



General Assembly

PROVIS IONAL

A/43/PV.49

17 November 1988

ENGLISH

Forty-third session

GENERAL ASSEMBLY

PROVIS IONAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE FORTY-NINTH MEETING

Held at Headquarters, New York,
on Tuesday, 15 November 1988, at 10 a.m.

President:

later:

later:

later:

later:

Mr. CAFUTO

Mr. HUERTA MONTALVO (Vice-President)

Mr. RANA (Vice-President)

Mr. CAFUTO

Mr. ESSY (Vice-President)

(Argentina)

(Ecuador)

(Nepal)

(Argentina)

(Côte d'Ivoire)

- Question of Namibia [29] (continued)

- (a) Report of the United Nations Council for Namibia
- (b) Report of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples
- (c) Report of the Secretary-General
- (d) Report of the Fourth Committee
- (e) Draft resolutions

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The meeting was called to order at 10.25 a.m.

AGENDA ITEM 29 (continued)

QUESTION OF NAMIBIA

- (a) REPORT OF THE UNITED NATIONS COUNCIL FOR NAMIBIA (A/43/24);
- (b) REPORT OF THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE ON THE SITUATION WITH REGARD TO THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE DECLARATION ON THE GRANTING OF INDEPENDENCE TO COLONIAL COUNTRIES AND PEOPLES (A/43/23 (Part V), A/AC.109/960);
- (c) REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL (A/43/724);
- (d) REPORT OF THE FOURTH COMMITTEE (A/43/780);
- (e) DRAFT RESOLUTIONS (A/43/24 (Part II), chapter I)

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Spanish): I should like to remind representatives that, in accordance with the decision taken at the 47th plenary meeting, the list of speakers in the debate on this item will be closed today at noon. I ask those who wish to speak to inscribe their names as soon as possible.

Mr. AL-SHAKAR (Bahrain) (interpretation from Arabic): I should like at the outset to extend to the members of the United Nations Council for Namibia and to the members 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 our deepest appreciation for their reports and their tireless efforts to ensure the early and complete independence of Namibia.

The question of Namibia has been one of the issues of decolonization, and it will remain so until that Territory has achieved its total and real independence. At the last session the General Assembly, in its resolution 42/14 A of 6 November 1987, declared that South Africa's illegal occupation of Namibia constituted an act of aggression against the Namibian people.

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It also reaffirmed that any political solution of the situation in Namibia should be based on the immediate and unconditional termination of the illegal occupation of the Territory by South Africa, the withdrawal of its armed forces from the Territory and enjoyment by the Namibian people of its rights to self-determination and independence, freely and unconditionally, in accordance with General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV).

In his annual report on the work of the Organization, the Secretary-General of the United Nations expresses his hope for the independence of Namibia when he says:

"There has been an improvement in prospects for the independence of Namibia. Recent diplomatic activity has made a significant contribution to the peace process in southern Africa, which should facilitate a settlement in Namibia without further delay. The date of 1 November 1988 has been recommended for beginning the implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978). In the light of these developments, the Secretariat has undertaken a review of its contingency plans in order to hold itself in readiness for the timely emplacement of the United Nations Transition Assistance Group in Namibia. It is my hope that current efforts will finally succeed in bringing independence to the people of Namibia." (A/43/1, p. 3)

Bahrain welcomes what the Secretary-General has said in his report, and we also welcome the constructive role played by the concerned parties in the quadripartite negotiations to ensure a just and viable solution, the restoration of peace in southern Africa and the independence of Namibia. We have also expressed the hope that the visit by the Secretary-General to South Africa last month will bring closer the independence of the people of Namibia. We eagerly await 1 November 1988 and the beginning of the implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978) of 29 September 1978, which described the United

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Nations plan for the independence of Namibia as the only acceptable international formula for the achievement of the total independence of Namibia. Regrettably, it has not yet been acted on. We hope that an agreement leading to the restoration of a just and total peace in that important region of the African continent which has been afflicted by armed conflicts will be achieved through the negotiations in Geneva between Angola, Cuba, South Africa and the United States to achieve the independence of Namibia, which is long overdue.

Bahrain has followed with great interest the various quadripartite negotiation meetings on the independence and future of Namibia and security and stability in the region. We regret that South Africa has not agreed to start the implementation of the United Nations plan for Namibia on 1 November 1988, which is the recommended date.

In spite of the significant improvement in the prospects for independence of that international Territory, it remains illegally occupied by South African forces. The occupation has for 10 years hindered implementation of the United Nations plan for the independence of Namibia, increasing the deprivation of the Namibian people and frustrating its legitimate aspirations to independence, freedom and self-determination.

The situation in Namibia is unique not only because of the special responsibility of the United Nations for that international Territory and its people but also because Namibia is a special colonial case in that it has been afflicted by an institutionalized racist régime that has plundered its resources by means of its illegal military occupation.

The freedom and independence of Namibia are still subject to the policies of the racist régime in Pretoria. While talks are under way with the objective of

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establishing practical measures for the implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978), the policy of terrorism and suppression perpetrated by the Pretoria régime continues against Namibian civilians, including detention, indiscriminate imprisonment without trial and execution for those who sympathize with the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO). The intransigence of the South African régime and its continued rejection of the United Nations plan for the independence of Namibia are obstacles to the implementation of that plan.

Bahrain has repeatedly condemned the racist policies of South Africa in the Territory and the suppression, terrorism, dispersion and indiscriminate imprisonment perpetrated against the Namibian people and the continued acts of aggression against the front-line States in southern Africa.

At a time when we are celebrating the tenth anniversary of the adoption of Security Council resolution 435 (1978), Bahrain reaffirms its staunch support for the right of the Namibian people to freedom, independence and self-determination; it also reaffirms its continued support for the struggle of that people, under the leadership of SWAPO, its sole and authentic representative.

While we associate ourselves with views that have been expressed on the existence of an impetus that could lead to the restoration of peace in southern Africa and bring about a just and peaceful solution, we also support the call for caution with regard to manoeuvres of the Pretoria régime, to hinder the implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978).

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By adopting policies of prevarication and procrastination over the past 10 years the régime in Pretoria, has hindered the implementation of that resolution and frustrated all efforts and expectations.

The international community should always remember that South Africa was a party to the negotiations that led to the adoption of the United Nations plan for the independence of Namibia and pledged itself to implement its provisions. Yet, since the adoption of that plan the Pretoria régime has always tried to shirk its responsibilities and attempted to frustrate international efforts to implement the plan by procrastinating at every turn in order to prevent Namibia from achieving total independence. We therefore believe that it is our duty to emphasize the importance of being extremely vigilant to prevent any other attempts by the Pretoria régime to stall for time and to entrench itself in its illegal occupation of that international Territory.

The collective ability of the international community to stand up to the challenges posed by the Pretoria régime will be impeded so long as Namibia remains under the apartheid régime; hence, in order to unblock this situation, the United Nations should set another date for the practical implementation of the United Nations plan for the independence of Namibia which is the common goal of the international community on this the tenth anniversary of the adoption of Security Council resolution 435 (1978).

In order to achieve that common goal, Bahrain calls upon the Security Council to take the necessary specific measures to implement that resolution, including the deployment of the United Nations Transitional Assistance Group (UNTAG) in Namibia. We also consider it necessary that the Security Council exert pressure on the Pretoria régime through decisive measures aimed at circumventing its prevarications

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designed to frustrate the United Nations plan for the independence of Namibia, such as the adoption by the Council of mandatory sanctions against that racist régime under Chapter VII of the Charter. We also believe that it is the duty of the international community, represented in the United Nations, at this historic moment to continue to provide every support to the Namibian people in their just struggle, under the leadership of SWAPO, their sole and authentic representative, for an independent, free Namibia.*

The United Nations has continuously supported the decolonization of Namibia. My delegation is convinced that the United Nations will play the largest role and shoulder the heaviest burdens in the transition period leading to the independence of Namibia, with its territorial integrity intact, including Walvis Bay, the Penguin Islands and other offshore islands that are part and parcel of Namibia. The expected independence of Namibia will be a victory not only crowning the just struggle of the Namibian people but also a victory for the United Nations and for all peoples struggling for independence and against foreign domination and racism. Namibia will remain the direct responsibility of the United Nations until its national independence is achieved and until its people enjoy their right to self-determination in accordance with the relevant United Nations resolutions. We hope that we shall not have to wait too long before we see Namibia occupying its rightful place in the international community as an independent and free country and as an effective Member of our Organization.

*Mr. Huerta Montalvo (Ecuador), Vice-President, took the Chair.

Mr. ADOUKI (Congo) (interpretation from French): At its forty-third session the General Assembly again has before it this year, under agenda item 29, the question of Namibia. This endless debate could have become tiresome, 22 years after the United Nations agreed to assume direct responsibility for that Territory, were it not for the profoundly unfair fate of an entire people. The question of Namibia, therefore, clearly remains a major question in the political debate at the United Nations, as much for its long-standing position as the scandal of the century as for its cost in terms of human suffering resulting from this colonial war, as well as for the frenzied illegal exploitation of uranium, diamonds, copper, lead, zinc, manganese and other metals and of agricultural and fishery products, for the long-standing collusion and mutual support between the South African régime of occupation and the transnational corporations located in Namibia, and lately for the disappointed hopes and failed opportunities - 4 October 1969, when the Security Council ordered South Africa to withdraw from Namibia; 1978, Security Council resolution 435 (1978); 1981, Geneva; 1982; 1984 and so on - and for the legitimate thirst for freedom and the profound aspirations of the Namibian people to self-determination under the leadership of SWAPO, their sole and authentic representative.

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To illustrate our point, let us turn for a moment to the report of the United Nations Council for Namibia issued as document A/43/24 (part I). First, however, I wish to pay a tribute to the United Nations Council for Namibia, to the Special Committee and to the Secretary-General for the important efforts they are making with a view to achieving independence for Namibia. My delegation is deeply grateful to them for their excellent reports, which shed further light on all the dimensions of the question of Namibia.

Now, the assessment of the situation in Namibia by the United Nations Council for Namibia, the legal Administering Authority of the Territory, highlights the "Ruthless political repression, racial discrimination and apartheid and other gross violations of human rights". (A/43/24 (Part I), para. 152)

The President of the Republic of South Africa, during his visit to Namibia in April, took measures which were

"a clear humiliation for the so-called interim government at Windhoek" (ibid., para 155).

and which emphasized that government's

"complete dependence on the whims of the Pretoria régime". (ibid.)

The people of Namibia have continued their struggle for independence, yielding nothing. For example, they mobilized to commemorate, on Namibia Day, the launching by the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO) of the armed struggle. Similarly, masses of schoolchildren paraded in Windhoek to honour the memory of the victims of the massacre perpetrated in Kassinga, Angola, by the South Africans on 4 May 1978. Many manifestations by the people against the pseudo-power in Namibia and against the South Africans have taken place despite the state of emergency, martial law and the violence used by the South African security forces.

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SWAPO, which provides political leadership for the Namibian people in the Territory and abroad, is also, with the international community's assistance, doing everything it can to meet the needs of the Namibian refugees and to lay the foundations for the building of an independent Namibian nation. It has, for example, established various health and education centres, in the operation of which my country generally participates - not to speak of the other facilities that SWAPO is given in our country.

SWAPO, as we all know, remains fully committed to the implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978).

Militarily speaking, the situation in the Territory and with regard to the security of the front-line States has been affected by the folly of the South African military-industrial complex, whose considerably increased share of South Africa's defence budget has reached 40 per cent. There is no tangible sign that the military occupation of the Territory will cease. On the contrary, Comrade Helmut Angula, the Permanent Observer of SWAPO to the United Nations, indicated in his statement from this rostrum yesterday that Pretoria had just massed 50,000 troops along the frontier between Angola and Namibia.

The number of South African soldiers stationed in the Territory increases regularly because the apartheid régime is facing ever-increasing opposition there by the Namibian people, led by SWAPO.

I shall not dwell on the fact that, compared with last year, military expenditures have increased by 30 per cent, or on the acquisition of new weapons by the very official South African Armament Corporation. Moreover, South Africa has a vast military-industrial complex, which gives it a capability of producing nuclear weapons.

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With regard to foreign economic interests in Namibia, their activity still consists of pillaging the considerable economic resources of the Territory. The transnational corporations collaborate closely with South Africa, to which they pay taxes, and they regularly provide the necessary fuel for the occupation forces.

My country has always held that the Namibian people must exercise as quickly as possible its inalienable right to self-determination and to genuine independence, under the leadership of SWAPO. The internationally accepted basis for a settlement of the question of Namibia is the United Nations peace plan contained in resolution 435 (1978).

The glimmers of hope which have emerged from the development in world attitudes and prospects and which are becoming stronger in Asia and Latin America and even in Africa - apart from southern Africa - appear to us to have some relevance to the controversial case of Namibia. Without wishing to unleash bitter diatribes concerning the apparent marginalization of a powerless United Nations, my country supports the negotiating process under way among Cuba, Angola and South Africa, under the mediation of the United States of America.

The strengthening of prospects for peace sometimes means that the international community must take pragmatic paths and use other imaginative forms that are different from the usual classical and institutional ones. Thus, when a peace initiative concerning a given situation is achieving progress - the cease-fire between Angola and South Africa is a fact - the principal actors in the international community have the duty of lending their full support, until appropriate formal peace agreements are reached.

My country, the People's Republic of Congo, and its capital, Brazzaville, are giving modest but active support, under the enlightened leadership of His Excellency President Denis Sassou Nguesso, to that political and diplomatic

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exercise. The present consultations in London, New York or Geneva among Angola, Cuba, South Africa and the United States mediator and the future four-party negotiations in Brazzaville are having - despite the obstacles, shady manoeuvres and fragility of the exercise - a refreshing effect on the process towards peace: this ambition of the struggling Namibian people, this now-universally-shared faith in the near future of what will soon be independent Namibia.

We have an infinite need of the United Nations, to which all Member States must lend their support and full co-operation when Security Council resolution 435 (1978) is finally implemented. At that time the path will be opened to deep change as the Namibian people exercise their right to self-determination, under the direction of SWAPO, its authentic representative.

Mr. ZACHMANN (German Democratic Republic): The Foreign Minister of my country, like many other representatives of States, noted in the general debate at this session of the General Assembly that an auspicious trend has emerged in international events.

This assessment is also true of developments in south-western Africa. In that region, too, the realization that there is no military solution to differences existing between States has led to negotiations. The German Democratic Republic considers the negotiations between Angola, Cuba, South Africa and the United States, which open up avenues for Namibia's early independence, to be an important step on the road leading to a political settlement of the conflict in south-western Africa. They are evidence that solutions even to complex issues, to the benefit of peace and for the good of nations, are feasible if there is goodwill, common sense and realism and if the interests of all parties to the conflict are taken into account in a balanced way.

The results achieved so far have met with a world-wide response. The Angolan Government's constructive and flexible position, its courage and its realistic approach have brought about a breakthrough in a process that had been deadlocked for many years. At the negotiating table the international conditions have now been created for ending South Africa's undeclared war against Angola, which took such a heavy toll in human lives, and starting to reconstruct and develop the country in conditions of peace.

The German Democratic Republic supports the policy pursued by the MPLA-Party of Labour, which offers all Angolans the opportunity to participate in the country's reconstruction. At the same time, it views the solution of internal problems as an exclusively Angolan sovereign matter. It is resolutely against the attempts in certain quarters to internationalize these questions and make them the subject of the current negotiations on ways of settling the conflict in south-western Africa.

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The catalogue of principles for a peaceful settlement in the region, which is now before us, and the measures which have been agreed upon to implement it are a result of the readiness for compromise and flexibility of all sides. If the negotiations were successfully carried forward and, if furthermore, all that has been achieved were consistently implemented, there would be a real chance of peace, security and development in south-western Africa. Such a process could not but have a positive effect on the restoration of a healthy international situation.

Against this background there is increasing insistence that South Africa prove that it is serious about the negotiations and willing to put an immediate end to the illegal occupation of Namibia and remove, without pre-conditions, all obstacles standing in the way of the scrupulous fulfilment of Security Council resolution 435 (1978).

We believe that now, as always, there is every reason for caution. This attitude springs from our experience, especially during the last 10 years, in which there have been attempts on the part of the apartheid régime to prevent a settlement of the question of Namibia. The pressure of world public opinion on South Africa must be maintained for as long as the illegal occupation of Namibia, with all its consequences, persists and the implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978) has not begun. The Security Council is still called upon to take measures against South Africa under Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter.

The decolonization of Namibia and the granting of national independence to that country have been on the agenda for too long. As early as 1966 the General Assembly withdrew completely from South Africa the Mandate over that Territory. Since then both the General Assembly and the Council for Namibia, which it set up,

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have been indefatigably active in many ways in support of the cause of the oppressed people of Namibia. Apart from assistance to the victims of colonialist policies and efforts to enlist the all-round co-operation of the Namibian national liberation movement, the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO), the sole, authentic representative of the Namibian people, their activities have focused on the mobilization of world public opinion in support of the liberation struggle and a just settlement of the question of Namibia.

The United Nations Security Council has taken important decisions which are in the interest of the Namibian people. They include, in particular, resolution 435 (1978) and the related plan which is to lead to the independence of Namibia. The procedure envisaged under that plan - a cease-fire, the sending of the United Nations Transition Assistance Group, with a military and a civil component and the preparation and holding of free elections under United Nations supervision - would create the necessary prerequisites for a swift, lasting and, above all, peaceful solution to the question of Namibia.

The implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978) presents a great challenge to the United Nations. Its early and successful implementation would greatly add to the international prestige of the United Nations. We welcome the statement by the Secretary-General that the Organization is ready to fulfil its responsibility with regard to the implementation of resolution 435 (1978). The German Democratic Republic has assured the Secretary-General of its willingness to participate in the process and has submitted relevant offers. This is a reflection of the German Democratic Republic's basic stand in favour of all steps designed to make peace more secure and help resolve existing conflicts by peaceful means.

My country will continue as a matter of course to show its solidarity with the Namibian people by giving them political, moral and material support. Especially

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in the transitional period, which will confront the country with many new problems, wide-ranging international assistance will be of vital importance.

: For many years now young Namibians have received vocational training in the German Democratic Republic, and their skills will be essential for the future independent country. We have also admitted Namibian students to our universities and colleges and have trained technicians and engineers, as well as medical personnel. These programmes are continuing. Material assistance to Namibian refugees returning to their country will be increased.

To the people of the German Democratic Republic it is natural to extend solidarity and assistance to the Namibian people, just as it is to support all colonially and racially oppressed peoples in their struggle. The independence of Namibia, the triumph of that people, will also be a triumph of international solidarity, to which the people of the German Democratic Republic, too, have contributed their share.

Mr. SHIHABI (Saudi Arabia) (interpretation from Arabic): Since this is the first time I have spoken from this rostrum at this session, I wish to take this opportunity to congratulate Mr. Caputo of Argentina on his election to the presidency of the General Assembly at the forty-third session. May God guide him in his endeavours in conducting the work of the Assembly with objectivity and impartiality, which, without doubt, given his great ability, he is capable of achieving. I wish him success and accomplishment.

This Assembly is an arena where the interests and aspirations of States and peoples interact and where actions become evident and positions crystallized. We come to it on a broad basis of commitment to its Charter; and we work in it on an understanding, which is not subject to any other interpretation, that we should conduct ourselves according to the letter and spirit of the Charter. Anyone who deviates from this rule is easily discovered, and any violator of its principles in letter or in spirit is very quickly exposed. We find the one who is genuine and truthful walking tall, and those who manipulate by hiding behind screens of interpretations and explanations, through which they believe they can mislead world public opinion, are wrong. Forty years and more have taken the United Nations through phases of growth, political maturity and full representation of all the peoples and States of the world; and it has become in fact an international council which reflects the conscience of the world through its comprehensive representation, where the small have their place as well as the big, where the big have their position as well as the small, and where everyone has a wide or a limited role under this dome.

I mention this while passing to the subject of Namibia and the tragedies of the racist régime it encompasses, to discuss a phenomenon which supposedly ended with the Second World War - the era of military, political, economic, social and racist colonialism and the disease of racial discrimination and racial bigotry

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which denies human values and contradicts all laws and norms. This phenomenon transforms society into masters and subjects and into despots and the subjugated. It is the evil of the worst colonial and exploitative régimes of past centuries.

Namibia, our subject today, is the victim and the prey. Its white minority, which rejects the path of the future, is the disease and the disaster; it is the unbending remnant which refuses to acknowledge that the world has changed and that the path to continued life is the path of the peoples marching into tomorrow's world. Through its stand, it is passing judgement upon itself.

A hundred and three years ago the darkness of foreign occupation fell upon the land of Namibia; the people of Namibia fell under colonialist subjugation in its ugliest manifestations and forms. Namibia was afflicted by foreign rule which assumed successively one form after another, until the last and the worst form, the régime of apartheid, which South Africa practises as basic State policy, as if the people were a herd of sheep whose destiny is decided by others.

We have discussed, in this Hall, in the corridors of the United Nations, in its Councils and in its Committees, the régime of apartheid in South Africa. We have condemned its content as violating all human values and principles and its forms as contradicting all human customs and conventions. We have condemned it as a policy, practised by any civilized or uncivilized society. We have deplored it as a means of aggression, oppression, exploitation and the usurpation of the wealth of the people, practised by authorities who have lost their international credibility. In this context, the only two racist régimes remaining in the world, practising it without hesitation, are those of South Africa and the Zionist entity in Israel, the partner of South Africa in racial discrimination and its peer in lack of human consideration, as well as its counterpart in the policy of usurping the resources and the wealth of the Palestinians and in depriving them of their

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most basic human rights. For those who may be doubtful, let them observe what the Zionist authorities in Palestine have been committing, in an attempt to quell the intifadah of the people on their land, for the past 12 months. The two stubborn racist régimes, which represent the worst of what the human spirit possesses of a tendency towards evil and selfishness, are based on the denial of rights to their owners. They are defying the march of history; but history will judge them in the same manner.

Since its foundation the United Nations has been committed to work for the rights of deprived peoples. The international Organization declared its authority over Namibia, an authority it has had for 24 years, since it established the United Nations Council for Namibia. The United Nations has committed itself, and we pledged ourselves to support this Council until Namibia's independence, until the country is returned to its owner, its resources harnessed for the benefit of its inhabitants, and the international piracy, in which some foreign companies are participating with South Africa in encroaching on the resources of the country, is stopped. It is stated in the report of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples that

"The Special Committee reaffirms that Namibia is the direct responsibility of the United Nations until genuine self-determination and national independence are achieved under the terms of the relevant resolutions and decisions of the General Assembly. It strongly condemns South Africa's brutal repression of the Namibian people, its efforts to destroy the national unity and territorial integrity of Namibia." (A/43/23 (Part V), para. 4)

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In Namibia - a country of abundant wealth, in its soil and maritime regions, as well as in its agricultural and livestock resources - the people are living at the edge of the lowest level of human existence, while South Africa, in collaboration with a handful of foreign companies, plunders its resources at the cheapest of prices, and reaps the highest profits in disregard of the economic future of the country, when it is restored to its people. Colonial exploiting companies are racing against time; they are racing against the reversion of the right to its owner. In its report the Special Committee states:

"The Special Committee reaffirms that the natural resources of Namibia, including its marine resources, are the inviolable heritage of the Namibian people, and expresses its deep concern at the depletion of these resources".

(ibid., para. 22)

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Last year we stated that 95 per cent of the coloured people in Namibia worked in agriculture, earning only 2.5 per cent of the income, and that 5 per cent of the white people worked in agriculture earning 95 per cent of the agricultural and livestock income of the country. The exploitation of minerals is even worse for the economic destiny of the country, since South African companies, in partnership with foreign companies, own 80 per cent of the country's minerals and export 95 per cent of them. These figures have not changed. They convey the story of exploitation in its ugliest form and draw a picture of colonialism at its worst. Where are the rights of the Namibian people? How will they account to future generations for these crimes against their national assets?

The Government of Saudi Arabia imposed a trade embargo against South Africa. It applied firm measures to prevent Saudi oil from being exported to South Africa. It is undertaking the proper measures against those who break these regulations, or who are proved to have violated their commitments. We uphold this firm stance and co-operate with all in implementing its purposes and realizing its objectives.

We reiterate here our firm position towards the racist South African régime and the Israeli Zionist colonialist régime in Palestine, and their violation of declarations of rights and commitments to the principles of proper human relations. We condemn their persistence in following the same path, and warn them that history has no mercy for those who deviate from its norms. The essence of the study of history and the lessons it teaches is to look forward, not to turn backward. Those who turn to the past, such as those two régimes, will be left behind by the march of time, which strides into the future leaving them behind, absolved of their burden. Those who do not see the intimate relationship between the two racist régimes should acquaint themselves with the extent of the tacit and explicit collaboration between them in the most important specific fields. They

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should examine what Zionism is practicing against Arab people in Palestine, and even towards the coloured Jews from Africa and from the United States itself. They will realize where Zionism stands in the forefront of racial discrimination. The Government of the Custodian of the Two Holy Places, King Fahd, has supported and affirmed all the positions of the United Nations concerning the independence of Namibia and the conservation of its resources. It has supported the United Nations Council for Namibia in all its endeavours and condemned South Africa's aggressions against neighbouring countries, considering them aggressions against the Charter of the United Nations. It calls for the full implementation of the relevant United Nations resolutions, including those calling for sanctions. It exposes the parallel between the two régimes in Pretoria and Tel Aviv, and calls upon the international community to take all possible measures to put the Charter's rules into effect in international relations.

I conclude my statement by quoting the Special Committee on Namibia:

"The Special Committee reiterates its conviction that the apartheid régime of South Africa is responsible for creating a situation that seriously threatens international peace and security ..." (A/43/23 (Part V), p. 4)

Should we not deal with the threat the situation in Namibia is posing to international peace and security with the same measure of seriousness as the Special Committee, before the threat materializes at a very high price?*

*Mr. Rana (Nepal), Vice-President, took the Chair.

Mr. AKSIN (Turkey): Once again the General Assembly has been called upon to consider the situation in Namibia, a question which represents a unique responsibility of the United Nations. The present debate is a reaffirmation of the importance attached by the international community to this pressing problem.

In Security Council resolution 435 (1978), adopted ten years ago, the Security Council endorsed a comprehensive plan for the independence of Namibia, a plan which was formally accepted by the Republic of South Africa and fully supported by the international community. That plan set out a detailed timetable for independence and provided for the creation of the United Nations Transition Assistance Group (UNTAG) to ensure the early independence of Namibia through free and fair elections supervised by the United Nations.

It is causing us great indignation that, despite this situation, Namibia remains under the illegal occupation of South Africa and the Namibian people have not yet been able to exercise their inalienable right to self-determination. Given that the international community, through the intermediation of the Secretary-General, has been able to resolve all the pending questions related to the implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978), there is no justifiable excuse for the delaying tactics that South Africa has been pursuing since 1978 in defiance of international law.

However, the process of independence for Namibia is now entering a new and critical stage. My Government is encouraged by the positive developments that have, at long last, been registered in this area and the agreements that have been reached. We welcome the cease-fire of 10 August 1988 as a very important first step in the right direction. We sincerely wish that this development will lead to the granting of independence to the people of Namibia through the implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978) without any further delay. The direct responsibility of the United Nations for Namibia continues, even though it has not

(Mr. Aksin, Turkey)

participated in the recent talks relating to Namibian independence. The United Nations must remain involved and display vigilance until the transfer of power to the people of Namibia, through free and fair elections under its supervision and control. Against this background, we consider that the activities of the Council for Namibia will assume particular importance in the coming period. The Council should remain active and vigilant in its efforts on behalf of the people of Namibia until genuine independence is achieved.

As long as the Namibian people are not able to exercise their right to self-determination and independence, and as long as the racist Pretoria régime continues its illegal occupation, there can be no stability or true peace in that part of the world.

The Turkish nation has always had a strong sense of solidarity with the Namibian people in their heroic struggle for national independence under the leadership of the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO), the sole, authentic representative of the Namibian people. We have great respect for the patience and wisdom displayed by SWAPO in the course of its struggle.

The decision of the Turkish Government to host the United Nations seminar on the international responsibility for Namibia's independence held last March in Istanbul was a further expression of its unflinching support for the just cause of Namibian independence.

The legitimate aspirations of the Namibian people to freedom and national sovereignty have been reflected in the Istanbul Declaration. In the call for action adopted by the seminar, there are recommendations to mobilize concerted efforts by the international community in support of the immediate independence of Namibia; for concrete measures to end South Africa's illegal occupation of Namibia; and to seek and increase all forms of urgent support for the struggle of the Namibian people for national liberation led by SWAPO.

(Mr. Aksin, Turkey)

The debate at that seminar echoed once again the profound concern of the international community over the situation in Namibia and the obstacles to the implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978). It was reiterated that a prompt settlement of the Namibian question in conformity with resolution 435 (1978) would not only spare the inhabitants further suffering and despair but also contribute significantly to the restoration of stability, peace and security throughout southern Africa.

The Government of Turkey subscribes to the conclusions of the Istanbul seminar and, given that all the pending questions relating to the implementation of resolution 435 (1978) have been resolved, reaffirms the imperative need to proceed without further delay with its implementation.

I wish to express my Government's appreciation of the tireless and skilful efforts that the Secretary-General continues to deploy in order to ensure the early implementation of resolution 435 (1978). His recent visit to South Africa and Angola was a useful step in this direction. The South African authorities have been informed that the United Nations has started the administrative machinery for the emplacement of the United Nations Transition Assistance Group (UNTAG) in Namibia. We commend the diplomatic activities that the Secretary-General has undertaken in order to overcome the obstacles set up to implementation of the United Nations plan.

Before concluding I would like to reiterate that the Turkish Government gives full support to all efforts aimed at securing Namibia's independence. To demonstrate its solidarity with Namibia in its just cause, Turkey will vote for the draft resolution submitted for our consideration. As a founding member of the United Nations Council for Namibia, my country will continue firmly to support all its efforts to discharge the responsibilities entrusted to it as the legal Administering Authority for Namibia.

(Mr. Aksin, Turkey)

A long struggle has been waged by the African countries to achieve self-determination and independence. Regrettably, Namibia remains the last vestige of an anachronistic system. This is intolerable. Namibia must be independent. Turkey is and will remain a staunch supporter of the sacred cause of the Namibian people.

Mr. SHAH NAWAZ (Pakistan): The question of Namibia has been under consideration by the United Nations for 42 years, having been inscribed on the agenda of its very first session, in 1946. One emergency session and three special sessions of the General Assembly have also been convened to discuss this vital issue.

The United Nations has taken a principled and decisive position on the question of Namibia, namely, that the people of Namibia must be granted the opportunity to exercise their inalienable right to self-determination and independence in a united Namibia, in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations and the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly.

The United Nations has also affirmed, both in the Security Council and in the General Assembly, that Namibia's accession to independence must take place with its territorial integrity intact, including Walvis Bay, the Penguin Islands and other offshore islands, which are an integral part of Namibia, and that any action by South Africa to annex these territories would be illegal, null and void.

This position has been echoed by the Organization of African Unity, the Non-Aligned Movement and the Organization of the Islamic Conference at the highest levels. The issue is therefore well past the stage of discussion and debate. At the forty-third session the General Assembly is called upon to take firm and decisive action for the immediate realization of the independence of Namibia.

The question of Namibia is a question of decolonization which must be resolved through the genuine exercise of the inalienable right to self-determination of the

(Mr. Shah Nawaz, Pakistan)

Namibian people, in conformity with the letter and spirit of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) of 1960. The framework for Namibian independence is available in the provisions of Security Council resolution 435 (1978), which has the express agreement of all the parties directly concerned.

Recent developments allow some optimism regarding the implementation of resolution 435 (1978). Referring to the ongoing talks between Angola, Cuba and South Africa, with United States mediation, Mr. Helmut Angula, the Permanent Observer of the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO) to the United Nations, in his statement before the General Assembly yesterday expressed the view that given goodwill there existed a real possibility of resolving the conflict in southwestern Africa.

Nevertheless my delegation would like to emphasize that the international community must avoid complacency in its dealings with South Africa. Pretoria's past behaviour does not inspire confidence in its pledged word. While the international community may have reason to welcome the recent signs of progress, it is imperative that we remain vigilant.

In his statement yesterday the Permanent Observer of SWAPO to the United Nations also pointed out that the Pretoria régime was notorious for its bad faith and arrogance. He reminded us of Pretoria's failure in the past to relinquish South Africa's Mandate over Namibia, as demanded by the United Nations, and of its defiance of the United Nations plan for Namibia's independence to which it had agreed earlier. It is no wonder that the inordinate delay in the implementation of the relevant United Nations resolutions in regard to the independence of Namibia drew from him the observation that the people of Namibia were indeed their own liberators and in this context whatever the international community was doing was complementary to their own struggle.

It is a matter of profound concern that the situation on the ground in Namibia

(Mr. Shah Nawaz, Pakistan)

contrasts sharply with developments in the diplomatic field. The Pretoria régime has intensified its repressive measures against the Namibian people. The shooting of innocent civilians, looting of property, and detention and torture have been on the increase in recent weeks. Reportedly Pretoria has also reinforced its military forces in the Territory, in particular in northern Namibia, where 50,000 South African troops are currently stationed. Reports also indicate that the South African occupation army is involved in a sinister campaign in villages, involving compilation of identity card numbers, addresses and political affiliations of the Namibian people.

The fresh wave of repression and intimidation has forced many more Namibians to seek exile in Angola. The South West Africa People's Organization has indicated that hundreds of Namibians are seeking refuge in its centres in Angola every day.

On 10 November 1988 the President of the United Nations Council for Namibia issued a statement in which the Council strongly condemned the Pretoria régime for its repression of the Namibian people, its unprecedented militarization of the Territory and its so-called registration of voters aimed at imposing on the Namibian people, individuals and groups, subservience to Pretoria's interests. The Council urgently invited the attention of the international community to this dangerous situation and underscored the imperative need for closely monitoring Pretoria's activities in Namibia. It also demanded an immediate end to the recent wave of repression of the Namibian people and the forced registration of voters by the South African army.

In the light of Pretoria's recent actions inside Namibia, the need for constant vigilance on the part of the international community cannot be over-emphasized. The political and diplomatic pressure on Pretoria must be maintained to ensure that the ongoing talks succeed in paving the way for the implementation of resolution 435 (1978).

(Mr. Shah Nawaz, Pakistan)

Pakistan has affirmed in every forum its firm support for the immediate independence of Namibia. Only last month my country demonstrated yet again its continuing solidarity with the people of Namibia in their struggle for independence. In a message issued on 27 October to commemorate the Week of Solidarity with the People of Namibia, the President of Pakistan said:

"The racist minority régime of South Africa continues to maintain its illegal occupation of Namibia through policies of oppression, coercion and terrorism, in blatant violation of the principles and purposes of the United Nations Charter.

"In its effort to check the forces of liberation under the indomitable leadership of the South West Africa People's Organization, the Pretoria régime has also resorted to naked acts of aggression against neighbouring States. Such policies betray Pretoria's utter disregard of the demand of the international community for the immediate independence of Namibia."

The President reaffirmed Pakistan's total commitment to the cause of freedom in southern Africa and pledged that the Government of Pakistan would spare no effort to ensure that the people of Namibia attained, without any further delay, their cherished goal of national independence.

My delegation would like to reaffirm the solidarity of the Government and people of Pakistan with the freedom-loving people of Namibia and our unflinching support for the South West Africa People's Organization, the sole and legitimate representative of the Namibian people. The courage and determination with which SWAPO has guided the struggle of the Namibian people has earned our respect. We would like to pay a special tribute to SWAPO for the sacrifices it has made on the battlefield and for the spirit of statesmanship and co-operation which it has displayed in the political and diplomatic arena. The Government and people of

(Mr. Shah Nawaz, Pakistan)

Pakistan salute the heroism of the Namibian people and commit their unswerving support to the cause of Namibian independence.

I should like also to reiterate Pakistan's firm support for the people of South Africa in their struggle for dignity, freedom and justice. Nothing is more repugnant to the human spirit than a system based on racial discrimination. Apartheid is a cruel and perverse creed and a crime against humanity. Pakistan will stand by the embattled people of South Africa until apartheid has been dismantled and racial discrimination and domination have been abolished.*

I should like to conclude with the expression of my delegation's deep appreciation of the abiding commitment of the Secretary-General to the cause of Namibia's independence. We would like to acknowledge his untiring efforts to bring freedom to Namibia and look forward to the day when his ceaseless endeavours will be crowned with success.

Mr. DJOUDI (Algeria) (interpretation from French): On 29 September last the Security Council considered the question of the situation prevailing in Namibia and expressed its grave concern that 10 years after its adoption resolution 435 (1978) remained unimplemented. The General Assembly has now resumed its consideration of this decolonization problem, with respect to which it has an exceptional role to play because in Namibia it is the very authority of the United Nations that is being defied. That is why we do not see this debate as an occasion for reflection on the remnants of our collective failure - which has to be admitted - but rather as an occasion for the discerning stocktaking that must be done to give impetus to our efforts to achieve rapid and unconditional Namibian

*The President returned to the Chair.

(Mr. Djoudi, Algeria)

independence. Thus there are truths to be spoken and repeated, just as there are manoeuvres to be prevented.

In Namibia a people is heroically fighting for its liberation and recovery of its independence under the leadership of its sole, authentic representative, the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO). It is a just cause, a quest for the freedom of the Namibian nation, which nothing can thwart and no political calculation can indefinitely hold hostage. In Namibia too the direct responsibility of the United Nations is totally committed. The historic decision of the General Assembly of 1966 was taken to call a halt to the annexationist propensities of Pretoria over this Territory; and the sustained action of the Assembly confirms the determination of all to see South Africa withdraw from the Namibian territory it illegally occupies.

Moreover, in 1978, with the Security Council's adoption of its resolution 435 (1978), the Council laid down specific and irrevocable ways and means for the accession of Namibia to independence. By confirming on a number of occasions that all the conditions for the application of that decision must be met and by proclaiming the complete availability of SWAPO for that purpose, the Secretary-General has for a long time thereby explained the delaying tactics of the Pretoria régime vis-à-vis its responsibilities.

Lastly, we must mention the impunity of the South African régime in its refusal to respect the numerous decisions of the General Assembly and the Security Council relating to Namibia, impunity that has led it to feel authorized to continue its repressive policies with respect to the Namibian people and to embark on an aggressive and destabilizing policy throughout southern Africa.

Because the call for sanctions against its multiple crimes is attracting a greater number of adherents, and because its adventurist policy has turned out to

(Mr. Djoudi, Algeria)

be rather costly, South Africa is today speaking the language of a possible ultimate willingness to withdraw from Namibia. However, we believe that such a situation is no cause for excessive optimism and should not suggest any relaxation of vigilance and determination on our part. To say that is not to cultivate doubts as to our collective capacity to bring Pretoria at last to submit to the rule of law, it is, rather, to bear in mind the true nature of that régime and refuse to indulge in a rash, numbing euphoria that leads us to forget recent events.

First, the apartheid system, which the international community has legitimately declared to be a crime against humanity, is a régime that has clearly outlawed itself, that flouts all our values and cannot be considered capable of keeping its word.

Secondly, the past 10 years have sometimes allowed us to believe Namibian independence was imminent, but we have experienced certain reverses. The developments following the adoption of Security Council resolution 435 (1978), the Geneva Conference of 1981 and the negotiations in New York in 1982 all demonstrate and remind us of that. And now South Africa's strengthening of its military presence in Namibia is a daily reality that contradicts the speeches of the adherents of apartheid.

Thirdly, to let it be believed that Namibian independence could be the subject of an inappropriate linkage that the international community has condemned here, and that this is an inescapable issue that calls for the satisfaction of Pretoria's illegitimate claims, would be dangerously to open the way to a future that could well be perilous to the international authority that has been invested in Namibia.

Fourthly, recent claims by South Africa ironically calling for United Nations impartiality with respect to the question of Namibia must be firmly rejected.

(Mr. Djoudi, Algeria)

This once again is a new delaying tactic against the immediate and unconditional implementation of a process which is beyond discussion and which has in fact been accepted by Pretoria itself.

Those who have accepted martyrdom for the independence of Namibia, like those who are still struggling in that country for that same goal, have clearly identified the support they expect from the international community. In this duty of solidarity, the General Assembly has a special role to play which today calls for vigilance and strengthened action: vigilance, first of all, so that it may be clearly understood that a "wait-and-see" policy has lasted long enough and that nothing can render acceptable the scandalous distortions of perfectly clear data on the Namibian question; vigilance, in order firmly to ensure that the independence of Namibia requires the total implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978); vigilance, to guarantee that any new delaying tactic on the part of the illegal occupier will, at last, call for appropriate action involving the application of comprehensive mandatory sanctions. And strengthened action is called for so that the struggle for national independence of the Namibian people will be given all necessary assistance for its success, so that its authentic representative, the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO), will remain the only legitimate spokesman for the Namibian people; strengthened action, finally, so that the direct responsibility of the United Nations in Namibia may continue to be exercised for the complete fulfilment of its mandate.

Thus there is support and there are means to be given to the United Nations Council for Namibia, which is the legal Administering Authority of the Territory, so as to enable it to continue and expand its role until the total independence of the Territory.

(Mr. Djoudi, Algeria)

To conclude, may I renew on this occasion the unswerving support for and constant solidarity of Algeria with the Namibian people in the heroic struggle it is waging, under the leadership of SWAPO, for the attainment of its inalienable rights to independence and national sovereignty.

Mr. TREIKI (Libyan Arab Jamahiriya) (interpretation from Arabic): There is no doubt that the question of Namibia is one of the major concerns for the African peoples and for the international community as a whole. Indeed, Namibia is still occupied by the racist régime of South Africa which, for more than 40 years now and despite the relevant resolutions adopted by the United Nations - first and foremost General Assembly resolution 2145 (XXI), which terminated South Africa's Mandate over Namibia, and Security Council resolution 435 (1978) and other relevant Security Council resolutions - has refused to withdraw from the Territory.

The Pretoria régime is not satisfied with its military occupation of the Territory: it is also engaged in plundering Namibian resources. It is practising oppression against the people of the Territory; it is engaging in arbitrary mass arrests, the imposition of death sentences, massacres of innocent civilians - women, children and the elderly - the closing the schools, and so on. Although the international community has on many occasions condemned those practices and the use of Namibia as a springboard for aggression against neighbouring sovereign States, the Pretoria racists are continuing to pursue a policy of extermination of the Namibian people. They are using Namibian territory as a staging area for aggression against neighbouring States, with a view to their destabilization, attacking their legitimate Governments which are against racism and the policy of apartheid of South Africa.

However, those States have not ceased to provide support to Namibia in order to help it to attain independence. The African States, in the context of African solidarity, and with a view to ending colonialism and supporting the forces of the

(Mr. Treiki, Libyan Arab
Jamahiriya)

world that cherish peace and progress, have in many ways, materially and morally, provided assistance to the brave struggling Namibian people, under the leadership of SWAPO, their national liberation movement.

My delegation wishes to reiterate its total support for our brothers in the front line, in their historic resistance and their courage in the face of aggression from the terrorist régime of South Africa. At the same time, we should like to reiterate our complete solidarity with the Namibian people, struggling for freedom and independence, under the leadership of SWAPO. We take this opportunity to express our gratitude to the Secretary-General for his efforts in regard to the implementation of the United Nations plan for Namibian independence. We welcome the work done by the United Nations Council for Namibia and its President, Ambassador Zuze, and by the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, for its unflagging and sustained activities to achieve independence for Namibia.

The actions of the terrorist and racist régime of Pretoria are exactly reflected in the conduct of another terrorist and racist régime: the Zionist entity in occupied Palestine. One finds exactly the same actions, the same crimes in occupied Palestine and the same acts of aggression as those practised against the African peoples. Just as the South African régime is illegally occupying Namibia, the Zionist régime continues to occupy Palestine in defiance of all relevant international resolutions.

(Mr. Treiki, Libyan Arab
Jamahiriya)

The international community is called upon today more than ever before to hold in check the two racist régimes and urgently undertake responsible action to achieve independence for Namibia. We are bound to act in accordance with the Charter and to impose political and economic sanctions in support of the struggle of the Namibian people for freedom and independence.

In the past few months, the world has witnessed the beginning of talks with a view to independence for Namibia.

(Mr. Treiki, Libyan Arab
Jamahiriya)

We welcome these talks if Namibian independence and the cessation of South African aggression against Angola are the real objective; unfortunately we are only too familiar with the good intentions of racist régimes, especially the racist régime of South Africa. Cuban blood has mixed with Angolan blood, proving that the peoples are carrying out a common struggle against racism here and the forces of evil and that Africa and Latin America are waging the same struggle for freedom in brotherly solidarity.

Africa is indebted to the Latin American peoples; it can never forget that the Cuban brother people stood at its side and made great sacrifices in defence of freedom in Africa and against racist aggression in Angola. That struggle in solidarity compelled the racist régime, because of the great defeats that it suffered, to accept the principle of talks. That common struggle strengthens our conviction that South Africa's decision to participate in the talks stems not from a sincere desire for peace but from the successive defeats inflicted on it by Cuban and Angolan forces. We hope, nevertheless, that the South African régime will, because of the pressure exerted on it, abandon its policy and accept the principle of Namibian independence and withdrawal from Namibian territory. However, since that régime is persisting in its heinous policy of apartheid and the oppression of millions of South Africans, we believe that our struggle will be long and that the independence of Namibia, if it is achieved, will be just one episode in that long struggle to put an end to apartheid, that threat that hangs over the whole African continent.

In conclusion, I reaffirm my country's solidarity with the peoples of the front-line States in the African continent, in particular the people of Angola, who must resist that heinous, evil régime. We reaffirm our solidarity with the people of southern Africa, and we shall stand at their side until Namibia achieves its independence and the apartheid régime is ended.

Mr. DOS SANTOS (Mozambique): It has always been my dream that by the time the General Assembly takes up the question of Namibian independence the next year I shall have the immense pleasure of addressing a message of congratulations to the new Government of Namibia and the Namibian people, in particular the South West Africa People's Organization. That dream and that hope are dashed every year. Time and time again our hopes are raised sky-high, only to be brutally crushed. This time is no exception: 1 November 1988 is behind us.

The latest developments have cast a white shadow on the prevailing climate in southern Africa and are contrary to the world's expectations concerning Namibia's accession to independence. Because of these developments we find ourselves once again in a situation in which we are obliged to look back and review the history of bad faith, solemn undertakings broken and false hopes. It will be recalled that when Security Council resolution 435 (1978) was adopted in 1978 a very great momentum was created on the question of the self-determination of the people of Namibia. It seemed almost certain to everyone that the time had come for the independence of that Territory. However, at the last minute and against all expectations, the independence of that Territory suddenly became a distant possibility, jeopardized by the insistence on some new and extraneous elements as pre-conditions of the implementation of resolution 435 (1978).

From the very beginning the objectives of those elements were clear and twofold. On the one hand the aim was to use the independence of Namibia as an exchange commodity for political and strategic interests; and on the other, they were brought into play in order to perpetuate the occupation and the plunder of Namibia's natural resources. One may wonder, therefore, after a lapse of 10 years, we are not faced with a repetition of similar tactics. One may also ask oneself, and rightly, whether what we are witnessing is not a prelude to another deadlock in regard to the independence of Namibia.

(Mr. Dos Santos, Mozambique)

Although the occupationist régime of apartheid still continues to express verbally its commitment to the implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978), on the independence of Namibia, it simultaneously takes steps which are not in keeping with the spirit of the ongoing dialogue. Indeed, the South African régime is still pursuing its policy of military build-up in the illegally occupied territory of Namibia, a move that could certainly undermine the climate of negotiations. The racist South Africans are masters at both buying time and not fulfilling solemn agreements, even when undertaken at the highest level. The Nobel Committee should institute a special prize and award it exclusively to the Pretoria régime for this achievement.

As we have stated time and time again, the presence of Cuban troops in Angola is not, and never was, an obstacle on the road to Namibia's independence. The reverse is true. The illegal occupation of Namibia by racist South Africa is a threat to the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the People's Republic of Angola. In fact, the Cubans were called upon to help defend Angola's independence from South African aggression. The racist South Africans are the ones that have repeatedly crossed the borders between Angola and Namibia and carried out acts of aggression against the former since 1975. There is no record sustaining the allegation that the Cubans have ever crossed the southern borders of Angola.

In addition, there is no record in history showing that the apartheid régime of South Africa has ever been willing to grant independence to the people of Namibia. On the contrary, the records show that in 1946 South Africa attempted to incorporate Namibia into South Africa as one of its provinces. However, this attempt failed, thanks to the international community's overwhelming and timely rejection of that attempt.

(Mr. Dos Santos, Mozambique)

Again, it will be recalled that the racist South African administration over Namibia lapsed in 1966, when the General Assembly adopted resolution 2145 (XXI) terminating South Africa's Mandate over that Territory. What must be noted is that South Africa has not abided by that resolution. On the contrary, since it was adopted it has opted for overt defiance of the international community as a whole. At the time the resolution was adopted the Cuban forces were not in Angola. Angola was in the hands of Portugal, another régime friendly to the apartheid system. The independence of Angola was still a cherished dream. No one knew at that time that it would come nine years later. It was still a distant goal.

Furthermore, when resolution 435 (1978) was adopted, in 1978, the Cuban forces had already been in Angola for almost three years at the invitation of its legitimate Government, in accordance with the provisions of the United Nations Charter, to help it face the South African military invasion. As was noticed, the resolution did not mention this issue in its paragraphs, precisely because it was an element totally alien to the process of Namibia's independence. Neither racist South Africa nor its friends hinted at this fact, let alone mentioned it.

That is why we fail to understand the reasoning behind the linkage concept. If there were any relationship at all, that relationship should have been between the racist South African threats against the sovereignty of the People's Republic of Angola and the inalienable right of its people to defend themselves, using all means at their disposal, including assistance from a friendly country. The proponents of linkage seem to be so obsessed with the security of the apartheid system that they fail even to pretend that they are equally preoccupied with the security of other States and people in the area - in this case, Angola and its people.

There can be no doubt about who is blocking the path towards the independence of Namibia. The fact that Angola and Cuba have agreed to sit down and negotiate

(Mr. Dos Santos, Mozambique)

with the racist South African régime is not by itself an indication of any implicit or explicit recognition of the so-called linkage. On the contrary, it clearly displays a sense of high political maturity and goodwill. It represents a clear manifestation of political commitment by Angola and Cuba to do all they can to promote the search for a way to solve the question of independence for Namibia, safeguard the security of Angola and bring peace to the region. Therefore, one cannot resist the temptation to pay a deserved tribute to Angola and Cuba for their diplomatic flexibility, courage and sense of responsibility.

The People's Republic of Mozambique, at this stage, wishes to express again its full support for the continuation of this dialogue, for it strongly believes that this is a unique opportunity the region has to put an end to the growing suffering of the people in the area in general and of Angola and Namibia in particular. In this context, the international community is called upon to exert its pressure on the racist South African régime so that it will not only negotiate in good faith but also fully and speedily implement any understanding or agreement already entered into or concluded in the future.

In the past, Namibia was repeatedly used as a springboard for wars of aggression against neighbouring countries and the occupation of Angola. In fact, the occupation of southern Angola ended only recently, after an agreement had been reached between Angola, Cuba and racist South Africa in that regard. These agreements were possible only after the racists had lost their military superiority in Angola, having been soundly defeated by Angolan and Cuban forces.

Today we are witnessing an attempt to use the same Territory as a pretext for interfering in the internal affairs of Angola. Certain forces are engaged in efforts designed to dictate prescriptions for how the Angolan people should address their internal business - namely, the end of the war in their country. A new

(Mr. Dos Santos, Mozambique)

linkage is being presented. Are there any means in sight capable of satisfying the insatiable thirst for linkages and powerful enough to break this chain of linkages?

We are aware that this is part of a strategem carefully framed to divert the attention of the international community from the core of the problem. In this regard, efforts are under way to induce the public to concentrate on the situation in Angola and to blame it for the delay in reaching, or the failure to reach, an agreement on the independence of Namibia. That is why we are witnessing the shifting of attention from the problem created by the illegal occupation of Namibia by South Africa to the so-called conflict in Angola, thereby blaming its legitimate Government for the continuation of the conflict fanned by the very same circles.

However, the truth is very well known. It is exposed through the intensification of repression and killing in Namibia, through the muzzling of the press and the banning of anti-apartheid individuals and organizations, through the promotion of a puppet régime as an alternative to the independence of Namibia and through the continuation of the military build-up in that Territory. People cannot be deceived forever. They know who is to blame for the denial to the people of Namibia of its inalienable right to self-determination.

Let me end my remarks by expressing my country's renewed admiration for and support of the valiant people of Namibia, and the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO) in particular, their sole and legitimate representative, in their struggle for the independence of their motherland. Namibia will be independent sooner rather than later.

A luta continua.

Mrs. DIALLO (Senegal) (interpretation from French): Twelve years ago, in 1976, one of the very first international conferences devoted to the question of Namibia was held, in Dakar, Senegal. That conference was followed by the World

(Mrs. Diallo, Senegal)

Conference in Solidarity with the Struggle of the People of Namibia and the International Conference on Namibia - held in Paris in, respectively, September 1980 and April 1983 - and, of course, the international conferences in 1986 in Brussels and Vienna on the same subject.

As for the General Assembly, it has been regularly debating the Namibian question since the United Nations was christened.

All those activities in various international forums and within the United Nations are evidence that the international community has been constantly showing an unquestionable interest in and concern over the Namibian case. It must also be admitted that this is evidence, unfortunately, that the States with responsibility in this problem have not so far demonstrated the same political will to meet the challenge thus flung at the international community by South Africa.

Twenty-two years have passed since the General Assembly, by its resolution 2145 (XXI), of 27 October 1966, terminated South Africa's Mandate over Namibia.

(Mrs. Diallo, Senegal)

And on 29 September 1978 the Security Council unanimously adopted a plan for the settlement of the Namibian question, endorsed in its resolution 435 (1978), which the whole international community accepted. Yet to this day the Pretoria régime, in defiance of the authority and credibility of our world Organization and its principal organ responsible for the maintenance of international peace and security, continues its illegal occupation of the Territory of Namibia.

At a time when, in a sudden resurgence, the United Nations is again arousing interest in the minds and hearts of the nations of which it is composed, which have finally decided to ensure that it plays the role assigned to it by its founding fathers, no challenge could be greater.

The case of Namibia, which is the most enlightening example of an attempt to perpetuate an anachronistic colonial heritage, contrary to the course of history, calls into question the purposes and principles of our Organization. Although the United Nations plan for the settlement of the Namibian question existed and the outstanding questions of a technical and operational nature had been resolved, according to the conclusions of our Secretary-General himself, South Africa introduced the concept of linkage, tying the implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978), and thus the independence of Namibia, to the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola.

This Assembly, the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, the Organization of African Unity and the Security Council of the United Nations have categorically rejected the inclusion of any extraneous element in the implementation of the United Nations plan for the independence of Namibia. In defiance of this unanimity of the universal conscience, South Africa continues with impunity its attempts to perpetuate its racist domination on Namibian territory, to increase repression and to try to legitimize a so-called interim government the installation of which has been declared illegal, null and void by the Security Council.

(Mrs. Diallo, Senegal)

An objective analysis of the Namibian case history reveals the delaying manoeuvres and tactics - at which South Africa is a past master - employed to hinder Namibia's accession to independence. Yet, need it be recalled that the Namibian question is essentially and basically a problem strictly of decolonization which must be settled peacefully in the spirit of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples - resolution 1514 (XV). However, with complete contempt for the United Nations Charter, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights - the fortieth anniversary of which we celebrate this year - and the Declaration in resolution 1514 (XV), the racist régime in Pretoria continues to flout the most elementary principles of international law, international morality and the peaceful coexistence of peoples and nations.

Senegal takes this opportunity to condemn once again vigorously and unequivocally South Africa's continued illegal occupation of Namibia and its stubbornness in trying to perpetuate its racist and military domination through the transfer to the Territory of the loathsome and inhuman system of apartheid by means of a wide range of oppressive laws and the forced recruitment of young Namibians to the South African forces of repression and destabilization.

The United Nations Council for Namibia, which is the legal Administering Authority for the international Territory of Namibia until its independence, and of which my country has the honour and privilege of being a member, has never missed an opportunity to draw attention during international conferences, meetings, symposiums, round tables and weeks and days of solidarity and common meditation devoted to the problem of Namibia to the urgent need for implementation without delay of the negotiated settlement plan endorsed in Security Council resolution 435 (1978).

(Mrs. Diallo, Senegal)

It is the duty of peoples and countries which believe in freedom, human values and human rights to assist the valiant Namibian people struggling heroically to free itself from the colonial yoke and regain its independence in dignity and honour, under the enlightened leadership of the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO), its sole, authentic representative. It is the duty of those peoples and countries to contribute to the completion of the liberation of Africa, the victim in its southern region, in particular Namibia, of the unbridled plundering of its resources and unprecedented colonial domination by South Africa, in defiance of all relevant resolutions and decisions of the Security Council and the General Assembly.

The struggle waged on several fronts by the fighters for freedom and justice in Namibia deserves the full support of all nations that wish to work towards the realization of the noble purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter.

Senegal wishes to reaffirm, through me, its active solidarity with SWAPO, whose leaders have once again demonstrated their great sense of historical responsibility by officially declaring that their organization is ready to sign and to comply with an agreement with South Africa on a cease-fire to pave the way for the implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978).

In a statement issued on 29 September 1988 marking the tenth anniversary of the adoption of resolution 435 (1978), the members of the Security Council unanimously expressed grave concern that such a long time after the adoption of that resolution the Namibian people were still not able to exercise its right to self-determination and accede to independence. They strongly urged South Africa to comply forthwith with the Security Council's resolutions and decisions, particularly resolution 435 (1978), and to co-operate with the Secretary-General in its immediate, full and definitive implementation.

(Mrs. Diallo, Senegal)

This unhappy tenth anniversary that we celebrate this year could however have its positive aspect; it could prove fruitful if, as well as a time for stocktaking, it were made a time for action. It could offer an excellent opportunity if, in this period of renewal for the United Nations, a period unique in its eventful history, the Organization were to decide to take positive action to ensure the fulfilment of the legitimate aspirations of a martyred people. We therefore hope that this process of renewal will have a favourable effect on the Namibian case so that Namibia may at last join the family of free and independent nations without further delay.

In our opinion Security Council resolution 435 (1978) remains the ideal framework for the peaceful settlement of the Namibian question. Its full implementation without pre-conditions, will require greater determination on the part of the international community, in particular members with special responsibilities, which must increase their pressure on the Pretoria régime.

(Mrs. Diallo, Senegal)

We must also support the laudable efforts of the Secretary-General of the United Nations and his colleagues, as well as those of the members of the United Nations Council for Namibia, whose exemplary commitment, dedication and readiness I am pleased to emphasize on behalf of President Abdou Diouf of the Republic of Senegal, who expresses his appreciation to them and offers them his encouragement once again for the achievement of the triumph of the just cause of the fraternal Namibian people.

At this time of détente, when the world seems at last to have found the way towards negotiation, reason and sense, there seems to be a suitable opportunity for the General Assembly to mark its firm resolve that the United Nations settlement plan be applied without delay so that the people of Namibia might at last exercise its inalienable right to self-determination and genuine national independence under the leadership of the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO). In doing so the Assembly would further promote the cause of peace and would act on the consensual will of the members of the community of nations to put an end to the untold sufferings of that martyred people.

Senegal, for its part, in close co-operation with all the countries that cherish peace, justice and freedom, is determined to maintain its commitment to that cause, because, as was appropriately pointed out by the Secretary-General during the recent celebration of the Week of Solidarity with the People of Namibia and Their Liberation Movement, the independence of Namibia has been awaited for too long.

Mr. PEJIC (Yugoslavia): At the outset of my statement, I should like to associate myself with those who have paid tribute to Jawaharlal Nehru, one of the greatest statesmen of India and of modern times, and one of the founding fathers of the Non-Aligned Movement, on the centennial of his birth. His legacy will be

(Mr. Pejic, Yugoslavia)

treasured for many years to come, not only in his native India but also by many all over the world who were inspired by his example in the struggle for decolonization, self-determination, freedom and independence.

This year, as so many times in the past, the situation in Namibia has figured as one of the most prominent topics on the political agenda of the United Nations General Assembly. This was borne out by the recently concluded general debate. It has been proved once again that the occupation of Namibia for many years and the policy of apartheid and destabilization of the front-line States, pursued by the South African régime, have transformed southern Africa into one of the most explosive hotbeds of crisis in the present-day world; that the independence of Namibia is not only a question of decolonization but, first and foremost, of the maintenance of peace and international security; that this is not only an African problem, but very much a global problem as well.

The international community, primarily through the United Nations, has made significant efforts to find a solution to this problem. Numerous bodies of the world Organization are dealing with various aspects of the question of Namibia. In spite of this and the fact that the United Nations assumed direct responsibility for the realization of the independence of Namibia more than twenty years ago, that Territory continues to be under the brutal occupation of South Africa, and the Namibian people is being denied its inalienable right to self-determination.

When speaking about Namibia today, the complex dichotomy of its situation is readily brought to mind: a negative past experience and a hope that better prospects may lie ahead. Ten years have elapsed since the Security Council adopted resolution 435 (1978), but the plan for the independence of Namibia worked out at that time has not yet been implemented. A month or so ago the Security Council marked this anniversary, as did the foreign ministers of the non-aligned countries at their regular meeting at the beginning of the regular session of the General

(Mr. Pejic, Yugoslavia)

Assembly. What became apparent on both occasions was the conviction that the United Nations plan was the only universally accepted framework for Namibia's accession to independence, that it has no alternative and that it must be realized forthwith and without delay.

The fact that the plan has remained dormant for one whole decade has had an unfavourable effect on the authority and recognition of the world Organization. The Organization has failed to forestall the manoeuvres of the racist régime in South Africa, which, by its intransigence and insistence on irrelevant and extraneous issues, has scuttled all attempts to implement the United Nations plan. Regrettable as it is, this has been made possible, by and large, because of the absence of the necessary political goodwill on the part of some international factors to bring pressure to bear on Pretoria and to resort to adequate measures envisaged in the Charter to attain that goal.

Yet things seem to have taken a different course today. Recently, we have witnessed dynamic, important developments on the world scene. Increasingly prospects are being opened for resolving issues outstanding in international relations. The process of negotiation and agreement-making has been given new momentum. Hints to that effect are evident also in relation to Namibia. Here I have in mind the four-party negotiations on that question. Yugoslavia welcomes the efforts made in that direction. We hope and expect that they will pave the way to speedy implementation of resolution 435 (1978) and that before long Namibia will attain its long-awaited independence.

However, we must never lose sight of the fact that the hopes we sometimes entertained that the occupation of Namibia would come to a speedy end were ever so quickly doused on many past occasions. Every so often the racist régime in Pretoria has found a pretext brazenly to flout the expectations of the world

(Mr. Pejic, Yugoslavia)

public. This time around, however, the international community and the United Nations can ill afford another let-down and disappointment.

Therefore it is necessary to continue to bring sustained and effective pressure to bear on South Africa until the genuine process of the decolonization of Namibia is started. Yugoslavia maintains that all available measures should be taken, including the imposition of the comprehensive mandatory sanctions under Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter, to achieve that end. Failure to impose sanctions has been nothing but a helping hand to the régime in Pretoria in its efforts to prolong the occupation of Namibia and to perpetuate the obnoxious policy of apartheid.

The Security Council is duty-bound to ensure that resolution 435 (1978) is implemented. In the not so distant past the Council demonstrated that it could act effectively and with one voice. We believe that effectiveness and unanimity will prove to be its hallmark also in the case of Namibia. What should be done next is to replace the United Nations Transition Assistance Group (UNTAG) and let it begin work. I should like to stress once again that Yugoslavia is prepared to make its full contribution by participating in UNTAG.

Of particular importance in the process of the implementation of the United Nations plan for Namibia is the role of the Secretary-General of the United Nations. We highly value the personal involvement of Mr. Perez de Cuellar and his unwavering commitment to the cause of Namibia. As in the past, my country will continue to render its full support to the efforts and involvement of the Secretary-General.

The activities of the United Nations Council for Namibia deserve to be mentioned and recognized this time again. The Council has organized and spearheaded numerous assistance programmes to Namibia in its selfless effort to make a contribution to Namibia's accession to independence.

(Mr. Pejic, Yugoslavia)

Of particular importance are the Council's efforts to protect the human and natural wealth of Namibia. In this context, it is very important to emphasize once again the importance of Decree No. 1 on the Protection of the Natural Resources of Namibia. Yugoslavia strongly condemns South Africa and other foreign economic interests that, in violation of this Decree, continue to plunder the mineral, maritime and other natural resources of Namibia. We consider that it is necessary to cut short this practice which constitutes a flagrant violation of the right of the Namibian people to sovereignty over its natural resources.

The United Nations Council for Namibia was established to administer the Territory until its accession to independence. We consider that the Council could and should play a very significant role in the coming process of the realization of the United Nations plan for Namibia.

The Government and peoples of Yugoslavia have rendered, and will continue to render, unstinting support to the heroic struggle of the people of Namibia for freedom and independence, under the leadership of its sole and authentic representative, the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO). SWAPO has grown into a powerful liberation movement and political organization and, because of its commitment to the goals and principles of the policy of non-alignment, enjoys broad international support. The people of Namibia and SWAPO have made every sacrifice in their struggle against the aggressive and racist policy of South Africa. It is the moral duty of the international community to extend to this suffering people all possible assistance and support. Yugoslavia has certainly done so, and will continue to help materially and in every other appropriate way and, as a member of the AFRICA Fund of the non-aligned countries, will work on the mobilization of broad international assistance and support.

(Mr. Pejic, Yugoslavia)

In conclusion, let me recall that 10 years have passed since the formulation of the United Nations plan for Namibia; 22 since the world Organization took over direct responsibility for the Territory, and an entire century since its colonial enslavement began. At the threshold of the twenty-first century, the international community has little to feel proud about this sorry record. Namibia's accession to independence can no longer be postponed. Every effort is needed to make sure that next year, in the General Assembly, we speak of independent Namibia.

Mr. DELPECH (Argentina) (interpretation from Spanish): My delegation wishes first to express its appreciation for the work carried out by the United Nations Council for Namibia, under the outstanding and effective presidency of Ambassador Zuze of Zambia, and to reiterate our support for its activities on behalf of the just cause of the independence of Namibia. Accordingly, we shall support the draft resolutions contained in the Council's report now before the Assembly for its consideration.

Just recently, on 29 September last, we had occasion to commemorate the tenth anniversary of the adoption of the historic Security Council resolution 435 (1978) concerning the independence of Namibia. On that occasion several United Nations bodies, the aforementioned Council for Namibia, the Security Council itself - of which Argentina is at present a non-permanent member - and the Committee on decolonization agreed to express their grave concern that 10 years later the Namibian people still had not achieved self-determination and independence. Accordingly, it is essential today to reassert that the only internationally agreed basis for the peaceful settlement of this question, whose main objective is an independent Namibia, is the United Nations plan contained in Security Council resolution 435 (1978). All the conditions necessary for the implementation of the plan have already been met. Therefore, it is our duty not to allow extraneous,

(Mr. Delpech, Argentina)

pre-existing circumstances that are unrelated to the United Nations plan for Namibia to undermine the spirit of Security Council resolution 435 (1978). Similarly, we must not lose sight of the fact that that decision is based on another historic resolution - General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) - whose sole objective, irrespective of any condition, is to put an end to all types of colonial situations.

The various talks held between the Governments of Angola, Cuba, the United States and South Africa in the course of this year lead us to hope that a change in the generally obstructionist attitude of the Pretoria régime will bring us closer to a definitive solution to the various conflicts in southern Africa. This, however, should not make us forget previous disappointments experienced by the international community after assessing optimistically similar attitudes on the part of South Africa.

For this reason, the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the Non-Aligned Movement, of which Argentina is a member, issued a communiqué on 3 October this year in which they recalled that on previous occasions the Pretoria régime had resorted to delaying and obstructionist tactics in order to prevent a start on the implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978).

It is our obligation, as Members of the Organization, to ensure that the traditionally defiant attitude of the Pretoria régime towards the international community is finally translated into compliance with the repeated appeals for final withdrawal of its illegal presence in Namibia, thereby removing obstacles to ending the colonial era in the Territory.

Argentina deeply regrets the fact that it has not been possible to attain the objective of beginning the implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978), which was the shared desire of the international community and the goal

(Mr. Delpech, Argentina)

towards which all the efforts of the Secretary-General were directed when he visited the region last September.

If the hope and confidence placed in a definitive solution are again dashed and we find ourselves once more facing another ploy of the South African régime, the United Nations must take all necessary measures - including the imposition of sanctions provided for in Chapter VII of the Charter - in order to attain its inescapable objective of Namibia's independence.

Argentina seizes this opportunity to express its support for the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO), recognized by repeated General Assembly resolutions as the sole, authentic representative of the Namibian people and to reaffirm the deep solidarity of the people and Government of Argentina with the peoples in Namibia and South Africa who are resolutely seeking to obtain independence.

(Mr. Delpech, Argentina)

It is precisely at times such as these that we should confirm the legal responsibility of the United Nations for Namibia and not falter in our efforts until a just, democratic and egalitarian society has been established in an independent Namibia.

Mr. THEBE (Nepal): The annual debate in the General Assembly on the question of Namibia provides the international community with an opportunity to express its full solidarity with the people of Namibia in their struggle for freedom, independence and justice. Indeed, since the termination of South Africa's Mandate over Namibia, in 1966, it has been the unique responsibility of the United Nations to end the illegal occupation and obstruction so that the people of Namibia can regain their freedom and dignity. It is a solemn obligation the fulfilment of which cannot be further delayed or denied.

Despite international protest and pressures, South Africa continues to maintain its illegal occupation of Namibia. The Pretoria régime is not only mounting a sustained campaign of oppression and intimidation, but also subjecting the people of Namibia to racist policies and prejudices. The number of people living under daily harassment, threats and repression is increasing. The South African occupation army is doing all it can to suppress and subvert the legitimate aspirations of the Namibian people to independence and justice. Thousands of freedom fighters have been imprisoned and tortured, and countless numbers have been executed, in total defiance of the opinion of the international community and against all norms of decency and justice. The list of atrocities committed by South Africa in Namibia seems to be endless. Very often freedom fighters are pursued into neighbouring States by South African death squads.

In order to achieve its sinister goals, the racist régime has resorted to a massive military build-up in Namibia. A large number of military and police units

(Mr. Thebe, Nepal)

have been deployed to reinforce the illegal occupation. This has enabled the racist régime not only to enslave a heroic people but also to plunder the natural resources of the Territory. The media have been completely suppressed in order to block news of the struggle for freedom and of the atrocities committed by the illegal régime from reaching the outside world. South Africa has also been using Namibian territory to mount acts of aggression and subversion against neighbouring States, especially Angola. The aim is to destabilize those countries and thus intimidate them into giving up their support for the heroic struggle of the Namibian people for independence.

My delegation unequivocally condemns the propaganda campaign waged by the Pretoria régime and designed to deceive international public opinion regarding the so-called internal settlement in Namibia. The South African claim of seeking an enlightened multi-racial Government in Namibia is a hoax. As the United Nations is the sole legal Administering Authority over Namibia, any move by the occupying Power in the Territory is invalid and illegal.

In this context my delegation wishes to place on record its great appreciation of the efforts of the United Nations Council for Namibia in keeping with the mandate entrusted to it by the world Organization. The Council has made invaluable contributions in spreading the message throughout the world of the urgent need for Namibian independence. Of special importance is the dissemination of factual information on the situation in Namibia.

The preservation and protection of the natural resources of Namibia is an issue of immense importance. Decree No. 1, proclaimed by the United Nations Council for Namibia, was the first major legislative act of the Council. My delegation fully supports the initiative taken by the Council to enforce the Decree

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by instituting legal proceedings in domestic courts of States against their nationals or corporations involved in the exploitation of the natural resources of Namibia.

Security Council resolution 435 (1978) endorses the only internationally accepted plan aimed at the transfer of power to the Namibian people with the assistance of the United Nations. It is a matter of deep regret that, 10 years after the adoption of resolution 435 (1978), the Namibian people have not exercised their right to self-determination and attained independence.

My delegation shares the optimism generated by developments in the recent past. We have taken note of the efforts of a number of parties to find a solution to the conflict in south-western Africa. I am referring to the joint statement by the Governments of Angola, Cuba, South Africa and the United States of 8 August 1988. My delegation also welcomes the readiness of the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO), the authentic representative of the Namibian people, to sign and observe a cease-fire with South Africa. This offer paves the way for implementation of resolution 435 (1978). The recent visit of the Secretary-General to South Africa and Angola is another development of far-reaching significance. We earnestly hope that these important developments will mark the beginning of the peaceful transition to independence of Namibia. The people of Namibia have waited too long for the realization of their fundamental and inalienable rights. The international community must seize the opportunity to translate its promise to the Namibian people into reality.

Mr. SALAH (Jordan) (interpretation from Arabic): It is a great honour for me to be participating today in the General Assembly debate on the question of Namibia on behalf of the Organization of the Islamic Conference and the Group of Arab States.

Twenty-two years have elapsed since the adoption by the General Assembly of resolution 2145 (XXI), by which it ended the Mandate of South Africa over Namibia and made that Territory its own direct responsibility. Ten years have passed since the adoption of Security Council resolution 435 (1978), which endorses the United Nations plan for the independence of Namibia. The United Nations has adopted numerous resolutions denouncing the occupation by South Africa of the Territory of Namibia, calling upon it to withdraw its forces immediately from that Territory.

The United Nations bears a special responsibility for Namibia until that Territory truly exercises its right to self-determination and attains national independence, in accordance with the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council. Those resolutions are being flouted by the Government of South Africa, which continues its illegal occupation of the Territory of Namibia.

The independence of that Territory and support for its people in their just cause are a responsibility and a moral, historical task entrusted to the international community in general. That responsibility and involvement were evinced during the official commemoration of the Week of Solidarity with the people of Namibia and their Liberation Movement, the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO), organized here at the United Nations late last month.

The States members of the Organization of the Islamic Conference and of the Arab Group persist in their support for and solidarity with the people of Namibia and their just cause. They continuously and persistently call for the exercise by the people of Namibia of their inalienable right to self-determination and

(Mr. Salah, Jordan)

independence, the maintenance of the unity and territorial integrity of Namibia, the complete and immediate withdrawal of South African forces and administration from Namibia, and public elections under the control and supervision of the United Nations.

The Arab and Islamic countries, guided by their consistent position of principle regarding the elimination of imperialism, the eradication of racism, and resistance to foreign occupation, endeavour, through their activities during the General Assembly sessions and in other international forums and conferences, as well as through action at the national and international levels, to give material and moral support to the people of Namibia, to promote all the efforts of the United Nations and to support the United Nations Council for Namibia to enable it to discharge its responsibilities in its capacity as the legal Administering Authority for Namibia.

The Organization of the Islamic Conference reaffirmed its solidarity with and support for the people of Namibia at the 17th meeting of Foreign Ministers, which my country had the honour to host in Amman in March last year.

The valiant people of Namibia are still suffering from the continued occupation of their territory by South African forces. In their steadfastness and resistance and their heroic struggle, under the leadership of their national liberation movement, SWAPO, to win freedom and attain national independence they are an excellent example to others. The occupation, however long and atrocious it may be, will not stop the march of the people of Namibia towards the ending of the occupation and towards independence.

In this connection we call for the stepping up of international efforts and greater pressure on the Government of South Africa to impel it to withdraw forthwith and unconditionally from the Territory of Namibia. We reject the

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aggressive, military acts carried out by the South African forces against the front-line States with a view to damaging their economic infrastructures and destabilizing them. We appeal for support and assistance to the front-line States to buttress their economies and promote their defensive capabilities in the face of acts of aggression and destabilization by the forces of South Africa.

It has become clear that there will be no peace or stability in southern Africa until the Government of South Africa desists from its intervention and its military acts against the front-line States, and the people of Namibia are enabled to exercise their right to self-determination within the framework of full sovereignty over their territory.

We have followed with satisfaction the recent diplomatic meetings and activities designed to break the deadlock, arrive at a just and peaceful settlement of the problem of Namibia and put an end to the military acts and activities of the Government of South Africa against the Republic of Angola and other neighbouring countries. In welcoming those developments, we pay a tribute to the efforts of all the parties concerned to end the tension and create a climate conducive to a settlement and the establishment of peace, security and stability in that region.

We appreciate the efforts of the Secretary-General of the United Nations and his persistent endeavours to ensure the implementation of the relevant resolutions of the Security Council and the General Assembly, which represent the internationally accepted basis for a just settlement of the problem of Namibia.

Mr. NOGUEIRA-BATISTA (Brazil): Brazil has always rejected the continuing colonial occupation of Namibia and, as a consequence, fully supports all efforts of the United Nations towards the achievement of Namibian independence. In this sense, we value highly the work and the programmes carried out by the Council for Namibia in fulfilment of its mandated tasks, under the vigorous guidance of its President, Ambassador Zuze of Zambia.

In line with this approach, our country hosted last July a mission of the Council for Namibia, whose purpose was to share with the Brazilian Government information and views about the serious situation in Namibia. As expressed in the joint communiqué issued in Brasilia on 20 July, Brazil looks forward to intensifying its co-operation with the Council through, inter alia, the holding in Brazil in the near future of an extraordinary plenary meeting of the Council for Namibia.

In the course of that same month of July, Brazil requested - and was later granted - observer status in the Council for Namibia, a valued opportunity for participating in and closely following the important work of the Council. We once more express our appreciation to the Council for Namibia for having accepted our request.

Further to the contacts that were initiated in 1984, when a seminar for the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO) was held in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, on mining and fishing activities, during the current year our country has intensified its co-operation with SWAPO. Early in the month of October, Mr. Ben Amathila, Agriculture Secretary of SWAPO, headed a technical co-operation fact-finding mission to Brazil. The mission identified specific sectors of agricultural activity in which co-operation could take place, initially in the form of training of Namibians in irrigation techniques. We look forward to being able soon to start implementing agricultural technical co-operation programmes with

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SWAPO, especially given the morphological similarities between certain regions of Brazil and Namibia.

We trust that these initiatives, as well as our contributions to the main United Nations organs and activities related to Namibia, however modest, may be useful to the process of the independence of Namibia, especially by strengthening, in the people of that Territory, some of the necessary skills to carry out the tasks of administering a free and independent State.

The current year of 1988 marks the tenth anniversary of the adoption of Security Council resolution 435 (1978), which established the basis for the independence and self-determination of Namibia. The date passed sadly, however, for, as we all know, the Namibian people continue to experience the denial of their right to the very independence and self-determination which the General Assembly envisaged for that Territory when it placed it under the direct responsibility of the United Nations 22 years ago.

As we reflect on the current situation in southern Africa, we find it appropriate to mention the talks currently under way between Angola, Cuba and South Africa, with the United States of America as mediator. Brazil has been following this initiative with close interest and hopes that it may lead swiftly to the independence of Namibia in accordance with the terms of Security Council resolution 435 (1978), which remains the only internationally accepted basis for a peaceful settlement of the Namibian question. We regret that the implementation of resolution 435 (1978) was not begun on the first day of November, as initially envisaged in those talks. We expect its implementation to be commenced soon. This is all the more necessary as it represents, inter alia, a decisive step in a comprehensive peace process in the region.

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In this regard, we must not lose sight of the fact that the last Security Council resolution adopted on the subject-matter, resolution 601 (1987), affirms that:

"all outstanding issues relevant to the implementation of its resolution 435 (1978) have now been resolved ...".

It is clear that a peaceful settlement of the Namibian question, as well as peace and stability in the region, are contingent upon South Africa complying with the Security Council's resolutions and decisions, particularly resolution 435 (1978), and co-operating with the Secretary-General in its immediate, full and definitive implementation, as the President of the Security Council strongly urged in his statement on 29 September 1988.

Therefore, as the General Assembly once more meets to examine the question of Namibia, my delegation must again express the interest of the Brazilian people and Government in seeing the end of the illegal occupation of that Territory by South African forces, which defies the terms of the relevant United Nations resolutions and the Advisory Opinion of the International Court of Justice, and completely disregards the principles of the Charter of this Organization as well as all accepted norms of international conduct. Brazil has consistently expressed its solidarity with the long and courageous struggle for independence and self-determination waged by the Namibian people, under the legitimate leadership of the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO). We note SWAPO's expressed readiness to sign and observe a cease-fire agreement, as stated in document S/20129, of 17 August 1988. In this respect, we note with satisfaction the existence of a de facto cease-fire in Namibia at the present time.

The feelings of the representatives of the States of the Zone of Peace and Co-operation of the South Atlantic, which includes my country, Brazil, towards the

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situation in southern Africa was expressed during their first meeting, held in Rio de Janeiro last July. In the Final Document of that meeting, the representatives:

"Condemn ... the continued illegal occupation and colonial domination of Namibia ..." and

"Express the hope of welcoming in the near future into the community of South Atlantic States representatives from an independent Namibia and a South Africa free from apartheid". (A/43/512, annex, paras. 10 and 15)

Finally, I should like to state that Brazil will give its full support to the five draft resolutions recommended by the United Nations Council for Namibia.

The meeting rose at 1.20 p.m.