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GENERAL
ASSEMBLY

FOURTEENTH SPECIAL SESSION

Official Records



1st
PLENARY MEETING
(Opening meeting)

Wednesday, 17 September 1986,
at 10.30 a.m.

NEW YORK

*President: Mr. Humayun Rasheed
CHOUDHURY (Bangladesh).*

AGENDA ITEM 1

**Opening of the session by the Chairman of the
delegation of Bangladesh**

1. The TEMPORARY PRESIDENT: In accordance with rule 30 of the rules of procedure, I declare open the fourteenth special session of the General Assembly.

AGENDA ITEM 2

Minute of silent prayer or meditation

2. The TEMPORARY PRESIDENT: I invite representatives to stand and observe one minute of silent prayer or meditation.

The members of the General Assembly observed a minute of silence.

Statement by the temporary president

3. The TEMPORARY PRESIDENT: Before we commence our work I should like to emphasize very strongly the point I made in my statement at the first plenary meeting of the forty-first session about the punctual starting of our meetings. This morning I was at the podium at 10 a.m. sharp to start the day's proceedings. The President will follow that practice throughout the session. I seek the full co-operation of representatives in beginning meetings on time, thereby contributing to the efficient conduct of our business. This will also help us to avoid unnecessary expenses. I am sure that representatives agree with me and will support me in implementing this procedure.

AGENDA ITEM 3

**Credentials of representatives to the fourteenth
special session of the General Assembly**

**(a) Appointment of the members of the Credentials
Committee**

4. The TEMPORARY PRESIDENT: Rule 28 of the rules of procedure provides that a Credentials Committee shall be appointed at the beginning of each session and that it shall consist of nine mem-

bers, to be appointed by the General Assembly on the proposal of the President. In order to expedite the work of the special session and in accordance with precedents, I propose that the Credentials Committee consist of the same members as were appointed yesterday for the forty-first session: the Bahamas, China, Fiji, Ghana, the Netherlands, Rwanda, Venezuela, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the United States of America. If there is no objection I shall consider the Credentials Committee to be constituted accordingly.

It was so decided (decision S-14/11).

5. The TEMPORARY PRESIDENT: In view of the fact that the fourteenth special session is taking place within the time-frame of the forty-first session and as the Credentials Committees for the fourteenth special session and the forty-first session are identical in composition, I propose that the Assembly consider at its forty-first session a consolidated report by the Credentials Committee concerning the credentials of representatives to both the fourteenth special session and the forty-first session. That will permit the Assembly to devote all the very limited time available to it at its fourteenth special session to the substantive discussion of the question of Namibia. If there is no objection, it will be so decided.

It was so decided (decision S-14/21).

**Scale of assessments for the apportionment of
the expenses of the United Nations (A/S-14/2)**

6. The TEMPORARY PRESIDENT: Before turning to the next item on the agenda, I should like, in keeping with established practice, to call the attention of the General Assembly to document A/S-14/2, which contains a letter addressed to me by the Secretary-General informing the Assembly that two Member States are in arrears in the payment of their financial contributions to the United Nations within the terms of Article 19 of the Charter.

AGENDA ITEM 4

**Election of the President of the
General Assembly**

7. The TEMPORARY PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of Guyana, Mr. Noel Sinclair, in his capacity as Acting President of the United Nations Council for Namibia.

8. Mr. SINCLAIR (Guyana), Acting President of the United Nations Council for Namibia: In my capacity as Acting President of the United Nations

Council for Namibia, I have the honour to propose to this Assembly that the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Bangladesh, Mr. Humayun Rasheed Choudhury, be elected President of the fourteenth special session of the General Assembly.

9. The career of the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Bangladesh is well known to all members of this Assembly; it has been an active one in support of the purposes and principles of the United Nations, consistent with the well-known position of the Government of Bangladesh in support of the Organization. We are all familiar with the very active and dynamic role which the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Bangladesh has played—even before becoming Minister, when he was Foreign Secretary in the Government of Bangladesh—in promoting the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations.

10. We consider that the election of the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Bangladesh as President of the General Assembly will ensure that the conduct of the business of this session is in responsible, efficient hands. I believe that such a decision will do immense credit to the Assembly, not only in the consideration of the agenda item before us but also in connection with the purposes we have set ourselves in relation to this special session.

11. I therefore have the great pleasure and honour of proposing to the Assembly that Mr. Choudhury, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Bangladesh, be elected President by acclamation.

12. The TEMPORARY PRESIDENT: The General Assembly has heard the proposal of the representative of Guyana that the President of the forty-first session be elected by acclamation as President of the General Assembly at its fourteenth special session. May I take it that the proposal is adopted by the Assembly?

It was so decided (decision S-14/12).

Statement by the President

13. The PRESIDENT: I am deeply honoured to be called upon to preside over the special session of the General Assembly on the question of Namibia, convened in accordance with General Assembly resolution 40/97 F. It will be recalled that the resolution expressed grave concern that 20 years after the termination of the Mandate of South Africa and the assumption of direct responsibility by the United Nations for Namibia the racist régime of South Africa continues illegally to occupy the Territory.

14. In recent months the situation in and around Namibia has further deteriorated. Namibia has been subjected to increasing militarization and exploitation by the oppressive forces of the occupation régime. The Namibian people continues to suffer brutal repression under the reign of terror which South Africa has let loose. Thousands continue to flee the Territory to escape the colonial yoke. Namibia's natural resources are being plundered by South Africa and other foreign economic interests, to the detriment of the interests of the Namibian people. During the past year the racist régime has continued

unashamedly to use the Territory as a springboard for acts of aggression and subversion against the neighbouring African States.

15. The heroic struggle waged against the racist régime by the Namibian people under the leadership of the South West Africa People's Organization [SWAPO], their sole and authentic representative, in its quest for independence, has achieved significant successes in spite of the tremendous odds. We are with them in their just cause and take this opportunity to reiterate our full support.

16. South Africa's continuing illegal occupation of Namibia, in utter disregard of the resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council, its plunder of the natural and human resources of the Territory and its flagrant and massive violations of human rights constitute a challenge to the international community, and specifically to the United Nations, which bears unique responsibility for Namibia.

17. The main obstacle standing in the way of the realization of the Namibian people's right to self-determination and of the granting of independence to that Territory is South Africa's refusal to fulfil its obligations under the Charter of the United Nations and to co-operate in implementing the resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council, in particular Council resolution 435 (1978).

18. South Africa's attitude towards the United Nations in respect of Namibia's liberation has been characterized at every turn by contempt, duplicity, bad faith and intransigence. This is clearly established in the history of the negotiations between the two sides for implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978). More recently, the proclamation of a so-called interim government in Namibia has served to demonstrate further that South Africa is determined completely to subvert and bypass the United Nations and to institute its own process of change in the Territory of Namibia, a process calculated to ensure its continuing domination of the Territory.

19. We have a direct and abiding concern about what the attitude of South Africa implies for the authority and prestige of the United Nations and the United Nations Council for Namibia, which is the legal Administering Authority for the Territory. But our concern is wider and deeper because Security Council resolution 435 (1978) represents a framework internationally accepted for Namibia's peaceful transition to independence. We had hoped that all the participants concerned would take the opportunity, as did SWAPO and the front-line States, to address the problem. We still hope that sanity will prevail and the Pretoria régime will accept the resolution in letter and in spirit. If the opportunity afforded by the resolution is allowed to pass, the alternative could be further bloodshed and instability in southern Africa, which would seriously affect global peace and security.

20. Eight years after the adoption by the Security Council of resolution 435 (1978), which was accepted by all sides, the situation in Namibia remains critical. New and totally extraneous and unrelated factors and

issues have been introduced to becloud the central question of the right to self-determination and independence of the Namibian people. Meanwhile, the agony and travail of this unfortunate people continues.

21. The situation has reached a point which the international community can no longer tolerate. I appeal to all concerned to co-operate in a constructive manner to bring an end to this intolerable situation. The International Conference on Namibia which was held at Vienna and the summit meetings of the Organization of African Unity [OAU] and the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries have clearly demonstrated once again that the international community is united in the matter. It is our moral and political responsibility to consider a decisive course of action to enable the people of Namibia to exercise their inalienable right to self-determination. I look forward to constructive contributions from everyone here towards achieving this objective.

22. The Secretary-General of the United Nations wishes to address the General Assembly at this time. I now call on him.

Statement by the Secretary-General

23. The SECRETARY-GENERAL: This special session is being held at a time when southern Africa and Namibia are at the centre of international attention. The continued stalemate over Namibia not only threatens the peace and stability of the southern Africa region, it also raises fundamental questions about the norms of international behaviour and the rule of law. The central issue in Namibia has always been clear and unambiguous—namely, securing the right to self-determination and independence for the people of Namibia. This right has been denied them for far too long in an age when the self-determination of peoples has become a universally accepted principle.

24. For many years now there has been unanimity on how this right can be secured for the Namibian people. The United Nations plan for Namibia, embodied in Security Council resolution 435 (1978), has long been accepted on all sides. But there has been an inordinate delay in its implementation. As this delay has been caused by the raising of issues which are extraneous and irrelevant to the question of Namibia, it has evoked growing international concern.

25. The International Conference on Namibia held this year at Vienna issued a clear call for the immediate and unconditional implementation of the United Nations plan, and urged that efforts be redoubled to that end. Earlier this month the States members of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, meeting at the highest level at Harare, called for urgent and comprehensive international action to resolve this pressing problem. The convening of this special session on Namibia is another expression of the broad commitment of the United Nations to support the demand of the Namibian people for freedom and independence. It also reflects a mounting sense of urgency about working out a just and peaceful settlement of the question.

26. The people of Namibia are suffering under colonial rule at a time when colonialism has become an anachronism. Twenty years after the General Assembly took the historic decision to assume direct responsibility for the Territory they still remain under foreign subjugation. Eight years have passed without the universally accepted Security Council resolution being implemented. The disappointment and deep feelings of frustration of the Namibian people are, therefore, only natural.

27. It is incumbent upon the international community to make a real and determined effort to end the agony of the Namibian people by setting in motion the speedy implementation of the United Nations plan, without any pre-conditions. That has been the object of my endeavours ever since I assumed my present responsibilities.

28. As a result of consultations, all outstanding issues pertaining to the implementation of the United Nations plan were resolved in November 1985, when agreement was reached on the electoral system.¹ I therefore urged South Africa at that time to establish the earliest possible date for a cease-fire and the implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978). South Africa's response was to propose that 1 August 1986 be set as the date for commencement of implementation of the plan, on condition that a firm and satisfactory agreement be reached before that date on the withdrawal of Cuban forces from Angola. South Africa insisted on that condition, despite the fact that I had repeatedly made it clear that that linkage had been rejected by the Security Council as incompatible with its resolution 435 (1978).

29. Subsequently, last June, after consultations with the Governments of Zambia and Angola and with other Governments that are in a position to help, as well as with SWAPO, I informed the South African Government that the United Nations was ready to begin the implementation of its plan on 1 August 1986. In that connection I emphasized that all outstanding issues relative to the United Nations plan had already been resolved. I mentioned that the Government of Angola had categorically rejected linkage, and that its position was supported by the front-line States and SWAPO. I also reconfirmed SWAPO's readiness to proceed to a cease-fire with South Africa in order to commence the implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978) on 1 August 1986. However, in its letter of 28 July 1986² South Africa, unfortunately, insisted once again on the linkage pre-condition. In the circumstances, it has not been possible to proceed to the implementation of the United Nations plan.

30. I am deeply concerned that the continued obstruction of the process leading towards independence will not only prolong the suffering of the Namibian people but also aggravate the turmoil and instability in the region as a whole. The South African Government must realize that its policies of *apartheid* and destabilization and the course it has so far pursued with regard to Namibia will have tragic consequences not only for the Namibian people but for all those who live in that region. There must be immediate and tangible progress towards the goal of justice and human dignity for all if peace and

stability are to be restored to southern Africa. An early settlement of the Namibian question would have a salutary effect in that regard. I therefore think it is high time the Government of South Africa complied with the will of the international community and made a serious effort to resolve this long-standing problem through the early and unconditional implementation of the United Nations plan.

31. The deliberations and decisions of this special session can help mobilize international efforts towards the realization of that goal. For my part, I assure the Assembly that Namibia remains a priority concern for me, and I shall spare no effort in the search for a just and final settlement that will enable the people of Namibia to take their rightful place in this Assembly as a free and sovereign nation.

AGENDA ITEM 5

Adoption of the agenda and organization of work

32. The PRESIDENT: On the basis of the practice of previous special sessions, I propose that the Vice-Presidents of the General Assembly and the Chairmen of the Main Committees of the forty-first regular session serve in the same capacity at the fourteenth special session. May I take it that the General Assembly adopts that proposal?

It was so decided (decisions S-14/13 and 14).

33. The PRESIDENT: The General Committee for the fourteenth special session of the General Assembly has now been fully constituted. We turn now to the adoption of the agenda. In order to expedite our work, the Assembly may wish to adopt the provisional agenda [A/S-14/1] in plenary meeting without referring it to the General Committee. May I take it that the General Assembly agrees to that procedure?

It was so decided.

34. The PRESIDENT: May I take it that the General Assembly adopts the agenda as it appears in document A/S-14/1?

It was so decided (see decision S-14/22).

35. The PRESIDENT: We come now to agenda item 6, entitled "Question of Namibia". It is my understanding that there is general agreement that the item should be considered directly in plenary meeting. May I take it, therefore, that the Assembly decides to consider the question of Namibia directly in plenary meeting?

It was so decided (see decision S-14/22).

AGENDA ITEM 6

Question of Namibia

36. The PRESIDENT: I propose that the list of speakers in the debate on this item be closed tomorrow at 12 noon.

It was so decided.

37. The PRESIDENT: The first speaker in the debate is the Minister for Foreign Affairs and Co-operation of the Congo, Mr. Antoine Ndinga-Oba, who will speak on behalf of the OAU.

38. Mr. NDINGA-ObA (Congo) (*interpretation from French*): Once again, Africa is occupying a place of honour in this Hall, and it does so only a few months after the memorable thirteenth special session, on the critical economic situation in our continent. It is therefore with deep emotion and gratitude that I am the first speaker today at the beginning of the fourteenth special session of the General Assembly, on the question of the independence of Namibia. It is an honour to Africa and to my own country, and I am extremely grateful, Mr. President.

39. A few weeks ago, during the commemoration of Namibia Day on 26 August, the international community once again expressed its solidarity with the heroic Namibian people in their just struggle against the continuing illegal colonial occupation of their territory by South Africa. On that solemn occasion, Colonel Denis Sassou-Nguesso, President of the People's Republic of the Congo and current Chairman of the OAU, on whose behalf I am speaking here today, paid a well-deserved tribute to the international community for its mass mobilization and for the pressures it had brought to bear against the racist régime in South Africa. He also praised the tireless efforts being exerted by the United Nations, and particularly by the United Nations Council for Namibia, to accelerate the process of the accession of Namibia to independence.

40. I should like to avail myself of this opportunity to offer my delegation's sincere congratulations and to express the gratitude of the peoples of Africa to the President and members of the Council for Namibia, as well as to the various States, organizations and individuals whose devotion to the just cause of the Namibian people represents an inestimable tribute to the sacrifice that has already been made by many generations of Namibians and by the front-line countries that are bearing the brunt of the struggle forced upon the Namibian people by the neo-Nazi Pretoria régime. All of Africa reiterates its solidarity and sympathy with, as well as its unswerving support for, those countries and their courageous peoples that are victims of the *apartheid* régime's deliberate and continuous attacks.

41. My thanks also go to the Secretary-General for the outstanding work he has done on behalf of Africa under extremely difficult conditions.

42. The current Chairman of the OAU has instructed me to express sincere thanks to the international community, and in particular to the Members of the Organization, for their solidarity and for all the attention devoted to Africa in recent years through the organization of numerous international meetings relating to its problems. He expresses the hope that the fourteenth special session of the General Assembly, devoted to the question of the independence of Namibia, will result in decisions designed to give immediate and lasting effect to Security Council resolution 435 (1978). Indeed, such is the hope of the

entire African continent and of the Namibian people, who await the outcome of our deliberations.

43. Before turning to the question before us, I should like to congratulate you, Sir, on your unanimous election to the presidency of this session. Your statesmanlike qualities and the wisdom and effectiveness you have impressed upon the diplomatic policies of your country, Bangladesh, are a sure guarantee of the success of our meetings. I should also like to take this opportunity to convey sincere greetings to Mr. Jaime de Piniés, of Spain, for the praiseworthy way in which he guided the work of the fortieth session at a particularly delicate moment in the history of the Organization.

44. The illegal occupation of Namibia has already led the Organization to organize seminars, to adopt resolutions and recommendations and to advocate the application of comprehensive mandatory sanctions against the Pretoria régime, all of which should have spared us the need to meet again today to discuss the question of Namibia, with all the concomitant waste of time, energy and material and financial resources, at a moment when we most need them to resolve other, no less important problems in the life of the international community.

45. The question of Namibia is one of the major problems of our time. It occupies an important place in the Organization's debates. How many meetings, days, months and years have we not devoted to this problem since the founding of the United Nations? And yet, the question of Namibia is still with us, and its solution is still pending. Repression—which grows more savage and deadly with each day—is still being brought to bear against the peaceable people of Namibia, who ask only to live in peace.

46. The problem of Namibia's independence has become a matter of great concern to us as peoples opposed to any kind of domination and exploitation. A retrospective look at the problem's genesis and development reveals that in 1915, 71 years ago, the pattern of the Namibian people's suffering was fixed with the conquest of their territory, previously under German influence, by the South African expansionists. In 1920 the League of Nations placed Namibia under the Mandate of the Union of South Africa and its total annexation took place in 1949. This marked the beginning of the major challenge to the international community by the Pretoria régime. It was at that juncture that the international community, through the United Nations, undertook a series of steps designed to lead to the complete restoration of the rights of the heroic Namibian people. Thus, since the first session of the General Assembly, in 1946, the question of Namibia has been a permanent item on the agenda of every subsequent regular session. It has also been the subject of an impressive number of Security Council resolutions and of several advisory opinions of the International Court of Justice, all designed to resolve the problem.

47. Today, we may legitimately question the results of all the efforts exerted by the international community and its institutions. The truth is that there is a considerable gap between the good intentions expressed by statesmen and orators at international conferences and the situation on the spot. Indeed, it

is embarrassing for the United Nations that, 20 years after the General Assembly put an end to South Africa's Mandate over the Territory of Namibia and eight years after the adoption of Security Council resolution 435 (1978), the question of Namibia is still being discussed in its original context, because of the intransigence of South Africa, which has made *apartheid* and its continued colonial and illegal occupation of Namibia the conditions of its survival. There was a time when we thought we had reached the end of our struggle. That was in the period following the Security Council's adoption of resolution 435 (1978). At that time, there seemed to be justification for some hope. South Africa felt its back to the wall. It quickly organized elections and set up a puppet government in Windhoek—actions which we vigorously condemned and which were, indeed, revoked by South Africa itself in 1983. We should emphasize that all this took place within the context of a process that had been set in motion by Security Council resolution 435 (1978).

48. Lastly, in a bizarre reversal of the situation, we saw with horror the crumbling of the edifice we had constructed with such perseverance and self-denial. Now we are practically back to square one, since everything must now be done again. South Africa, which, following the Versailles Conference in 1919, was given the Mandate to administer Namibia, has never fulfilled or even been prepared to fulfil its obligation, to promote the moral and material well-being of that Territory's inhabitants. The intransigence and bad faith of Pretoria have subsequently been confirmed. It is clear that Pretoria, with the complicity and support of certain permanent members of the Security Council, has made every effort to perpetuate the colonial status of Namibia.

49. Events that have occurred in Namibia and in South Africa itself in the 20 years following the General Assembly's decision to put an end to the Mandate of the Union of South Africa [*resolution 2145 (XXI)*] and the eight years since the adoption of resolution 435 (1978) by the Security Council demonstrate beyond doubt that the racist minority in South Africa views with utter scorn the resolutions and decisions taken by these two important organs of the United Nations.

50. The strengthening of its military presence in Namibia, estimated at more than 10,000 men, the introduction of compulsory military service for Namibians, the establishment of a so-called security zone in Namibia, the forced recruitment and training of Namibians for the purpose of forming tribal armies and the use of mercenaries to strengthen the illegal occupation of the Territory all reveal a strategy that has been further corroborated by attacks against neighbouring independent countries and the use of Namibian territory to launch acts of aggression. This strategy has been strengthened by being combined with the establishment of a so-called internal administration whose purpose is to guarantee the sordid interests of the racist régime of Pretoria.

51. In sum, we are facing an alarming situation in South Africa and Namibia, characterized by violence and the massacre of thousands of innocent people, and by considerable material destruction. In this context, the state of emergency in South Africa itself

is merely a further demonstration of the obvious impotence of the Pretoria régime and of its refusal to respect the decisions of the international community. All these manoeuvres, deliberately undertaken, no longer allow any doubt as to South Africa's intentions.

52. Faced with this situation, the Namibian people are fighting a number of different battles, including the battle against the indifference shown by certain foreign economic interests whose only concern is the exploitation of the resources of that country, and who are consequently impeding the implementation of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) containing the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. Indeed, selfish considerations have frequently caused the real question, which is decolonization and the inalienable right of the Namibian people to freedom and self-determination, to take second place. There can be no doubt that any attempt to present this situation as part of an East-West confrontation or to link it to other extraneous considerations is totally at odds with the wishes of the international community and can only further delay Namibia's accession to independence.

53. The Security Council has determined that in Namibia, an international Territory that is the direct responsibility of the United Nations, there are only two parties to the dispute: on the one hand, the Namibian people under the leadership of its sole authentic representative, SWAPO, and on the other hand, the illegal South African occupying régime.

54. The racist minority régime of South Africa persists in its policy of *apartheid*, occupation and colonial exploitation of Namibia because of the stance taken by certain Western and other countries, including even some permanent members of the Security Council. Indeed, it is because of their support that the vile Pretoria régime is able to continue its illegal and brutal colonial occupation of Namibia in defiance of numerous resolutions of the United Nations, particularly General Assembly resolution 3314 (XXIX) of 14 December 1974. The inalienable right of the Namibian people to self-determination and to independence with respect to its entire territory, including Walvis Bay, the Penguin Islands and other offshore islands, is unquestionable.

55. Good intentions, pious hopes or ringing words of condemnation cannot suffice to overcome the intransigence of Pretoria, which will only honour the resolutions and decisions of the United Nations if it is subjected to effective means of pressure. The only hope of imposing effective measures on this régime is to be found in the unanimous agreement clearly expressed by the whole international community that any decision must go hand in hand with some form of comprehensive mandatory sanctions in accordance with Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations, in order to oblige that régime to accept a just settlement of the question of Namibia, the only acceptable basis for which at present is Security Council resolution 435 (1978).

56. Africa, for its part, is determined to pursue its efforts to find the solutions most likely to establish without delay the most favourable conditions for the eradication of *apartheid*, the major political challenge

to Africa at the present time, in order to permit the setting up of a democratic, egalitarian and non-racial society in South Africa and to hasten the independence of Namibia in accordance with resolution 435 (1978). Peace and security in southern Africa are at stake.

57. The time has come for all the Members of the Organization to participate in solving the problem of Namibia and bringing about the effective liberation of its people and the abolition of *apartheid*. Those who refuse to act with determination against South Africa become accomplices of the land of *apartheid* in its policy of aggression and repression and its utter disregard of fundamental human rights. If we act together, the immediate independence of Namibia will be within our grasp. Consequently we must all adopt a resolute attitude and take practical steps to apply with firmness the resolutions adopted by the Organization. Member States should refrain from giving South Africa any assistance likely to encourage its policies of State terrorism and its systematic acts of aggression and destabilization of the front-line countries, in particular Angola, Zimbabwe and Mozambique.

58. The Security Council should adopt and impose comprehensive and mandatory sanctions against South Africa. The permanent members of the Security Council who have hitherto prevented this body from taking effective action should reconsider their position in the light of the increasingly explosive situation in Namibia and of the intransigence of the Pretoria régime, which is an obstacle to the United Nations plan for the independence of Namibia.

59. The OAU considers that the fight against *apartheid*—that is, against an intolerable system—must entail the effective application of sanctions against South Africa in all areas. In this spirit, we played our part in the organization and the smooth functioning of the World Conference on Sanctions against Racist South Africa, and the Eighth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Harare at the beginning of this month. The various recent meetings and conferences held in different parts of the world have shown that the international community fully supports the legitimate struggle waged by the black peoples of South Africa and Namibia against *apartheid* and colonial occupation. The World Conference held in Paris in June confirmed the determination of most of the world to spare no effort to achieve the desired aim. The same is true of the International Conference for the Immediate Independence of Namibia, held at Vienna in July.

60. The course of history is irreversible, and the just cause of the African peoples and patriotic forces of Namibia and South Africa will triumph. South Africa is the only country in the world where racism is written into the constitution and where skin colour determines an individual's place in society; it has categorically opposed the modern values of freedom, democracy and peace that are so dear to the States Members of the Organization. Consequently, South Africa, that indescribable monster of our time, which bears no resemblance to any other modern State, unless it is Israel or Nazi Germany, which repeatedly shows its true colours through raids, aggressions,

massacres and hangings, thus turning the clock back several centuries to the age of the barbarians, must necessarily be a matter of concern to the rest of the free world, which is not yet ready to forget the dire memories left by the fascist régimes. Any other behaviour would be a sign of overt complicity with the *apartheid* régime.

61. A danger to the people of South Africa, to neighbouring States, to Africa as a whole, the Pretoria régime is also a real and serious threat to international peace and security. *Apartheid* remains a major crime against humanity. It is this danger which keeps us all in a state of extreme nervousness, worsened every day by the many facilities granted to Pretoria in the form of sophisticated weaponry. We should not lose sight of the fact that the independence of Namibia has now become a matter of urgency and, quite naturally, has to obey a historic imperative, that very imperative which, a few years ago, dragged along certain European Powers in the wake of the independence of their former colonies.

62. It is also this which prompts us to say that the behaviour of South Africa is anachronistic from every point of view. Thus it deserves the disapproval and hostility of the international community as a whole. The Namibian people not only continues to suffer terribly from the humiliation inherent in every colonial situation and from all forms of abuse, but, furthermore, and above all, it is bound hand and foot and forced to witness the systematic and savage depredation of the wealth of its soil and subsoil. In the meantime, the international community continues to hold endless ineffective discussions. Its resolutions and declarations succeed each other without any real outcome.

63. Hence, we can only be scandalized by the fact that while, on the one hand, not one of the States represented here has come out categorically against the accession of Namibia to independence, on the other, the situation remains unchanged. Only the approaches seem to differ: unconditional independence is advocated by some, while independence subject to certain conditions is favoured by others. Thus the process continues to be blocked. If we are in the least interested in these conditions, particularly that relating to the Cuban troops in Angola, we have to face up to the reality that the problem is getting worse. Thus, what hope can we place in the conclusions of the most recent conference in Vienna, and what can we expect from the present session?

64. There cannot be the shadow of a doubt that, in this context, the independence of Namibia remains a subject of grave concern. Hence, it appears necessary for us to give further thought to the underlying reasons for the failure of our actions, in order to make them more effective. In this connection, the political will of the various parties concerned with the question of Namibia, those who to a certain extent influence the policies of South Africa, is in our view an important, if not paramount, aspect of any settlement of this question. Evidence of this will can serve as a back-up to the various forms of action already undertaken. It is by not dispersing our energies and destroying our strength that we will reach the objective we all seek. Only concerted action by all the forces striving for the freedom and

emancipation of peoples, with concern for human dignity, can bring about decisive results.

65. The initiative taken by the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity, at its twenty-second ordinary session held at Addis Ababa last July, to set up an *ad hoc* standing committee of heads of State and Government whose task it would be to follow developments on the question of southern Africa,³ and the decision taken at the Eighth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, to set up a Commission of Non-Aligned Foreign Ministers, whose task it would be to get in touch with Western countries in order to help to speed up the process of Namibia's accession to independence and the abolition of *apartheid*,⁴ should be judiciously used and supported by the Organization.

66. Thus, I cannot conclude my remarks without making a pressing appeal to the entire international community to discharge, in a responsible way, a duty which is incumbent upon it, namely, the liberation of Namibia from a régime which has inspired disapproval, hatred and condemnation; and we would like at the same time to reiterate our support for the peoples struggling in southern Africa in general, and more particularly for SWAPO, the sole authentic representative of the Namibian people.

67. The OAU, aware of the deteriorating situation of the people of South Africa and of Namibia, and in the light of the dangers which threaten international peace and security in the southern part of our continent, urges the international community to give increasing support to the struggle of the people of South Africa and Namibia in every possible way, to apply comprehensive and mandatory sanctions against South Africa, and to grant economic and technical assistance to the front-line States, which suffer from the disastrous effects of the war-like situation in South Africa and Namibia, to the detriment of their peoples and of their economic development.

68. This is a responsibility which is incumbent upon all of us, particularly the major Powers which are in a position to change the situation in southern Africa in order to bring it into line with the profound aspirations of its peoples. To all peace-loving and justice-loving peoples, and all those who adhere to and believe in the principles enunciated in the Charter of the United Nations, in the name of morality, Africa makes an appeal for a decisive struggle against *apartheid* and for the restoration of international legality.

69. On this solemn occasion I should like, on behalf of the current Chairman of the OAU, to assure the United Nations of the unstinted co-operation of Africa, in order that the United Nations Council for Namibia may exercise direct authority over Namibia until it achieves independence and take the urgent steps required to induce the racist régime of South Africa scrupulously to abide by the resolutions and decisions of the United Nations in order to afford the Namibian people the opportunity immediately to exercise its inalienable right to self-determination and independence.

70. Before concluding, I should like to make a pressing appeal to all countries, particularly the Western countries, to contribute to the success of this special session on Namibia, by scrupulously and immediately applying Security Council resolution 435 (1978). I know that every State has its own friends and its own interests. But I hardly need to recall the permanent interest of the international community, which should lead us all to take into account the universal values which are the aspiration of all peoples on earth and thus to honour the claims of Africa and the majority of the Members of the Organization to take the decision here and now effectively to afford immediate independence to Namibia, and to abolish *apartheid* forthwith.

71. May 1986, the International Year of Peace, also be that which marks the advent of true peace in southern Africa, the independence of Namibia and the abolition of the hateful system of *apartheid*.

72. The PRESIDENT: I now call on the Acting President of the United Nations Council for Namibia, Mr. Noel Sinclair of Guyana.

73. Mr. SINCLAIR (Guyana), Acting President of the United Nations Council for Namibia: Mr. President, when the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Guyana, Mr. Rashleigh Jackson, addresses the General Assembly on behalf of the Guyanese delegation, he will convey to you our feelings of appreciation at your assumption of the presidency of the forty-first session of the General Assembly. He will also, of course, extend gratitude to your predecessor, Mr. Jaime de Piniés, of Spain.

74. But, Mr. President, you will understand, I am sure, that I could not resist using this opportunity to offer to you my personal congratulations upon your election to the presidency of the forty-first session of the General Assembly. I remember very well that in 1982, when I led a mission of consultation to Bangladesh, I had the honour to be received by you. I vividly remember the extensive consultations we had concerning the question of Namibia, and it convinced me all the more of your own personal commitment, and that of the Government of Bangladesh, to the question of Namibia's liberation.

75. In his current report on the work of the Organization⁵ the Secretary-General states that the most urgent remaining problem of decolonization is that of Namibia. The United Nations Council for Namibia has requested the convening of this special session of the General Assembly because, as the legal Administering Authority for the Territory of Namibia, its assessment of the situation is identical to that of the Secretary-General; we are profoundly concerned at the inordinate delay in achieving Namibia's independence and at the continuation and exacerbation of human suffering which that delay implies. Namibia has for far too long been a nation in waiting. The Council wishes to see resolute action taken by the Assembly and by the international community to exert maximum pressure on the Pretoria régime and on its collaborators to cease their obstruction of progress towards Namibia's independence.

76. It was over 100 years ago that the Namibian people began their struggle against foreign occupation. For an organization committed to the realization of the self-determination of peoples, that alone should be a sufficient impulse. But, what is more, the Assembly became directly involved in Namibia's political evolution when, in response to South Africa's continued disregard of the Mandate which it had been given over Namibia, it terminated that Mandate and assumed responsibility for the Territory. That was 20 years ago. The end of that 20-year timeframe must certainly move us to take stock of the manner in which we in turn have acquitted ourselves as the new mandatory power, so to speak, of what have been our deficiencies no less than our successes, and to determine what still needs to be done so that the people of Namibia may at last move forward to independence.

77. Viewing the responsibility for Namibia as a sacred trust, in the words of the Charter of the United Nations, and considering also the evolution which has taken place in respect of Chapter XI of the Charter regarding Non-Self-Governing Territories, the Council feels particular anguish at the delaying of Namibia's freedom.

78. It is true that the United Nations has played a valuable catalytic role in advancing the decolonization revolution. The Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples constitutes the freedom charter of peoples under colonial rule. That instrument proclaims that peoples have a right to self-determination and that by virtue of that right they freely determine their political status and freely pursue their economic, social and cultural development. These rights are inalienable and timeless. The General Assembly was proclaiming an international consensus that it was illegal to pursue colonial policies and policies of colonial occupation and that peoples victim of such policies had a right to struggle against them.

79. When, in 1966, the General Assembly terminated South Africa's Mandate over Namibia and assumed responsibility for the Territory [*resolution 2145 (XXI)*], it was asserting the fundamental right of the people of Namibia to self-determination and independence, the enjoyment of which the Pretoria régime had sought to frustrate through its non-compliance with the terms of the Mandate which had been entrusted to it.

80. That action by the General Assembly was later sustained by the Security Council, which, by its resolution 264 (1969), declared, in effect, that the General Assembly had acted correctly in terminating South Africa's Mandate over Namibia. The Council also decided that, since the Assembly had revoked South Africa's Mandate, South Africa's continuing presence in the Territory was illegal and detrimental to the interests of the people. South Africa was therefore under an obligation to withdraw that presence and administration.

81. In its advisory opinion of 1971,⁶ the International Court of Justice, the highest authority on law in the relations between States, also gave its endorsement to the action taken by the General Assembly, stating at the same time that States were under an

obligation to recognize the illegality of South Africa's continuing presence in the Territory and the invalidity of its acts on behalf of, or concerning, Namibia.

82. What this proves is that the case against South Africa's occupation of Namibia and for the accession of the people of that Territory to independence rests on unassailable juridical grounds. It has been stated in unequivocal terms by three of the principal organs of the United Nations, each acting independently: the General Assembly, the Security Council and the International Court of Justice.

83. The thrust of the Assembly's action in respect of Namibia since 1966 has therefore been to secure a political evolution on the basis of that juridical position.

84. In the efforts of the Organization during the intervening years, 1978 is an important point of reference. After several years of stonewalling by South Africa, five Western members of the Security Council presented a set of proposals to that Council designed to engage South Africa in a process of negotiation for its withdrawal from Namibia and for the Territory to accede to independence after the holding of free and fair elections. These ideas were embodied in resolution 435 (1978), which was adopted by the Council on 29 September 1978.

85. It is a matter of public record that the United Nations Council for Namibia, like SWAPO, was doubtful about South Africa's intention to negotiate in good faith. We nevertheless gave our blessing and support to the initiative, insisting, however, on our expectation that the five Western members of the Security Council would exert all necessary pressure to force South Africa to co-operate in the implementation of the resolution and that, should South Africa not co-operate, they would feel a moral obligation not to stand in the way of punitive action by the Security Council against the South African régime.

86. There is no evidence that any pressure was exerted on South Africa by those States to ensure its co-operation; quite the contrary.

87. In April 1981 the Security Council met to consider the situation created by South Africa's continuing intransigence in respect of Security Council resolution 435 (1978). The Council was asked to adopt a draft resolution which would have imposed selective sanctions on South Africa for its attitude of defiance and non-co-operation in respect of that resolution, an attitude which had been displayed with brutal clarity in the Geneva talks earlier that year. That draft resolution was vetoed by three Western permanent members of the Council. They vetoed a draft resolution which sought to direct a penalty against South Africa for disregarding their own settlement plan.

88. It was our frustration at South Africa's persistent efforts at subverting negotiations towards the implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978) and at Western permissiveness regarding that intransigence that led to the convening of the emergency special session of the Assembly in 1981. On that occasion the Assembly demanded the immediate commencement of the unconditional implementa-

tion of resolution 435 (1978). It also called upon all States to impose comprehensive mandatory sanctions against South Africa and urged them to cease forthwith all dealings in South Africa in order completely to isolate it [*resolution ES-8/2*].

89. Thanks to the remarkable endurance and diplomatic skill of the Secretary-General, all outstanding issues pertaining to implementation of the United Nations plan have at last been resolved. Yet efforts to bring about the implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978) remain foundered on the rock of South African intransigence on an issue that was first raised by the United States—that of the prior withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola, or the concept of linkage. This is the pretext now being used by South Africa for maintaining the *status quo* in Namibia. Both the General Assembly and the Security Council have resolutely rejected linkage, affirming that the independence of Namibia cannot be held hostage to the resolution of issues alien to resolution 435 (1978).

90. In the light of South Africa's demonstrated unwillingness to co-operate in the implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978), the debate about sanctions has grown in intensity over the years. Most members of the international community have come to the conclusion that sanctions such as have been advocated at various times against Iran, Nicaragua, Poland, Argentina and Libya are the only sure means of compelling South Africa's co-operation in the implementation of that resolution of the Security Council.

91. The General Assembly, at the request of the United Nations Council for Namibia, has consistently called on the Security Council to impose mandatory sanctions against South Africa. My colleagues are aware that two permanent members of the Council have been preventing that body from responding to this call. As recently as November last year, those two States used their vetoes to protect South Africa from the justified wrath of the international community expressed at that time merely in the form of a request for selective sanctions. Once again, the draft resolution that was vetoed sought to punish South Africa for not co-operating in implementing resolution 435 (1978), in whose authorship those same two States participated.

92. Meanwhile, pending the implementation of mandatory sanctions, the Assembly has urged all States to cease all political, military, economic or other co-operation which they may be extending to the Pretoria régime. Progress in this regard has been slow but steady. Many States which continue to maintain relations with South Africa have demonstrated their willingness to exert increased pressure through legislative and executive action, including, in one case, a total trade boycott of South Africa. The Council for Namibia expresses its sincere appreciation for these efforts.

93. However, while at the popular level there is a categorical rejection on both sides of the Atlantic of the *apartheid* policies of the Pretoria régime, whether in South Africa or in Namibia, and while there is enthusiastic support for sanctions at that level, South Africa's principal trading partners still engage in the

contradiction of condemning *apartheid* while continuing to do business with the régime that practises it, thereby buttressing and giving comfort to that régime. They say Namibia must be free, yet they give all support to the occupying régime and look on benignly as Pretoria seeks to consolidate its hold over the Territory.

94. Botha's efforts in this direction are unmistakably clear. In June 1985 he installed what was referred to as a "Transitional Government of National Unity", which differs little from the puppet governments in South Africa's "independent homelands". This creation is an *ad hoc* alliance of conflicting political groupings whose only common factor is their opposition to SWAPO. Their high rhetoric notwithstanding, after one year in office they have made no move to abolish Proclamation AG8, the South African edict which forms the basis for the segregation of the Territory's ethnic groupings. The funding of Namibia's health, education and agriculture projects, even of its drought relief, is therefore based not on the needs of the people, but on the colour of their skin.

95. The so-called Minister of National Health, Welfare and Manpower, Moses Katjuongua, spoke the truth when he said in Namibia: "*apartheid*, tribal and racial discrimination and inequality of opportunity are not dead in this country".

96. In a territory where whites already own most of the fertile areas while blacks live in urban and rural slums, the Minister of Agriculture, Water Affairs and Sea Fisheries is an Afrikaner nationalist, Eben Van Zijl. So we know already how much redistribution of land will take place under that "Transitional Government".

97. Recently, in rejecting protests about a hospital to be built by the white administration in Swakopmund, Minister Van Zijl said that patients needed to have the "right milieu"; that, we know well, is a code meaning white hospitals for white people. Or, as President Kaunda of Zambia so picturesquely said at Lusaka on 23 August last, one hospital for the treatment of victims of white malaria, who are bitten by white mosquitoes, and another for victims of black malaria, who are, of course, bitten by black mosquitoes. One hospital for white pneumonia and another for the treatment of black pneumonia.

98. The natural resources of the Territory, which are the birthright of the Namibian people and the basis for building a prosperous and productive society, continue to be plundered by foreign enterprises which repatriate nearly all their profits. And those who dare to resist the racist domination of their country are subjected to harassment, persecution, arrest, detention without trial, and torture. These are only a few examples of the inhumanity and the injustice which are the daily lot of the Namibian people under South African occupation and control. It is this inhumanity and this injustice, among other things, which the United Nations committed itself to ending when it terminated South Africa's Mandate over Namibia.

99. As a practical means of exercising its direct responsibility for the Territory, the Assembly created

the United Nations Council for Namibia to take over administration of the Territory and prepare it for independence. The South African authorities have physically prevented the Council from entering the Territory, but have not been able to impede political action in support of the struggle of the Namibian people.

100. Thanks to our extensive information dissemination programme, people in North America and Western Europe, in particular, have been made more aware of the struggle being waged for liberation in Namibia, the effects of South Africa's continuing illegal occupation of the Territory and the manner in which those Governments which still co-operate with the Pretoria régime contribute to the prolongation of that occupation. This is an important achievement because we are convinced that when people become aware of the facts of an issue in all its ugly dimensions, such as South Africa's oppression of the Namibian people, they are equipped to exert pressure for change in the relevant policies of their Governments.

101. Our information programme also supplements the work of concerned non-governmental organizations and support groups which are making an invaluable contribution to the campaign in support of Namibia's liberation.

102. In addition to mobilizing international pressure for South Africa's withdrawal from Namibia, the Council has financed and organized, through the United Nations Fund for Namibia, a large number of agricultural, health and educational projects for Namibian refugees, which are carried out in close co-operation with SWAPO. The United Nations Institute for Namibia, established at Lusaka, continues to grow and expand, training skilled manpower and conducting research pertaining to the policy-making and administrative needs of an independent Namibia. The importance of these activities cannot be over-emphasized. The assistance programmes directly serve the needs of thousands of Namibians who have fled political repression in their country and are struggling to cope with the material and psychological hardships of exile and statelessness. In addition, these programmes equip the future leaders and administrators of Namibia with the skills which they will need to build an equitable and productive society after independence.

103. But all these efforts are essentially in support of those being exerted by the people of Namibia themselves under the leadership of SWAPO. In 1960, against the background of the emergence of African States to independence and of their entry into the United Nations, SWAPO was formed as the liberation movement of the Territory. The formation of SWAPO manifested the political maturity of the people of Namibia. It sharpened the focus of their struggle and gave testimony to their determination to break out of South Africa's stranglehold and to live as free, independent people.

104. SWAPO quickly sought to assert itself as the independence movement of the Territory. In 1966, after unsuccessful efforts to persuade the Pretoria régime to co-operate in bringing about change by peaceful methods, SWAPO saw itself forced to

launch the armed phase of the struggle, and that year, indeed, marked a turning point in the history of Namibia. The first military engagement between SWAPO and the occupation forces took place in northern Namibia. Along with the armed offensive, which, considering the might of the enemy, has been prosecuted with telling effect, SWAPO also launched an offensive in the political sphere to gain the widest possible international recognition and support for the struggle of the Namibian people.

105. After the formation of the Council for Namibia as legal Administering Authority for the Territory, SWAPO identified intimately with the Council's work on behalf of the Namibian people. In 1973, it was recognized by the General Assembly as the sole and authentic representative of the Namibian people [*resolution 3111 (XXVIII)*], so that as far as the international Organization is concerned, SWAPO is the interpreter of the sentiment and wishes of the Namibian people. SWAPO has indicated its acceptance of Security Council resolution 435 (1978) and has indicated on more than one occasion its preparedness to submit itself to all the provisions of the settlement plan contained in that resolution, including free and fair elections.

106. SWAPO now enjoys the status of Permanent Observer at the United Nations, which is but a small step from statehood. It is also an observer in some specialized agencies of the United Nations system, such as WHO and FAO, which status enables it to represent directly the interests of the people of Namibia. SWAPO is also a full member of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries. In brief, SWAPO is more than a liberation movement. The organization is associated with Namibian statehood, and the conduct of SWAPO in general and, in particular, in negotiations with South Africa, most notably at Geneva in 1981 and at Cape Verde in 1984, gave added confirmation, if any were needed, of SWAPO's capacity and readiness for the responsibilities of statehood.

107. In Cuanza Sul, Angola, SWAPO administers a settlement which provides shelter, food, education and vocational training to some 45,000 Namibian refugees. In Nyango, Zambia, 5,000 to 6,000 Namibians have developed a similar community which strives for self-sufficiency. Both Cuanza Sul and Nyango are equipped with schools, nurseries, day-care centres, clinics and hospitals. Both locations boast agricultural and livestock projects providing a variety of foods for consumption by the two communities. While some clothing is donated, Namibians also engage in weaving their own fabric and sewing clothes for the community. Namibian culture finds expression in frequent music and dance presentations. The history of Namibia is taught to all and the political circumstances of the present period of struggle and the goal of national independence are analysed and discussed as well.

108. In summary, SWAPO is administering settlements for Namibian refugees where the sense of community and of collective responsibility are highly developed, and which are examples of discipline, hard work, pride and civic responsibility. These are all demonstrations, as I suggested earlier, of SWAPO's capacity and readiness to assume responsi-

bility for managing the affairs of the Namibian people. These activities deserve the enthusiastic support of the General Assembly and I appeal to Member States to give them all possible support.

109. Even as I appeal for intensified support for the liberation struggle being led by SWAPO, that struggle continues. After more than 100 years, without military help from outside, and pitted against the most formidable fighting force of any State on the African continent, the Namibian people patiently continue their struggle to free themselves—driven on by the justice of their cause and by their determination to live in freedom.

110. Despite the threat of attack by the police, large numbers of people gathered in Windhoek last year to protest the installation of an illegal "interim government" by South Africa and to commemorate the nineteenth anniversary of the launching of the armed struggle by SWAPO. Just last month, 13,000 SWAPO supporters attended a rally at which speakers called for the resignation of the "interim government" and immediate implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978). These actions, together with the military successes being scored by SWAPO, are evidence of the irresistible momentum of the drive for national liberation in Namibia.

111. That motivation, that determination, cannot but triumph in the end, though we all know that that triumph will be a costly one in terms of human life and human suffering—a price which the Namibian people do not shrink from paying anyway.

112. There is an undisputed global consensus that implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978) is the peaceful, non-violent alternative to that cost, not only for the people of Namibia, but also for the front-line States which continue to suffer constant acts of aggression as the price of their support for the liberation of Namibia. In fact, implementation of this resolution and the freedom of Namibia are among the foremost international concerns today, as was demonstrated most recently, among other cases, in the final documents of the meeting of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Harare earlier this month.⁴ In a word, the Namibian question has pitted virtually the entire international community against South Africa in a battle whose stakes are rising daily.

113. In his current report on the work of the Organization,⁵ the Secretary-General has stated that the particular problem of Namibia is ripe for solution now. The convening of this special session is a concrete sign that the General Assembly is determined to follow through on its commitment to bring Namibia to independence.

114. In the name of the struggling and suffering people of Namibia, in the name of peace and security in southern Africa and beyond, I solemnly urge that at this special session the General Assembly live up to its responsibility in respect of Namibia. Let us all remobilize our political forces for resolute and decisive action in support of the liberation of Namibia. Let us, at this special session, resolve to exert maximum pressure for the implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978) by a specified date.

Failing such implementation, let us resolve that our States will take the necessary action for the complete isolation of South Africa with a view to compelling its co-operation.

115. The PRESIDENT: Next I call on the Acting Chairman 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, Mr. Oscar Oramas Oliva of Cuba.

116. Mr. ORAMAS OLIVA (Cuba), Acting Chairman 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 (*interpretation from Spanish*): It is patently clear that no other question in the annals of the United Nations has ever received such concerted, intense and close attention by the international community as that of the illegal situation that exists in Namibia. That fact alone not only demonstrates the will and determination of the nations which agree on the need to bring about an urgent end to the crisis but also reflects the extent of the intransigence and obduracy of the racist minority régime of South Africa in its desperate attempt to cling to its last bastion of colonial and racial domination.

117. Indeed, it is profoundly disquieting that the efforts of the international community to bring about genuine independence in Namibia continue to be obstructed by the defiant attitude of the minority racist régime of South Africa. Twenty years after the General Assembly's historic decision to declare Namibia an international Territory under its jurisdiction, and despite the express opinion of the International Court of Justice confirming that decision, South Africa persists in its refusal to withdraw from the Territory.

118. The continued illegal occupation of Namibia by South Africa constitutes a blatant violation of international law, the denial of self-determination to the Namibian people, the continued encroachment upon and defiance of the authority of the United Nations and a veritable threat to international peace and security, particularly in southern Africa. All those elements have made this question a perennial item on the agenda of the Organization for over 40 years now. Furthermore, the minority régime of Pretoria continues to resort to force and political stratagems in order to prolong its illegal occupation of the Territory and to deny the oppressed people of Namibia their most basic rights and fundamental freedoms.

119. The constant delaying tactics of the Pretoria régime amply confirm what we already know: that South Africa will not willingly permit the fulfilment of the legitimate aspirations of the Namibian people to attain true independence and liberation. With *calculated cunning*, the Pretoria régime has exploited the efforts of the international community, in order to bring about a sham independence in Namibia under a puppet régime designed to perpetuate its colonial rule there. We have all been witness to South Africa's dilatory manoeuvres and the deceitful manner in which, while delaying the implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978), it has presented us with a succession of *faits accomplis*,

including the latest attempts to circumvent the United Nations plan by promoting an "internal settlement" brought about through the so-called interim Government in Namibia.

120. Our meeting here today clearly reflects the deep frustration and concern shared by the overwhelming majority of the members of the international community at the continued failure of the Security Council—the custodian of peace and security—to fulfil its responsibilities with regard to the critical situation obtaining today in southern Africa. Faced with the repeated refusals by South Africa to comply with its decisions, the Council finds itself incapable of taking any effective action under Chapter VII of the Charter because of the repeated use of the veto by certain Western permanent members of the Council. As recently as June this year, when the Council met to condemn the heinous acts of armed aggression committed by racist South Africa against Angola, Botswana, Zambia and Zimbabwe, the otherwise unanimous call for sanctions went flagrantly unheeded.

121. As we meet here today, we must ask ourselves seriously how much longer we must wait until we witness the peaceful transition envisaged in Security Council resolutions 385 (1976) and 435 (1978). The answer is clear and categorical: we must demand the immediate and unconditional implementation of those resolutions and as a corollary, we must call for the imposition against South Africa of comprehensive mandatory sanctions under Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter. Any attempt to undermine the international consensus embodied in resolution 435 (1978), in particular any attempt to introduce extraneous issues such as a linkage between the independence of Namibia and the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola, must be categorically rejected, for that consensus represents the only acceptable basis for a peaceful transition of Namibia to independence and must be implemented without modification, qualification or pre-condition.

122. The developments which have taken place since the adoption of Security Council resolution 435 (1978) are ample proof that South Africa will never willingly accord the Namibian people their right to genuine freedom and independence. South Africa's record throughout eight years of negotiations has been one of duplicity and evasion. Throughout that period the illegal South African régime has made not the slightest pretence of moderating its *apartheid* policies or its exploitation of Namibia's resources. Instead of creating an atmosphere which would be conducive to the holding of free elections in accordance with resolution 435 (1978), South Africa has created an atmosphere of tension and confrontation and has increased its militarization of the Territory, using it as a springboard for repeated dastardly and criminal armed attacks against neighbouring States and as a rearguard base for mercenaries operating in Angola.

123. The increasing violence in and around Namibia and South Africa and the inability of the Security Council to take affirmative action in that regard constitute the background against which we must view the present crisis in the Territory. Namibia is a Territory under the direct responsibility of the

United Nations, for the administration of which the Assembly created a particular intergovernmental body. The only course of action is for the Assembly to take appropriate measures in keeping with the grave responsibility entrusted to it under the Charter of the United Nations. Only in so doing can the Assembly signify to South Africa that the United Nations will no longer ignore this serious threat to international peace and security in the region and that it will not continue to remain inactive in the face of so much cruelty and injustice and of such a crime against humanity. It is essential that the international community adopt the necessary measures, not only to enforce the effective implementation of the existing arms embargo against South Africa but also to bring about the total isolation of the régime through the imposition of a comprehensive boycott of all dealings with that country, whether of a political, military, economic or cultural nature.

124. Such decisions taken by the Assembly at the special session will be a positive demonstration that the United Nations is resolved to fulfil its obligations towards the people of Namibia, as well as its responsibility for the maintenance of peace and security, in accordance with the Charter of the Organization.

125. I cannot stress too strongly the concomitant responsibility of the international community today, both bilaterally and multilaterally, to extend the maximum possible assistance to those African States which, at great sacrifice to their own economies and in all other areas, spearheaded the initiation of measures towards the complete isolation of the Pretoria régime. It is indeed incumbent upon the United Nations and its system of organizations now to take all appropriate actions to facilitate and accelerate the flow of such assistance to those Governments and peoples concerned, which are suffering because of their solidarity with Namibia.

126. Before concluding, I wish, on behalf 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, to commend the leadership of SWAPO, the sole and legitimate representative of the Namibian people, for the spirit of accommodation, the patience and the statesmanship they have demonstrated during their long struggle and their negotiations on the implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978). In the same context, I wish to pay a special tribute to the leaders of the front-line States for the crucial role they have played throughout in support of the cause of the people of Namibia.

127. I should also like, on behalf of the Special Committee, to acknowledge with appreciation the important work carried out by the United Nations Council for Namibia, under the leadership of its Acting President, Mr. Noel Sinclair, of Guyana, in the discharge of the mandate entrusted to it. The role of the Council as the legal Administering Authority for Namibia until independence cannot be over-emphasized. At the present stage of the struggle of the Namibian people, it is essential that the Council be given the utmost co-operation by all the Member States so that it may be able to continue to discharge its responsibilities with even greater effectiveness.

128. If today we assume our responsibilities towards the people of Namibia firmly and resolutely, this will, we are certain, spare thousands of human lives and untold suffering for millions of human beings in southern Africa, who, like all of us, have the right to life.

129. Mr. President, I am confident that, benefitting from your acknowledged leadership and guidance and your skill, wisdom and diplomacy, the work of the General Assembly at this special session will make a further positive contribution towards ending the current situation in Namibia.

130. The PRESIDENT: I call on the Acting Chairman of the Special Committee against *Apartheid*.

131. Mr. CHARLES (Haiti), Acting Chairman of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, first of all, I wish to extend to you, on behalf of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* and on my own behalf, our hearty congratulations on your assumption of the presidency of the General Assembly at this special session on Namibia, at this critical stage of the Namibian people's struggle for freedom and independence. Your country, Bangladesh, has worked ceaselessly within the United Nations and in the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries to promote the cause of peace and freedom. I am therefore confident that under your leadership the General Assembly at this session will mobilize further international support for the struggle of the peoples of southern Africa and give new impetus to the efforts of the United Nations for equality and justice throughout the world.

132. Twenty years have elapsed since the United Nations assumed direct responsibility for the Territory of Namibia, and 15 years have elapsed since the International Court of Justice, in a historic decision, declared that South Africa's occupation of Namibia was illegal. Eight years have elapsed since the Security Council adopted resolution 435 (1978), in which it unanimously approved the basic elements of a procedure for the attainment of independence by Namibia.

133. These elements had been worked out by the so-called Western contact group in discussions and negotiations which dragged on for many years and they had the consent and agreement of the South African Government. The heart of the settlement was that Namibia would attain independence by exercising its right to self-determination through free and democratic elections to be organized by and held under the supervision of the United Nations.

134. However, today implementation of resolution 435 (1978) is more remote than ever. The reports of the Secretary-General in this regard clearly reveal the stratagems and manoeuvres to which Pretoria has resorted in order to delay implementation of the United Nations plan for the independence of Namibia. In a report to the Security Council last year, the Secretary-General said:

"implementation of the resolution continues to elude us for reasons that the Security Council itself has described as irrelevant and extraneous".⁷

135. Meanwhile, the racist régime has proceeded to set up in Namibia a so-called transitional government made up of its puppets. It is clear that, having successfully obstructed the Namibian independence plan for years, the *apartheid* régime is now set on sabotaging it altogether, thus showing that it is resolved to pay no heed to the provisions of resolution 435 (1978).

136. At the same time, the plundering of the Territory's natural resources continues apace. Strategic materials and valuable minerals, which represent an important share of South African trade with its major trading partners, particularly uranium and diamonds, are to a great extent mined in Namibia, in defiance of Decree No. 1 for the Protection of the Natural Resources of Namibia, enacted by the United Nations Council for Namibia.⁸

137. In South Africa, as in Namibia, the racist régime has continued with impunity to defy world public opinion and the international community and to violate relevant principles and commitments undertaken. That is so because it has not been forced to act otherwise. It must be noted that its refusal to co-operate in the implementation of the United Nations plan for the independence of Namibia has in no way deprived it of the collaboration of Powers that were so actively involved in drawing it up. Furthermore, one of them has even gone so far as to declare itself to be on South Africa's side regarding the Cuban presence in Angola and has provided support and assistance to the South African agent, Jonas Savimbi. The Security Council has frequently stated that the withdrawal of Cuban forces from Angola, which South Africa continues to seek to impose as a prior condition for the implementation of the independence plan, is extraneous and irrelevant.

138. Should we not recall that the Cuban troops are in Angola at the invitation of that country's legitimate Government to help it defend itself against the acts of aggression of the Pretoria régime? The Government of Angola, an independent and sovereign State Member of the United Nations, is entirely within its rights in taking all legitimate measures to defend the country's independence and territory. In this context we vigorously deplore the assistance overtly and covertly provided to the UNITA⁹ forces. That initiative, which is, to say the least, unfortunate, is contrary to international law and only increases the stubbornness of Pretoria on the question of Namibia and that of *apartheid* in South Africa.

139. That is why at this special session, as at previous ones, the General Assembly must categorically reject linkage between Namibian independence and the presence of Cuban troops in Angola. It should also pledge itself to giving increased support to the peoples of Namibia and South Africa and their liberation movements, as well as to the front-line States that have been suffering continued aggression, destabilization and sabotage by the *apartheid* régime.

140. I wish, on behalf of the Special Committee, fully to endorse the Declaration of the International Conference for the Immediate Independence of Namibia and the Programme of Action on Namibia, adopted by the International Conference.¹⁰ Like the World Conference on Sanctions against Racist South

Africa, held in Paris from 16 to 20 June 1986, the International Conference called for the immediate application of comprehensive, mandatory sanctions against South Africa pursuant to Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations. Pending a decision to that effect by the Security Council, we urge all Governments that have not yet done so to take steps to impose comprehensive sanctions against the racist régime of South Africa. We also call upon all States to ensure that, in accordance with Decree No. 1 of the United Nations Council for Namibia, transnational corporations under their jurisdiction refrain from any participation in the exploitation of the natural resources of Namibia.

141. This is the opportunity for me to pay a very well-deserved tribute to the United Nations Council for Namibia and its efforts to strengthen the actions of the international community aimed at the total independence of Namibia. In this connection, I wish to assure it of the full support of the Special Committee against *Apartheid*.

142. The PRESIDENT: In accordance with General Assembly resolution 31/152, I now call on the Observer of SWAPO.

143. Mr. GURIRAB (South West Africa People's Organization): At the outset I should like to join those who have preceded me in extending warmest congratulations and best wishes to you, Mr. President, upon your brilliant election to preside over this session and the forty-first regular session of the General Assembly. We are confident that your well-known qualities of statesmanship and diplomatic acumen will enable you to bring the work of the Assembly to a successful conclusion.

144. In the same vein, we express our debt of gratitude and appreciation to Mr. Jaime de Piniés for the outstanding service he rendered to the Organization and to the cause of liberation, peace and human progress during his presidency of the fortieth session of the Assembly.

145. We are delighted to see the Secretary-General back at the helm of the Organization and wish him renewed vitality and good health for many years to come.

146. The General Assembly is meeting pursuant to its decision taken last year to hold a special session on the question of Namibia [resolution 40/97 F]. We are not unmindful of the difficulties which at times seriously threatened the holding of this special session. That those difficulties have been overcome in good time and that the debate has actually commenced should give all those who have worked hard and long cause for satisfaction. For our part, we thank them and urge them all to keep it up, for many more hurdles await us along the way to the liberation of Namibia.

147. The decision taken last year was necessary and appropriate in view of the fact that 1986 marks the twentieth anniversary of the termination by the General Assembly of Pretoria's Mandate over our country. Following that historic action, which was lauded all over the world as an extraordinary act of statesmanship and a decisive manifestation of the

will of the international community to bring the racist Pretoria régime to book, the United Nations itself assumed direct responsibility for our people and our country.

148. In Namibia, in the exile centres and in various other places in the world where we found ourselves engaging in essential activities in preparation for the patriotic struggle and for future responsibilities in an independent Namibia, we too hailed with jubilation that historic action taken by the United Nations on 27 October 1966 [*resolution 2145 (XXI)*].

149. In July 1966, the International Court of Justice fell prey to sinister manipulations by Pretoria's friends and became in the eyes of the Namibian people and of many others in the world an international court of injustice. The Court was compromised by handing down an outrageous ruling on legal technicalities instead of passing a binding judgement on the basis of the voluminous evidence about Pretoria's crimes in Namibia presented to it over a period of six years by the two applicants, namely Ethiopia and Liberia, former Members of the League of Nations, acting on behalf of the Namibian people. We saw the outcome for what it was: a naked travesty of justice.

150. The leadership of SWAPO dutifully reported back to the Namibian masses on what had happened at The Hague. We also reminded our people of the dire consequences that would flow from the Court's indecision, particularly in terms of the great sacrifices which they would be called upon to make with the inevitable qualitative transformation of the struggle, which up to that point was still essentially political and diplomatic in character.

151. The United Nations had its own responsibility to fulfil, and it possessed the Charter as its weapon in defending and promoting the legitimate right of self-determination of the Namibian people. In pursuit of that noble objective, the General Assembly had adopted resolution 1514 (XV) of 14 December 1960, containing the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, for which we are most grateful to the Soviet Union, which originated the idea. In the light of the postponement of a binding ruling by the International Court of Justice, the General Assembly had to exert its own political will, backed up by the court of world public opinion, in order to do what had been left undone by the judges, who had opted for political expediency rather than for the rule of law.

152. There was indignation and moral outrage, and the intensity of the emotions expressed by many representatives in meeting rooms, corridors and lounges here in the United Nations had strong reverberations throughout the world. The final decision was taken on 27 October 1966: the termination of the Mandate. On 19 May 1967, the General Assembly established the United Nations Council for South West Africa [*resolution 2248 (S-V)*], with full legislative and executive powers, to be assisted by a United Nations Commissioner for South West Africa, and entrusted it with the responsibility of administering our country until the achievement of independence. After SWAPO decided on the name "Namibia" for the Territory, the United Nations adopted

that name in 1968 and the Council was renamed the United Nations Council for Namibia [*resolution 2372 (XXII)*].

153. The United Nations Council for Namibia has been doing commendable work in promoting the interests of the Namibian people. The statement by the Acting President of the Council, Mr. Noel Sinclair, was exemplary and forthright in demanding the immediate independence of Namibia.

154. The Security Council joined the Assembly in 1969 by endorsing the Assembly's decision that South Africa's presence in Namibia was illegal.

155. A few months prior to the termination of the Mandate, the Namibian people themselves had taken a historic step forward in the war of national liberation. For one thing, we refused then, as we continue to do today, to be intimidated by the machinations and manoeuvres of the imperialists and their racist clients in Pretoria. How could we, who have for so long been the victims of the most brutal and inhuman colonial legacy of genocide, concentration camps, forced labour, ruthless exploitation and unmitigated impoverishment by the marauding disciples and mercenaries of slave traders and by dubious "civilizing" and christianizing missions whose activities have left in their wake death, destruction and darkness, ever hope to get justice at the hands of those whose hands are dripping the blood of our people?

156. Therefore, in facing up to the challenge posed by the chicanery of the judges on 18 July 1966 at The Hague, we decided to hasten the day of the launching of the armed struggle in Namibia. On 26 August 1966, the People's Liberation Army of Namibia, SWAPO's military wing, fired the first shots against the enemy occupation forces and installations, which effectively closed one chapter—that of giving undue importance to legal remedies in a revolutionary struggle.

157. 1986 therefore also marks the twentieth anniversary of the launching of the armed struggle by the Namibian people, under the leadership of SWAPO, their sole and authentic representative. The combatants of the People's Liberation Army of Namibia have been heroic and have sacrificed much. They consecrated with their blood 20 years ago the battlefield at Ongulumbashe, in north-western Namibia, and by that courageous act of revolt signalled the beginning of a new era. Their exploits and daring in the face of many and difficult odds have inspired us all and will continue to inspire future generations of Namibia to be faithful patriots and loyal defenders of our national heritage of resistance, which was bequeathed to us by our forefathers who started the tradition of anti-colonial struggle by bravely opposing the German colonial intrusion and brutal subjugation.

158. It is worth repeating that 20 years ago the United Nations took a bold decision by assuming direct responsibility for Namibia. I have given a brief account of how we ourselves responded to the challenge of the hour in 1966 by taking up arms against the racist usurpers of our motherland. We saw the decision of the General Assembly which

declared Pretoria's presence in Namibia to be illegal as an act of rededication on the part of the international community to deal promptly and decisively with the fascists in Pretoria and thereby help bring about the early independence of Namibia.

159. Well, here we are, 20 years later, having another debate on the question of Namibia. I should say that, altogether, it is 40 years later—that is, since 1946.

160. Speaking for the oppressed but heroically resisting Namibian people, I am happy to be able to participate in the debate which has just started. But, regrettably, Namibia is still not free. The agony and injustice of colonial occupation continues unabated. The brutality of the massive military build-up and State terrorism of the Botha régime has transformed our country into a huge military barrack of the occupation army, where new types of weapons and other lethal instruments of human destruction are being deployed and experimented with. The continued illegality of the racist régime and its endless political manoeuvrings in favour of puppet groups and institutions have already sowed seeds of enmity, distrust and civil strife in the country. The politics of eternal postponement of Namibia's independence and the introduction of the notorious linkage pre-condition, for which we hold in particular the Reagan Administration responsible, continue to hold our independence to ransom and cause untold suffering to our people, whose only demand is freedom.

161. On the one hand, the plunder of Namibia's natural resources by the major Western Powers and their transnational corporations continues to denude the country of its natural resources, while, on the other hand, the Namibian people are being impoverished in an extremely scandalous and debilitating manner, without regard to their present and future interests. Moreover, condemnable and discredited cold-war tactics have been introduced as well by Pretoria's friends in an attempt to distort, for selfish and dangerous reasons, our patriotic struggle for liberation and to make it an aspect of the East-West conflict in order to justify aggression which will lead to interference in the region and obstruction of Namibia's independence.

162. That is precisely what we see happening in southern Africa today. The linkage pre-condition has now effectively blocked all efforts for our freedom. The widely condemned policy of constructive engagement—which these days is called by its proper name: the policy of destructive engagement—has led to major setbacks for some of the front-line States and emboldened the Pretoria régime in its criminal activities of committing aggression against and destabilizing the front-line and other neighbouring States. The provision of financial and military assistance to the armed terrorist and reactionary bandits of UNITA⁹ is a case in point of interference and destabilization in the region.

163. Lastly, for many years now we have witnessed a vicious and sustained campaign often taking the form of United Nations bashing and, in the case of Namibia, virtual hijacking of the question of Namibia through active and calculated undermining of the United Nations responsibility for our country.

164. Those are some of the major impediments now confronting the United Nations, the international community as a whole and, indeed, the people of Namibia. The special session on Namibia, which is being held two decades after the assumption by the United Nations of direct responsibility for Namibia, is called upon to devise effective ways and means of removing these impediments. Politically, legally and morally, it is the right thing to do—now.

165. The high-level participation in and the impressive results of the recent major international and intergovernmental conferences on southern Africa, held in Western Europe, the United States of America and Africa, have further strengthened the campaign to isolate the racist Pretoria régime and moved further, to a higher plane, the demand for the imposition of comprehensive and mandatory sanctions against the *apartheid* régime, under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations.

166. By its resolution 40/97 C of 13 December 1985, the General Assembly called for the holding of the International Conference for the Immediate Independence of Namibia. That Conference was held at Vienna from 7 to 11 July 1986.

167. In addition to the crucial task of mobilizing and strengthening further support and assistance for our struggle, led by the people's movement, SWAPO, the Conference was also charged with the task of identifying obstacles to our freedom, proposing concrete steps that might be taken to remove them and, in particular, formulating a co-ordinated international programme of action aimed at securing the immediate independence of Namibia, on the basis of the United Nations plan for the independence of our country.

168. Furthermore, the Conference, being a brain-child of the General Assembly, was also expected to recommend for the Assembly's consideration new and effective initiatives to implement resolution 2145 (XXI), by which the Assembly terminated Pretoria's Mandate over Namibia.

169. The results of the serious work of that successful Conference are now before the Assembly, as contained in the Declaration of the International Conference for the Immediate Independence of Namibia and the Programme of Action on Namibia. A companion document is the Appeal for the Immediate Independence of Namibia, issued on 9 July 1986 by the eminent persons participating in the Conference.¹⁰ The eminent persons concerned invited the General Assembly during this special session to consider and adopt effective action to secure the immediate independence of Namibia. Naturally, we endorse that call.

170. In welcoming the success and timely pronouncements of the Conference held at Vienna, I wish, on behalf of the SWAPO Central Committee and the entire struggling Namibian people, to thank the Secretary-General of the United Nations for opening the Conference; Mr. Peter Jankowitsch, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Austria, for delivering an inspiring keynote address at the opening of the Conference and also for the warm welcome and generous hospitality extended to the SWAPO delega-

tion by the Government and people of Austria; Comrade Benjamin Mkapa, Minister for Foreign Affairs of the United Republic of Tanzania, who served with competence, wisdom and eloquence as President of the Conference; Mr. Paul Lusaka, President of the United Nations Council for Namibia, and the entire Council and its secretariat for the efficient and thorough preparatory work before the Conference and the invaluable services rendered during it; Mr. Rifai, Secretary-General of the Conference, for assuring its smooth running and success; and, indeed, the eminent persons for adding to our deliberations their enormous prestige, collectively and individually, and issuing an important appeal which has received world-wide acclaim. Needless to say, we also thank the participants, particularly those who have remained steadfast throughout the years in support of, and in solidarity with, our struggle, and who renewed their commitment by word and action in Vienna.

171. In the OAU and the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries we have trusted allies and supporters. The recent declarations, resolutions and appeals adopted at the twenty-second ordinary session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the OAU, held at Addis Ababa, and the Eighth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Harare, respectively underline not only their joint actions in unity but also reinforce each other in demanding intensification of the global campaign for the imposition of comprehensive, mandatory sanctions against the Botha régime. Both organizations also renewed their commitment and urged their members to provide increased and sustained all-round material assistance to the national liberation movements and the front-line States in order to enable them effectively to resist the endless destructive menace emanating from racist South Africa. To that end, both organizations have decided to establish a number of new solidarity funds to aid the victims of *apartheid* in the whole of southern Africa.

172. The final documents of the two summit meetings will be before the United Nations as official documents.¹¹ We attach great importance to them, and urge the Assembly to give them urgent consideration.

173. Obviously, we are delighted that those dynamic organizations, which have been making outstanding contributions to our struggle, are now led by two of Africa's pre-eminent freedom fighters—Mr. Robert Mugabe, Prime Minister of Zimbabwe and current Chairman of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, and Mr. Denis Sassou-Nguesso, President of the People's Republic of the Congo and current Chairman of the OAU, whose statement was delivered so eloquently by his Minister for Foreign Affairs this morning. We support their efforts to give practical effect to the conclusions and recommendations adopted by the organizations over which they preside. Foreign ministers designated by the two organizations and other foreign ministers are present or are on the way to participate in the session, as an act of political solidarity with the Namibian cause.

174. This important meeting has the advantage of following in the wake of all the major conferences

that I referred to earlier. We consider it necessary and fitting to stress that this must be the last special session of the General Assembly on the question of Namibia. Twenty years of Pretoria's delaying tactics are far too much for our people to have endured. Enough is enough. We do not believe that the United Nations is hamstrung for ever and unable to exert its political will on Pretoria; we know it is within our collective power to prevail over the racists and force them to relinquish their grip on Namibia. Now is the time for decisive action by the General Assembly and by the United Nations as a whole to fulfil the sacred trust of assisting the Namibian people in liberating our motherland and thereby helping to speed the day when independent Namibia may at last take its rightful place among the States Members of the United Nations.

175. When we took up arms 20 years ago to fight, sacrifice and kill for our liberty and in defence of the motherland, we knew that the struggle would be long and bitter, but we were inspired by the great sacrifices of those who had stood up before us in devotion to the same principles and who had taught us by saying, "Let us die fighting".

176. On 26 August 1966, when the idea of military action against the racist war machine was said to be unthinkable, the combatants of the People's Liberation Army of Namibia dared to meet the racist armed forces on the battlefield. Twenty years later SWAPO has successfully pinned down a huge colonial occupation army of over 100,000 troops and forced the Botha régime to expend more and more of its ill-gotten treasure in search of an elusive military solution in Namibia. SWAPO, as a vital political, military and diplomatic manifestation in the context of the Namibian reality, is a force to be reckoned with.

177. The enemy knows this, and we continue to demonstrate our prowess in the struggle through daily action. The enemy's manoeuvres are manifold; many have been its brutal activities designed to deny SWAPO the hearts and minds of the Namibian masses. But ours is a people's movement. It embodies and expresses the aspirations of our people for liberation and national independence. SWAPO leads the masses of our people at home and abroad. In spite of Pretoria's continuing attempts to keep the heroic resistance of the Namibian people largely hidden from the world media, SWAPO continues to be the central factor in the Namibian political equation. Without SWAPO's leading role, the colonial conflict in our country cannot be solved. That is why, in rejecting the puppet entities being created in Namibia by the racist régime, including the latest one installed at Windhoek on 17 June 1985, we reiterate here once again that the only parties to the conflict in Namibia are, on the one hand, the Namibian people, represented by SWAPO, their sole and authentic representative, and on the other, the racist régime of South Africa, which illegally occupies Namibia.

178. We say to the gallant freedom fighters of the People's Liberation Army of Namibia, in the words uttered about another illustrious freedom fighter and ex-slave of this hemisphere's past,

"The midnight sky and the silent stars have been the witnesses of your devotion to freedom and of your heroism."

As for our movement, the vanguard of the Namibian revolution, we remain convinced that when the history of a free and independent Namibia is one day written, SWAPO will go down as having stood firm where others wavered, having sacrificed for the sacred cause of liberation where others compromised.

179. At the present time we are implementing the directive of the Central Committee of SWAPO, which declared 1986 the Year of General Mobilization and Decisive Action for Final Victory. Our people in all zones of combat are enthusiastically responding to this clarion call of SWAPO's leadership in order to hasten our liberation.

180. The front-line States and their peoples have for many years now been the targets of acts of aggression, State terrorism, destabilization, subversion and sabotage by the racist Pretoria régime, which, thanks to the infamous policy of constructive engagement and the linkage pre-condition, has become even more violent and reckless in its acts of banditry in southern Africa. During the month of May this year alone, the racist régime militarily attacked four front-line States—Angola, Botswana, Zambia and Zimbabwe—and killed innocent men, women and children and destroyed valuable property. In addition, as noted by the Commonwealth Eminent Persons Group, Pretoria is a very skilled practitioner of the effective use of sanctions against its neighbours. In a very convincing study prepared for the Eighth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, two reputable researchers, Phyllis Johnson and David Martin of the Southern African Research and Documentation Centre, located at Harare, provided ample evidence and arguments to show that Pretoria was already imposing economic sanctions against its neighbours. So much for those who claim that sanctions will not work and who are trying to caution us against insisting on our demand for the imposition of comprehensive and mandatory sanctions against the racist Pretoria régime.

181. In that connection, we strongly condemn all the vicious and criminal actions taken by that régime against the front-line States. A case in point is the recent punitive trade restrictions against Zambia and Zimbabwe in reprisal both for their principled support of the liberation struggles in South Africa and Namibia and, in particular, for the stand they took at the Commonwealth mini-summit in London.

182. Time and again it has been said that *apartheid* is the root cause of all the problems in our region. During the more than 10 years since its independence, Angola has known no peace. What the great people of that embattled country have known at the hands of the racist army and its terrorist puppets as a daily occurrence is an ever-growing catalogue of killings, destruction, misery and occupation of parts of their beautiful and resource-rich country.

183. The poverty of the spoken word hampers me in fully expressing to our comrades-in-arms of the

MPLA Workers Party,¹² the revolutionary Government of Angola and the ever-resilient Angolan masses the depth of our gratitude and the appreciation we owe them for all the supreme sacrifices they are making in support of our cause and for the complete trust and confidence they continue to repose in the leadership of SWAPO.

184. We invite the enemies of Africa, our detractors and the apologists of *apartheid*, all who somehow always manage to exhibit a nasty proclivity for labelling victims of their criminal acts the perpetrators of all misdeeds, to listen to the words uttered at Harare by Comrade José Eduardo dos Santos, President of the MPLA Workers Party and of the People's Republic of Angola, in dismissing the spurious arguments advanced to obstruct Namibia's independence and justify the destabilization of Angola. He said:

"Namibia was illegally occupied by South Africa when Angola was still a Portuguese colony. Namibia today is a colony of South Africa, the only colony that remains in Africa, and this colonial issue cannot be confused with any other. It should be solved on the basis of the appropriate resolutions of the United Nations, especially resolution 435 (1978). On the other hand, South Africa's war of aggression against our people started in August 1975, when Angola was still in the period of transition to national independence. At that time there were no existing Cuban forces in our territory. We know that it is not because of the presence of Cuban forces that Angola is attacked.

"With less intensity, other countries of the region where there is no existence of Cuban forces also have been attacked, since one of the objectives of the destabilization and aggression policy of South Africa is to overthrow the legitimate Governments of the front-line countries, especially Angola, to enable the rising to power of its puppets and to perpetuate *apartheid* and the illegal occupation of Namibia.

"We are sure that even if all the Cuban forces left Angola, the armed attacks against the Angolan people would not cease. Besides, if such a step was made, it would be a big and irreparable mistake. We understand that the tense situation prevailing in our zone is very complex and delicate and that the necessary trust does not exist for the serious, honest and constructive discussion of the problems with the Pretoria régime."

185. SWAPO wholeheartedly supports Angola's position. We once again call upon all peace-loving and progressive segments of mankind to render all forms of practical assistance to Angola and other front-line States in order to enable them to strengthen their defence capabilities and to concentrate on development without interference and destabilization by Pretoria and by its friends and puppets. The Security Council has long rejected the linkage pre-condition.

186. Before concluding, I should like to reassure our comrades-in-arms of the national liberation movements fighting for the right to self-determination and national independence in Africa, the Middle East, Latin America and Asia and all those who are

demanding social justice and democracy in the world that our failure on this occasion to reiterate explicitly our steadfast solidarity with them was merely due to the fact that we wanted to limit our statement to the specific item on the agenda of the special session. We remain confident, however, that their struggles, like our own, will be victorious.

187. In conclusion, I should like to return to the crucial question of the indispensable role of the Secretary-General in the decolonization process in Namibia. I do so in order to say that I completely agree with the conclusion reached by the Secretary-General in his report on the work of the Organization,⁵ which so succinctly adumbrated the current sad state of affairs of the question of Namibia's freedom and independence. The Secretary-General's conclusion in our view provides a basis for prompt and decisive action by the special session. The essence of the relevant section of the report is encapsulated in its two final sentences, which read as follows:

"The particular problem of Namibia, however, is ripe for solution now. Delay can only increase instability and violence in the region and unnecessarily prolong the suffering of Namibia's inhabitants."

188. The whole matter has been put before the Assembly to be acted upon, now. The children of Namibia, in their letters addressed to the President of the United States, Mr. Reagan, say "Let my country go". After 20 years and, indeed, eight years after the adoption of the United Nations plan for the independence of Namibia, I ask the Assembly to help them realize their yearning for freedom. Let the resolution that will be adopted at the end of this debate enshrine their wishes by paving the way for the immediate independence of Namibia.

189. The struggle continues.

190. The PRESIDENT: At this point, I should like to inform members that I have received a request from the Chairman of the Group of African States that a representative of the African National Congress of South Africa be permitted to address the Assembly at its fourteenth special session. May I take it that the Assembly agrees to this request?

It was so decided.

Organization of work

191. The PRESIDENT: Before adjourning the meeting, I should like to draw the attention of representatives to the long list of speakers that we have for the remainder of this session. In fact, 90 delegations are inscribed to speak during the rest of the week, and the list is not yet closed. In the interest of the effective functioning of the session, and in order to respect the wishes of all delegations to present their views on the question of Namibia—a question to which we attach great importance—I should like to urge all representatives to do their utmost to shorten their statements. It is my sincere hope that representatives will heed my appeal and cooperate fully with me in this regard.

The meeting rose at 1.20 p.m.

NOTES

¹See *Official Records of the Security Council, Fortieth Year, Supplement for October, November and December 1985*, document S/17658.

²*Ibid.*, *Forty-first Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1986*, document S/18241.

³See A/41/654, annex II, decision AMG/Dec. I (XXII).

⁴See A/41/697, annex.

⁵*Official Records of the General Assembly, Forty-first Session, Supplement No. 1.*

⁶*Legal Consequences for States of the Continued Presence of South Africa in Namibia (South West Africa) notwithstanding Security Council Resolution 276 (1970), Advisory Opinion. I.C.J. Reports 1971, p. 16.*

⁷See *Official Records of the Security Council, Fortieth Year, Supplement for April, May and June 1985*, document S/17242, para. 48.

⁸*Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-fifth Session, Supplement No. 24, vol. I, annex II.*

⁹União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola.

¹⁰See *Report of the International Conference for the Immediate Independence of Namibia, Vienna, 7–11 July 1986* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.86.I.16 and addendum).

¹¹See A/41/654 and A/41/697.

¹²Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola—Partido do Trabalho.