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Thirty-third year

Letter dated 4 April 1978 from the President of the United Nations
Council for Namibia to the Secretary-General

I have the honour to transmit to you herewith the text of the 1978 Lusaka Declaration of the United Nations Council for Namibia adopted by the Council at its 276th meeting, held at Lusaka, Zambia, on 23 March 1978.

I should be grateful if you would have this Declaration issued as an official document of the ninth special session of the General Assembly, under item 7 of the provisional agenda, and of the Security Council.

(Signed) Gwendoline KONIE
President of the
United Nations Council for
Namibia

* A/S-9/1

ANNEX

1978 Lusaka Declaration of the United Nations
Council for Namibia a/

1. The United Nations Council for Namibia, composed of Algeria, Australia, Bangladesh, Botswana, Burundi, Chile, China, Colombia, Egypt, Finland, Haiti, Guyana, India, Indonesia, Liberia, Mexico, Nigeria, Pakistan, Poland, Romania, Senegal, Turkey, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Yugoslavia and Zambia, held a series of extraordinary plenary meetings at Lusaka from 20 to 23 March 1978, in accordance with General Assembly resolution 32/9 F of 4 November 1977. The meetings of the Council were also attended by the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO), which has observer status in the Council.
2. The meetings of the Council were inaugurated by the Prime Minister of Zambia, the Right Honourable Mainza Chona, M.P. At the opening meeting, the Council also heard a message from the Secretary-General and was addressed by the President of SWAPO, Mr. Sam Nujoma, who made a major policy statement. The members of the Council later visited the Institute for Namibia, where they met with the students and staff.
3. In preparation for these extraordinary plenary meetings as well as for the ninth special session of the General Assembly, the Council sent missions of consultation to Algeria, Angola, Botswana, Gabon, Mozambique, Nigeria, the United Republic of Tanzania and Zambia. The missions held consultations, exchanged views and elicited opinions at the highest political level in the formulation of initiatives designed to ensure the speedy independence of Namibia.
4. The General Assembly has declared that Namibia is a direct responsibility of the United Nations and has entrusted the Council with the exercise of internal and external administrative authority over Namibia until independence.
5. The Council, the legal Administering Authority for Namibia until independence and the policy-making organ of the United Nations in respect of Namibia, in conformity with General Assembly resolutions 2145 (XXI) of 27 October 1966, and 2248 (S-V) of 19 May 1967, as well as all relevant resolutions of the Assembly and the Security Council, noted that it was meeting at a critical time when the struggle of the Namibian people, under the leadership of SWAPO, had intensified and when, because of the successes of this struggle, apartheid South Africa and international imperialism had also intensified their attempts to prevent genuine change in Namibia.

a/ Adopted by the United Nations Council for Namibia at its 276th meeting, held at Lusaka on 23 March 1978.

6. Therefore the Council stresses its commitment to end the illegal South African occupation of Namibia by ensuring its complete and unconditional withdrawal to enable the Namibian people, under the leadership of SWAPO, to exercise freely its right to self-determination and independence.

7. The Council commends the valiant people of Namibia, under the leadership of SWAPO, for having intensified the armed struggle for the liberation of their country from illegal occupation by South Africa.

8. The Council expresses its full support for the armed liberation struggle of the Namibian people under the leadership of SWAPO, its sole and authentic representative. It expresses its conviction that the intensified armed liberation struggle by the Namibian people continues to be a decisive factor in the efforts to achieve self-determination, freedom and national independence in a united Namibia.

9. The Council further supports the political and diplomatic efforts of SWAPO to secure genuine independence for Namibia, in accordance with all relevant resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council, and in particular, Security Council resolution 385 (1976) in its entirety.

10. The Council strongly condemns the racist and colonialist régime of South Africa for its continued illegal occupation of Namibia in defiance of repeated demands by the United Nations for its withdrawal from the Territory. The Council further condemns South Africa for its desperate attempts to perpetuate its illegal occupation of Namibia and its escalated brutal repression of the Namibian people.

11. Irrefutable evidence from inside Namibia shows that South Africa has, over the last few months, embarked on a reinforcement of its already huge army in Namibia in preparation for a major confrontation with the liberation forces led by SWAPO. South Africa's activities involve a huge military build-up within Namibia, including the shipment into Namibia of large numbers of tanks, large quantities of ammunition, construction of army barracks and the development of atomic weapons. The immediate objective of this military build-up is to consolidate the occupation régime's position, to carry out its hegemonistic ambitions in this region, to prevent the oppressed Namibian people from achieving genuine national independence and to create conditions for imposing a puppet régime in Namibia drawn from the Turnhalle group. This military build-up is coupled with officially instigated and organized widespread violence against SWAPO by South Africa's collaborators in Namibia. The Pretoria régime is provoking ethnic strife and hostilities within Namibia to consolidate the process of bantustanization of Namibia.

12. The Council strongly condemns South Africa for its continued exploitation and plundering of the natural resources of the Territory of Namibia disregarding the legitimate interests of the Namibian people. The exploitation and plundering of those resources by South African and foreign economic interests, in violation of the pertinent resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council, is illegal and contributes to the maintenance of the illegal occupation régime.

13. The Council draws the attention of States Members of the United Nations and the rest of the international community to the continuing intensified preparation by South Africa to impose in Namibia a so-called "internal settlement" designed to give the semblance of power to a puppet régime, to give a cover of legality to the racist occupation, to foster civil war and to propagate the fiction that the struggle of the Namibian people for the liberation of the Territory would be aggression perpetrated from the outside.

14. In this regard, South Africa is promoting its puppets and quislings of the Turnhalle tribal gathering as an alternative to SWAPO, which is fighting for the genuine national and social liberation of Namibia as a united political entity.

15. Namibian patriots and members of SWAPO have been constantly harrassed, intimidated and humiliated. Thugs are hired from tribal armies violently to break up SWAPO meetings under the protective cover of South African troops and police. The oppression régime is supplying arms to its agents provocateurs, who are allowed to roam around freely and terrorize innocent civilians. There has been an escalation of arbitrary mass arrests, torture, detention and imprisonment of SWAPO members. Prolonged illegal and fraudulent trials of SWAPO members have been conducted to drain the financial resources of that organization and to intimidate the masses.

16. The aggressive nature of the South African occupation régime in Namibia is further reflected in its repeated acts of aggression against neighbouring independent African States. As part of its hegemonistic ambition, South Africa constantly attempts to undermine the stability and peace and to violate the territorial integrity of neighbouring independent countries, especially Angola and Zambia.

17. The militarization of Namibia by South Africa, its preparations to develop nuclear weapons, its brutal repression of the Namibian people, its attempts to undermine SWAPO, the vanguard of the Namibian liberation struggle, its attempts to destroy the national unity and territorial integrity of Namibia and its acts of aggression against neighbouring independent African countries clearly constitute a serious threat to peace and security in the region and to international peace and security.

18. The Council reiterates the position that South Africa's illegal occupation of Namibia constitutes an act of aggression against the Namibian people and against the United Nations.

19. The Council also appeals to the international community to render increased and sustained support and assistance to SWAPO in order to intensify its struggle for the liberation of Namibia.

20. The Council condemns South Africa in the strongest possible terms for its decision to annex Walvis Bay. This decision is an act of aggression against the Namibian people and has been rejected by the United Nations as illegal, null and void. This illegal annexation of Walvis Bay is a deliberate attempt to deprive

Namibia of its main port and vital economic avenue and to retain a strategic military base in this part of Namibia. Walvis Bay is an integral part of Namibia with which it is inextricably linked by geographical, historical, cultural, economic and ethnic bonds. The existence of South African military bases in Walvis Bay is a threat to the territorial integrity and national security of Namibia.

21. The Council strongly and unequivocally reaffirms that Walvis Bay is not a question of territorial claims; it is an inviolable and non-negotiable part of Namibia.

22. The Council urges all States Members of the United Nations and the rest of the international community to reject and unequivocally condemn the illegal annexation of Walvis Bay by South Africa. The Council also urges all States to do their utmost to compel South Africa to renounce its spurious claims to Walvis Bay and to recognize that it is an integral part of Namibia.

23. The Council commends SWAPO for its willingness to reach a negotiated settlement for achieving genuine independence for Namibia on the basis of Security Council resolution 385 (1976) in its entirety.

24. The Council notes that SWAPO has made far-reaching and substantive concessions to facilitate the negotiating process. On the other hand South Africa, by its continued intransigence and inflexibility, has refused to demonstrate any good faith or willingness to enter seriously into meaningful negotiations for its withdrawal from Namibia.

25. The Council rejects the idea that South Africa, as the illegal occupier of Namibia, has any legitimate interest in Namibia about which SWAPO should be pressed to make concessions in any negotiated and internationally acceptable settlement. South Africa has no right whatsoever to remain in Namibia or to procrastinate and prevaricate in any negotiating process on the question of genuine independence for Namibia.

26. The Council warns that, unless effective political, economic and diplomatic pressures are demonstrably brought to bear on South Africa, the process of negotiation will not succeed. Moreover, any genuine attempt to resolve the problem of Namibia by negotiation must not undermine the position of SWAPO or diminish the role of the Council as the legal Administering Authority for the Territory until its independence. It is imperative that any negotiated settlement be arrived at with the agreement of SWAPO and within the framework of the United Nations.

27. The Council warns States Members of the United Nations and the rest of the international community against all manoeuvres engineered to deprive the Namibian people of their legitimate right to achieve genuine national independence in a united Namibia and to undermine and destroy the achievements of SWAPO, the liberation movement.

28. The Council is fully convinced that, at this decisive stage in the struggle of the Namibian people, the international community must take definitive action to eliminate the dangerous threat to international peace and security created by South Africa and strongly urges the Security Council to apply the strongest measures, including sanctions provided for in Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations, as is required by the present situation.
29. The Council reaffirms its determination to continue its efforts for increased assistance to Namibians in the context of the Nationhood Programme for Namibia, the Institute for Namibia at Lusaka, the United Nations Fund for Namibia and all other projects and programmes designed to prepare the Namibian people in the skills needed to build a prosperous and independent Namibia.
30. The Council expresses its satisfaction with the effective work which the Institute for Namibia is accomplishing, both in training Namibian cadres to administer an independent Namibia and in researching basic problems concerning the human and natural resources of Namibia. These activities should be further intensified and widened. The Council therefore appeals to the international community for further financial and other contributions to the Institute as well as contributions to the United Nations Fund for Namibia.
31. The Council received from the General Assembly at its thirty-first session the mandate to elaborate, in consultation with SWAPO, the guidelines and policies for the Nationhood Programme for Namibia and to direct and co-ordinate the implementation of the Programme. The Programme shall cover the present period of struggle for independence and the initial years of the independence of Namibia. The Council has now outlined the preparatory stages of the Programme aimed at the launching of an initial set of assistance projects to be approved and implemented. Following this first step, a continuous flow of additional projects will be developed systematically to extend the areas of assistance to the Namibian people.
32. The Council notes with appreciation the preparedness of the specialized agencies and other bodies within the United Nations system to participate in the planning and implementation of the Nationhood Programme for Namibia. The Council urges all the specialized agencies and other relevant United Nations bodies to contribute further to the implementation of the Programme. The Council calls upon all Governments to give their assistance so that the Programme can be effectively implemented.
33. In the framework of the Nationhood Programme for Namibia, the Council's mission to Yugoslavia held consultations with the International Centre for Public Enterprises in Developing Countries in Ljubljana, and agreed on various forms of co-operation in which the Centre could offer assistance to Namibians. During that visit, the mission held consultations with the Government of Yugoslavia.
34. The Council declares that its membership in the specialized agencies and other organizations within the United Nations system, in conformity with the recommendations of the General Assembly, is an indispensable element in the

fulfilment of the responsibilities of the international community towards the people of Namibia, represented by SWAPO, their sole and authentic liberation movement. The Council has the responsibility of representing Namibia until genuine independence. Through the representation of Namibia by the Council until independence, the United Nations should endeavour to obtain an increasing contribution by the international community in support of the liberation struggle of Namibia. The membership of the Council in the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations is a significant step in achieving this objective. Further and more vigorous initiatives must be taken, however, in order to meet fully the responsibility of the United Nations towards Namibia.

35. The Council considers the illegal occupation of Namibia by South Africa to be a threat to international peace and security. The Council therefore declares that the ninth special session of the General Assembly, devoted to the consideration of the question of Namibia, should be held at the highest possible political level and that it must have as its central objectives:

(a) The reaffirmation of the direct responsibility of the United Nations for Namibia;

(b) The determination of the conditions and steps which will ensure the immediate and genuine independence of Namibia;

(c) The reaffirmation of the territorial integrity of Namibia;

(d) The implementation of the Maputo Programme of Action for the Liberation of Zimbabwe and Namibia; b/

(e) The condemnation and unqualified rejection of any so-called internal settlement in Namibia;

(f) The strengthening of SWAPO as the vanguard of the struggle of the Namibian people for genuine national liberation and independence;

(g) A call upon those countries which have not yet done so to recognize SWAPO as the sole and authentic representative of the Namibian people;

(h) The broadening of membership in the United Nations Council for Namibia.

36. The Council recommends that the General Assembly at its ninth special session should urge the Security Council to apply the measures necessary to terminate forthwith South Africa's illegal occupation of Namibia, bring to an end its aggression against the Namibian people and the United Nations and ensure the complete and unconditional withdrawal of South Africa from the Territory.

b/ A/32/109/Rev.1-S/12344/Rev.1, annex V, sect. III.

37. The Council further recommends that, in the event of the Security Council's inability to adopt concrete measures, in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations, to compel South Africa to end its illegal occupation by withdrawing from the Territory, the General Assembly, cognizant that this is a unique instance in which the United Nations has assumed direct responsibility for Namibia, should urgently consider necessary action in this regard.