economic, social and political rights of peoples, provisions which are in conformity with the principles of justice and international law.

Thus, it was no accident that the International Conference for the Immediate Independence of Namibia, which was held recently - from 7 to 11 July 1986 - in Vienna and at which Chairman Yasser Arafat led the delegation of the Palestine Liberation Organization, condemned

"the continuing collaboration of certain Western States, Israel and other States with the racist régime of South Africa in the political, economic, military and nuclear fields in violation of United Nations resolutions and decisions". (A/CONF.138/11, para. 167)

(Mr. Terzi, PLO)

The two racist régimes, forming the two poles of a racist axis that runs from South Africa to north-east Africa, from Pretoria to Tel Aviv, could not be in a position of arrogance and contempt were it not for the concrete support they receive. Both régimes, it is clear, are assigned a mission by the ex-colonial and imperialist Powers: to destabilize the respective regions and to deploy their forces in military adventurism against the peoples and Governments there.

The imposition of mandatory comprehensive sanctions against the Pretoria racist régime should have been the immediate answer by the Security Council to give effect to its resolutions 385 (1976) and 435 (1978). The permanent members of the Security Council - the United States and the United Kingdom - that have obstructed the employment of such measures are accessories to the crimes still being committed against the peoples of South Africa and Namibia by the racist Pretoria régime, and in our opinion they should be treated with equal contempt. What is needed, further, is adherence to the mandatory comprehensive sanctions. We know that, at the other pole of the racist axis, Tel Aviv is ready to provide a safety net for its kinsmen in Pretoria to render ineffective such sanctions in the economic field. It is a fact that more than 50 per cent of so-called Israeli exports are in fact South African products like diamonds - diamonds stolen from Namibia. So let us beware of safety nets, and let us ensure full respect for the implementation of mandatory comprehensive sanctions.

To our comrades-in-arms and brothers and sisters in South Africa and in Namibia, and particularly to SWAPO, we declare: "You enjoy the support of the international community; you enjoy the support of the freedom- and justice-loving peoples; you enjoy the support of freedom fighters all over; you enjoy our support, the support of the Palestinian people and the Palestine Liberation Organization. Pursue your diplomatic struggle, but do not lay down the freedom fighters' gun. It may sound strange and sad, but the enemies of peace do not heed reason. Twenty

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years of armed struggle might be just the start. It is a long march, and the road to freedom and independence is not a bed of roses: it is the bodies of our fellow comrades, the freedom fighters. Your mission is to ensure life with dignity for your people in an independent, sovereign Namibia where they can pursue happiness in freedom".

The meeting rose at 12.30 p.m.