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at 3.20 p.m.

NEW YORK

President: Mr. Humayun Rasheed
CHOUDHURY (Bangladesh).

AGENDA ITEM 6

Question of Namibia (*continued*)

1. The PRESIDENT: I should like again to emphasize very strongly the point I made in my statements, at the first meetings of the forty-first session and of the current session, about starting the meetings punctually. I urgently solicit the co-operation of delegations in this regard.

2. I would remind representatives that, in accordance with the decision taken at the first meeting of the current session, the list of speakers in the debate will be closed tomorrow at noon. The first speaker for this afternoon is the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Zimbabwe, Mr. Mangwende, who will speak on behalf of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries.

3. Mr. MANGWENDE (Zimbabwe): I wish to join the many others who spoke before me today in congratulating you, Mr. President, on your election to preside over this crucially important special session on the question of Namibia, an issue which remains unresolved and continues to preoccupy our minds and indeed the minds of all those who believe in and struggle for freedom, justice and equality.

4. Your renowned diplomatic skills and the depth of your knowledge and experience will, I am sure, prove invaluable in guiding us towards success in our deliberations here today and in the days that lie ahead.

5. There is little need for me to recall in any great detail the series of events which have produced the tragedy of Namibia we know today. Suffice it to say that next month will mark the twentieth anniversary of the adoption of General Assembly resolution 2145 (XXI), by which this body terminated South Africa's Mandate over Namibia and the United Nations assumed direct responsibility of the Territory.

6. Following the assumption of that responsibility by the United Nations, the General Assembly, by its resolution 2248 (S-V), established the United Nations Council for Namibia as the legal Administering Authority for the Territory and entrusted it with the defence of the rights and interests of the Namibian people.

7. It is common knowledge that, notwithstanding these resolutions and subsequent decisions and de-

mands of both the General Assembly and the Security Council, the racist Pretoria régime has stubbornly refused to withdraw its administration or its armed forces from Namibia and has, on the contrary, increased its stranglehold over that illegally occupied Territory and its long-suffering people, wilfully and brutally denying them their right to freedom and to sovereign independence.

8. On numerous occasions here as well as in many other international forums we have condemned the evil and repressive nature of the *apartheid* régime in Pretoria. We have seen its maniac determination to maintain white supremacy within its own borders and its ruthless determination to preserve its regional domination and create a cordon sanitaire along its borders enforced by military might. More relevantly for us here today, we have witnessed the increasingly barbaric lengths to which the régime will go in order to maintain its grip on Namibia, a land whose resources it plunders relentlessly and callously in order to sustain the oppressive apparatus of *apartheid*, and a land it uses as a springboard to further its notorious policy of regional destabilization.

9. At one stage, in the late 1970s, it seemed that reason had finally triumphed when Security Council resolution 435 (1978)—the United Nations blueprint for Namibian independence—was adopted and agreed upon by all parties to the dispute, including the liberation movement, the South West Africa People's Organization [SWAPO] and the South African régime itself. All that was needed was for that plan to be implemented. That was in 1978. Here we stand, eight years later, with the Namibian situation still unresolved, still burning, still costing innocent lives with each day that passes, as the racist forces exact a terrible and vengeful retribution upon a civilian population, including harmless old people, women and children.

10. The questions we must surely be asking ourselves are: Why has resolution 435 (1978) not yet been implemented? What are the stumbling-blocks to its implementation, and what can be done, even at this late stage, to overcome those stumbling blocks?

11. Even a brief glance at the development of the question of Namibia since 1978 will show that the racist régime has delayed, procrastinated and evaded, at all stages, the implementation of resolution 435 (1978). Notwithstanding the obduracy of the racists, the Secretary-General has worked tirelessly in his efforts to bring the Pretoria régime to the starting post and succeeded, finally, in reaching a stage where the only outstanding issue was the electoral system to be used.

12. Here, once again, the Secretary-General persisted and persevered with his usual patience and determination until finally that obstacle too was overcome. Indeed, in a letter to the régime's Minister for Foreign Affairs, on 26 November 1985, he said:

"With agreement having been reached on the choice of the electoral system, all outstanding issues relevant to the United Nations plan for Namibia have now been resolved

"I therefore feel it is my duty to propose . . . that we now proceed to establish the earliest possible date for . . . the implementation of the Security Council resolution."¹

13. Resolution 435 (1978) has not yet been implemented precisely because South Africa continues its arrogant refusal to withdraw from Namibia and also because issues which are irrelevant to the already agreed upon plan for Namibia have been introduced and have been used to delay further and avoid the implementation of the resolution.

14. A closer analysis reveals that the lack of any further progress towards the implementation of resolution 435 (1978) results, almost entirely, from the introduction into the Namibian issue of what we now refer to as the "linkage factor": the insistence by the present United States Administration that Cuban internationalist forces should be withdrawn from Angola before any further moves can be made towards the independence of Namibia.

15. The emergence of "linkage", of course, marked the introduction of a brand new dimension into the Namibian question: that of cold-war politics. It represented a deliberate attempt not only to subordinate the real issues at stake, namely, freedom and independence for the Namibian people, to this extraneous and totally irrelevant question of super-Power rivalry, but also to negate promises and assurances already given of ending racist colonial rule in Namibia.

16. Recognizing this "linkage" ploy for what it was, and still is, the vast majority of the international community rejected it out of hand and refused to accept its relevance to the Namibian question.

17. The search for peace in Namibia and progress towards independence has been further hampered by the blatantly overt support being given by the current United States Administration to the UNITA² bandits, who are also sponsored by the racist Pretoria régime, and whose aim is to overthrow the legitimate Government of the People's Republic of Angola.

18. Such activities have served only to further complicate the issue and heighten tension in the region as a whole. They have brought into question the morality of those Governments—apart from the Pretoria régime, which knows no morality—which support them, and mean inevitably a continuation of the Cuban internationalist troop presence in Angola.

19. In such circumstances, it is not surprising that at their summit Conference held earlier this month, the heads of State or Government of non-aligned countries³

"strongly condemned the racist South African régime for its continued illegal, colonial and brutal occupation of Namibia . . . emphasized the legitimacy of the Namibian people's struggle for self-determination by all available means, including armed struggle, and reaffirmed their abiding support for the just and heroic struggle of the people of Namibia under its sole, authentic and legitimate representative, the South West Africa People's Organization."

In addition, they

"firmly condemned the United States Government for its blatant disregard for the solemn calls of the Organization of African Unity [OAU] and the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries and for its continued sponsorship of terrorism in southern Africa by supplying material assistance to the UNITA criminal bandits who are in Pretoria's service."

They emphasized that

"by its disregard of the calls of the OAU and the Movement [of Non-Aligned Countries], by its gross interference in the internal affairs of Angola and by its open collaboration with the racist Pretoria régime in maintaining *apartheid* at home . . . the United States Government has become an obstacle to be removed rather than a mediator and honest broker in the negotiating process leading to the speedy implementation of United Nations Security Council resolution 435 (1978)."

20. Notwithstanding those sentiments so deeply and passionately expressed by the heads of State or Government of the non-aligned countries, it is clear to all concerned that the prime obstacle to the resolution of the entire question of Namibia remains the Pretoria régime itself and indeed the continuing existence of the *apartheid* doctrine in South Africa.

21. What then do we do about this? As we and so many others see it, it is of prime importance for the plight of the Namibian people to be brought once more to the fore of the international community's conscience.

22. Never before has international attention been so rightly, although belatedly, focused on the menace of *apartheid*. We are determined to ensure that this attention is not only maintained, but that it is also turned to the ruinous effect of the *apartheid* system upon Namibia, a situation which, for the past 18 months, has tended to be somewhat eclipsed both by events within South Africa itself and because of a deliberate news and information blackout imposed by the occupying régime in Namibia.

23. In that regard and to revive international awareness of the question of Namibia, the heads of State or Government of the non-aligned countries, meeting at Harare, in their special appeal,³ called upon all member States of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, and all other countries, to

"take up the issue of Namibia in all international forums as well as in their bilateral relations with the United States Administration in order to

impress upon it to abandon its 'linkage' policy and to co-operate fully forthwith with the United Nations Secretary-General in the implementation of United Nations Security Council resolution 435 (1978)."

24. Increased international support, in political, material and diplomatic terms, for the gallant freedom fighters of SWAPO, who so courageously face the *apartheid* menace on the battlefield must come, hand-in-hand with increasing international awareness of the plight of the Namibian people. Such support is vital to enable SWAPO to raise the price South Africa must pay for its continued illegal occupation of Namibia.

25. Finally, there is the issue of the imposition of economic sanctions against the racist régime. Some progress has already been made in that respect, but there is much still to be done in order to secure mandatory and comprehensive sanctions against the régime. The Heads of State or Government of the Non-Aligned Countries reaffirmed their overwhelming support for such measures to be taken against the Pretoria régime.

26. They further reaffirmed that Security Council resolution 435 (1978) remains the only internationally acceptable basis for a peaceful solution to the question of Namibia, and reaffirmed that it is the unshirkable responsibility of the United Nations to bring independence to Namibia without further delay or prevarication.

27. This Organization has, therefore, a moral and international obligation to fulfil that responsibility and to press the racist régime to comply with the many General Assembly and Security Council resolutions adopted on this particular issue.

28. We are, of course, aware that the United States and the United Kingdom have blocked the imposition of such sanctions by the Security Council. The heads of State or Government of the non-aligned countries have urged the United States and the United Kingdom not to use their veto power to prevent the imposition of sanctions against South Africa—a move which the heads of State or Government see as the most effective, peaceful means of forcing the Pretoria régime to terminate its illegal occupation of Namibia and one which would contribute to the eradication of the abhorrent system of *apartheid*.

29. The Movement of Non-Aligned Countries already represents most of the States Member of the United Nations. There are many other nations, non-members of the Movement, that share our sentiments on the issue of *apartheid* and are quite prepared to join in imposing sanctions against the Pretoria régime. We therefore appeal to the Governments of the United States, the United Kingdom and the Federal Republic of Germany to co-operate with us on this issue.

30. Surely those who continue to block the imposition of sanctions can, and must, in the end, be persuaded to join with the rest of civilized mankind in adopting a course which is just. Of course, sanctions, by themselves, will not bring down *apar-*

theid. But, added to other international pressures and the pressure being imposed on the racist régime from within its own borders and from Namibia, sanctions will speed up the eventual collapse of the régime by sapping its strength from within and by undermining the Afrikaner self-confidence.

31. Sanctions will contribute to a free Namibia more quickly and less painfully than no sanctions. Sanctions, therefore, are the goal for which we must all aim. They must be mandatory to be effective and fair. No nation or company should be allowed to cheat or benefit during the sanctions régime. Only mandatory sanctions imposed under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations can minimize such possible delinquent activities by the unscrupulous. Voluntary sanctions are open to abuse. I therefore urge the General Assembly to recommend the adoption of comprehensive and mandatory sanctions by the Security Council.

32. Mr. VAN DUNEM (Angola): Allow us first of all, Mr. President, to associate ourselves with the congratulations and promises expressed to you by the speakers who have preceded us. We are fully convinced that your eminent diplomatic qualities and your great and recognized devotion to the cause of the self-determination and independence of peoples will contribute to the work of this important forum.

33. We cannot fail to reiterate to the Secretary-General our profound esteem and our gratitude for the efforts that he has undertaken to bring about a just and honourable solution to the colonial question of Namibia.

34. Two decades have passed since the United Nations terminated South Africa's Mandate over Namibia [*resolution 2145 (XXI)*]. It was precisely on this basis and with full legitimacy that the Conference of Foreign Ministers of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Luanda from 4 to 7 September 1985, recommended the convening of this special session so that the question of Namibia could once more be the object of in-depth consideration to find ways and means of contributing to the restoration of peace and security in disturbed southern Africa.

35. The present special session on Namibia therefore represents one more stage in the great epic of the liberation of Namibia, whose occupation constitutes an act of aggression against the Namibian people in terms of General Assembly resolution 3314 (XXIX). We consider it also to be a manifestation of indefectible solidarity with the Namibian people in their just and heroic liberation struggle. Thus, we encourage SWAPO, the sole and legitimate representative of the Namibian people, in the difficult but victorious struggle it has been carrying on for more than a quarter of a century, the armed battle for freedom, and we reaffirm our total support for SWAPO's appeal that the current year be the year of general mobilization and decisive action for the final victory.

36. We are meeting on the twentieth anniversary of the termination of the Mandate of the colonial racists of South Africa over Namibia and eight years since the adoption by the Security Council of resolution 435 (1978), the only acceptable and legal basis for the solution of the Namibian question.

37. Unfortunately, the Pretoria régime, with the blessing of the United States of America and its Western allies, persists in its intransigence and non-compliance with the United Nations plan for the independence of Namibia, which constitutes the concrete expression of the wishes and the legal conscience of the international community with regard to this Territory. In so doing the régime challenges the authority of the United Nations.

38. That is the reason for the installation of the transitional government on 17 June 1985, the intensification of the bloody and brutal repression of the anti-*apartheid* freedom fighters inside South Africa and the stepping up of systematic acts of aggression and destabilization against neighbouring independent States, particularly those in the front line.

39. In view of all this, we think we are expressing the feelings of the international community by reaffirming that the possibility of persuasion of and dialogue with South Africa seems no longer to exist and that it is urgently necessary to face the traditional challenge of the Pretoria régime to human dignity and the universal conscience.

40. This is all the more evident as Angola finds itself once more a target of large-scale aggression by South African forces, with the participation of about 20,000 men grouped in six battalions, one light infantry division and one motorized infantry division equipped with Kentron defence artillery along the southern border, not to mention the enormous human resources and war machinery concentrated in the bases in northern Namibia.

41. The People's Republic of Angola has spared no effort to contribute to the establishment of durable and genuine peace in the region. The global negotiations process and the relevant text,⁴ which was transmitted to the Secretary-General in November 1984, are unequivocal testimony to those efforts in the search for a peaceful solution to the region's problems. In this context, the Angolan Government reaffirms the validity of the proposal in the text referred to concerning an agreement on a comprehensive peace in southern Africa within the framework of the Security Council.

42. The United Nations is an impotent witness to the lessening of the importance of its resolutions and decisions consequent upon their non-implementation even in such cases of blatant violation of international peace and security as is the situation in southern Africa. This only reduces the authority and international prestige that we consider indispensable if the United Nations is to translate the principles and objectives of its Charter into reality and demand from the States adherence to proper international standards.

43. On the basis of this line of thinking and in the light of the explosive situation in southern Africa, we believe that the criteria for the creation of a climate of peace, security and peaceful coexistence in the region should transcend the mere declarations of intent that have characterized United Nations resolutions and decisions so far.

44. In view of the decisions taken by the International Conference for the Immediate Independence of Namibia, held at Vienna from 7 to 11 July 1986, the World Conference on Sanctions against South Africa, held in Paris from 16 to 20 June 1986, and the Eighth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Harare from 1 to 6 September 1986, it is important to take concrete action without delay. This should take the form of the immediate imposition of comprehensive and mandatory sanctions against South Africa in accordance with Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations, with the aim of accelerating independence without pre-conditions for Namibia.

45. We can recall only one instance during the 40-year life of the United Nations in which the Security Council has applied military sanctions. This was under resolution 221 (1966), which conferred full authority on the British Government to use force in case of need in order to prevent the landing at the port of Beira of ships believed to be carrying fuel oil for Southern Rhodesia. In compliance with this resolution, the British Navy blocked the port of Beira and captured the Greek oil tankers "Joanna V" and "Manuela" carrying oil for Rhodesia.

46. We think that the measure taken 20 years ago by the Security Council constitutes a historic precedent worthy of being followed immediately at this stage in which southern Africa, transformed into a theatre of war by the gendarme-like imperialists in the continent, is at the centre of the international community's attention.

47. We urge the Security Council to adopt similar measures with regard to the illegal *apartheid* régime, because its criminality, arrogance and intransigence constitute the greatest challenge to the Organization, a challenge undoubtedly more serious than that posed by the then Southern Rhodesia. Similar action is logically imperative.

48. States that pursue a policy of interference in the internal affairs of other States continue to make use of worn and absurd pretexts to link the implementation of resolution 435 (1978) to the withdrawal of the Cuban internationalist forces from the People's Republic of Angola. The Security Council, through its resolution 539 (1983), rejected all the efforts of those States, *inter alia* the United States of America and South Africa, aimed at linking the independence of Namibia with the withdrawal of those forces, whose presence in Angola, in the interest of its self-defence, is in full accordance with Article 51 of the Charter of the United Nations and is a matter exclusively of Angolan sovereignty.

49. The facts show that the connection is not between the independence of Namibia and the presence of the Cuban internationalist forces in Angola, but between the illegal occupation of Namibia and the war of aggression that is being carried out against us, bearing in mind that Namibian territory is being used as a springboard for the perpetration of the criminal South African acts on Angolan territory, which have already caused material damage amounting to more than \$12 billion, taken innumerable lives, left nearly 50,000 people mutilated and caused more than 600,000 persons to be displaced.

50. Mr. José Eduardo dos Santos, President of the People's Republic of Angola, at the Eighth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, said:

"Such attacks could have stopped or been reduced long ago if the Angolan Government had agreed to change SWAPO for UNITA, as racist South Africa had proposed. But the Angolan people preferred to follow the way of justice and sacrifice in dignity . . . we think that these years of resistance, associated with the resistance of the peoples of Namibia and South Africa and other peoples of the region, are accelerating political changes in southern Africa. These changes are the result of the struggle and not gifts from heaven. They are at the cost of the blood shed, the sacrifice of mothers who have lost their sons, the youngsters who have been mutilated for ever and the children who have been left orphans."

51. In our view the States Members of the United Nations are the authors and the guarantors of the implementation of political, moral and juridical-international ordinances, and in this regard the People's Republic of Angola does not countenance hypocrisy. It has honoured its commitments under the Charter of the United Nations and in accordance with the principles of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries and the OAU, giving its indefatigable support to the just and legitimate struggle of the Namibian people for national liberation.

52. In this connection, we cannot fail to stress the firm commitment of the front-line States to the cause of Namibia and competence of the United Nations Council for Namibia and their efforts to contribute to a quick resolution of the question. The United Nations should therefore increase its efforts to continue as an impartial and credible international forum for the elimination of colonialism and *apartheid* in southern Africa.

53. We are convinced that with the independence of Namibia and the abolition of *apartheid*, the persistence of which constitutes an offence to the universal conscience, the causes of war, violence and instability in the subregion will be eliminated and the basic conditions will be created for the transformation of Africa, particularly the south Atlantic region, into a denuclearized zone not liable to pacts. Consequently, a new era will be opened for the African nations of our subregion, an era of development, progress and peace, which have been delayed by the aggression of South Africa, supported no doubt by the strategy of the Western Powers with regard to southern Africa.

54. The bankrupt policy of "constructive engagement" constitutes the essence of that strategy. They are aimed at prolonging the exploitation of the natural resources of Namibia by foreign economic interests, in open violation of Decree No. 1 for the Protection of the Natural Resources of Namibia, enacted by the United Nations Council for Namibia,⁵ at reinforcing Pretoria's aggressive military machinery and at continuing South Africa's illegal occupation of Namibia and its acts of aggression and destabilization against neighbouring States.

55. This special session of the General Assembly on the question of Namibia gives us an exceptional opportunity to honour our commitments with regard to the ideals of the Charter and our international responsibilities in this International Year of Peace, which coincides with the twentieth anniversary of the termination of South Africa's Mandate over Namibia.

56. The People's Republic of Angola hopes that at this historic session the General Assembly will adopt effective and wise measures to eliminate the anachronistic system of *apartheid* and to force South Africa to implement immediately the United Nations plan for the independence of Namibia as embodied in Security Council resolutions 385 (1976) and 435 (1978).

57. Through you, Sir, and through the Secretary-General, Angola will continue to pledge its solidarity and support for the genuine independence of Namibia and the abolition of the racist régime in South Africa.

58. The struggle continues. Victory is certain.

59. Mr. AL-ANSI (Oman) (*interpretation from Arabic*): I am pleased to see you, Sir, assuming the presidency of the forty-first session of the General Assembly and of the fourteenth special session, devoted to the question of Namibia. Since you come from a fraternal Islamic country which has strong and friendly relations with my country, it gives me great pleasure to congratulate you on the important task entrusted to you by the international community in these critical historic times through which we are all passing.

60. It pleases me also on this occasion to refer to the effective role played, so earnestly and sincerely, by your predecessor, our dear friend Mr. Jaime de Piniés, during his wise leadership of the fortieth—commemorative—session of the United Nations, which coincided with the fortieth anniversary of the Organization. I should like also to commend him for having presided successfully over the resumed fortieth session, beginning on 28 April 1986, on the current financial crisis of the United Nations and over the thirteenth special session, devoted to the critical economic situation in Africa, which was held at Headquarters from 27 May to 1 June this year.

61. Since our dear friend and colleague Mr. de Piniés has retired after long and successful service as the representative of his country, most of which was spent representing Spain at the United Nations, and as President of the General Assembly, I cannot let the occasion pass without expressing to him the appreciation and the compliments of the Oman delegation, wishing him a quiet, healthy and happy life in retirement.

62. Like its fraternal neighbour, South Africa, Namibia is still under the yoke of colonial occupation. The peoples of those two countries are suffering much oppression and injustice as a result of the inhuman policy pursued by the racist rulers in Pretoria. Just as the indigenous population of Namibia constitutes more than 93 per cent of the total population, the people of South Africa, who also

reject discrimination and *apartheid*, constitute a similar percentage of the total population. Regrettably, however, the white ruling minority fully dominates the sovereignty and wealth of those two countries.

63. Unfortunately, the Namibian people have been suffering for more than a hundred years under the yoke of colonial domination. From 1884 to 1915 they were dominated by German colonization. During the First World War the forces of the Union of South Africa occupied the region in 1915, with the support of foreign assistance, and in 1920 South Africa gained the recognition of the League of Nations as the mandatory Power in South-West Africa. When the United Nations succeeded the League of Nations in 1945 it assumed supervision of the colonial Territories. The Government of the Union of South Africa, although a Member of this international Organization, refused to hand over the region currently known as Namibia to the United Nations in accordance with the rules and principles of trusteeship. As a result of this colonialist intransigence, the General Assembly took the case to the International Court of Justice and by its resolution 2145 (XXI) the Assembly terminated South Africa's Mandate over Namibia. By its resolution 264 (1969), the Security Council declared the illegality of South Africa's occupation of Namibia and called for the immediate withdrawal of South African forces from the Territory. In 1971 the International Court of Justice, in its advisory opinion,⁶ declared illegal South Africa's administration of Namibia.

64. In the light of those developments, the United Nations officially established the United Nations Council for Namibia [resolution 2248 (S-V)] consisting of thirty-one Member States. The Council is the legally recognized international administrative body entrusted with the supervision of the Territory until the people of Namibia attain their full freedom and independence. The United Nations, in addition to making provision for the operation of the United Nations Council for Namibia and the Office of the United Nations Commissioner for Namibia, has established the United Nations Institute for Namibia at Lusaka. It also encourages other national programmes which contribute to the improvement of the social and economic prospects for the Namibian people. In the same way, organs of the United Nations such as the Security Council and the General Assembly, and the Secretary-General are playing a continuous and pioneering role in the political negotiation process in order to reach a quick, final and decisive solution of the question of Namibia in accordance with the resolutions adopted on the question by the relevant organs of the United Nations.

65. Despite the continuous international efforts made in past years to achieve a peaceful end to the illegitimate foreign occupation of Namibia by South Africa and to restore the Territory to international legitimacy with a view to declaring its freedom and independence in keeping with the wishes of its people and national leadership, the intransigence of the racist and colonialist régime has not abated. It has pursued its unchanging policy of creating complications and fudging, regardless of the clear and unambiguous demands of the international community

which reflect the increasing support and consensus of all the freedom-loving and peace-loving peoples of the world.

66. The Namibian people has been struggling continuously, politically and militarily, for 20 years to realize its imprescriptible national aspirations as reaffirmed by the General Assembly in its resolution 3111 (XXVIII), whereby 26 August was officially declared Namibia Day. The General Assembly, in resolution 31/146, endorsed the armed struggle of the Namibian people and expressed support for the international political efforts which are ignored and rejected by Pretoria in pursuance of its colonialist policy.

67. Security Council resolution 435 (1978) is, in our view, a solid basis for terminating the *status quo* in Namibia forthwith. At all the regular and special sessions, conferences and international meetings which have been convened and are still being convened within the framework of the General Assembly, the Security Council and the United Nations Council for Namibia underline the same position. Recently there has been a marked escalation of support by different countries and geographical groups for the exercise by the Namibian people of their inalienable rights. These developments have isolated the Pretoria régime on the regional and international levels and have led to the suspension of its membership in the General Assembly and the main Committees. Consequently the Pretoria régime has found itself under increasing pressure from its allies. This has compelled it to declare, in a letter dated 3 March 1986 from its Minister for Foreign Affairs addressed to the Secretary-General,⁷ that it proposed 1 August of this year as the date for the commencement of the implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978), provided that the Cuban forces were withdrawn from Angola.

68. We are in full agreement with the position taken by the Secretary-General in his reply to the proposal made by the Government of South Africa,⁸ in which he emphasized that Security Council resolution 435 (1978) must be implemented without linkage to any extraneous issues which bear no relation to the ending of Pretoria's illegal occupation of Namibia. We hope that all the parties concerned in the situation in southern Africa, and especially in Namibia, will facilitate the achievement of freedom and independence for the Namibian people as soon as possible and without unrelated impediments.

69. Oman, as a developing and non-aligned country, maintains close co-operation and friendship with the African countries and as a State Member of the United Nations it has constantly urged respect for the principles and resolutions of the Organization in the interest of international peace and security. It has also called for co-operation and understanding among the various countries of the world. It emphasizes the need to intensify international efforts to dismantle *apartheid* and racial discrimination in South Africa and Namibia, in order to achieve independence and freedom without further delay for the people of Namibia in accordance with Security Council resolution 435 (1978). We support the excellent efforts of the United Nations Council for Namibia. We also support the resolutions adopted by

the International Conference for the Immediate Independence of Namibia, held at Vienna from 7 to 11 July 1986 under the auspices of the United Nations, and the World Conference on Sanctions against Racist South Africa, held in Paris from 16 to 20 June 1986, in which Oman participated.

70. As we have repeatedly declared, my country rejects prevarications or interference of any kind in the internal affairs of Namibia. Therefore it concurs fully with both the African and general international position which rejects the puppet régime foisted by Pretoria on Namibia. Moreover, my country does not recognize the results of the unconstitutional elections held by the colonial régime in the Territory. We ask all Members to respect Namibia's freedom and its sovereignty over its national resources, as well as its national territory as a whole. We are confident of the inevitability of Namibia's independence in the very near future and its admission to membership in the United Nations. This will certainly encourage the international community to strengthen its efforts directed at ending the displacement of the Arab people of Palestine expelled from their land as a result of Israel's occupation of Palestine and other occupied territories, particularly the Holy City of Jerusalem, and also to eliminate all forms of oppression and injustice spawned by *apartheid* and racial discrimination practised by the white minority rulers against the people of South Africa who, like the people of Namibia, are struggling with unparalleled heroism and pride.

71. Mr. MARINESCU (Romania) (*interpretation from French*): First I should like to offer you, Sir, sincere congratulations on your election to the presidency of the General Assembly at this special session. The unanimous trust placed in you, which my delegation warmly supports, is fully justified by your outstanding political and diplomatic attributes. We greet in you the distinguished representative of Bangladesh, a country with which Romania enjoys a relationship of close friendship and co-operation.

72. We are taking part in this debate deeply aware of the responsibility that the United Nations has assumed with respect to the Territory and people of Namibia to bring about Namibia's immediate accession to independence.

73. The serious situation in Namibia and this crucial time for the destiny of the people of the Territory require that the General Assembly urgently take strong action to implement the solemn obligation assumed 20 years ago to give all necessary assistance to bring about self-determination and national independence.

74. When international peace, stability and security are seriously threatened, the Organization's very ability to act to implement its own unanimously accepted decisions and to intervene speedily and effectively to defend the freedom and independence of peoples are put to the test.

75. On several occasions the Organization has condemned the continuing occupation of Namibia and has called for the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of the South African armed forces and administration from the Territory so that the people

of Namibia might freely exercise their right themselves to choose their path towards economic and social development within a free, united and independent homeland.

76. The will of Member States was expressed in the broad support given to Security Council resolutions 385 (1976) and 435 (1978), by which was approved the plan for Namibia's accession to independence through free and democratic elections under the observation and supervision of the United Nations, as well as in efforts to implement the provisions of those resolutions.

77. At the international level, there has been widespread action to mobilize public opinion in support of the just cause of the Namibian people. The overwhelming majority of the States of the world have taken steps to force South Africa to put an end to its domination over Namibia.

78. In its Political Declaration,³ the Eighth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries strongly condemned the racist régime of South Africa for the continued illegal, colonial, brutal occupation of Namibia, in flagrant violation of the resolutions of the United Nations, the OAU, the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries and other international forums.

79. Regrettably, we must note once again that South Africa continues to defy the efforts of the United Nations and the international community. The Pretoria régime continues to create further obstacles to Namibia's attainment of real independence. It has become clear that for South Africa negotiations are merely a pretext to gain time and perpetuate its domination of Namibia, to impose a neo-colonialist solution and to implement its expansionist destabilizing designs in the region.

80. The cynicism with which the Pretoria régime defies the most elementary norms of international law is exhibited in its militarization of Namibia, the use of its territory as a base for terrorist actions and for the commission of aggression and the destabilization of Angola and other neighbouring States, and this has created a particularly dangerous situation in southern Africa that threatens international peace and security. Those actions, which run counter to United Nations efforts to bring about an agreement to implement the plan to grant independence to Namibia, clearly show the hypocrisy and duplicity of the South African racists.

81. Romania's constant and manifold support for the struggle for national liberation of the Namibian people under the leadership of SWAPO, its legitimate representative, and our support for United Nations efforts to discharge its special responsibilities have been reaffirmed many times in the Assembly at regular and special sessions, in the Security Council and at other international meetings.

82. The people of Romania, firmly committed to the ideals of national and social justice, has shown staunch solidarity with the people of Namibia in its efforts to attain freedom and to exercise its inalienable right freely to decide on its future without any external interference.

83. The total solidarity of the Socialist Republic of Romania with the struggle of the Namibian people was reaffirmed recently by President Nicolae Ceausescu in his message to the President of SWAPO, Sam Nujoma, on the occasion of the twentieth anniversary of the struggle of the Namibian people, as well as in his message to the Eighth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries.

84. Socialist Romania actively favours the adoption of strong measures to speed up Namibia's attainment of independence on the basis of United Nations resolutions, in particular Security Council resolutions 385 (1976) and 435 (1978). We support the concerted action of the international community to remove all obstacles to implementation of the United Nations plan for the independence of Namibia. We most firmly reject any attempt to link implementation of that plan, which was unanimously accepted by the international community, with extraneous elements and all conditions and obstructionist manoeuvres aimed at impeding realization by the Namibian people of their ideals of freedom.

85. In keeping with its position of principle regarding strict compliance with United Nations resolutions on the question of Namibia, Romania has no relationship of any kind—political, economic, cultural or any other—with South Africa, and it has consistently adopted an attitude of strongly condemning the illegal occupation of Namibia and the policies and practices of *apartheid* implemented by the racist Pretoria authorities. Romania has always in every way supported the just struggle of the Namibian people to realize its legitimate aspirations to independence, freedom and social progress. Similarly, it has resolutely condemned the acts of aggression and destabilization carried out by the Pretoria authorities against neighbouring countries, as well as interference in their internal affairs by those authorities.

86. We hope that the General Assembly, now meeting in special session, will unanimously adopt appropriate measures to enable the Organization fully to discharge its responsibilities with regard to the people of Namibia so that it may gain national independence without any delay.

87. Romania is firmly resolved to continue to act in close co-operation with the African countries and with other non-aligned and developing countries, as well as with all States committed to the noble principles of the Charter of the United Nations, to enable the Namibian people immediately to exercise its right to a free homeland, to take its rightful place among the free nations of the world and the States Members of the United Nations so that it may contribute to the efforts of the international community to achieve peace, détente and a better, fairer world.

88. Mr. SHANKER (India): Let me at the outset extend to you, Sir, my heartiest congratulations and best wishes on your assumption of the prestigious office of President of the General Assembly. You are presiding over a historic special session of the Assembly. The hopes of an enslaved people are focused on our deliberations here. We are confident

that under your skilful guidance our proceedings will end in the achievement of meaningful results.

89. It is now more than 70 years since South Africa occupied Namibia. Four years thereafter South Africa, as a logical extension of its perfidy, had the effrontery and the audacity to suggest the annexation of the Territory. The Mandate given to South Africa following the Versailles Conference in 1919 was granted grudgingly and hesitantly. That Mandate specifically and unambiguously requested South Africa to promote to the utmost the material and moral well-being of the inhabitants of the Territory. Not only was that obligation not fulfilled, but the actions of the Pretoria régime were designed to obliterate the Namibian entity. Twenty years ago the General Assembly terminated the misconceived and misused Mandate exercised by South Africa [*resolution 2145 (XXI)*], and 15 years ago the International Court of Justice declared the South African occupation of Namibia to be illegal.⁶

90. All this is known to us, but the hateful hegemony of South Africa still continues. In this context, it is apt to recall the arrogant declaration of General Smuts in 1925 that he did not think it necessary to annex South West Africa. He said that "the Mandate was enough. It gave South Africa complete sovereignty, not only administrative but legal". Smuts' interpretation was extended with impunity by his successors, even to the Mandate of the United Nations.

91. At a time when India was not yet independent, in 1946, the Indian delegation, acting on the instructions of the interim Prime Minister, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, forcefully lent its voice to the rejection by the General Assembly of South Africa's preposterous claim for the incorporation of South West Africa into its Union. Twenty years later, in 1966, Prime Minister Shrimati Indira Gandhi gave clear and unambiguous directions to our delegation, which were reflected in the decision of the General Assembly terminating South Africa's Mandate. After another 20 years, in 1986, the Indian delegation has come to this special session with the firm commitment of Prime Minister Shri Rajiv Gandhi to spare no effort to expedite the much-delayed emancipation of the oppressed people of Namibia.

92. That commitment was affirmed by Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi at the Eighth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries. He declared:

"First and foremost is our pledge to Namibia. Eight long years ago, Namibia was on the doorstep of freedom. It was eight years ago that the Security Council unanimously agreed on a plan for freeing Namibia. Power bloc rivalries and Western interest brought extraneous issues to the fore. The Security Council was placed in the tragic predicament of failing to execute its own will. Pretoria has thwarted in Namibia the will of the Trusteeship Council, the International Court of Justice, the General Assembly and the Security Council. This outrage has been possible only because imported rivalries have been given preference over human dignity and the right of the Namibian people to self-determination."

93. The faith placed for all these years by the people of Namibia in the United Nations has been betrayed. The commitment of the United Nations to its own Charter has been frustrated. The actions of a régime which we have condemned have been allowed to continue unpunished. The Territory for which the United Nations has assumed direct responsibility has been used as a base for aggression against States Members of the United Nations. The chasm between professions and actions by certain Powers has widened. Acquiescence seems to have replaced action.

94. The issue of Namibia's independence transcends the demands of decolonization, although the latter is central to the entire question. It is a threat to peace and security in the southern African region and, indeed, in the whole world. Every effort to implement the professed will of the Security Council has been frustrated. The infamous doctrine of linkage seeks to establish a relationship between the sovereign right of a free nation to ask for assistance and the illegitimate presence of an international outlaw on international territory. We reject that doctrine completely and totally. We also reject the puppets positioned in power by Pretoria. There are only two parties to the Namibian issue: the people of Namibia under the leadership of SWAPO and the racist régime in Pretoria.

95. We recognize that many efforts, well-intentioned, have been made to contribute to the peace process in Namibia. Unhappily, their failure has only hardened the intransigence of the Pretoria régime, which became so emboldened that it created self-styled interim governments that the Security Council has categorically rejected as being illegal. It has had the impudence to open so-called Namibia Information Offices in the capitals of certain Western countries which seek to confer legitimacy on institutions they themselves have held as being devoid of legal sanctity or moral authority. We urge that these be closed and that any further efforts by the South African Government to claim to represent Namibia externally be given the shortest shrift.

96. Even as Pretoria continues to enslave Namibia, it pursues a simultaneous and far more sinister plan of trying to ensure that Namibia, when independent, will be crippled economically and otherwise. The fortitude of the Namibian people will call Pretoria's bluff, but the world community cannot allow the Territory to be so impoverished that it begins freedom's arduous journey bereft of the rights given to it by nature, by history and by geography. The resources of Namibia belong to its people. They are being plundered by South Africa. Friends of South Africa are no less active in helping themselves, while the going is good. Decree No. 1 for the Protection of the Natural Resources of Namibia enacted by the United Nations Council for Namibia⁵ protects these resources, and we urge all members of the international community and all entities, individual or corporate, national or multinational, to respect it. Namibia and its people are entitled to full compensation for the loss that they have suffered through such illegal exploitation of their resources.

97. The United Nations Council for Namibia has done commendable work in enhancing public awareness of the question of Namibia. The selfless and

dedicated work carried out by numerous non-governmental organizations has given the international quest for Namibia's freedom the critically needed popular dimension. No Government can remain immune to the sensitivities and the anger of its people. No Government can, for long, pursue policies at variance with those sought by its people. The General Assembly and the Council for Namibia must offer encouragement, support and alliance to these popular sentiments the world over. The General Assembly is more than a democracy of nations; it is a global democracy of people. And it is to the world citizens that we must reach out.

98. The United Nations has played a crucial role in trying to ensure to the people of Namibia the freedom that is rightly theirs. The efforts and singlemindedness of purpose displayed by the Secretary-General personify this. But, as he himself has said in his most recent report on the work of the Organization,⁹ the work of the Secretary-General cannot be considered as distinct from that of this body itself. Our goal must be a united effort, our solidarity firm. The United Nations Council for Namibia and the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples have been tireless in articulating their support in order to get over the crisis. They have consistently suggested the means for its resolution. The Council and its executive agent, the United Nations Commissioner for Namibia, have not wavered in the discharge of their obligations. Their efforts will, I am sure, ensure at the earliest moment that this mandate is only temporary and that Namibia's freedom becomes a reality and does not remain an illusion.

99. Only recently a delegation of the Council visited SWAPO settlements in Zambia, following a similar visit to the camps in Angola last year. The community of action and purpose witnessed in these settlements personifies the future society of a free Namibia. A systematic, synthesized development of all aspects of the human being—educational, vocational, cultural and spiritual—can be discerned in these settlements.

100. I have already mentioned that the unresolved question of Namibia presents a significant threat to peace and security. The Security Council has been put into the most macabre of situations. Where consensus has evolved, its will has been allowed to lapse. Where action is suggested, the initiative is bludgeoned and destroyed by the veto. For 40 years India has pleaded for the imposition of comprehensive and mandatory sanctions to isolate the racist régime of South Africa and to provide its oppressed people the opportunity to join the world's mainstream of freedom, liberty, equality and dignity. The Movement of Non-Aligned Countries has espoused this cause; the OAU has endorsed it; and so indeed has the General Assembly. But those who are bent upon plundering and ferreting Namibian resources have refused to heed the call for such sanctions. Before long I am sure they will realize the errors of their ways, lest they get isolated and lost.

101. The Security Council must meet and set itself a clear, definite target and a straight course. It must

make clear to itself and to the waiting world that it will not accept alibis, distortions and outright procrastination to frustrate its collective will. This it has failed to do so far. Resolution 435 (1978) has the sad distinction of being perhaps the most quoted and the least implemented one in the Council's history.

102. We seem to have become accustomed to the continued arrogance of the Pretoria régime. Let us no longer yield to the calumny, the insults and the affronts flung at the Organization. When the Security Council, by its resolution 245 (1968), demanded that South Africa stop the trial of 37 Namibian freedom fighters, South Africa responded by commencing a second trial. Let us not forget the deadline of 4 October 1969, once set by the Security Council in its resolution 269 (1969) for Namibia's freedom. Again, even as the Western contact group was pursuing its diplomatic efforts, 600 Namibians were butchered at Kassinga by South African forces on 4 May 1978. How can we forget the contemptuous indifference with which South Africa spurned the gestures of good faith by SWAPO?

103. Eight years have elapsed since resolution 435 (1978) was adopted. In these critical years the world has been waiting while South Africa continues to entrench itself in Namibia. Let us not be fooled by the saccharin of sweet reasonableness with which we are promised evolution and reform. Let us not be under any illusion that the mere convening of this special session and our journeying to New York alone will deliver the goods. Together, we must find the means to redeem the pledge that we made 20 years ago.

104. A group of eminent persons participating in the International Conference for the Immediate Independence of Namibia issued an Appeal for the Immediate Independence of Namibia¹⁰ in July this year. I should like to quote its conclusion, which sums up, I am sure, the collective feelings of all those gathered here:

"Our final remarks are addressed to the Namibian people who have made great sacrifices in their struggle against injustice and oppression. We appeal to them not to lose hope, but rather to summon new reserves of strength in the face of adversity. It would be comforting to believe that a good cause can triumph by dint of its inherent justice. That, however, would be illusory: history has shown that only sustained human effort can guarantee victory. If we redouble our determination, it cannot be long before the Namibian people finally win the freedom and independence for which they have struggled for over a century."

105. But what of our own responsibility—that of the international community? We must convey world opinion and concern in specific terms of the General Assembly and the Security Council to be translated into action.

106. At this stage, I should like to mention some of the elements we consider essential to an effective programme of action to be undertaken by the international community and the United Nations. They are: first, a categorical reaffirmation of the responsibility of the United Nations for achieving the inde-

pendence of Namibia; secondly, an urgent meeting of the Security Council to define with precision the timetable for the implementation of its resolution 435 (1978); thirdly, firm rejection of linkage of the question of Namibia with any extraneous issue; fourthly, collective recognition by States Member of the United Nations of the necessity for sanctions against the South African régime; fifthly, concerted determination by Member States not to recognize or lend credence to institutions created by that régime in Namibia and outside which profess to represent the Namibian people; sixthly, reiteration of solidarity with SWAPO and increased concrete support for it in its struggle; seventhly, a thorough and co-ordinated programme of public information to enhance awareness of the Namibian situation the world over and mobilization of international efforts at all levels, involving—among others—individuals, institutions and non-governmental organizations; eighthly, an appeal to the International Court of Justice in search of relief from all foreign exploitative activities in Namibia and for the protection of its natural resources; ninthly, a demand for full compensation for the Namibian people for the losses they have incurred as a result of South Africa's illegal occupation of, and control over, the Territory; and, tenthly, a unified endeavour to assist the Security Council and the Secretary-General in the quest to secure the immediate independence of Namibia.

107. Mr. VRAALSEN (Norway): May I first extend to you, Sir, my warmest congratulations on your election to the high office of the presidency of the Assembly at its current session. Knowing your outstanding skills as a diplomat and politician, my delegation is confident that you will guide the session to a successful conclusion.

108. Forty years ago the General Assembly rejected a South African proposal to incorporate South West Africa, now Namibia, into the Union of South Africa, and it recommended that the Territory be placed under the United Nations trusteeship system [*resolution 65 (I)*]. Twenty years later, in 1966, the General Assembly terminated South Africa's Mandate over Namibia and placed the Territory under the direct responsibility of the United Nations until independence [*resolution 2145 (XXI)*].

109. We had hoped that those landmark decisions would lead to an early and peaceful settlement of the question of Namibia. Regrettably, that has not been the case. For 40 long years we have in this Hall adopted resolution after resolution, but to no avail. Much to our regret, there is no sign whatsoever of progress. The Namibian people and their liberation movement, SWAPO, are continuing their struggle for freedom and independence. As for South Africa, it pursues a policy that can best be described as a deliberate policy of obstruction.

110. This summer, the International Conference for the Immediate Independence of Namibia adopted a Declaration and a Programme of Action¹⁰ outlining ways to put pressure on South Africa in order to speed up the implementation of the United Nations plan for the independence of Namibia, as embodied in Security Council resolutions 385 (1976) and 435 (1978). We are committed to the achievement of the goals that the Declaration and the Programme of

Action were designed to bring about: freedom, justice and democracy for the people of Namibia. There should be no further delay in implementing the plan. The modalities for the transition to independence have been agreed upon. The Namibian people must now be allowed to determine their own future through free and fair elections.

111. Whenever progress towards independence for Namibia has seemed to be in sight Pretoria has raised new issues. After accepting Security Council resolution 435 (1978), for example, South Africa used one pretext after another to thwart its implementation. At one stage, it charged the United Nations with a lack of impartiality. Then it complained about the size of the military component of UNTAG. Finally, it has insisted on a linkage between the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola and the Namibian question. My Government rejects the attempts to obstruct progress by the introduction of such extraneous issues. Furthermore, we share the deep concern of the international community over the continued use of Namibian territory to launch unprovoked aggression against neighbouring countries, particularly Angola.

112. South Africa continues to ignore United Nations resolutions and to challenge the will of the international community. The installation of an "interim government" is yet another scheme for consolidating South Africa's dominance over Namibia. That is entirely unacceptable to my Government, and any action taken by the so-called interim government will be considered as null and void *ab initio*.

113. We are distressed by the tragic events in South Africa and in Namibia, and we are frustrated by the near hopelessness of preventing further violence and bloodshed. In our view, the time has definitely come for the international community to face up to those dangers. The Namibian people are fighting over basic issues affecting the very nature of their existence— independence, and human rights and dignity. It may already be too late to promote a peaceful solution through the process of negotiation and to head off a catastrophe. Still, my Government feels that comprehensive mandatory sanctions can make a difference by putting the necessary international pressure on South Africa, and this may be the only realistic policy option available to us at this stage.

114. Pending the adoption of mandatory sanctions by the Security Council, my Government is now preparing a bill for a comprehensive trade boycott of South Africa, and we sincerely hope other countries will follow in order to put maximum pressure on the Government of South Africa. By imposing economic sanctions, we would send a clear message to Pretoria that we are committed, by deed as well as word, to the elimination of *apartheid* and to a free Namibia.

115. Namibia is potentially one of the wealthiest countries on the African continent. We share the concern of the international community about the rapid and unjustifiable depletion of the Territory's resources and wealth by foreign interests. We would expect all Member States to respect the rights of the Namibians to their natural resources. Today's ongoing exploitation of the mineral resources is one of the obstacles to the achievement of a peaceful solution, and no less alarming is the serious overfishing off the

Namibian coast by non-African distant-fishing vessels.

116. My Government remains deeply committed to the just struggle of the people of Namibia. I should like on this occasion to reiterate my country's unequivocal support for efforts and measures taken by the United Nations to correct the grave injustice to the Namibian people. Norway has made contributions to the various United Nations activities benefiting the Namibian people, such as those of the United Nations Institute for Namibia at Lusaka and the Nationhood Programme for Namibia. I am pleased to say that we give support to SWAPO for the benefit of Namibian refugees, and that that assistance will continue as long as it is required. May I, in this connection, note that the Norwegian Government is also prepared to offer some practical assistance in the field of marine resources. The Norwegian marine-research vessel "Fridtjof Nansen" has recently been working on a contract for FAO in Angolan waters in order to map the marine resources off the Angolan coast. Last year, we offered the services of that vessel to the United Nations Council for Namibia, but so far we have had no reply. I should like to repeat our offer to assist in mapping the marine resources off the coast of Namibia. If that offer is accepted, the "Fridtjof Nansen" could be available from early 1988.

117. My Government looks forward to the day when Namibia will take its rightful place in the family of nations. We call upon the international community to contribute effectively to the building of a free, united and independent Namibian nation-State. The people of Namibia have suffered long enough. The situation in that country has reached a most serious stage. Further delay in taking effective measures can only have an adverse effect on international peace and security.

118. Mr. SHEARER (Jamaica): Let me first express sincere condolences to the bereaved relatives of those workers who lost their lives in the mining disaster in South Africa earlier this week.

119. The Jamaican delegation is especially pleased to see you, Sir, presiding over this most important session of the General Assembly devoted to the question of Namibia. We regard your presidency of this special session as a most fitting and eloquent tribute to the significant and valuable role that your country, Bangladesh, and its leadership have played in the international community and, in particular, as a member of the United Nations Council for Namibia.

120. Jamaica warmly welcomes the opportunity to participate in this special session, an occasion we regard as both timely and appropriate. Jamaica feels honoured to be among those non-aligned countries whose Ministers for Foreign Affairs were designated by the Eighth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, to address this special session on behalf of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries.

121. The question of Namibia, as it has unfolded over the years, has been a most unfortunate and frustrating experience for the international commu-

nity. Twenty years ago almost to the day, the United Nations, by General Assembly resolution 2145 (XXI), terminated South Africa's Mandate over Namibia. It has now been some 8 years since the Security Council, in its resolution 435 (1978), adopted a settlement plan outlining the details for Namibia's independence through free and fair elections under international supervision.

122. As a result of Pretoria's bad faith, duplicity and stubborn intransigence, the plan remains unimplemented. To this must be added Pretoria's insidious attempts to make Namibia's independence hostage to its grand regional design to maintain in place the discredited *apartheid* system and to use the Territory as a launching pad for aggression against the front-line States and as a source of cheap labour and of valuable and strategic minerals.

123. And yet, despite all this, the Namibian people, under the leadership of SWAPO, remain undaunted in their courageous and determined struggle, even in the face of unfulfilled hopes and aspirations and a sense of deep frustration and betrayed trust.

124. Having been thwarted in their efforts to impose an internal settlement through the discredited Democratic Turnhalle Alliance, the Pretoria leaders have once again attempted to foist another neo-colonial settlement upon Namibia through the establishment of the so-called Government of National Unity based on proposals submitted by a coalition of minority parties representing a mere 5.3 per cent of the population, known as the Multi Party Conference. None of these gimmicks by the racist Government of South Africa will ever succeed.

125. At the recently concluded Eighth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries,³ special attention was devoted to the situation in southern Africa, including Namibia. Particular account was taken of the tragic and appalling situation in the region arising from South Africa's unrelenting policies of internal repression and external military aggression, illegal occupation and destabilization.

126. In their special declaration on southern Africa,³ the heads of State or Government further reaffirmed that Security Council resolution 435 (1978) was the only basis for the peaceful settlement of the Namibian question. They rejected the so-called linkage policy as an attempt to perpetuate the illegal rule of South Africa over Namibia. They also reaffirmed the direct responsibility of the United Nations to bring independence to Namibia without further delay and they condemned and rejected the so-called provisional government which has been illegally put in place in Namibia.

127. The Jamaican delegation maintains that the particular proposals and programme of action put forth by the heads of State or Government at the eighth summit Conference commend themselves for urgent follow-up attention by the international community. They should be fully taken into account in any course of action to be decided upon and adopted at this special session of the General Assembly.

128. In his report on the work of the Organization,⁹ the Secretary-General has once again observed that Namibia is still unjustly being denied the right to self-determination because of the illegal perpetuation of control by South Africa. We fully support his assertion that a concerted effort needs to be made to gain the co-operation of South Africa in the immediate implementation of the United Nations plan for the independence of Namibia. Delay can only increase instability and violence in the region and unnecessarily prolong the suffering of Namibia's inhabitants.

129. Jamaica remains fully committed to its support for efforts by the international community to secure the immediate implementation of the United Nations settlement plan for Namibia in accordance with Security Council resolution 435 (1978) despite the efforts by the Pretoria régime to revive the question of linkage as a pre-condition for Namibian independence.

130. We had hoped that the members of the Western contact group, which had entrusted itself with the responsibility for Namibia's independence, would be able to exert the requisite pressure on South Africa to be far more forthcoming and constructive. Unfortunately, this has not been the case. To date, the efforts of the contact group have been marred by equivocation and hesitancy, even in the face of Pretoria's aggressive actions and intransigent behaviour.

131. As I have had occasion to state in the past, Namibia's future has been compromised and heavily mortgaged; Pretoria's intransigence has been rewarded with concession after concession; the international standing and prestige of the Western contact group has been irreparably tarnished and the contact group itself has become moribund, its activities overtaken by the policy of "constructive engagement" and contact with South Africa, purportedly with the view of persuading South Africa to reform *apartheid* and grant independence to Namibia.

132. As leaders of the front-line States have already observed, the policy of "constructive engagement" has clearly failed. The objective of that policy was to build an overall framework for regional security to bring about an independent Namibia and to encourage and coax positive change in the *apartheid* policies of South Africa itself.

133. Events in the region have vividly demonstrated, however, that Pretoria has skilfully manipulated this policy by its own devious manoeuvres to buy more time for its *apartheid* policies, facilitate its destabilization attempts aimed at the front-line States and institutionalize its regional dominance.

134. Jamaica therefore firmly believes that the time has now come to place the question of Namibia back where it belongs, under United Nations control, and that the Security Council should be mandated to deal decisively and resolutely with South Africa to secure the immediate implementation of resolution 435 (1978) without further delay.

135. At the same time, Jamaica fully recognizes that the question of Namibia will not be finally

resolved until the obnoxious system of *apartheid* and racism in South Africa is terminated and dismantled. Both issues remain intimately interlinked. Pretoria's control of Namibia and its attempts to annex and establish a puppet institution in that Territory represent only one facet of its grand regional design. We have evidence of the *apartheid* régime's frequent resort to repressive and ruthless means internally to destroy the basis of the anti-*apartheid* resistance movement. Externally, it has sought, through a campaign of military aggression and destabilization, to undermine the political structures of the front-line States so as to create a constellation of weak and subservient Governments that would be totally acquiescent to its policies and to its efforts to maintain political and military control over the region.

136. The main thrust and ultimate intentions of Pretoria's grand regional design have already been unmasked. Angola has become perhaps the most frequent target and victim of South Africa's military attacks. This, of course, is no accident but part of a deliberate strategy to undermine and subvert the Government of Angola.

137. At the Eighth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, we were astonished to learn from the statement by the President of Angola, Mr. José Eduardo dos Santos, that inside Angola and along the border, South Africa has as many as 20,000 men integrated in six battalions, a light infantry brigade, and a mechanized brigade, as well as a large number of Mirage-type aircraft and helicopters which are being used to carry out further attacks against Angola.

138. The destruction in Angola caused by the war of aggression by the *apartheid* régime during the past 10 years has resulted in material damage of over \$12 billion. Very large numbers of innocent citizens have been killed and wounded, some 50,000 more left disabled, and hundreds of others have been displaced.

139. As Mr. dos Santos also emphasized, other countries of the region where there are no Cuban forces have also been attacked by South Africa, since one of the objectives of its policy of destabilization and aggression is to overthrow the legitimate Governments of the front-line States to enable the establishment of puppet régimes and to perpetuate *apartheid* and the illegal occupation of Namibia.

140. Surely, it is high time for the international community to take firm and resolute action to put an end to this insanity, this unmitigated violence, this reckless course of action being pursued by the leaders of the *apartheid* régime.

141. Angola and the other front-line States require our full support, solidarity and assistance to withstand the onerous pressures being exerted by South Africa. It was precisely with this objective in mind that the Eighth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries adopted a programme of action and established the Action for Resisting Invasion, Colonization and *Apartheid* Fund,³ whose objectives include the strengthening of the economic and financial capability of the front-line States to fight the *apartheid* régime of Pretoria

and support for the liberation movements in South Africa and Namibia in their unrelenting struggle against racism and colonialist oppression.

142. The Government of Jamaica supports this most timely and important programme of action for assistance to the front-line States. We fervently hope that the objectives of the Fund will win great sympathy and support in the international community.

143. While the international community seeks to intensify its efforts to secure Namibia's independence, there needs to be a far greater concerted effort to assist the United Nations Council for Namibia in protecting and preserving the natural resources and economic wealth of that Territory, so that resources will be available for the development of Namibia for the Namibian people in independence. We strongly deplore the continued plunder and wanton exploitation of Namibia's natural resources, particularly its mineral and marine resources, by South African and other foreign economic interests. This is taking place in disregard of the advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice of 21 June 1971,⁶ and in violation of Decree No. 1 for the Protection of the Natural Resources of Namibia, enacted by the United Nations Council for Namibia,⁵ and of various resolutions of the Security Council and the General Assembly.

144. Jamaica remains gravely disturbed at the extent to which these illegal activities and operations by foreign economic interests have served to keep Namibia's economy in a perpetual state of neo-colonial dependence and underdevelopment. Furthermore, all these activities have directly assisted the *apartheid* régime's illegal occupation of the Territory.

145. Namibia's extractive colonial economy, developed for the benefit of foreign companies and white settlers, is said to be in deep recession. Corruption, wastefulness and incompetence reportedly abound, and ecological, as well as financial, mismanagement has been rampant. The main reasons for the fiscal and resource mismanagement are ultimately based in *apartheid* and the illegal attempt to hold Namibia as an occupied Territory. To this end, both prudent resource management—especially where it conflicts with settler or transnational corporation interests—and fiscal sanity have been repeatedly compromised or sacrificed.

146. There are reports of over-mining of diamond deposits, under-invoicing and rampant tax evasion. The Thirion Commission of Inquiry into malpractices and misappropriations of public funds, set up by South Africa itself, confirms this.

147. In all this the people of Namibia have been the worst affected, while the transnational companies operating in the Territory continue to enjoy huge profits—most of which are repatriated—and compete internationally on the basis of cheap, exploited labour. The average income of the approximately 35,000 white householders is some 20 times greater than that of the 310,000 black Namibian householders. Unemployment is at a staggering 40 per cent. At

the same time, manufacturing accounts for only 6 per cent of Namibia's gross domestic product.

148. The fishing industry continues to be controlled by South African companies which have so overfished that the decline in fish stocks has reduced the industry's share of the gross domestic product from 10 per cent in 1975 to 2.5 per cent in 1984.

149. These are just a few examples of the nature of the external domination and control over Namibia's economy, but they provide telling evidence of Pretoria's stranglehold over Namibia and of the extent to which foreign economic interests and companies have been deeply involved in the pillaging of Namibia's precious resources.

150. Jamaica strongly condemns these illegal activities. Jamaica endorses the efforts of the United Nations Council for Namibia to take effective measures to ensure compliance by all corporations and individuals with Decree No. 1 for the Protection of the Natural Resources of Namibia. We also reaffirm our support for the decision taken by the Council in 1985 to institute legal action in the domestic courts of States against corporations and concerns engaged in the plunder of Namibia's natural resources.¹¹

151. In the special appeal by the Eighth Summit Conference of the Non-Aligned Movement for the immediate independence of Namibia,³ the heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries stated as follows:

"The time for Namibian independence is long past. To delay it any longer is immoral. We therefore appeal to all men and women of goodwill to firmly oppose any delay, for any reason and under any circumstance, of Namibia's independence."

152. Jamaica believes that the appeal of the non-aligned leaders should inspire all of us to more concerted and vigorous action in support of the legitimate aspirations of the Namibian people to self-determination, freedom and independence.

153. As States Members of the United Nations we are duty-bound to uphold the principles of the Charter against South Africa's aggressive designs and in defence of the fundamental human rights, dignity, worth and equality of the people of Namibia and South Africa.

154. We must take effective action to correct the perception that the United Nations and the Security Council are inactive, dilatory and impotent.

155. In closing, let me assure you, Mr. President, that Jamaica pledges its full support for and assistance in the efforts of the international community to bring about the immediate implementation of the United Nations independence plan for the independence of Namibia in accordance with resolution 435 (1978), and ensure that the people of that Territory finally enjoy their long-awaited freedom and prosperity.

156. Mr. MKAPA (United Republic of Tanzania): I am delighted to see you, Sir, a distinguished son of

Bangladesh, presiding over the deliberations of the General Assembly. I am certain that with your great experience, foresight, patience and wisdom they will result in fruitful conclusions.

157. It is with great sadness and frustration that I speak to the Assembly, on behalf of the States in the eastern region of our continent and on behalf of the United Republic of Tanzania, on an issue very dear to all our hearts. This special session on Namibia reminds us all not only of South Africa's intransigence regarding the numerous United Nations resolutions on Namibia but also of its continued illegal occupation of the Territory.

158. Namibia should have become independent at least 20 years ago. It has not because of the colonial and occupationist policy of the *apartheid* régime of South Africa. In its intransigence and defiance of the will of the United Nations and the international community as a whole that régime has been encouraged by the policy of "constructive engagement" pursued by the present United States Administration. Facts and recent history provide ample evidence of this.

159. Ever since 1978 the racist régime of South Africa has employed one delaying tactic after another in order to block the implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978) and Namibia's accession to independence.

160. First, while bent on entrenching its puppets, the so-called Democratic Turnhalle Alliance, with a view to handing power to them, South Africa tried every means to circumvent resolution 435 (1978).

161. South Africa did not and continues not to negotiate earnestly with either the United Nations or the Western contact group. Thus, for example, when South Africa expressed misgivings about United Nations impartiality, the United Nations came up with a formula which met its concerns, only for that country to continue raising one objection after another. South Africa objected to assembly points for SWAPO in Namibia during the transition. That was taken care of. South Africa objected to the size of the United Nations force and its composition. This too was resolved. South Africa equivocated on the question of the demilitarized zone. Its concerns were met. South Africa stalled for a number of years on the question of the electoral system to be employed; and even when South Africa finally came out for the system of proportional representation, it still had more objections to raise.

162. Then, seeing that the South African régime had run out of excuses, the United States Government came to its aid with the disastrous policy of "constructive engagement."

163. The United States Administration and South Africa, in contradiction with both the spirit and the letter of resolution 435 (1978), began linking the independence of Namibia to the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola, a sovereign State Member of the United Nations.

164. While the South African régime was creating the so-called Multi-Party Conference, a body of

puppets to which it is feverishly plotting to hand over power, the United States Administration rushed into Namibia and opened a so-called liaison office. And very recently, when the Pretoria régime was busy trying to destabilize the legitimate Government of Angola, the United States Government saw fit to embolden the racist régime first by pressing for the repeal of the Clark Amendment and then by openly giving arms and Stinger missiles to the criminal bandits led by Savimbi.

165. The actions of the United States Administration in support of the Savimbi bandits have been condemned by the OAU summit, the summit of the non-aligned countries, the International Conference for the Immediate Independence of Namibia and several other forums.

166. These and other positions and activities amount to a formidable rampart erected in the path of the march of the Namibian people to independence. In the face of it, the people of Namibia and their national liberation movement, SWAPO, have displayed great alertness, fortitude and courage. They have exposed the lies and machinations of their enemy and its undeclared allies; they have mobilized the people of Namibia in unity, militant solidarity and loyalty to the cause of freedom, sovereignty and independence; they have won the sympathy and active support of the international community on all fronts. But, above all, against heavy military odds they have waged an unremitting armed liberation struggle against the occupation army of South Africa. We salute them. We acknowledge and applaud their nationalism. We renew our commitment to and support for their cause until Namibia is free.

167. The Secretary-General has been charged with the promotion and implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978) on the United Nations plan for the independence of Namibia. He has encountered, quite obviously, many deliberately placed obstructions and setbacks. But he continues to distinguish himself by his tenacity, his purposefulness, his integrity and his persevering realism. We commend his efforts and reaffirm our confidence in and support for him, while reiterating the responsibility of the United Nations in expediting Namibia's independence.

168. In this latter context we commend the United Nations Council for Namibia for its vigorous defence of the interests of the Namibian people and for keeping the issue of Namibia's independence alive in the councils of the community of nations.

169. I had the distinct honour to preside over the International Conference for the Immediate Independence of Namibia which was held at Vienna from 7 to 11 July this year.

170. Having examined the situation as it obtained in Namibia and in the region at the time, the Conference adopted two important documents: the *Declaration of the International Conference for the Immediate Independence of Namibia* and the *Programme of Action on Namibia*.¹⁰ Those two documents urged the whole international community to adopt a position and to take several actions against the South African régime to hasten the independence

of Namibia. Among those steps are the rejection of the so-called policy of constructive engagement and the linkage of Namibian independence to a Cuban troops withdrawal from Angola; the rejection of the manoeuvres aimed at interpreting the present conflict in southern Africa as an East-West confrontation; condemnation of neo-colonialist plans by South Africa and its creation of the so-called interim government in Windhoek, and a call for the closure of the so-called Namibian information offices which South Africa has established in a number of Western capitals.

171. In view of South Africa's persistent defiance of the resolutions of the United Nations, its brutal repression of the South African and Namibian peoples, its repeated acts of aggression against neighbouring States, as well as its policies of destabilization of the whole region, the Conference strongly requested the Security Council to adopt and impose immediately comprehensive and mandatory sanctions, under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations, against South Africa. The Conference was convinced that the imposition of comprehensive mandatory sanctions is necessary to supplement measures taken by Governments, organizations, the public and individuals, to isolate the racist régime and compel it to accept a just settlement of the question of Namibia as well as peaceful change in South Africa itself.

172. The Conference called upon all States, institutions and individuals, pending the imposition of comprehensive and mandatory sanctions against South Africa, to adopt and implement immediately effective sanctions by severing all links and dealings with the racist régime, in the political, economic, diplomatic, military, nuclear, cultural, sports and other fields.

173. Furthermore, it called upon all Governments and regional and international organizations to assist the Southern Africa Development Co-ordination Conference in giving maximum political and moral support, as well as increased economic and military assistance, to the front-line and other neighbouring States so that they may reduce their economic dependence on South Africa and defend themselves from the acts of aggression and destabilization by the racist Pretoria régime.

174. As I said earlier, the Conference was held in July, exactly two months ago. Has the situation since then changed for the better? The answer is no.

175. The situation in Namibia, as indeed in South Africa itself, has been deteriorating day by day. The racist régime, not being sure of its own very survival in South Africa, is trying to cling to Namibia either to use it ultimately as a buffer against what it alleges to be an onslaught from its neighbouring black African States, or, at the appropriate time, to use Namibia in its bargaining and negotiating scheme for the perpetuation of *apartheid* in southern Africa.

176. The situation in Namibia, as in South Africa, has worsened day by day in the following respects: the South African régime, using its puppets of the Multi-Party Conference, has continued to trample upon the basic rights and freedom of the people of

Namibia. Basic rights of freedom of movement, freedom of speech, and freedom of assembly have almost disappeared; and when the Namibian patriots take to the streets to protest against the oppressive laws, they are always summarily detained, imprisoned or shot at. Arbitrary arrests, torture and detention remain the order of the day. Not even church leaders are immune from such criminal acts by the South African authorities. Killings of innocent women and children by the notorious territorial and South African security forces continue unabated. The South African régime, together with its allies, have stepped up support for the Savimbi bandits. And, as recent raids against Angola, Botswana, Zambia and Zimbabwe have shown, the Pretoria régime is still bent on destabilizing its neighbouring States.

177. As the Commonwealth Group of Eminent Persons and those who participated in the International Conference for the Immediate Independence of Namibia concluded, the only peaceful means left for the world community to speed up the abolition of *apartheid* is to impose sanctions against South Africa.

Mr. Kabanda (Rwanda), Vice-President, took the Chair.

178. We take cognizance and express our appreciation of the measures taken by a number of Western Governments to isolate South Africa and to put pressure upon that country's Government to dismantle its *apartheid* system. We note with great satisfaction the actions and decisions by a growing number of non-governmental organizations and legislators, including the Congress of the United States, designed to put pressure on their Governments to relent in their opposition to the imposition of comprehensive mandatory sanctions against South Africa. We ask that they not only demand more but do more.

179. South Africa, that neo-Nazi State, which has in the last two years killed over 2,000 of its own unarmed defenceless citizens, will not heed more talks. It has to be forced to come to the negotiating table with the sole and authentic independence movement and leaders of Namibia, SWAPO.

180. This special session must send an unequivocal message to the Security Council and the Pretoria régime. South Africa must be forced to implement Security Council resolution 435 (1978), without conditions, and without further delay. In the event of continued defiance by South Africa, we must all, singly and collectively, undertake to impose sanctions against the racist régime of South Africa. Honesty demands that we acknowledge that the way of verbal persuasion and moral suasion has failed.

181. When the United Nations revoked South Africa's Mandate over Namibia and assumed responsibility for the Territory, the people of Namibia reposed a great trust in the States Members of the United Nations. They hoped for an accelerated process towards the realization of their inalienable right to self-determination and independence. By our procrastination, apparent inertia and simulated or self-imposed impotence, we have in 20 years tragically failed those expectations. Today we stand in clear danger of betraying that trust. This session may well

represent the last chance to honour that trust. Let us take it.

182. Mr. KITTANI (Iraq) (*interpretation from Arabic*): It gives me great pleasure first of all to extend to Mr. Choudhury our warm congratulations on his election as President at this important special session. His election was, we are sure, a result of his experience, wisdom and vast knowledge and we are confident that he will work towards the adoption of firm resolutions at this important historical juncture on behalf of the struggling people of Namibia in order to enable them to achieve their legitimate aspiration to lead a free and dignified life.

183. Twenty years have elapsed since the General Assembly terminated South Africa's Mandate over Namibia and placed the Territory under the direct responsibility of the United Nations [*resolution 2145 (XXI)*]. Since then, important decisions and resolutions have been adopted, calling for the independence of Namibia and for an end to the brutal and illegal occupation of that Territory by the racist régime of South Africa. However, that régime has not altered its policy but, rather, has persisted in carrying it out and has tightened its brutal grip on the struggling people of the Territory. It has launched attacks against neighbouring African countries in blatant violation of the resolutions adopted by the United Nations, in particular Security Council resolution 435 (1978) and General Assembly resolution 3314 (XXIX), as well as the resolutions adopted by the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, the OAU and other international bodies.

184. Proceeding from its firm belief in the legitimacy of the struggle of the Namibian people and their right to self-determination, Iraq has participated, and continues to participate, in all international efforts to achieve that goal, particularly in its capacity as a member 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, whose efforts are aimed at achieving the independence of Namibia. Iraq will continue its efforts until the struggling people of Namibia achieve their freedom, independence and territorial integrity under the leadership of SWAPO, their sole and legitimate representative.

185. In this respect, we should like to pay a tribute to SWAPO for its outstanding leadership of the Namibian people and for the constructive manner in which it has responded to diplomatic initiatives, for its co-operation with the United Nations and with other international bodies in efforts to find a peaceful and just solution at a time when the racist Pretoria régime persists in its intransigence and insists on continuing its illegal occupation of the Territory, depleting its resources and treating its people brutally.

186. We must affirm here that the rights of the Namibian people to independence must not become hostage to the East-West confrontation. We should not allow the manoeuvres that are taking place to divert attention from the main objective, namely, the achievement by the Namibian people of freedom, independence and national unity. We also very strongly deplore the policy of appeasement pursued

by some Western countries towards the Pretoria régime, and the repeated use of the veto power in the Security Council to prevent the imposition of comprehensive and mandatory sanctions on South Africa with the aim of ending once for all the violations by that régime of fundamental international rules and human principles and its blatant defiance of the international community.

187. At the same time, we urge all States and Governments to desist from giving any assistance to the South African régime, which only encourages it to prolong its military occupation of Namibia and its depletion of the natural resources of that Territory and to pursue a policy of terrorism, aggression and destabilization against independent neighbouring countries. We call upon those States immediately to end all political, economic, diplomatic, military, nuclear, cultural, sports and other contacts and relations with the racist Pretoria régime in accordance with Security Council resolution 283 (1970).

188. The need to adopt effective and decisive measures to counter the intransigent policies pursued by the South African régime has become even more imperative today, in view of the failure of all diplomatic attempts to deter that régime from continuing its aggressive policy and its anachronistic racist doctrine. The action we take in response to that blatant defiance of the international community and to the violation of human rights must be commensurate with the seriousness of the situation in southern Africa and with the direct threat to international peace and security resulting from Pretoria's policy. There is an imperative need to impose comprehensive and mandatory sanctions against that régime under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations.

189. If the support given by some countries to the Pretoria régime is based on their selective approach to the Charter and the principles of human rights, the close collaboration between the two racist régimes, in Pretoria and in Tel Aviv, is based on their identical ideological beliefs. The two régimes aim to perpetuate the racist movement in the east and north of the African continent and in the west and south through the settler-colonialist system—a system which embraces the principle of usurping the territories of others and bringing their peoples into subjection through military might and armed attacks against neighbouring countries, as well as fanning problems and regional disputes, ethnic and communal strife and destabilizing Governments. The two racist régimes may thus be able to impose their hegemony over the two areas, African and Arab.

190. The collaboration between Pretoria and Tel Aviv has become a strategic, economic, military and nuclear alliance, the purpose of which is to frustrate the aspirations of the African and Arab peoples, which strive to achieve their independence and freedom. Pretoria and Tel Aviv aim at weakening the potential of those heroic peoples and plundering their resources, because once they achieve their freedom and independence they may pose a threat to those anachronistic and reactionary régimes, which ignore the lessons of history and the noble principles of mankind.

191. The aim of the united Arab-African struggle is not merely to promote the interests of those struggling peoples but also to stand up to those two racist entities, a course which has been chosen by the peoples of Namibia, South Africa and the Arab region to gain their freedom and independence.

192. In keeping with our firm policy, Iraq, directly and through the League of Arab States and through efforts made by Arab and African countries, has always attributed major importance and priority to the question of co-operation and solidarity between the Arab and African States. Had it not been for the continuing aggression against Iraq and the war which has been forced on it during the past six years, we would have been able to redouble our material and moral support to the Namibian people and the front-line States in their struggle.

193. We call upon all Member States to increase their material and moral support for the struggle waged by the Namibian people under the leadership of SWAPO, their sole and legitimate representative, against the occupation of the racist régime of South Africa, whose aim is to deplete the wealth and immense resources of Namibia.

194. We call for more support from all States to the front-line States, which confront the racist régime of South Africa. As a result of their principled stand, they are subjected to great political and economic pressures and constant aggression by the racist régime and to attempts to dismantle their national unity and undermine their security and stability. The racist régime continues to carry out brutal attacks against those States, in disregard of the Charter of the United Nations, international law and international relations in its efforts to weaken those States and prevent them from providing any support to the liberation movements in southern Africa. The intransigent régime also helps some illegal movements; it supports them with money and weapons in order to undermine the security of the front-line States and create entities prepared to enter into alliances with it.

195. At this special session we affirm Iraq's unwavering stand in solidarity with the people of Namibia in their struggle to assert their legitimate right to freedom and independence and secure territorial integrity, including Walvis Bay and the offshore islands belonging to Namibia. We believe that the best way to achieve this is by forcing the racist régime in South Africa to agree to immediate and unconditional implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978).

196. In conclusion, and on behalf of the Iraqi people and leadership, I salute the struggle of the heroic people of Namibia, under the leadership of SWAPO, their sole and authentic representative. We are confident that at this special session the Assembly will adopt practical, substantive resolutions in support of the struggle of the Namibian people to speed up the achievement of the aspiration to lead a free and independent life.

197. Mr. THIOUNN Prasith (Democratic Kampuchea) (*interpretation from French*): In his forthcoming address to the forty-first session of the General Assembly, His Royal Highness Samdech Norodom

Sihanouk, President of Democratic Kampuchea, will most certainly, on behalf of the people of Kampuchea and of its Coalition Government, congratulate Mr. Choudhury on his unanimous election and wish him full success in carrying out the heavy responsibilities entrusted to him. I should simply like to say here, in this International Year of Peace, that these sessions of the General Assembly are fortunate to have as a guide an outstanding son of the young, dynamic People's Republic of Bangladesh, whose faithfulness to the Charter of the United Nations and the principles of non-alignment are recognized by all. I take pleasure in emphasizing that the positive activities undertaken by his country in promoting and developing regional and international co-operation, especially South-South co-operation, and in the creation of the South Asian Association for Regional Co-operation at Dacca, have contributed to the cause of peace, progress and justice throughout the world. We are convinced that with Mr. Choudhury's wisdom, his broad knowledge of international problems and his dedication to the struggle for justice and prosperity he will most certainly guide to success our important work here at this special session of the General Assembly on the question of Namibia.

198. Many statements have already been made both before and during this debate on the question of Namibia. Nevertheless, I should like to join the overwhelming majority of the international community in condemning, on behalf of the people and the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea, the continuing illegal occupation of that Territory and the complete contempt for the principles set forth in the Charter of the United Nations and international law shown by the Pretoria régime. We believe that greater, unequivocal international pressure should be brought to bear on that régime, which is committing odious crimes against the sacred national rights of the Namibian people. My delegation reaffirms the constant support of the Kampuchean Government and people for the Namibian people in its just and heroic struggle for independence and the exercise of its inalienable right to self-determination and freedom, so as to put an end to its indescribable sufferings under the colonial yoke of Pretoria.

199. Twenty years ago the United Nations revoked South Africa's Mandate over Namibia and took direct responsibility for the Territory [*resolution 2145 (XXI)*]. However, all the efforts made by the Organization to arrive at a peaceful, just and lasting settlement of the question of Namibia have been thwarted by the racist régime of South Africa. Many resolutions and decisions have been adopted by the General Assembly and its subsidiary bodies on this question but they have remained a dead letter. The Security Council also has adopted several resolutions, in particular resolutions 264 (1969) and 269 (1969), whereby it declared the continued presence of South Africa in Namibia illegal, contrary to the principles of the Charter and decisions of the United Nations and an aggressive encroachment on the authority of the world Organization. In June 1971 the International Court of Justice handed down an advisory opinion⁶ in which it stated that "South Africa is under obligation to withdraw its administration from Namibia immediately and thus put an end to its occupation of the Territory."

200. None of these measures has succeeded in forcing the Pretoria régime to put an end to its illegal occupation of Namibia. On the contrary, defying all these resolutions and decisions, that régime has continued to "bantustanize" the Territory on the model of the homelands that it is organizing in South Africa under its anachronistic policy of *apartheid*. At the same time, it has intensified its efforts to prohibit any kind of resistance by the valiant people of Namibia under the leadership of SWAPO, with the aim not only of perpetuating the colonization of the Territory but also of incorporating it in the so-called Union of South Africa, action which it cynically asked the General Assembly to approve in 1946,¹² only one year after it had solemnly promised to respect the principles in Chapters XI and XII of the Charter relating to Non-Self-Governing Territories and the international trusteeship system.

201. In spite of the intransigence of the Pretoria régime, which refuses arrogantly and shamelessly to comply with the resolutions adopted by the United Nations, peoples and countries all over the world devoted to peace and justice have not relaxed their efforts to arrive at an acceptable solution that would enable the Namibian people to exercise its right to self-determination, freedom and independence within a united Namibia. That was why they commended the adoption of Security Council resolution 435 (1978) embodying the United Nations plan for the independence of Namibia, which is widely acceptable. Africa, the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, the international community as a whole and, in particular, SWAPO and the Namibian people, convinced that this plan will finally lead to self-determination and the independence of the Territory, after so many years of suffering and humiliation, have done their utmost to give effect to this historic resolution. However, those efforts have been thwarted by the rejection and the persistent manoeuvres of the South African racist régime. Eight years have elapsed without any progress. On the contrary, numerous delaying tactics have been used to hamper the implementation of this resolution and stop the decolonization process in Namibia.

202. In order to prolong negotiations on the problem and thus buy the time needed to devise other strategies, the Pretoria régime has injected extraneous issues into the problem of Namibia and, by the same token, has repeatedly attempted to impose a puppet government submissive to its colonialist interests. It took seven years of continuous efforts, especially by the Security Council and the Secretary-General, to solve the so-called problem of the choice of electoral system, the last pending question concerning the implementation of the United Nations plan for Namibia. Although the problem has been resolved, the plan remains a dead letter; for South Africa continues to incorporate elements alien to the question of Namibia.

203. Africa, through President Abdou Diouf of the Republic of Senegal, then Chairman of OAU, reaffirmed during the solemn celebration of the fortieth anniversary of the United Nations that "Security Council resolution 435 (1978) remains the sole framework for the settlement of the question of Namibia."¹³

204. The International Conference for the Immediate Independence of Namibia, held at Vienna last July, adopted unanimously a Declaration¹⁰ calling for all effective steps to be taken to ensure the implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978) without any change, reservation or pre-condition.

205. The position of the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea in this connection is well known. Last August, His Royal Highness Samdech Norodom Sihanouk, President of Democratic Kampuchea, stated in a message addressed to the United Nations Council for Namibia on Namibia Day:

“I should like to reaffirm our constant position in accordance with which resolutions 385 (1976) and 435 (1978) of the United Nations Security Council on the United Nations plan for the independence of Namibia remain the only internationally acceptable basis for a peaceful settlement of the Namibian problem. We insist that these be immediately and unconditionally implemented.”

206. My delegation would like to reiterate that any attempts to modify that plan would only encourage the Pretoria régime to further delay the accession of Namibia to independence. We denounce and reject any attempt to distort the problem of Namibia, which is purely and simply a question of decolonization to be solved in accordance with the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations, General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) containing the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples and other relevant resolutions of the United Nations.

207. Democratic Kampuchea shares the widespread indignation and frustration of the international community as a whole at the Pretoria régime's stratagem of setting up in Namibia on 17 June 1985 a so-called provisional government through a Multi-Partite Conference. That was yet another perfidious attempt by the *apartheid* régime to shirk its obligations to apply the relevant resolutions of the United Nations, to attenuate the condemnation of the international community and to shatter the unity of action of the Namibian people. No country in the world was fooled by that disguise. The international community continues, on the contrary, to acknowledge SWAPO as the sole authentic representative of the Namibian people, and an increasing number of countries have established official relations with that organization.

208. The increasingly serious upheavals in southern Africa result essentially from the *apartheid* régime of Pretoria, which is intensifying its bloody repression of the black majority in South Africa and continuing illegally to occupy Namibia, while continuing its acts of aggression and subversive and destabilizing activities against neighbouring States. The arrogant defiance of the Pretoria régime in the face of world condemnation and its stubborn determination to eliminate by bloodshed all popular opposition, in both South Africa and Namibia, have shocked the conscience of the international community and strengthened us in our belief that the only remedy for the hateful régime of *apartheid* is its eradication. The tragic events of this year bear witness to the rising tide of the struggle of the South African and Namib-

ian peoples against this anachronistic régime, the elimination of which is only a question of time. They show that the overall application of economic sanctions may help to reduce this interval and quickly put an end to the sufferings of the oppressed by inducing the Pretoria régime to accept a peaceful, just and equitable solution. As long as the policy of *apartheid* continues and as long as Namibia remains occupied, neighbouring States will continue to be the victims of acts of aggression, subversion and destabilization by the Pretoria régime. Not only will peace not be restored to southern Africa but tension in that part of the world is bound to increase.

209. The people of Kampuchea and the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea, who are now also struggling to enjoy their right to self-determination, freedom and national independence against an enemy no less cynical and arrogant than the Pretoria *apartheid* régime, welcome the favourable development of the valiant struggle of our Namibian brothers and sisters, under the leadership of SWAPO, on all fronts—political, military and diplomatic—in the face of the intransigence of South Africa, which continues to turn a deaf ear to the repeated demands of the international community for a peaceful settlement of the problem and which stops at no crime, however monstrous. The Namibian people are fully entitled to fight their battle by all means available to them because the Pretoria régime, by its declarations and its acts, has amply demonstrated that it has committed itself to a military policy and to violence rather than to negotiations. If the international community took a long time to realize this, the oppressed and humiliated Namibian people quickly understood it.

210. The attack 20 years ago against South African armed forces at Ongulumbashe marked the outbreak of an armed struggle of the heroic SWAPO combatants. That battle constitutes an important turning point in the history of the struggle of the Namibian people. The intensification of military operations and the successive victories of the liberation army of the people of Namibia, with the increased support of the Namibian people, have begun to shatter the myth of the invincibility of the *apartheid* régime. In order to maintain its occupation, the Pretoria régime has had to amass a military force of more than 100,000 men, who are in fact bogged down in a battle which they can never win. Unable to impose its will in Namibia, it has resorted to all forms of brutality, from the creation of so-called security zones to torture and massacre. Atrocities are being committed against a people whose only crime is to wish to live free.

211. The Namibian people have no other choice than to continue their just struggle so as to be able finally to achieve what they are entitled to: human dignity and freedom in an independent and unified Namibia. We are certain that, despite all obstacles, the day is not far off when Namibia will regain its independence. The defeat of the proponents of *apartheid* is now assured. That is the course of history. Moreover, the defence of its noble cause is something which the Namibian people do not undertake alone. They can count now on the efforts and support of all peoples and countries cherishing justice and peace in honour and dignity.

212. Democratic Kampuchea, which has endured for almost eight years the most devastating war of aggression and genocide in its history, can fully appreciate the extent of the sacrifices which our brothers and sisters in Namibia continue to make in order to bring closer the day when they will enjoy their inalienable right to self-determination, freedom and independence.

213. The people of Kampuchea and the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea have always condemned the repulsive policy of *apartheid* of the South African régime and other forms of foreign oppression and domination, and can never reiterate too often their unflinching and constant support for the heroic struggle of the Namibian people, under the leadership of SWAPO, until their legitimate aspirations to sovereignty and independence are fulfilled. We share to the full the deep frustration, bitterness and impatience of Africa, for its independence will never be really complete as long as one part of that continent remains subjected to colonial occupation.

214. The convening of the current special session of the General Assembly coincides with the twentieth anniversary of the termination by the Assembly of South Africa's Mandate over Namibia [*resolution 2145 (XXI)*]. It is high time the international community adopted energetic concerted measures to induce South Africa to implement immediately Security Council resolution 435 (1978). It is our duty, in response to the Declaration of the International Conference for the Immediate Independence of Namibia and the Programme of Action on Namibia¹⁰ adopted by the Conference last July, to support the determination and courage of the Namibian people fighting for freedom, independence and human dignity. That is the object of our special session.

215. I could not conclude without paying a well-deserved tribute to the Secretary-General for his tireless and praiseworthy efforts to ensure the implementation of the relevant decisions and resolutions of the United Nations on the question of Namibia and for his personal commitment and dedication to the liberation of that Territory. We should like also to reiterate our satisfaction with the crucial role played by the United Nations Council for Namibia in defence of the rights and interests of the Namibian people.

216. Mr. KARRAN (Guyana): May I, on behalf of the Guyanese delegation, extend to Mr. Choudhury sincere congratulations on his election as President of the General Assembly at this special session devoted to the consideration of the question of Namibia. His experience and diplomatic skills and his commitment to the Namibian cause make him admirably qualified to guide the deliberations on the question before us.

217. My delegation hoped that there would not have been any need to convene this special session, but all of us who participate in the work of the Organization are well aware of the justification for doing so.

218. This past year has witnessed intensified efforts by the international community, and particularly the United Nations, aimed at ensuring the achievement by the people of Namibia of their inalienable rights

to freedom, independence and territorial integrity, but the situation remains unchanged.

219. The international community agrees that the continued denial of self-determination and independence to the people of Namibia has made the imperatives for peaceful change in Namibia even more pressing. With each passing day a conflagration threatens in southern Africa. As the body charged with protecting the rights and interests of the Namibian people, the United Nations, in the light of the rapidly deteriorating situation in and around the Territory, must redouble its efforts to expedite the implementation of the United Nations plan for the independence of Namibia, which has been recognized as the only accepted basis for a peaceful settlement of the Namibian question. We must no longer permit impassivity and helplessness to characterize our response to the unspeakable suffering and degradation inflicted on the Namibian people.

220. Those of us who are committed to the preservation of justice and human dignity for all see in the continued preservation of the *status quo* in that Territory a diminution of our own freedom and dignity. This special session, we expect, will lay bare the reality of the situation in and relating to Namibia and pave the way for the taking of firm action to secure full and speedy compliance by South Africa with the principles and objectives consistently upheld by the Organization.

221. Here my delegation would like to express its sincere appreciation to the Secretary-General for his personal commitment and untiring efforts aimed at the implementation of the resolutions and decisions of the United Nations on this question, in particular Security Council resolution 435 (1978). His resolve in the face of the constant manoeuvrings and intransigence of the racist régime in South Africa has done much to allay the feelings of deep frustration, resentment and impatience often expressed in this and other forums covering this vexed question.

222. Racist South Africa, notwithstanding the various efforts to seek a peaceful solution to the question of Namibia ever since the General Assembly terminated South Africa's Mandate over the Territory two decades ago [*resolution 2145 (XXI)*], has not ceased to formulate stratagems to thwart the process of decolonization and the attainment of genuine independence in Namibia. It has continued to occupy the Territory illegally in violation of the various resolutions and decisions of the United Nations. The peaceful and successful exercise of the responsibility assumed by the Organization with the termination of South Africa's Mandate was premised upon a very important consideration—a willingness on the part of South Africa to comply with the decision transferring the administration of the Territory to the United Nations Council for Namibia. The record of South Africa's response to such efforts to effect a peaceful transfer is unambiguous and well known to all. The statement made by the Acting President of the United Nations Council for Namibia [*1st meeting*] bears testimony to that. It is a record characterized by arrogance and defiance, prevarication and intransigence. The racist régime has raised one obstacle after another as the years have progressed. What is even more distressing is that, after it had exhausted

all possible dilatory tactics for denying Namibians their basic rights, the régime was provided with fresh pretexts for maintaining its stranglehold over the Territory.

223. The nefarious activities carried out by the illegal régime occupying Namibia have been widely acknowledged as constituting a serious threat to international peace and security. In addition to the oppression and exploitation of the Namibian people, South Africa is engaged in the indiscriminate plunder of the natural resources of the Territory. Its exploitation of the uranium resources of the Territory poses a serious health hazard for generations of Namibians.

224. The forced conscription of young Namibians into armed forces of South Africa has also compelled several hundred young men and women to seek refuge in neighbouring countries, thus swelling the ranks of the thousands of refugees fleeing the evils of a régime bent on annihilating them. In fact the racist régime has impudently gone ahead with whatever plans it has devised for Namibia, as is evidenced by its installation there of a so-called interim administration in open defiance of the various Security Council resolutions declaring such actions null and void.

225. Namibia is the launching-pad from which the régime carries out its acts of aggression against and destabilization of the neighbouring States, in particular Angola. The chronicle of death and the destruction of vital infrastructure facilities in the front-line States has now become an issue in itself. South Africa has perpetrated these atrocities while feigning willingness to negotiate in good faith with the legitimate leaders of the Namibian people, SWAPO. Armed with the pretexts of "linkage" and "constructive engagement", the régime has sought to project itself as the champion of democracy and freedom throughout the whole region. It insists on linking its withdrawal from Namibia with the withdrawal of Cuban forces from Angola with the aim of distorting what is a purely decolonization question into an issue of East-West confrontation and rivalry. Bolder and more courageous steps are required to deal with such dilatory tactics.

226. Namibia's independence and the restoration to Namibians of their basic human rights and fundamental freedoms cannot be circumscribed or made conditional. South Africa should not be able to derive comfort and confidence from such dilatory tactics. The costs to South Africa must be raised. Pressure must be brought to bear on the South African régime to isolate it and compel it to move towards the early implementation of resolution 435 (1978).

227. It is this consistent and total disregard for the rights of the Namibian people that has motivated the convening of this special session so that the most rigorous measures can be adopted to compel South Africa to change its conduct and comply with the United Nations prescriptions for a peaceful transition to a free Namibia.

228. There has been a sharp deterioration of the situation in the Territory, and this has continued despite the spirit of good will and the willingness by

the international community and the Namibians themselves to make compromises. SWAPO, the legitimate representative of the Namibian people, has consistently and steadfastly demonstrated its willingness to negotiate and to make concessions. The compromises to which that valiant organization has agreed are not open to question. Yet South Africa has shown no such good will and no desire to budge from the position of occupation and subjugation of the Namibian people. Pretoria has therefore left them no other option but to continue and to intensify the armed struggle.

229. On the other hand, the international community is asked not to recognize that there is a war going on in Namibia. We are told that we should not close the door to negotiations. But negotiation is what the international community has been seeking to engage in with South Africa over these past decades. It is Pretoria that has turned its back on those efforts.

230. This is therefore a decisive stage, and decisive measures need to be employed against the racist régime. South Africa must not be allowed to buy more time for manoeuvrings designed to confound the international community while it presses ahead with its own schemes for the Territory. The Organization now has the opportunity and the solemn obligation to make it clear to South Africa that it is prepared to make use of those measures at its disposal since the entire global community has deemed that all other measures for securing full and speedy compliance with the resolutions and decisions of the United Nations have been exhausted.

231. Enforcement measures as stipulated under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations are long overdue. Our actions here will inevitably send a signal to South Africa. Let us work to ensure that the unprecedented pressure on and isolation of the racist régime will achieve the desired goals and that the efforts of those who through their steadfastness, courage and sacrifice have committed themselves to Namibia's liberation will be crowned with early success.

232. Mr. TRAN HOAN (Viet Nam) (*interpretation from French*): On behalf of the delegation of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam to the fourteenth special session, on Namibia, it is my honour to extend to Mr. Choudhury my warmest congratulations on his election to the high post of President of the General Assembly. We are convinced that, thanks to his great competence and rich experience, the work of the Assembly at its forty-first session, and in particular at its fourteenth special session, will be successful.

233. The year 1984 marked the centenary of colonial domination over Namibia. In the course of the last 100 years Namibia has passed from one imperialist and colonial force to another. Like it or not, certain Western countries cannot absolve themselves of all responsibility for the present situation in Namibia. How ironic it is in this era of decolonization that Namibia remains the sole vestige of ancient colonialism in our world. Such a situation must be ended immediately. Namibian independence is now of the essence.

234. In defiance of international public opinion, the racist régime of South Africa arrogates to itself the right to occupy illegally and exploit that vast and rich country. Putting into effect its brutal policy of *apartheid*, Pretoria's reactionary Administration illegally occupies the Territory, plunders its natural resources and exploits the country's enormous labour force to serve its military machine. The policy of "bantustanization" has also been applied.

235. The *apartheid* régime of South Africa has turned Namibia into an immense garrison with the presence of more than 100,000 South African soldiers, or one South African soldier for every 12 Namibians. It also engages in forced conscription and uses local police to crush the liberation struggle of the Namibian people with bloody violence. The whole of Namibia has become a vast penal colony where Namibian patriots struggling against South Africa's colonialist domination are held and tortured.

236. The racist Administration of Pretoria has turned Namibia into a military base, a springboard and a staging-ground for armed attacks against neighbouring countries. From these bases South African forces have launched many incursions into Angolan territory; they continue to occupy part of Angola's territory. Those forces use Namibia as a base for attacks against Zambia, Botswana, Mozambique and Zimbabwe; these are barbarous actions which have been repeatedly condemned by the international community.

237. The South African Administration is not alone in profiting from the continued occupation of Namibia. That country's rich and varied natural resources, including those considered to be of strategic importance, have attracted investment from more than 80 transnational corporations, 53 of which are based in certain Western countries. The United States policy of "constructive engagement" is simple sophistry intended to protect United States strategic interests in the region. Over the past 30 years South Africa has always been considered by the United States as a strategic ally assuring it access to strategic minerals, to markets and to investments. Nearly \$100 billion in loans and \$3 billion in direct investments has been granted to South Africa. This aid is both economic and military and includes assistance in the field of nuclear technology. Along with the political protection afforded by the United States and certain other Western countries, that aid has made the South African Government so obstinate and aggressive, and a permanent factor of destabilization, threatening peace and security in the region. The paralysis of the so-called Western contact group shows that the interests of a minority cannot be imposed on the majority and that Namibia's independence cannot be linked to any extraneous issue.

238. The international community is gravely concerned at the plight of the Namibian people. By its resolution 2145 (XXI), the General Assembly terminated the Mandate of South Africa over Namibia and officially made the Territory the direct responsibility of the United Nations. By its resolution 2248 (S-V) the Assembly entrusted that Mandate to the United Nations Council for Namibia until Namibia could achieve independence. In its resolution 435 (1978), the Security Council outlined a plan for the indepen-

dence of Namibia. Unfortunately that goal has not yet been reached. It could even be said that Namibia was closer to independence 10 years ago than it is now.

239. Pretoria's obstinacy and its collaboration with certain Western countries, and the United States policy of so-called constructive engagement are the main obstacles to the implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978). This shows that the international community must find more vigorous and effective measures to force the Pretoria régime to grant Namibia its independence.

240. The liberation struggle waged by the Namibian people to recover its independence has lasted many decades. Under the leadership of SWAPO, its sole and authentic representative, the Namibian people moves from victory to victory. This struggle is closely tied to that of the South African people under the leadership of the African National Congress of South Africa and to that of the front-line peoples supported by the OAU, for all those struggles have the same objective: the elimination of *apartheid*. This unity of purpose is an extremely important factor which should be enhanced and strengthened so that Namibia may gain its complete independence.

241. The question of the independence of Namibia is more urgent than ever before, not only because of the suffering of the Namibian people, but also because this is a problem that affects anyone with a conscience and a heart. The success of the recent World Conference on Sanctions against Racist South Africa and its Declaration¹⁴ show the unanimity of the demand that South African troops be withdrawn from Namibia and that independence be granted that country immediately and unconditionally. In that connection, the Conference expressed the unanimity of the international community on the question of sanctions. The specious argument that sanctions against South Africa would have harmful effects on the African community is pure hypocrisy. The front-line States have repeatedly reiterated their decision to shoulder the cost of sanctions against South Africa. There is no reason, therefore, to delay the imposition of those sanctions. We call for the imposition of comprehensive and mandatory sanctions against South Africa under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations. Nor is there any reason to delay the process of the independence of Namibia. Very recently, the Eighth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Harare, strongly reaffirmed in its Political Declaration³ the position of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries on the question of Namibia:

"The Heads of State or Government strongly condemned the racist South African régime for its intransigence, which is the main obstacle to the implementation of the United Nations plan for the independence of Namibia in accordance with Security Council resolution 435 (1978) . . . the Heads of State or Government endorsed the call, by the recent International Conference for the Immediate Independence of Namibia, on all States¹ to oppose resolutely, in every available forum, the universally and categorically rejected persistent attempt by the United States Adminis-

tration and racist South Africa to link the implementation of the United Nations plan with irrelevant and extraneous issues, such as the presence of Cuban troops in Angola.”

242. The position of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries is a demonstration of the solidarity and support of half the world's population for the Namibian people, under the leadership of SWAPO, its sole, authentic representative, and for the peoples of Africa, in particular the front-line States, which are waging a courageous struggle to put an end once and for all to an extremely barbaric and reactionary régime—that of South Africa. My delegation believes that this fourteenth special session of the General Assembly, on Namibia, is duty-bound to endorse the just position of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries in this respect. In so doing, the United Nations will be making a major contribution to the attainment of the noble cause of the independence of Namibia.

243. At this time when the awakening of peoples has given them invincible strength in the struggle for independence, freedom and social progress, the *apartheid* régime is inevitably doomed. Namibia, the last vestige of ancient colonialism, will certainly be liberated. The just cause of the South African people will prevail. The international community must act to contribute to hastening the achievement of these great shared victories of the peoples.

244. Dame Ruth Nita BARROW (Barbados): Everything that needs to be said on this subject seems to have been said, but we all want to add our quota.

245. I wish first, on behalf of the Government and people of Barbados, to associate myself and my delegation with the warm congratulations extended to Mr. Choudhury on his election to the presidency of this special session of the General Assembly, and to the Vice-Presidents as well.

246. Our countries, Bangladesh and Barbados, share a common status and common aspirations as small developing States. We share alike the desire to pursue our sovereign interests with integrity, free from ideological prejudices and alignments, free from external pressures or coercion, and I know that the issue before us is one about which the President of the General Assembly must have a special feeling.

247. The politics of greed and the politics of race have, each in its separate and sinister fashion, brought unspeakable suffering to human life in our time. The most recent tragedy of the mining disaster in South Africa, about which one of my colleagues from the Caribbean expressed sympathy, is one such instance. When conjoined, these politics reveal shameful evidence of the human potential for cruelty. Namibia is the story of such a sinister alliance. Namibia shows what will result when greed and race become the chief determinants of a country's politics.

248. The facts surrounding the theft of Namibia are all known to us. They have been rehearsed countless times today. We know that in 1920 the League of Nations entrusted to the then Union of South Africa a Mandate to prepare Namibia for independence on behalf of the Government of the United Kingdom.

Nearly 70 years later, Namibia is nowhere near independence and its people, after years of peaceful initiatives, are now forced to take up arms against their treacherous captors.

249. The Government of South Africa, in a brazen betrayal of international confidence, has systematically defied the Organization and all attempts to bring honour to its treatment of the Namibian people.

250. It is greed above all which has lured South Africa into its betrayal of trust. We have heard that stated here today. Practising colonialism in its most strident form, South Africa has implemented a system of governance designed to ensure that the people of Namibia will never enjoy its wealth, even though theirs is the labour used in the production of that wealth. Extending the policy of *apartheid* practised in South Africa, the Government of Pretoria has set about the ethnic manipulation of the Namibian people, depriving them of all hope of peaceful progress.

251. With their policy of racial suppression and their defiance of world opinion, the leaders in Pretoria have become paranoid over their security and, as a consequence, have reduced Namibia to a strategic resource. Every argument imaginable has been proffered to persuade South Africa that lasting peace and security lie not in the armed occupation of Namibia, not in encampments at Walvis Bay, not in launching raids against Botswana, Mozambique, Zambia, Zimbabwe or Angola, but in freeing the people of Namibia to pursue their rightful goals. But the Government of Barbados sees no evidence that the rulers at Pretoria are interested in peace.

252. Other efforts to dissuade South Africa from establishing a puppet administration in Namibia have also failed. Using subterfuge and spurious excuses, South Africa has systematically frustrated a responsible programme by the United Nations, which has called for the holding of elections under international supervision and the eventual attainment of independence by the Namibian people.

253. Let us not obscure truth. South Africa's occupation of Namibia is a political crime, and the Government of Barbados rejects any attempt to link the freedom of Namibia with the withdrawal of foreign forces from southern Africa or the abrogation of any agreements between sovereign States. These are separate matters, better separately addressed.

254. For nearly 40 years South Africa has sought—with success—to outmanoeuvre the international community with a strategy of dishonesty and contempt. For 20 years Pretoria has defied this Organization—as has been said several times. But enough is enough.

255. Fate has seen fit to require me to commence my assignment as the Permanent Representative of Barbados to the United Nations with a statement concerning the practice of governance by Pretoria.

256. Mine has been the privilege, if such could be the word, of sitting face to face with the rulers of Pretoria. It is an experience which I shall not cherish

but can never forget. I was chosen by the Governments of the Commonwealth to be a member of a team set the task of finding a way for black South Africans and white South Africans to speak meaningfully with each other.

257. I hope I may be permitted to say a few words on the phenomenon called the Commonwealth. It is one that is intriguing to consider. The late Dr. Martin Luther King envisaged a day when the sons and daughters of slaves and the sons and daughters of slave-owners would sit together at the table of brotherhood. Dr. King's words bear some relevance to that institution known as the Commonwealth, which represents an effort born in part from the hope that good will can change mankind's attitudes and in so doing reroute the course of history.

258. Those who form the Governments in the Commonwealth of nations are not naive. We have heard some of them today. They know and acknowledge the realities of politics and the priorities of special interests; some nurse bitter memories of earlier relationships. But through it all they respond to an ideal which lies at the very heart of the word "commonwealth". Conflict and confusion frequently beset their efforts. That is understandable. Sometimes the quarrels may become acrimonious and public, leading cynics to anticipate the crumbling of the relationship. That nearly happened at the Commonwealth mini-summit which took place in London. But it survives, supported on the one hand by a cherished ideal and on the other by a realistic acceptance of our limitations.

259. It is an irony that in our age of refined communication language is losing much of its essence. We should have thought that words such as "freedom", "justice" and "sovereignty" would be universal in their meaning. But words everywhere are being invested with double meanings, and, since language begirds all we do, we have, perhaps unwittingly, established a world of double standards. The double standard is what we debate today. The double standard is what Namibia is about.

260. The politics of South Africa would have us accept one good for whites and another good for others; one right for whites, one right for blacks. The rulers of Pretoria believe that in all sincerity. I can vouch for that. But it is a view which breeds the contempt with which they hold Namibia hostage, a contempt which defies the resolutions of the Security Council and the General Assembly and shows, above all, Pretoria's disgraceful disregard for the principle of the peaceful resolution of disputes.

261. Security Council resolution 435 (1978) has been referred to again and again today. It is now some eight years since the United Nations by that resolution established a mechanism which would prepare Namibia for its passage to independence. The contact group, working with the support of the Western group of nations, has sought to create the atmosphere for productive negotiation. South African stubbornness has undermined all initiatives.

262. The morality of rebellion has long been the subject of philosophical debate. What should we do when rules are unjust and rulers are oppressive?

History suggests that human integrity always asserts itself, and we should not expect anything else in Namibia. The Pretoria rulers have left few options to the people of Namibia.

263. What we see in the faces of those who run Pretoria is a smug maleficence which accommodates no fear, good reason or good will, a maleficence which boasts of its military might and sneers at any attempt to restrain the plunge to violence. What Pretoria does not acknowledge is that armaments are no match for a people's will to be free. This the President knows well.

264. South Africa's stubbornness over Namibia is not simply that of the blind and foolhardy. It comes from a certain confidence in that country's accomplices, the States which succour the will and the means of *apartheid*, as has been frequently repeated here; the multi-national consortiums, gleaming the riches of the Namibian soil, exploiting black labour; and those paying lip-service to embargo while taking stealthy steps to ensure that oil and the arms used in the occupation of Namibia remain available to Mr. Botha's Government.

265. The Government of Barbados would normally appreciate the moral force of non-violence, but South Africa's response to non-violence was made clear long ago on a street in Sharpeville. What are we left with? The Government of Barbados finds it necessary to support the legitimate struggle now being undertaken by the courageous freedom fighters of SWAPO, as they seek to rid their land of the terror of Pretoria. It is a position we should like to eschew, but, like the Namibians, like the forces of SWAPO, forced to abandon years of peaceful initiatives, we see no alternatives.

266. We note the positive suggestions made by many speakers today as to what can be done as a result of this special session, and we hope for and support such actions as strategic, necessary measures. Thus we see that the politics of South Africa may affect us all, forcing us to adopt stances we wish we could avoid.

267. The Caribbean is a land of calypso. Much of our social commentary is done in that manner. There is a very popular calypso today which asks "How many people must die, Mr. Botha, how many must die?" The chains of Pretoria shackle the world's conscience. As long as they exist we are all Namibians.

268. Mr. ABULHASSAN (Kuwait) (*interpretation from Arabic*): I am pleased, on behalf of my delegation, warmly to congratulate the President on his assumption of the presidency of this special session. We are confident that his experience and wisdom will help him and the delegations of Member States to achieve the utmost efficiency in their work, and the greatest possible benefit from it, during this session, which represents another link in an international effort which is rich in resolve. The last such links were the International Conference for the Immediate Independence of Namibia, held at Vienna, and the Second Brussels International Conference on Namibia, which were means of sensitizing world public

opinion and contributing to the universal campaign of pressure to bring about Namibia's independence.

269. Kuwait is honoured to have the opportunity at this special session to pursue its participation in the global campaign by all peace-loving nations that cherish the right of peoples to self-determination, freedom and independence for the achievement of those noble goals and for the final overthrow of the evil forces that have persisted since the now extinct colonialist era. Kuwait has expressed in the past and will continue to declare its absolute readiness to exert whatever efforts it can in support of the peoples of Namibia and southern Africa in their stand against the brutal racist force in Pretoria. Kuwait regards this special session as a very necessary means of keeping international attention focused on that infamous form of colonialism, which is so utterly out of tune with the spirit of our age and is regarded as one of the most outrageous anachronisms of our time.

270. Linked by historical, ethnic and geographic ties and by a common destiny, the Arab peoples have stood and will always stand shoulder to shoulder with their African brothers in their struggle, whether against the blatant occupation of Namibia, the aggressive action against the front-line States in southern Africa or the inhuman policies of *apartheid* in South Africa. It is a common cause, just as is the cause of Palestine. That has been the rule, although some may have strayed, for there are exceptions to every rule. Yet the few who have broken ranks have not undermined our faith in the mature and definitive African awareness or in the coherence and firm solidarity of the African peoples with the Arab nation and its just causes.

271. Twenty years have elapsed since the General Assembly adopted, in 1966, its resolution revoking South Africa's Mandate over Namibia [*resolution 2145 (XXI)*]. Ever since, SWAPO has been leading heroically the Namibian people's just struggle against the racist forces of occupation. Twenty years have passed since Namibia became the direct responsibility of the United Nations.

272. Today more than ever before it is the duty of the international community, and especially the permanent members of the Security Council, to rescue the Namibian people from that vicious occupation. Despite the continuing appeals for justice, Pretoria continues to consolidate its colonialist and racist policies. We shall let no opportunity pass to call upon Pretoria and those that have influence with it to proceed to the immediate release of all Namibian political prisoners and bring to an end the disappearance of heroic nationalists who are paying with their lives the price of the freedom of their land and their people.

273. The Namibian people have rights. They are the victims of aggression and they are therefore entitled to defend themselves and their land against that aggression by any means at their disposal. Every relevant international resolution and law gives them the right to liberate their national soil, including Walvis Bay and the offshore islands, from colonialist occupation and put an end to the plundering of their natural resources by the occupying Power and its intruding alien partners. We believe that every

member of this international community concerned to uphold the human rights and principles we all accept as tenets of the Charter of the United Nations has a primary duty to provide SWAPO, which is recognized by all international forums as the sole representative of the Namibian people, with every effective form of support. As agreed at the Eighth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries held at Harare in July last, as well as by the overwhelming majority of States members of the international community, increased support for the front-line States will contribute substantially to the restoration of the rights and liberties of the Namibian people.

274. On the question of imposing comprehensive international sanctions against South Africa Kuwait's position is well-known and clear. It forms part of the consistent policy our delegation has reaffirmed on many occasions. We favour such sanctions because we view them as an effective tool, if Western participation can be secured and if blackmailing entities—such as Israel—desist from aiding and abetting criminality and occupation and helping to perpetuate them.

275. Kuwait's position is clear and forthright. We reject all illogical attempts to link a people's just struggle for freedom, independence and dignity to the presence of forces in the region at the official invitation of another independent and sovereign State. That linkage by the United States of America has been rejected by all countries and world bodies.

276. It has been proved incontrovertibly that the linkage policy being pursued by the United States Administration has encouraged Pretoria to increase its acts of aggression and continue to flout international law and consensus.

277. Kuwait also deems it essential for the international community to continue its endeavours to strengthen the important role of the United Nations Council for Namibia so that the lofty goal for which it was created may be achieved. The international community must support all the Council's endeavours, including those relating to the preservation of Namibia's economic resources, and continue to co-operate with the Council in ensuring implementation of Decree No. 1 for the Protection of the Natural Resources of Namibia.⁵ The international community is duty-bound to use all the means at its disposal and to explore every avenue in order to enable the Namibian people to enjoy all their legitimate rights, particularly their right to self-determination, freedom, independence and sovereignty over their land.

278. We could not have found a better forum than this special session at which to renew our call for implementation of the resolutions on Namibia, particularly Security Council resolution 435 (1978), and to call upon the Security Council to act decisively and immediately to ensure implementation of its resolutions, in keeping with its special responsibility and the responsibility of the Organization for Namibia. Meanwhile, the use of the weapon of the veto in the face of the broad international consensus and the attempts to justify this on extraneous grounds must be brought to an end.

279. In conclusion, I wish to emphasize that the entire international community must seize the opportunity presented by this special session and the readiness expressed by the world public to confront the Pretoria régime and its policies and adopt the broadest possible measures in support of the heroic, legitimate struggle of the Namibian people to achieve their independence and sovereignty over their land and their national resources.

280. Mr. YUSOF M. Hitam (Malaysia): I should like at the outset to express my delegation's pleasure at seeing Mr. Choudhury preside at this special session on the question of Namibia. My delegation shares the confidence that has been expressed in his ability to guide us through our deliberations. I should also like particularly to pay tribute to the Secretary-General for his untiring personal efforts in pursuance of the United Nations resolutions on Namibia. I should like at the same time to pay tribute to the United Nations Council for Namibia and the Special Committee against *Apartheid* for their role in efforts towards the restoration of the rights and the independence of the Namibian people.

281. It has been eight years since the Security Council adopted resolution 435 (1978), which embodies a plan for the peaceful settlement of the question of Namibia, and 20 years since the United Nations terminated South Africa's Mandate over Namibia [resolution 2145 (XXI)]. We in the United Nations have repeatedly reiterated our demand that South Africa end its illegal occupation of Namibia and restore Namibia to its people. However, South Africa has not merely ignored with impunity the decisions of the Security Council and the General Assembly but has stepped up its campaign to destabilize neighbouring countries through a variety of means, including invasions, military raids, sabotage and terrorism. South Africa has also encouraged and supported dissident groups in neighbouring countries to achieve its ends.

282. South Africa's actions prove beyond doubt that Pretoria does not intend to withdraw from Namibia. Its establishment of a so-called interim government in Namibia is further evidence that its objective remains the entrenchment of its illegal occupation of Namibia.

283. The central question for the international community at this stage is, what to do, in the face of South Africa's steadfast defiance, to implement Security Council resolution 435 (1978)? It must be obvious to all of us that unless we take real and positive action to terminate South Africa's occupation of Namibia, Pretoria will remain unmoved. It is also clear that such action is possible only if certain powerful nations stop giving sustenance to the repressive Pretoria régime as the result of certain perceived strategic justifications. First, the linking of South Africa's withdrawal from Namibia to the withdrawal of foreign forces elsewhere is absurd and must be rejected. Such linkage is an act of defiance on the part of South Africa against the United Nations.

284. There should be no doubt as to South Africa's true intentions. The régime's record speaks for itself. That record is one of evasion, provocation and subterfuge, all of which are intended to achieve the

ultimate objective of preserving South Africa's *apartheid* policy on the one hand and its control over and exploitation of Namibia on the other. South Africa will not agree to seek a solution in conformity with Security Council resolution 435 (1978).

285. Thus, if we are to make any real progress in our effort to free Namibia from the clutches of a truly abhorrent régime, we must go beyond mere debate of the question and take action to give substance to our efforts. Movement in this direction was made during the International Conference for the Immediate Independence of Namibia which was held at Vienna this year. The Conference adopted a Declaration and a Programme of Action¹⁰ which urged all States to refrain from rendering any type of assistance to South Africa which would enable it to continue its abhorrent policy of *apartheid* and its control of Namibia.

286. Let us all adhere to the Programme of Action in order to send a clear and unequivocal message to Pretoria—a message of condemnation of and complete aversion to the system of institutionalized racism and subjugation it has imposed upon the people of Namibia. Malaysia has revoked all forms of interaction with Pretoria since 1962.

287. In the context of meaningful actions to compel South Africa to withdraw from Namibia, we must accept the fact that the time for a policy based on exhortation or persuasion alone has long since passed. There is no option except to demonstrate in an unmistakable manner our determination that South Africa's defiance of the United Nations must end.

288. All of us, particularly those powerful countries that can do the most, must seriously co-operate fully in the adoption of appropriate measures under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations, including comprehensive and mandatory sanctions against South Africa. We must act decisively now, with a greater sense of urgency, for the people of Namibia have been waiting 20 years.

289. What is needed is decision and action, not deception and pretense. The people of Namibia and the world want us to uphold the principles enshrined in the Charter. Let there be no mistaken belief that Pretoria has aborted Namibian independence and denied the United Nations the chance to discharge its responsibility in respect of that country.

290. Malaysia remains deeply committed to the just struggle of the people of Namibia under the leadership of SWAPO, its sole, legitimate representative, in its long and valiant struggle for freedom and independence. I wish to reiterate my country's unequivocal support for and commitment to that objective and to reaffirm our belief that Security Council resolution 435 (1978) remains the only acceptable basis for the peaceful attainment of independence for Namibia. No attempt should be made to revise and weaken that resolution, which has received overwhelming support from the General Assembly and from the Security Council.

291. It remains the moral obligation of all nations that truly and sincerely believe in the ideals and

principles of the United Nations to give substance to efforts to put an end to the tyranny that South Africa has imposed on the people of Namibia. At this special session, Malaysia reaffirms its solidarity with the world voice and with the Namibian nation's wish to regain its rights to its homeland.

292. Mr. MWANANSHIKU (Zambia): I wish to congratulate Mr. Choudhury on his unanimous election to the presidency of the forty-first regular session of the General Assembly. I wish also to express our satisfaction at seeing him preside over this important special session of the General Assembly. His country, Bangladesh, a member of the United Nations Council for Namibia, continues to play a significant role in working for the realization of Namibia's independence. Indeed, his personal commitment to this noble goal is self-evident.

293. Let me also pay a tribute to his predecessor, Mr. Jaime de Pinillos of Spain, for the exemplary manner in which he guided the deliberations of the fortieth regular session of the General Assembly and of the thirteenth special session, on the critical economic situation in Africa.

294. Additionally, I wish to pay a tribute to the Secretary-General for his tireless efforts aimed at the implementation of the United Nations plan for the independence of Namibia, in accordance with the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples [*resolution 1514 (XIV)*]. I am pleased to see him back at his desk and in good health.

295. The General Assembly is meeting in special session to underscore the fact that the United Nations, having terminated racist South Africa's Mandate over Namibia 20 years ago [*resolution 2145 (XXI)*] and having assumed direct responsibility for the Territory until its independence, needs to act decisively in fulfilment of its obligation to bring independence to Namibia. When we look back over the past 20 years of South Africa's continued occupation of the Territory, we are painfully reminded of South Africa's persistent violation of the Charter of the United Nations and its arrogant refusal to implement United Nations resolutions on Namibia. The goodwill shown by the international community in seeking a just and lasting solution to this vexing question has always been treated with disdain by the *apartheid* régime of South Africa.

296. As we meet today the prospects for the independence of Namibia in accordance with the provisions of Security Council resolution 435 (1978) are not bright. The United States Administration, in collaboration with the Pretoria régime, continues to frustrate all attempts to implement the resolution by introducing extraneous issues which have the effect of delaying Namibia's independence. Their insistence on linking Namibia's independence to the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola is a deliberate attempt to transform what is fundamentally a decolonization problem into an ideological East-West issue.

297. The issue of linkage has been brought into Namibia's decolonization process basically because the current United States Administration perceives

the presence of Cuban troops in Angola in the context of East-West relations. The truth, of course, as the Assembly well knows, is that the Angolan Government sought Cuba's support only after the troops of racist South Africa, with the support of the United States Government, invaded the independent and sovereign People's Republic of Angola. If that invasion had not occurred Cuban troops would not have been invited to Angola. In any case, Angola's internal problems should best be left to the people of Angola themselves, who alone have the competence to resolve them.

298. As it is, the Government of the United States views the problem of Angola as an opportunity to interfere in the internal affairs of that country. The supply of sophisticated military weapons and large sums of money to the UNITA² bandits represents not only gross interference in Angola's internal affairs but also support for international terrorism. For, as the Assembly is aware, Savimbi is one of the greatest perpetrators of terrorism in our region. This is the man who is feted, financed and equipped by the current Administration in Washington on the false understanding that he is fighting communism on its behalf. He has used the money and military equipment received from the United States Government, not only to destabilize Angola and its people, but also to attack the people of Zambia who have been subjected to kidnapping, robbery and murder.

299. The support made available by the United States has also enabled the UNITA bandit organization to disrupt the transport infrastructure normally used not only by Angola but also by Zaire and Zambia. It must surely be clear to those who support terrorism in our region that their actions have greater implications than they intend.

300. I wish to reiterate my Government's categorical rejection of the attempt to link Namibia's independence to the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola. Zambia considers such linkage as contrary to the United Nations plan and a blatant interference in the internal affairs of the People's Republic of Angola.

301. Security Council resolution 435 (1978) remains the best hope for the settlement of the question of Namibia. All other issues being brought into play by South Africa and its allies are irrelevant and should continue to be condemned and rejected by the General Assembly. In this respect, we urge the United States Administration to abandon its support of the Pretoria régime which has merely served to abet *apartheid* and perpetuate the suffering of the majority of the people of South Africa and Namibia.

302. In view of its intransigence, we are convinced that the only effective and peaceful way to bring pressure to bear on the racist régime of South Africa is the application of comprehensive and mandatory sanctions. Appeasement policies, such as the so-called constructive engagement, have served only to strengthen the hand of the murderous régime and encouraged it in its barbaric actions. In this respect, we condemn those who shamelessly continue to argue that, because of the possible sufferings of black people, they will not impose sanctions against South Africa. Failure to impose sanctions, as the Assembly

is aware, is not due to their concern for the suffering of the black people; rather, it is due to the selfish desire for the huge profits derived from the exploitation of the black man under the *apartheid* system. It is immoral and unacceptable to use black people as an excuse for inaction.

303. The United Nations cannot sit back and allow the racist minority régime to impose its will indefinitely on the majority of the people. Is it not the lack of political will to implement the noble decisions of the General Assembly that is threatening to render the United Nations ineffectual and enhance the prospects for confrontation? The unconditional implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978), which is the only universally accepted basis for a peaceful transition to Namibia's independence, should remain our high priority.

304. This special session takes place against the background of increasing tensions in the southern African region. The South African régime, in an effort to buy more time for itself and to further entrench *apartheid* has, under cover of a state of emergency, become more ruthless. The killing and indiscriminate arrests of innocent and defenceless men, women and children are now daily occurrences. Even neighbouring States have become targets of a Government that is increasingly under pressure and is desperately trying to divert international attention from the oppressive system that it is perpetrating in South Africa and Namibia. The occupation of southern Angola, the support for bandits in Mozambique, the recent incursions by members of the South African defence force in Botswana, Zambia and Zimbabwe, are all evidence of this.

305. The delay in bringing about the independence of Namibia has also created problems for the economic future of that country. South Africa's illegal occupation of Namibia has brought about conditions under which the natural resources of Namibia, both mineral and marine, are being exploited by foreign economic interests to the disadvantage of the Namibian people.

306. On behalf of the people of Namibia, Zambia calls on the international community to increase their material, moral and political support to SWAPO in its just and heroic struggle against the *apartheid* régime and to bring independence to Namibia. In this connection we express our appreciation to the people of Western Europe and the United States for their support for the oppressed people of Namibia and South Africa. Their support for the struggle to end racial persecution and oppression is something we greatly appreciate.

307. Let me, in concluding my remarks, express the hope that this special session, by focusing attention once again on the plight of the people of Namibia, will contribute to the acceleration of their long-awaited independence.

308. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): In accordance with General Assembly resolution 3369 (XXX), I now call on the Observer of the Organization of the Islamic Conference, Mr. Engin Ansay.

309. Mr. ANSAY (Observer of the Organization of the Islamic Conference): It gives me great pleasure to join those who have spoken before me in congratulating Mr. Choudhury on his assumption of the high office of President of the General Assembly. His skills and ability, experience and leadership are well known to us. His election is a tribute to his personal qualities and to his country, an active member of the Organization. The Organization of the Islamic Conference has always benefited from his active participation in its numerous meetings. We are confident that his guidance will likewise make this session fruitful and productive.

310. I would like to avail myself of the opportunity to pay tribute to the Secretary-General for his continuous, unswerving efforts aimed at finding a just solution to the question of Namibia. I would also like to pay tribute to Mr. Jaime de Piniés, the President of the General Assembly at its fortieth session, for his most commendable and exemplary leadership throughout the course of that session.

311. Since the adoption, in 1960, of resolution 1514 (XV) containing the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, more than 80 countries and colonial territories of Africa, Asia and Latin America have regained their freedom. But the people of Namibia are still under colonial bondage, are still deprived of their most fundamental rights and have yet to gain their freedom.

312. Twenty years ago, on 27 October 1966, the General Assembly, by its resolution 2145 (XXI), terminated South Africa's Mandate over Namibia and assumed direct responsibility for the Territory. Since then the General Assembly and the Security Council have taken several decisions aimed at achieving a peaceful resolution of the problem, which South Africa has deliberately made intractable.

313. The illegal occupation of Namibia by the racist Pretoria régime is in flagrant defiance of United Nations resolutions and decisions. The situation constitutes a permanent threat to international peace and security. This illegal and colonial occupation constitute an act of aggression against the Namibian people and is a deliberate challenge to the authority of the United Nations and to the will of the international community. Security Council resolution 385 (1976) and in particular its resolution 435 (1978) constitute the only acceptable basis for a final and lasting settlement of the question of Namibia. South Africa cannot and must not be allowed to continue to hold the implementation of these resolutions hostage to some irrelevant issues, such as its linkage of Namibia's independence to the withdrawal of Cuban forces from Angola.

314. With the support and assistance of foreign economic interests, and in flagrant violation of the Charter of the United Nations and Decree No. 1 for the Protection of the Natural Resources of Namibia,⁵ the Pretoria régime continues to exploit the natural and human resources of Namibia, which constitute the inviolable heritage of its people.

315. Despite repeated condemnations by the international community, the *apartheid* régime has con-

tinued to use the Namibian territory as a springboard for launching armed aggression and acts of destabilization against the neighbouring States of Angola, Mozambique, Botswana, Lesotho, Zambia and Zimbabwe. This has to stop. The only peaceful measure which can be effective in achieving a solution will be a unanimous firm resolution to be adopted by the General Assembly, complete with comprehensive and mandatory sanctions as provided for under Chapter VII of the Charter.

316. It is unfortunate that a number of States have encouraged the racist Pretoria régime to persist in its illegal and aggressive designs, by their political, military, economic and other forms of assistance and support. Is it not ironic that Israel has always been especially generous in its support for the racist Pretoria régime? Is it not also ironic that the "constructive engagement" formula helps the Pretoria régime to be even more intransigent? It is high time that these countries recognize the bankruptcy of their policies, which are opposed by their own peoples. It is their duty, their obligation, their solemn responsibility, to join the international community unequivocally in its support for the valiant Namibian people in their legitimate aspirations to, in their just struggle for, self-determination and independence.

317. At its Islamic summit conferences, and again during the Islamic conferences of Foreign Ministers, the Organization of the Islamic Conference has vigorously and unequivocally supported the heroic struggle of the Namibian people for self-determination and independence under the leadership of SWAPO, its sole legitimate representative.

318. The Sixteenth Islamic Conference, held at Fez, Morocco, early this year, *inter alia*, reaffirmed that Security Council resolution 435 (1978) is the only basis for the accession of Namibia to independence which should be dissociated from any other issue; declared that the *apartheid* policy is the root cause of the explosive situation in southern Africa; denounced the establishment of pseudo-independent States, which are in fact Bantustans; condemned the collusion between the South African régime and the Zionist entity, especially the exchange of nuclear military information; and supported the struggle of SWAPO to achieve the national independence of Namibia.¹⁵

319. The Organization of the Islamic Conference, which has actively participated in all efforts by the United Nations, the OAU, the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, and a number of other international bodies and organizations to bring the illegal

occupation of Namibia by the Pretoria régime to an end, once again reaffirms its unreserved support for the prompt and unconditional independence of Namibia.

320. As the Secretary-General recently declared at Vienna during the International Conference for the Immediate Independence of Namibia, we fully believe that the day is not far when Namibia will occupy its rightful place as an independent State in the comity of nations.

The meeting rose at 7.50 p.m.

NOTES

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

²União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola.

³See the final documents of the Eighth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Harare from 1 to 6 September 1986 (A/41/697, annex).

⁴See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-ninth Year, Supplement for October, November and December 1984*, document S/16838.

⁵*Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-fifth Session, Supplement No. 24*, vol. I, annex II.

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, Forty-first Year, Supplement for January, February and March 1986*, document S/17892.

⁸*Ibid.*, Forty-first Year, Supplement for April, May and June 1986, document S/18150.

⁹*Official Records of the General Assembly, Forty-first Session, Supplement No. 1*.

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 *Official Records of the General Assembly, Fortieth Session, Supplement No. 24*, part three, chap. II.B.

¹²*Ibid.*, Second part of the first session, Fourth Committee, Part I, Annex 13.

¹³*Ibid.*, Fortieth Session, Plenary Meetings, 42nd meeting, para. 88.

¹⁴See *Report of the World Conference on Sanctions against Racist South Africa, Paris, 16–20 June 1986* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.86.I.23).

¹⁵See A/41/326, annex III, resolution 16/16-P.