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GENERAL ASSEMBLY  
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QUESTION OF NAMIBIA

SECURITY COUNCIL  
Thirty-eighth year

Letter dated 9 May 1983 from the President of the United Nations  
Council for Namibia to the Secretary-General

The International Conference in Support of the Struggle of the Namibian People for Independence, held at UNESCO House in Paris from 25 to 29 April 1983, adopted two basic documents. These are the "Paris Declaration on Namibia" (annex I), adopted by acclamation by the plenary of the International Conference, and the "Report and Programme of Action on Namibia" (annex II), adopted by the Committee of the Whole of the International Conference.

With a view to the forthcoming consideration of the question of Namibia by the Security Council as well as subsequent consideration of the same question by the General Assembly, I should like, on behalf of the United Nations Council for Namibia, to request that the documents mentioned above be circulated as an official document of the General Assembly, under item 36 of the preliminary list, and of the Security Council.

(Signed) Paul J. F. LUSAKA  
United Nations Council for Namibia

\* A/38/50.

ANNEX I

Paris Declaration on Namibia

1. The International Conference in Support of the Struggle of the Namibian People for Independence, organized by the United Nations in consultation with the Organization of African Unity, in accordance with General Assembly resolution 37/233 C of 20 December 1982, was held at UNESCO House in Paris, from 25 to 29 April 1983.

2. The Conference was attended by representatives of 138 Governments, many of them represented at the ministerial level; by representatives of the South West Africa People's Organization and the Palestine Liberation Organization; by representatives of the African National Congress of South Africa and the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania; by the President of the General Assembly; by the Special Representative of the Chairman of the Non-Aligned Movement; by the representative of the Chairman of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples; by the representative of the Chairman of the Special Committee against Apartheid; by the Chairman of the Committee on the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People and by the Chairman of the Ad Hoc Working Group of Experts on Southern Africa; by the representatives of the International Labour Organisation, the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations, the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization; the World Health Organization and the International Telecommunication Union; by representatives of the Office of the United Nations Commissioner for Namibia, the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, the United Nations Development Programme and the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees; by representatives of the Commonwealth Secretariat, the European Community, the League of Arab States, the Organization of African Unity and the Organization of the Islamic Conference; by 59 non-governmental organizations, and by eminent persons. The Conference was inaugurated by the Secretary-General of the United Nations.

3. The Conference extensively reviewed the situation in and around Namibia in the context of the situation in southern Africa as a whole and its implications for international peace and security and examined in detail practical measures to increase support for the struggle of the people of Namibia for self-determination and independence, to assist the front-line States in resisting South Africa's acts of destabilization and aggression and to ensure the early implementation of the United Nations plan for Namibia. In so doing the Conference took special account of the resolutions on Namibia adopted by the General Assembly at its thirty-seventh session, the Political Declaration issued by the Seventh Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries at New Delhi (A/38/132-S/15675), in March 1983, and the communiqués of the summit meetings of the front-line States held at Lusaka on 4 September 1982 and at Harare on 20 February 1983. The Conference then proceeded to adopt the following declaration which it submits for the serious and urgent consideration of all Governments, organizations and peoples for appropriate action to secure the speedy liberation of Namibia from illegal occupation by South Africa.

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4. The International Conference in Support of the Struggle of the Namibian People for Independence solemnly affirms the inalienable right of the people of Namibia to self-determination and national independence in a united Namibia in accordance with the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations, the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, a/ the Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations, b/ and other relevant resolutions and decisions of the General Assembly and the Security Council. It notes with deep concern that, sixteen and a half years after the termination of South Africa's Mandate over Namibia and twelve years after the advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice of 21 June 1971, c/ South Africa continues its illegal occupation of Namibia in disregard of the wishes of the international community expressed in numerous resolutions of the General Assembly and of the Security Council. The persistent refusal by South Africa to comply with its obligations under the Charter constitutes a challenge to the international legal system. The repeated use of the veto by the Western permanent members of the Security Council to prevent the adoption of sanctions against South Africa has not only encouraged the South African régime in its lawlessness but has provoked increased acts of defiance to the authority of the United Nations.

5. The Conference emphasizes that, in accordance with General Assembly resolution 2145 (XXI) of 27 October 1966 and 2248 (S-V) of 19 May 1967, Namibia is the direct responsibility of the United Nations which is exercised through the United Nations Council for Namibia, the legal Administering Authority for the Territory until its independence, and expresses its strong support for the efforts of the United Nations Council for Namibia in the fulfilment of the mandate entrusted to it.

6. The Conference declares that South Africa's illegal occupation of Namibia constitutes an act of aggression against the Namibian people in terms of the definition of aggression contained in General Assembly resolution 3341 (XXIX) of 14 December 1974 and that the Namibian people, in the exercise of their inherent right of self-defence, are entitled to avail themselves of all means at their disposal, including armed struggle, to repel South Africa's aggression and to achieve self-determination, freedom and national independence in a united Namibia.

7. The Conference expresses its firm solidarity with the people of Namibia in their liberation struggle under the leadership of the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO), their sole and authentic representative, and calls upon all participants at the Conference to concert their efforts with a view to rendering increased assistance to the Namibian people and to its liberation movement - SWAPO.

8. The Conference draws the attention of the international community to the attempts by South Africa to destroy the territorial integrity of Namibia and affirms that, in accordance with the resolutions of the United Nations, in particular Security Council resolution 432 (1978) of 27 July 1978, and General Assembly resolution S-9/2 of 3 May 1978 and subsequent resolutions, Walvis Bay and the Penguin and other off-shore islands of Namibia are an integral part of Namibia and declares all measures by South Africa to annex them to be illegal, null and void.

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9. The Conference denounces the massive military build-up in Namibia by the forces of the illegal occupation régime, its introduction of compulsory military service for Namibians, its recruitment and training of Namibians for tribal armies and its recruitment of mercenaries and other foreign agents in order to carry out its policies of internal repression and external aggression. It calls upon all States to co-operate in taking effective measures to prevent the recruitment, training and transit of mercenaries for service in Namibia.

10. The Conference considers that the acquisition of nuclear weapons capability by the racist régime of South Africa, with its record of violence and aggression, constitutes a further effort on its part to terrorize and intimidate independent States in the region into submission while also posing a danger to all mankind. The continuing assistance rendered to the South African régime by certain Western countries and Israel in the military and nuclear fields belies their stated opposition to the racist practices of the South African régime and makes them willing partners of its hegemonistic and criminal policies.

11. The Conference expresses concern at persistent reports regarding the existence of military and security agreements between South Africa and certain countries in other regions. It considers that any such arrangements would constitute a breach of the arms embargo imposed by the Security Council in its resolution 418 (1977) of 4 November 1977 and an act of hostility against the United Nations and the struggling people of South Africa and Namibia, would greatly aggravate the situation in southern Africa and pose a serious threat to the security of Africa as a whole. It commends those States which are firmly opposed to any links between the existing military alliances and the South African régime and calls for vigilance by the international community to prevent any military arrangements with South Africa.

12. The Conference strongly condemns the increased acts of armed aggression and military, political and economic destabilization perpetrated by the South African régime against independent States in the region. South Africa must put an immediate end to such acts. Increased assistance must be rendered to the independent States of southern Africa to enable them to defend their sovereignty and territorial integrity and to free themselves from economic dependence on South Africa. In this connection, the Conference warmly welcomes the establishment of the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC). The Conference views with grave concern South Africa's attempts to thwart the work of SADCC. It calls upon all States to render all possible assistance to SADCC in its efforts to promote regional economic co-operation and development.

13. The Conference unequivocally condemns the persistent acts of aggression launched from the territory of Namibia against Angola as well as the continued military occupation of part of Angolan territory by South African forces. It expresses its support for and solidarity with the people and Government of Angola in their efforts to safeguard their national independence and territorial integrity and demands the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of South African troops from Angola.

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14. The Conference further condemns the South African régime for its ruthless repression, its policy and practice of apartheid and other gross violations of the human rights of the Namibian people and demands that an immediate end be put to those policies. It strongly denounces the detention and imprisonment of SWAPO freedom fighters and calls for the unconditional release of Herman Toivo Ja Toivo and all other Namibian political prisoners.

15. The Conference declares that the liberation struggle in Namibia is a conflict of an international character in terms of article 1, paragraph 4, of Protocol I (A/32/144, annex I) Additional to the Geneva Conventions of 12 August 1949 d/ and, in this regard, it demands the application by South Africa of the Conventions and Additional Protocol I. In particular it demands that all captured freedom fighters be accorded prisoner-of-war status as called for by the Geneva Convention Relative to the Treatment of Prisoners of War e/ and Additional Protocol thereto.

16. The Conference calls upon all States, as well as the specialized agencies and other international organizations associated with the United Nations, to render increased material assistance to the oppressed people of Namibia and to SWAPO in the struggle for liberation.

17. The Conference emphasizes the importance of action by local authorities, trade unions, religious bodies, academic institutions, mass media, solidarity movements and other non-governmental organizations, as well as individual men and women, in mobilizing Governments and public opinion in support of the liberation struggle of the Namibian people under the leadership of SWAPO and in counteracting all moves to assist and encourage the occupation régime in Namibia. It commends them for their selfless commitment on behalf of the oppressed peoples of Namibia and South Africa and urges them to concert and broaden their efforts in the light of the discussions and decisions of this Conference.

18. The Conference expresses its deep concern at the rapid depletion of the natural resources of Namibia, including its marine resources, which are the inviolable heritage of its people, as a result of the illegal exploitation of those resources by foreign economic interests in violation of Decree No. 1 for the Protection of the Natural Resources of Namibia f/ enacted by the United Nations Council for Namibia on 27 September 1974. The Conference strongly condemns such activities, which constitute an obstacle to the immediate independence of Namibia and endanger its eventual economic independence. It calls upon transnational and other corporations to terminate those activities forthwith. It further calls upon all Governments to take legislative and other appropriate measures to ensure the cessation of these activities and any new investments in Namibia by corporations under their jurisdiction as well as their compliance with the provisions of the aforementioned Decree of the United Nations Council for Namibia. It supports the declared intention of the United Nations Council for Namibia to make every effort, including the initiation of legal proceedings in domestic courts, to ensure compliance with its Decree.

19. The Conference further affirms that South Africa and the foreign economic interests which are illegally exploiting Namibian land and marine resources are liable to pay reparation to the Government of an independent Namibia.

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20. The Conference strongly condemns the plunder of Namibian uranium and urges those Governments whose nationals and corporations are involved in the traffic or enrichment of Namibian uranium to take immediate measures to prohibit all dealings in Namibian uranium, including all prospecting activities in Namibia. In this respect it urges the Governments of the three countries which operate the Urenco uranium-enrichment plant, namely, the Federal Republic of Germany, the Netherlands and the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland to have Namibian uranium specifically excluded from the Treaty of Almelo, which regulates the activities of Urenco.

21. The Conference deeply deplores the continued assistance rendered to the South African régime by certain countries in the political, economic, military and other fields and calls for an end to such assistance. It notes also with concern that the United States policy of "constructive engagement" with the apartheid régime has further encouraged that régime to intensify its repression of the people of South Africa and Namibia and escalate aggression against the front-line States and has also encouraged its continued intransigence over Namibian independence, including defiance of the resolutions and decisions of the United Nations.

22. The Conference notes with profound concern the continued assistance to the South African régime by certain international organizations and institutions, as exemplified by the granting of a loan of one billion special drawing rights, in November 1982, by the International Monetary Fund. Such assistance, while not contributing to the welfare of the vast majority of the people of South Africa, boosts the military capability of the Pretoria régime and enables it to continue the brutal suppression of the Namibian people and to commit blatant aggression against its neighbours. The Conference calls upon the Fund to terminate all co-operation with and assistance to the apartheid régime and urges all States members of the Fund to take appropriate action towards that end.

23. The Conference rejects the attempts by the South African régime and in certain other quarters to distort the nature of the Namibian problem by portraying it not as the struggle of a long-suffering people for liberation, but as part of a global East-West confrontation. The Conference is in no doubt that the question of Namibia is one of decolonization which must be resolved in accordance with the provisions of the United Nations Charter and the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

24. The Conference expresses its deep concern that Namibia's independence continues to be obstructed by the intransigence and persistent refusal of the South African régime to comply with the relevant resolutions of the United Nations on Namibia in particular Security Council resolution 435 (1978) of 29 September 1978. It categorically states that the United Nations plan for Namibia, endorsed by Council resolution 435 (1978), remains the only basis for a peaceful settlement of the Namibian question and calls for its immediate implementation without modification or qualification. The Conference denounces all fraudulent constitutional and political schemes through which South Africa may attempt to perpetuate its colonial domination in Namibia and urges all States to refrain from according any recognition to or undertaking any kind of co-operation with any entity installed in Namibia in disregard of United Nations resolutions, in particular Security Council resolutions 385 (1976) of 30 January 1976 and 435 (1978).

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25. The Conference firmly rejects the continued attempts by the United States and the South African régime to obstruct the implementation of resolution 435 (1978) and to establish any linkage or parallelism between the independence of Namibia and extraneous and irrelevant issues, in particular the withdrawal of Cuban forces from Angola, and emphasizes unequivocally that the persistence of such attempts not only retards the decolonization process in Namibia but also constitutes an unwarranted and gross interference in the internal affairs of Angola. Having noted the statement made by one member of the Western contact group disassociating itself categorically from such attempts which are incompatible with the letter and spirit of Security Council resolution 435 (1978) which endorses a plan initiated by the contact group itself and agreed upon by the two parties to the Namibian conflict, namely the South African régime and SWAPO, the Conference calls upon the other members of the contact group to do likewise. The fact that Cuban forces were present in Angola when the Security Council adopted resolution 435 (1978), which contained no reference to linkage and parallelism, casts a dark shadow of doubt on the attitudes of those who, while professing continued adherence to the United Nations plan for Namibia, do nothing to remove the obstacles placed deliberately one after another in the path of the implementation of that plan. What is more, at least one member of the Western contact group, the United States of America is itself responsible for the latest obstacle.

26. The Conference is of the strong view that the United Nations and the international community must take energetic and concerted action in support of the legitimate struggle of the Namibian people for self-determination, freedom and national independence. Failure to act now will not only prolong the injustice and oppression under which the people of Namibia have for so long laboured but will lead to the escalation of the present conflict. Governments and intergovernmental and non-governmental organizations can and must play a more active role in bringing about the early independence of Namibia as well as the speedy elimination of apartheid in South Africa.

27. The Conference, having assessed the current situation in Namibia, considers that South Africa's continued illegal occupation of Namibia, its defiance of United Nations resolutions, its brutal repression of the Namibian people, its increasing acts of destabilization and aggression against independent African States and its policies of apartheid constitute a threat to international peace and security. In this context, the Conference expresses its dismay at the failure to date of the Security Council to discharge effectively its responsibilities for the maintenance of international peace and security owing to the opposition of Western permanent members of the Security Council. It considers that sanctions under Chapter VII of the Charter, if universally and effectively implemented, are the only available means to ensure South Africa's compliance with the decisions of the United Nations and to prevent the intensification of the armed conflict in the region.

28. The Conference, therefore, calls upon the Security Council to meet at the earliest possible date to consider further action on the implementation of its plan for Namibia's independence, thereby assuming its primary responsibility for the implementation of resolution 435 (1978). Five years after the adoption of that resolution it is high time that the Security Council assumed fully the central role in its implementation and established the Council's own time frame for such implementation.

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29. The Conference urges States, pending the imposition of comprehensive mandatory sanctions by the Security Council, unilaterally and collectively to adopt economic measures against the South African régime as called for by relevant resolutions of the General Assembly and commends those Governments that have already taken measures towards that end.

30. The Conference pays tribute to the historic and courageous struggle of the people of Namibia under the leadership of SWAPO, their sole and authentic representative, to free themselves from colonial bondage and foreign exploitation in order to achieve what is theirs by right: human dignity and freedom in an independent Namibia. The day is not far off when Namibia will be genuinely independent. In the pursuit of their noble cause the people of Namibia do not stand alone but can count on the support of all peoples and Governments that are truly committed to justice in a peaceful world.

Notes

a/ General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV).

b/ General Assembly resolution 2625 (XXV).

c/ 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.

d/ United Nations, Treaty Series, vol. 75, Nos. 970-973.

e/ Ibid., No. 972, p. 135.

f/ Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-fifth Session, Supplement No. 24 (A/35/24), vol. I, annex II.

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## ANNEX II

### Report and Programme of Action on Namibia adopted by the Committee of the Whole

#### I. INTRODUCTION

1. At its 2nd meeting, on 25 April 1983, the International Conference in Support of the Struggle of the Namibian People for Independence established a Committee of the Whole and, in accordance with the guidelines for the International Conference (A/CONF.120/9), assigned to it the consideration of the following items on the agenda:

(a) Solidarity with, and assistance to the people of Namibia in their struggle for self-determination and national independence in a united Namibia under the leadership of the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO), their sole and authentic representative;

(b) Solidarity with, and assistance to the front-line States with a view to enabling them to sustain their support to the cause of Namibia;

(c) Measures for securing the early implementation of the United Nations plan for Namibia as provided for in Security Council resolutions 385 (1976) of 30 January 1976 and 435 (1978) of 29 September 1978, as well as of other United Nations resolutions and decisions, with a view to ensuring the speedy exercise by the people of Namibia of their inalienable right to freedom and independence.

2. The Committee held five meetings from 26 to 28 April, in the course of which it heard statements on the above-mentioned items by representatives of Governments, SWAPO and other liberation movements, non-governmental organizations and a number of prominent individuals invited to the Conference.

3. At its 2nd meeting, on 26 April, the Committee established a Drafting Committee composed of the following States: Angola, Bangladesh, Benin, Chile, China, Colombia, Czechoslovakia, Egypt, German Democratic Republic, Guyana, Iraq, Lesotho, Nigeria, Pakistan, Peru, Sweden, Turkey, Uganda, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and Viet Nam, as well as the representatives of SWAPO and the Organization of African Unity (OAU). In addition, representatives of the following non-governmental organizations were invited to participate in the Drafting Committee: the Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Organization, the American Committee on Africa and the World Campaign Against Military and Nuclear Collaboration with South Africa.

4. At its 6th meeting, on 29 April, the Committee adopted the following report and programme of action.

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## II. REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE OF THE WHOLE

5. The Committee considered that the International Conference was being held at a particularly critical time given the deteriorating situation in southern Africa in general and in and around Namibia in particular. The Committee was convinced that this situation had been created as a result of South Africa's obdurate refusal to implement the United Nations plan for Namibia and to end its illegal occupation of the Territory, by its increasingly brutal repression of the Namibian people and its escalating acts of aggression against independent African States.

6. The Committee strongly condemned the continued illegal occupation of Namibia by South Africa in defiance of numerous resolutions and decisions of the General Assembly and of the Security Council and in disregard of the advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice of 21 June 1971. a/ It declared that the persistent illegal presence of South Africa in the Territory was an act of aggression against the people of Namibia as well as a threat to international peace and security.

7. The Committee paid tribute to the courage and determination of the Namibian people and proclaimed its full support for the heroic struggle they were waging under the leadership of SWAPO, the sole and authentic representative of the Namibian people, to achieve self-determination, freedom and independence in a united Namibia. It recognized that, because of the stubborn refusal of the South African occupation régime to withdraw from Namibia, the people of Namibia had been forced to resort to armed struggle in order to fulfil their genuine aspirations for self-determination and national independence.

8. The Committee denounced the systematic policy of repression practiced by the illegal régime in Namibia as being in violation of the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Not only had South Africa extended its apartheid policies to Namibia, but it had intensified its acts of mass repression, arrests, detention without trial, torture, abduction, massacre of innocent villagers and other acts of intimidation of innocent people. The Committee demanded that an immediate end be put to these gross violations of human rights including the immediate and unconditional release of all Namibian political prisoners whether held in Namibia or in South Africa. It further demanded that all captured SWAPO freedom fighters be accorded prisoner-of-war status as called for by the Geneva Convention Relative to the Treatment of Prisoners of War, of 12 August 1949, b/ and Additional Protocol I thereto (A/32/144, annex I).

9. The Committee strongly condemned the racist régime of South Africa for its massive military build-up, which had turned Namibia into a garrison State, as well as for its recruitment and training of Namibians for tribal armies and its use of mercenaries to suppress the Namibian people and to carry out its military attacks against independent African States.

10. The Committee condemned the continuing collaboration on the part of certain Western countries and Israel with the racist régime of South Africa in the political, economic, military and nuclear fields, which was encouraging the

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Pretoria régime in its defiance of the international community and obstructing efforts to eliminate apartheid and bring to an end South Africa's illegal occupation of Namibia. The Committee urged that those States cease and desist forthwith from any form of direct or indirect collaboration with South Africa. The Committee also condemned the violation of the arms embargo imposed against South Africa under Security Council resolution 418 (1977) of 4 November 1977.

11. The Committee strongly condemned in particular the collusion by the Governments of certain Western and other States, particularly those of the United States of America and Israel, with the racist régime of South Africa in the nuclear field and called upon France and all other States to refrain from supplying the racist minority régime of South Africa directly or indirectly with installations that might enable it to produce uranium, plutonium or other nuclear materials, reactors or other military equipment.

12. The Committee condemned the continuing political, economic, financial and other relations of certain Western countries and Israel and their economic and other interest groups with South Africa as exemplified amongst others, by the recent action of the Government of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland in authorizing the export to the South African régime of radar equipment. The Committee expressed its conviction that this action constituted a hostile action against the people of Namibia and the front-line States since this equipment was bound further to strengthen the military capability of the racist régime.

13. The Committee rejected any constitutional and political schemes by which the Pretoria régime might seek to perpetuate its colonial domination of Namibia, be it through the continuation of its direct rule or the use of its puppets in Namibia, and called on all States not to accord any recognition or extend any co-operation to any régime which the illegal South African administration might impose on the Namibian people in disregard of the resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council, in particular Security Council resolutions 385 (1976) and 435 (1978).

14. The Committee stressed that Walvis Bay and the off-shore islands were integral parts of Namibia and solemnly declared that Namibia's accession to independence must be with its territorial integrity intact. Any action by South Africa to separate Walvis Bay and the off-shore islands from the Territory was illegal, null and void.

15. The Committee, while reaffirming that the natural resources of Namibia were the birthright of the Namibian people, expressed its deep concern at the rapid depletion of the natural resources of the Territory, particularly its uranium deposits, due to their reckless plunder by South Africa and certain Western and other foreign economic interests, in violation of the pertinent resolutions of the General Assembly and of the Security Council, of the advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice of 21 June 1971 and of Decree No. 1 for the Protection of the Natural Resources of Namibia, enacted by the United Nations Council for Namibia on 27 September 1974. c/ The Committee was of the view that, since those activities were illegal under international law, South Africa and all the foreign economic interests operating in Namibia were liable to pay damages to the future lawful Government of an independent Namibia.

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16. The Committee deeply deplored the policy of "constructive engagement" of the United States Administration with the apartheid régime of South Africa, which was encouraging the racist régime in its intransigence over the Namibian issue.

17. The Committee expressed deep concern at the adoption of a resolution "on the need for development aid for Namibia" by the European Parliament in January 1983, calling upon the European Economic Community (EEC) to extend aid to occupied Namibia as well as to so-called "refugees from southern Angola" in Namibia. Such resolution, if implemented, would flout international law by implying recognition of South Africa's presence in Namibia and would subsidize Pretoria's illegal administration of the Territory, while encouraging its acts of aggression against Angola and the occupation of a part of its territory.

18. The Committee condemned the criminal and terrorist act committed in Angola by armed puppet groups in the pay of the racist régime of South Africa against citizens of Czechoslovakia who, through their work, were contributing to the economic recovery of Angola. The Committee urged the Secretary-General of the United Nations to continue his constructive efforts aimed at achieving the earliest possible release of the kidnapped Czechoslovak citizens.

19. The Committee strongly condemned the use of the Territory of Namibia by the racist régime of South Africa as a military base from which to launch armed attacks against neighbouring African States, particularly the repeated unprovoked acts of aggression against and invasion of Angola, including occupation of parts of that country. The South African régime had also carried out an overall policy of military aggression and destabilization against Botswana, Lesotho, Mozambique, the Seychelles, Zambia and Zimbabwe in order to intimidate those and other African States and, among other things, to prevent them from supporting the legitimate struggle of the Namibian and South African peoples for freedom and independence. Those acts, which constituted a breach of international peace and security, were aimed at disrupting and destabilizing the economies of the front-line States, which had steadfastly stood in support of the Namibian people. The Committee called upon the international community to extend, as a matter of urgency, full support and assistance, including military assistance, to the front-line States in order to enable them to safeguard their sovereignty and territorial integrity against the repeated acts of aggression by South Africa.

20. The Committee reaffirmed that the United Nations plan contained in Security Council resolutions 385 (1976) and 435 (1978) was the only universally accepted basis for a peaceful settlement of the Namibian question and called for its immediate implementation without qualification, modification or prevarication.

21. The Committee also reaffirmed its determined and full support for the efforts of the Secretary-General of the United Nations to promote the speedy and urgent implementation of the United Nations plan contained in Security Council resolutions 385 (1976) and 435 (1978).

22. The Committee firmly rejected the persistent attempts by the United States of America to establish any linkage or parallelism between the independence of Namibia and any extraneous issues, in particular the withdrawal of Cuban forces from

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Angola, and emphasized unequivocally that any attempts to link the independence of Namibia with the withdrawal of Cuban forces from Angola were purposely designed to delay the decolonization process in Namibia and would constitute interference in the internal affairs of Angola. The Committee expressed deep regret at the failure of some other members of the contact group to disassociate themselves explicitly from such manoeuvres, which were totally incompatible with the letter and spirit of resolution 435 (1978) and merely encouraged the Pretoria régime to persist in its continued illegal occupation.

23. The Committee strongly supported the recent decisions of the OAU Co-ordinating Committee for the Liberation of Africa, the Seventh Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries and the International Conference in Support of the Front-line States which had urged the Security Council urgently to exercise its authority and to resume full responsibility for the speedy implementation of resolution 435 (1978).

### III. PROGRAMME OF ACTION ON NAMIBIA

24. The Committee considers that in view of the threat to international peace and security posed by South Africa's illegal occupation of Namibia and its persistent acts of aggression against neighbouring States, in violation of the Charter and relevant resolutions and decisions of the United Nations, the Security Council should now respond positively to the overwhelming demand of the international community by immediately imposing comprehensive mandatory sanctions against South Africa as provided for in Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations.

25. The Committee requests the Security Council to exercise its authority with regard to the implementation of its resolutions 385 (1976) and 435 (1978) so as to bring about the independence of Namibia without further delay and to act decisively against any dilatory manoeuvres and fraudulent schemes of the South African administration in Namibia aimed at frustrating the legitimate struggle of the Namibian people for independence under the leadership of SWAPO.

26. The Committee calls upon the Security Council to declare categorically that Walvis Bay is an integral part of Namibia and that the question should not be left as a matter for negotiation between an independent Namibia and South Africa.

27. The Committee further calls upon the Security Council to adopt the necessary measures to tighten the arms embargo against South Africa imposed in resolution 418 (1977) and to ensure strict compliance with the embargo by all States. In this connection, the Committee calls upon the Security Council to implement, as a matter of urgency, the recommendations contained in the report of the Security Council Committee established in pursuance of resolution 421 (1977). d/

28. The Committee welcomes and supports the appeal by the President of the United Nations Council for Namibia to the British Government to prohibit the export of Marconi radar equipment to South Africa and urges the Security Council Committee established in pursuance of resolution 421 (1977) to take appropriate action to ensure that the mandatory arms embargo against South Africa is not violated.

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29. Pending the imposition of comprehensive mandatory sanctions against South Africa, the Committee requests all Governments to apply sanctions unilaterally and collectively so as to comply with the boycott of South Africa called for by the General Assembly in resolutions ES-8/2 of 14 September 1981, 36/121 B of 10 December 1981 and 37/233 A of 20 December 1982.

30. The Committee calls upon all Governments to render sustained and increased moral and political support as well as financial, military and other material assistance to SWAPO to enable it to intensify its struggle for the liberation of Namibia. It also calls on the specialized agencies and other international organizations and institutions associated with the United Nations to provide within their respective spheres of competence, assistance on a priority basis to the people of Namibia through SWAPO, their sole and authentic representative.

31. The Committee calls upon all Governments, especially those which have close links with South Africa, to support, in co-operation with the United Nations Council for Namibia, the actions of the United Nations to defend the national rights of the Namibian people until independence.

32. The Committee urges all Governments, the specialized agencies and other intergovernmental organizations to provide increased material assistance to the thousands of refugees, especially to those who have been forced by the apartheid régime's oppressive policies in Namibia and South Africa to flee into the neighbouring front-line States.

33. The Committee calls upon all States to ensure compliance by all corporations and individuals within their jurisdiction with the provisions of Decree No. 1 for the Protection of the Natural Resources of Namibia. It further calls upon the United Nations Council for Namibia to adopt the necessary measures, including the institution of legal proceedings in national courts, to implement the provisions of the Decree.

34. In the context of Decree No. 1 for the Protection of the Natural Resources of Namibia, the Committee calls upon the Governments of all States, particularly those whose corporations are involved in the mining and processing of Namibian uranium, to take all appropriate measures, including the practice of requiring negative certificates of origin, to prohibit and prevent State-owned and other corporations, together with their subsidiaries, from dealing in Namibian uranium and all uranium prospecting activities in Namibia.

35. The Committee calls upon all Governments to give maximum political and moral support as well as economic and military assistance to the front-line States in order to enable them better to exercise their legitimate right of self-defence vis-à-vis South Africa, and to support the Southern Africa Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC), of which the front-line States are members, with a view to reducing their dependence on racist South Africa.

36. The Committee requests all specialized agencies and other international institutions of the United Nations system to initiate under the co-ordination of the United Nations Secretary-General, a major programme of assistance, to the

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front-line States in order to enable them to implement more effectively United Nations resolutions supporting the struggle of the people of Namibia for liberation and to withstand the economic sabotage perpetrated against them by the racist régime of South Africa.

37. The Committee calls upon all States to exert every effort towards the unconditional implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978), which remains the only basis for a settlement of the Namibian question. It further calls upon them to reject categorically and oppose resolutely, in every available forum, the attempts to link Namibian independence with irrelevant or extraneous issues, in particular the withdrawal of Cuban forces from Angola.

38. The Committee takes note of the recent resolution of the European Parliament concerning aid to the people of Namibia and requests the United Nations Council for Namibia, in co-operation with SWAPO, to undertake urgent consultations with EEC and the European Parliament in order to ensure that no action is taken which implies recognition of South Africa's illegal administration of Namibia.

39. The Committee calls upon all Governments to contribute or to increase their contribution to the United Nations Fund for Namibia in order to assist the Nationhood Programme for Namibia and the United Nations Institute for Namibia in the formulation and implementation of their projects in support of the Namibian people, projects which are of particular importance for the economic and social development of Namibia, once sovereignty and independence are achieved. In this connection, the Committee requests all Governments to appeal once again to their national organizations and institutions for voluntary contributions to the United Nations Fund for Namibia. In order to meet Namibia's manpower needs at the time of independence, all States, specialized agencies and other organizations and institutions of the United Nations system, should make contributions to the United Nations Institute for Namibia in the form of scholarship grants and other types of assistance.

40. The Committee requests the Secretary-General of the United Nations to seek to ensure that all banks, corporations and other agencies with which the United Nations has contracts are in compliance with the United Nations sanctions policies against South Africa. In particular, the Committee deplores the activities of the appointed United Nations travel agency, Thomas Cook, in promoting tourism to Namibia and South Africa, and requests the Secretary-General to take appropriate action on this matter.

41. The Committee appeals to all individuals working in the field of communications and information and to all the communication media and specialized media organizations of every country to intensify to the maximum extent possible the dissemination of public information concerning the cause of independence for Namibia. It also calls on writers, commentators, lecturers, film directors and other persons in the arts to conduct a major world campaign of solidarity on behalf of the same cause.

42. The Committee notes with appreciation the co-operation extended to date by the United Nations Department of Public Information of the United Nations Secretariat

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in disseminating information on the struggle for independence of Namibia. It nevertheless considers that it is now necessary to expand and strengthen the activities concerned with a view to giving a fresh technological impetus to public dissemination programmes, to increase the number of information channels and to extend the audience reached through a more flexible, systematic and co-ordinated information campaign. The Committee also invites the information departments of organizations and specialized agencies of the United Nations system, and particularly the UNESCO Intergovernmental Council of the International Programme for the Development of Communication, to participate in this campaign.

43. The Committee expresses its appreciation to those specialized agencies and other organizations and bodies of the United Nations system that have contributed to the Nationhood Programme for Namibia and calls upon them to continue their participation in the Programme, including the provision of funds and other forms of assistance for the implementation of the projects approved by the United Nations Council for Namibia.

44. The Committee further expresses its appreciation to all those non-governmental organizations and support groups that are actively engaged in supporting the struggle of the Namibian people under the leadership of SWAPO, and appeals to them to intensify and broaden, in co-operation with the United Nations Council for Namibia, international action in support of the liberation struggle of the Namibian people and to increase their material, political and moral support to SWAPO. It further appeals to them to widen their campaign to increase the awareness of their national communities regarding the exploitation of the resources of Namibia by foreign economic interests in complete disregard of Decree No. 1 for the Protection of the Natural Resources of Namibia, and to insist that these foreign economic interests must withdraw from Namibia immediately. Further, the Committee urges all non-governmental organizations and support groups to campaign in their countries in support of a comprehensive programme of sanctions in order effectively to isolate South Africa politically, economically, militarily and culturally, and to monitor in association with the United Nations Council for Namibia, the implementation of that programme.

45. The Committee, fully conscious of the crucial role that trade unions could play in the campaign to isolate South Africa, urges them to take all appropriate action including organizing an embargo on all shipments to and from South Africa as well as transport and communication with that country.

46. The Committee proposes that the General Assembly consider the present programme of action at its thirty-eighth session and calls upon the United Nations Council for Namibia to promote and secure the implementation of this programme.

#### Notes

a/ 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.

b/ United Nations, Treaty Series, vol. 75, No. 972, p. 135.

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c/ Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-fifth Session,  
Supplement No. 24 (A/35/24), vol. I, annex II.

d/ Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-fifth Year, Supplement  
for July, August and September 1980, document S/14179.

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