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PROVISIONAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE FIFTY-FIRST MEETING

Held at Headquarters, New York,
on Wednesday, 16 November 1988, at 10 a.m.

President:	Mr. CAPUTO	(Argentina)
later:	Mr. DLAMINI (Vice-President)	(Swaziland)
later:	Mr. CAPUTO	(Argentina)
later:	Mr. DLAMINI (Vice-President)	(Swaziland)

- 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
- (f) Report of the Fifth Committee

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The meeting was called to order at 10.30 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)
- (f) REPORT OF THE FIFTH COMMITTEE

Mr. ZUZE (Zambia): During the nineteenth century, the European Powers of the day went to Africa in search of raw materials to feed their mushrooming, hungry factories in what was known as the era of the Industrial Revolution. After 1885 and the Berlin Conference - over 100 years ago - the metropolitan Powers of Europe occupied parts of Africa. Colonialism was then complete. Apart from the United States, which rejected colonialism two centuries ago, the world was largely divided into the colonial Powers and those parts of the world under their domination. For the millions of Africans, a long and agonizing colonial bondage had begun.

Yet, as this Assembly knows, starting with India's independence in 1947, the tide was turned back in one country after the other as they rejected colonialism, some by peaceful means, some by bitter struggles, and became sovereign independent nations. Their flags fly proudly at the entrance to United Nations Headquarters.

However, Namibia remains under illegal occupation. Not only that, compared with other nations in Africa or indeed throughout the world, the health of Namibians defies assessment. Infant mortality rates are appallingly high; education provisions and standards are disgraceful; earnings for the indigenous

(Mr. Zuze, Zambia)

people are low. I could go on and list for the Assembly the rise of settler ranching, with consequent theft of good grazing land, the over-fishing, the homelands in the desert, migrant labour traps, and military operations of repression. It makes a dreadful list, yet this is not history, it is happening as we sit here today. But the world for the most part conveniently forgets this crime of the second half of the twentieth century.

The explanation of this forgotten nation is no more than the conspiracy of silence, the hypocrisy of double-dealing, the condemnation hand-in-hand with co-operation. The task before us is to awaken and inform. Surely, if the facts of Namibia were known and disseminated as effectively, forcefully and successfully as information put out by South African propaganda machine, then the issue would not be a forgotten one.

In this day and age, colonialism in all its forms and manifestations is a primitive and degrading concept, which humanity has condemned as modern-day slavery never to be practised again.

Since the beginning of this session of the General Assembly much has been said about the prevailing favourable international political climate, which in large measure is conducive to the success of multilateralism. Indeed, expressions of hope for peace in various areas where there is conflict have been reiterated by an overwhelming majority of the speakers in the Assembly. My delegation is neither deaf nor blind to the encouraging signals on which this optimism has been based. We are also of the view that today, more than ever before, prospects for the resolution of many regional conflicts are brighter. I wish this were also true for Namibia. Let us examine the following facts.

As we meet here, racist South Africa is continuing to entrench its apartheid system in Namibia. Independent reports reveal a sad and disturbing reality of

(Mr. Zuze, Zambia)

stepped up direct police and military action against the civilian population, including indiscriminate detention, imprisonment without trial and South Africa's clandestine attempts to liquidate those suspected of being sympathetic to the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO).

The South African forces, having been forced out of southern Angola, are now massed in large numbers in the so-called security operational zone in northern Namibia, where the racist Pretoria régime maintains many forward bases. In fact, troops in Namibia have been reinforced from South Africa and are wreaking havoc upon the people.

Linkage, which has no relevance to Security Council resolution 435 (1978), is still in place, and both the racist régime of South Africa and the United States seem, strangely enough, irrevocably committed to it.*

A new linkage in support of Savimbi and his bandit group, UNITA, has been introduced by racist South Africa and insisted upon even by the mediator of the ongoing quadripartite negotiations on south-western Africa. We have been told in no uncertain terms that lack of progress on the so-called question of reconciliation with regard to Angola would be a serious threat to negotiations on the overall situation in south-west Africa. In fact, their degree of commitment to this absurd idea suggests that, for them, it is now a matter of a take-it-or-leave-it situation. Yet they have deliberately, for reasons of political expedience, ignored Angola's repeated pronouncements, assurances and indeed commitment that the matter should be dealt with internally.

*Mr. Dlamini (Swaziland), Vice-President, took the Chair.

(Mr. Zuze, Zambia)

South Africa's track record in the art of deceiving the international community by pretending to engage in serious negotiations while harbouring negative intentions leaves us with no reason to believe that a settlement will be attainable this time. Practically and politically there are no signs on the ground to indicate, let alone convince us of, any serious commitment by South Africa to leave Namibia in the foreseeable future unless otherwise compelled by hostile circumstances.

(Mr. Zuze, Zambia)

There are some among us who claim that a breakthrough on the question of Namibia is imminent. They seem - understandably - to be basing their optimism on the prevailing positive trend regarding the resolution of regional conflicts. My country, Zambia, has welcomed this positive trend in international relations. But with regard to Namibia we are dealing with a defiant and intransigent illegal régime that does not respect international law. Instead of dealing with the genuine representatives of the Namibian people in the Territory in order to create a favourable atmosphere for the orderly transfer of power, South Africa has embarked on a posturing exercise for the outside world, creating a false impression that it is ready for the implementation of resolution 435 (1978).

The struggle for the independence of Namibia has reached a critical and decisive stage. South Africa has intensified its military activities in the Territory, wreaking havoc upon the civilian population. The atrocities that the racist forces are committing against Namibians do not signal any prospects for positive change in Namibia. On the contrary, there are signals that South Africa intends to stay in the Territory indefinitely by force of arms. The international community should, at this critical time of the struggle of the Namibian people for self-determination and independence, intensify - not slow down - its efforts to achieve the liberation of the Territory.

The United Nations, in fulfilment of its responsibility for Namibia, should without further delays take concrete measures to compel the Pretoria régime to get out of Namibia. In this regard, we in Zambia call upon the Security Council to take the necessary measures, which must include the imposition of comprehensive mandatory sanctions against South Africa, so that peaceful change may be attained in Namibia.

(Mr. Zuze, Zambia)

I wish to reiterate Zambia's unreserved solidarity with the people of Namibia and South Africa who are struggling to end foreign occupation and the evil system of apartheid. To them we say: Keep it up. You are not alone in this struggle. The international community is on your side.

In these uncertain times regarding the implementation of resolution 435 (1978), and as South Africa continues to prevaricate amid speculative optimism, it would be disastrous for the United Nations to conclude that a settlement was within reach and abandon its planning activities for the coming year. So long as there is no agreement for commencement of the implementation of the United Nations plan for the independence of Namibia, there can be no justifiable basis whatsoever for abandoning the programmes of the Council for Namibia. The United Nations is the legal Administering Authority of the Territory until independence and must continue to act as such until it fulfils its mandate.

To that end, Zambia sincerely salutes the Secretary-General, Mr. Perez de Cuellar, for his continued and tireless efforts to attain the independence of Namibia. We urge him to leave no stone unturned in the discharge of his difficult task. We also commend the South West Africa People's Organization, (SWAPO), which - until there is proof to the contrary - is the sole and authentic representative of the Namibian people, for its statesmanship and its expressed readiness to sign a cease-fire agreement with South Africa in order to pave the way for the implementation of resolution 435 (1978).

In conclusion, I wish to state that we in Zambia recognize the legitimacy of the struggle of the Namibian people by all means at their disposal including armed struggle. Indeed, theirs is a just struggle against injustice and foreign domination. Victory is inevitable.

Mr. MARA (Fiji): It is a tragic irony that the fate of the people of Namibia has been governed more by the dictates of East-West confrontation, super-Power rivalry and economic self-interest than by humanitarian and human rights principles which the countries in question propound and hold dear. The people of Namibia have been held hostage to the narrower national self-interests of countries which have the influence but lack the political will to ensure South Africa's compliance with decisions of the Security Council and of the General Assembly. The record of procrastination and prevarication over Namibia must surely be one of the sorriest records in modern history.

It is a severe indictment on the indifferent political commitment of some members of the international community that, although South Africa's Mandate over Namibia was terminated by the United Nations 22 years ago, the people of Namibia have been denied their inalienable right to self-determination and independence. Over the years there have been innumerable meetings, conferences, resolutions, declarations, proclamations and decisions, in ad hoc committees, in the Security Council, in the Council for Namibia, in successive regular sessions of the General Assembly and even in one emergency and three special sessions. But all this has been to little avail as South Africa has sat immovable, with no regard for the aspirations and rights of the people of Namibia.

There have been many attempts to find a way around South Africa's pre-conditions, but all along Pretoria has not been negotiating in good faith, always devising some pretext for avoiding the issue. This has given rise to suspicions about South Africa's real motives, and no one is willing to accept South Africa's credibility any more, after so many disappointments. We must ask those countries that continue to stand behind South Africa to withdraw that support and instead follow their own conscience and uphold the universal principles of the Charter of the United Nations.

(Mr. Mara, Fiji)

The overwhelming international call for firm and effective action, expressed over many years, has been like a cry in the wind. While the minority Government in Pretoria has continued to ignore its legal obligations to the United Nations and to the people of Namibia, some other countries have stood by, seemingly having no qualms or any real concern for the welfare of Namibians. By their lack of action to rectify the situation, they have condoned and encouraged the pernicious system of oppression and subjugation. To them, as much as to South Africa, must go the responsibility for Namibia's long night of agony.

Recent events and developments and the progress being made in many of the long-standing problem areas and conflicts with which the United Nations has been concerned over many years are causes for optimism.

(Mr. Mara, Fiji)

The improving relations between the super-Powers leads us to believe that at last the way towards a solution in Namibia may be in view. Let us hope that this does not become another illusion, with the high hopes and expectations of the people of Namibia and the international community being crushed and shattered once more.

We are heartened by the latest reports that there is now a distinct possibility of the emancipation of the suffering people of Namibia. The pressure of international opinion appears finally to have moved the Pretoria régime towards a settlement. Whatever considerations prompted South Africa to go to the bargaining table, it is gratifying that tangible moves towards a solution are taking place and the prospects appear good.

The South Pacific region is well known for its relative peace and tranquillity. We were fortunate not to have been caught up in the violent struggles and terrible bloodshed suffered by the peoples of southern Africa in their quest for self-determination and freedom. We pray that the present moves towards a solution result in Namibia's achieving independence in the very near future and without any further unnecessary violence and suffering. We look forward to welcoming it into this family of nations. Fiji is more than ready to give whatever assistance our limited resources can provide.

Mr. PIBULSONGRAM (Thailand): Over the years Thailand's position on the Namibian question has been clear and consistent. We have unwaveringly supported the Namibian people in their just and noble struggle for freedom and independence. As a demonstration of our support, Thailand was the proud host of the extraordinary plenary meeting of the United Nations Council for Namibia in May 1984, when the Bangkok Declaration and the United Nations Programme of Action for the independence of Namibia were adopted.

(Mr. Pibulsonggram, Thailand)

This year my Minister of Foreign Affairs, Air Chief Marshal Siddhi Savetsila, in his message to the United Nations Council for Namibia on the occasion of the commemoration, on 27 October, of the Week of Solidarity with the People of Namibia, reiterated, inter alia, that

"Thailand will continue to co-operate with the international community in bringing about the rapid implementation of the United Nations plan for the independence of Namibia so that the Namibian people will be able to exercise and enjoy their legitimate right to self-determination and independence."

It is Thailand's firm conviction that the struggle to achieve freedom under the leadership of the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO), the sole and authentic representative of the Namibian people, is just and legitimate. Any political and peaceful solution to this question must be based on the immediate and unconditional termination of South Africa's illegal occupation of Namibia, the withdrawal of its armed forces and the beginning of free and unfettered exercise by the Namibian people of their right to self-determination and independence, in accordance with resolution 1514 (XV) and Security Council resolution 435 (1978).

Thailand has followed with keen interest the various rounds of talks on the Namibian question between Angola, Cuba and South Africa with the United States as mediator. Three months have passed since the four parties issued a joint statement on 8 August 1988. The target date for the implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978), 1 November, has come and gone. For a time it appeared that Namibia had been brought no closer to freedom, but rather deeper under the renewed repression of the Pretoria régime's police and army. The scenes of schoolchildren protesting at the non-implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978) in the north-central town of Grootfontein and in Windhoek are still fresh in our memory.

(Mr. Pibulsonggram, Thailand)

Streams of Namibians, the majority of whom were young people, fled to seek refuge in SWAPO's centres in Angola.

At last, however, the recent talks in Geneva seem to have made a breakthrough towards a political settlement. While the result of those talks are still not fully known, the indications appear encouraging. My delegation hopes that the remaining obstacles can be removed soon to pave the way for the full implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978) and that at last Namibia will achieve total freedom and independence.

This year also marks the twenty-first anniversary of the establishment of the United Nations Council for Namibia. For 21 years the Council has been tireless in its search for a durable and comprehensive settlement of the Namibian issue. If indications prove correct, the Council should soon be able to look back with justifiable pride on its work. Its travail has not been in vain. Let me take this opportunity to join others in expressing my appreciation to the Council for its dedication to its appointed tasks, and to pay a well-deserved tribute to Mr. Peter Zuze, President of the United Nations Council for Namibia, for his valuable contributions to the work of the Council.

My delegation would also like to pay a warm tribute to the Secretary-General for his untiring efforts and unswerving faith in the art of diplomacy which he practises so well. To both the Council for Namibia and the Secretary-General my delegation pledges its full support in our common desire to bring about a durable political settlement which will ensure genuine freedom and independence for Namibia. Perhaps this time next year a free and sovereign Namibia will at long last be able proudly to take its rightful place in our family of nations.

Mrs. FELLICER (Mexico) (interpretation from Spanish): The case of Namibia has occupied the attention of this Assembly for 22 years. It is one of

(Mrs. Fellicer, Mexico)

those outstanding problems in the interest of the solution of which the United Nations has made great efforts. It is fitting to recall that in October 1966 the General Assembly ended South Africa's Mandate over the Territory of South West Africa - Namibia - because it had not fulfilled its obligations and had disregarded the Mandate. The Assembly decided, by a historic resolution, that subsequently the Territory would remain under the direct responsibility of the United Nations. That is how the United Nations Council for Namibia was established to administer the Territory until it attains full independence. Mexico has been a member of the United Nations Council for Namibia since its establishment.

The Pretoria régime has refused to comply with the General Assembly resolutions on the Territory of Namibia, continuing its illegal occupation of that Territory and obstructing the task of the Council, whose authority it has not recognized. With that defiant attitude and contrary to all norms of law South Africa entered into open conflict with the United Nations and almost all world public opinion.

(Mrs. Pellicer, Mexico)

The General Assembly has constantly reaffirmed in numerous resolutions the right of the Namibian people to self-determination, recognizing the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO) as the genuine representative of the people of Namibia. For its part, the United Nations Council for Namibia has made truly exemplary efforts to achieve progress in the process of decolonization. The Council has approved forceful measures against South Africa, including unilateral action by Member States; called for emergency special sessions of the General Assembly, with the participation of Ministers of Foreign Affairs, to take decisions on the case of Namibia; stepped up assistance to SWAPO; strengthened the arms and oil embargoes against South Africa; and requested all Member States to prohibit the import, distribution and sale in their territories of merchandise from South Africa, as well as the export of their goods to that country. Mexico has fully complied with these international measures. Unfortunately, the same cannot be said of those who have collaborated with South Africa to continue the exploitation of the Territory of Namibia.

We should like to refer to some of the meetings and events of an international nature, within the United Nations and outside it, intended to give support to the people of Namibia in its struggle for self-determination and independence and to denounce in the most energetic and vigorous terms the shameless and defiant attitude of South Africa in its illegal occupation and exploitation of the Territory of Namibia, where it imposes the most aberrant forms of apartheid. Suffice it to recall a great international event in support of the people of Namibia and clear condemnation of Pretoria's apartheid régime, that is, the International Conference in Support of the Struggle of the Namibian People for Independence, in which participated representatives of 138 Governments, most of them at the ministerial level.

(Mrs. Pellicer, Mexico)

It is inconceivable that, in the face of those demands on the part of the peoples and Governments of the world, South Africa and those who support it persist in circumventing the liberation of Namibia from the odious racist and colonial régime to which it is bound. While this is a discouraging picture, my delegation is pleased to note that there is progress with regard to the possibility of independence for Namibia. The Secretary-General informs us in his latest report on the work of the Organization:

"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." (A/43/1, p. 3)

Thus a date was set for the beginning of the implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978), which constitutes the only internationally recognized basis for the decolonization and independence of Namibia. The date initially set could not be observed, because of the limited time available. Now 1 January is being referred to as the date for the beginning of the implementation of that resolution. Mexico is anxiously awaiting that date when at last the United Nations Transition Assistance Group will be established.

Mexico, while advocating the implementation without delay of Security Council resolution 435 (1978), is pleased that negotiations are being held among Angola, Cuba and South Africa, with the mediation of the United States, in order to find at last a solution to the problems of southern Africa, which should lead to bringing peace to Angola and bringing about the complete independence of Namibia. However, we should not forget that it will be the work of the United Nations and that of the Secretary-General, along with the negotiations under way, that will lead to action for the independence of Namibia - action which all of us comprising the international community should undertake unfailingly as part of our responsibility for Namibia.

(Mrs. Pellicer, Mexico)

For that reason we wish to record our support for the draft resolutions submitted by the United Nations Council for Namibia. They contain the general framework of action for the solution of the problem of Namibia and they contain clear ideas concerning the situation in and around that Territory. They should serve as a basis for our decisions and as guidance for our actions. With their adoption, which should be without a vote, one more step will have been taken towards Namibia's prompt accession to independence. Mexico is completely committed to that goal.

Mr. TANAS IE (Romania) (interpretation from French): We are fully aware of the fact that the accession of Namibia to independence is the most urgent decolonization question remaining on the United Nations agenda.

Twenty-two years ago, with the adoption of its resolution 2145 (XXI), the General Assembly terminated South Africa's mandate over Namibia, but the apartheid régime, against the wishes of the international community, continued its illegal occupation of the Territory. Since that time South Africa's illegal occupation of Namibia has constituted continued oppression of the Namibian people, defiance of the United Nations authority and an affront to the entire international community.

At the same time, the situation that has prevailed in that part of the world for more than two decades undoubtedly demonstrates that there can be no stability and peace in southern Africa until the Namibian people are able to exercise their inalienable right to self-determination and independence within the territorial integrity of their country. Furthermore, a rapid settlement of the Namibian problem not only would put an end to the further suffering and despair of the Namibian people but would also contribute significantly to the restoration of stability, peace and security in southern Africa.

(Mr. Tanasie, Romania)

Romania has strongly and consistently pronounced itself against the continuing illegal occupation of Namibia by South Africa and against the delaying tactics that are being used by the South African régime as a pretext for preventing access by the people of Namibia to nationhood.

I should like to reiterate our firm stand and our full solidarity with the just struggle waged by the Namibian people under the leadership of the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO), their sole and authentic representative. If we are today more than ever before closer to Namibia's independence, it is because of SWAPO's unrelenting commitment to the struggle for justice, equality, racial harmony and the peaceful development of Namibia. SWAPO has grown into a powerful liberation movement and political organization, representing the vital goals and interests of the Namibian people. Our solidarity with SWAPO is a recognition of its essential role in the struggle for an independent Namibia. On the other hand, Romania has rejected the establishment of the so-called transitional government in Namibia.

(Mr. Tanasie, Romania)

Unswerving in its support of the lawful struggle of the Namibian people, Romania has granted its political, diplomatic, material and moral support to the great cause of an independent Namibia.

I wish also to reaffirm Romania's full 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.

I should also like to express our deep appreciation of the manner in which the United Nations Council for Namibia has, over the past years, carried out its mandate under the wise and able guidance of its President. As a member of the United Nations Council for Namibia, we attach particular importance to the activities carried out by the Council and we are confident that through its dynamic and untiring efforts the noble goal we all seek, that of the realization of the legitimate right of the people of Namibia to self-determination and independence, will finally be achieved.

In its capacity as a member of the United Nations Council for Namibia, Romania has consistently worked for a negotiated settlement of the Namibian question and has supported the formulation of the United Nations plan for Namibia's accession to independence, through free elections, under United Nations supervision and control. Romania has also lent its active support to the actions undertaken by the Secretary-General of the United Nations and all Member States involved in the efforts to ensure the implementation of the plan.

In our view, Namibia remains a direct responsibility of the United Nations until genuine self-determination and national independence are achieved in the Territory. We consider that the only internationally accepted basis for a peaceful settlement of the question of Namibia is Security Council resolution 435 (1978), which must be implemented without any pre-condition or modification.

(Mr. Tanasie, Romania)

Romania resolutely supported the United Nations in reaffirming, both in the Security Council and in the General Assembly, that Namibia's accession to independence must take place with the observance of its territorial integrity, including Walvis Bay, and the islands which are an integral part of Namibia, and that any action on the part of South Africa to annex these territories would be illegal.

Recently we observed the tenth anniversary of the adoption of Security Council resolution 435 (1978). Hopes were engendered this year of a possible beginning of the implementation of the resolution on 1 November 1988. Unfortunately, the facts did not confirm those hopes.

The news coming from Geneva following the recent round of the quadripartite talks is encouraging. We hope that the preliminary agreement will be endorsed by the Governments concerned and that the new date set for initiation of the implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978) will be finally observed, opening the way for Namibia's independence.

While the international community may have reasons to welcome the recent signs of progress, it is imperative that it remain vigilant. The behaviour of South Africa's Government in the past does not inspire confidence in its pledged word.

The General Assembly should also express its profound concern about the situation in Namibia itself, which is in sharp contrast with developments at the negotiating table. Reportedly, South Africa has reinforced its military forces in the Territory, particularly in northern Namibia, and there is a fresh wave of repression and intimidation.

In our view, the Namibian question should be solved without delay. South Africa has stated that it agreed to the proposals contained in Security Council resolution 435 (1978). Namibia's independence must no longer be linked with other

(Mr. Tanasie, Romania)

situations in the area. It must be solved under the auspices of the United Nations, which has ultimate responsibility for the implementation of the Security Council resolution. Any new attempts to delay the independence of Namibia could jeopardize the responsibility of the United Nations for the Territory and the authority of the Security Council. The General Assembly should demand South Africa's immediate and unconditional withdrawal from Namibia so that Security Council resolution 435 (1978) can be implemented without further delay.

We take this opportunity to express our deep appreciation of the abiding commitment of the Secretary-General to the cause of Namibia's independence and his untiring efforts to bring freedom to the Namibian people.

We believe that it is necessary now to remain determined and united in our common efforts to promote the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter and the resolutions that have been adopted, resolutions that recognize the inherent, inalienable right of the Namibian people to justice, freedom and independence.

I should like to wish the Namibian people the early achievement of their noble goal and reaffirm our solidarity with the people of Namibia, with SWAPO and with the Council for Namibia in the full implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978).

Mr. TORNUDD (Finland): Since its decision in 1966 to terminate South Africa's mandate over Namibia and to assume direct responsibility for the Territory, the General Assembly has, every year, discussed the question how to implement that decision. The Council for Namibia was set up in 1967 to administer Namibia until independence, with the fullest possible participation of the people of the Territory. Progress towards independence has been slow, but today is not the time to dwell on all the disappointments we have experienced in past years.

(Mr. Tornudd, Finland)

Since last spring we have been living with new expectations that the people of Namibia would soon be independent. The process that has been going on has been promising. The confrontation between the great Powers has gradually given way to co-operation, and this development has also been reflected in the discussions around the Namibian question. We noted with interest that President Reagan and General Secretary Gorbachev, among other important questions, discussed Namibia at their Moscow summit meeting in June. The two leaders announced at their meeting that they had set 29 September 1988, the tenth anniversary of Security Council resolution 435 (1978), as the target date for reaching a settlement on the Namibian issue. We followed with interest the negotiations which subsequently took place between Angola, Cuba and South Africa, with the mediation of the United States. These negotiations appear now to have produced results and the time for imminent implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978) seems to have come.

According to the information received, an agreement on the remaining obstacles impeding Namibian independence, has been reached in Geneva. We congratulate the negotiators who have throughout the negotiations worked hard in order to reach agreement. We sincerely hope that the results of these negotiations will receive the approval of the Governments concerned. The implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978) could then begin very soon.

My Government has supported this negotiating process, as it has supported all good initiatives with a view to achieving the independence of Namibia. In our opinion, Security Council resolution 435 (1978) is the only internationally accepted guideline for a solution to the Namibian question. Therefore, my Government has always rejected any unilateral solution to the Namibian question by South Africa outside the framework of the United Nations settlement plan. Our firm support of this plan has also been manifested by our offer to contribute personnel to the United Nations Transition Assistance Group (UNTAG).

(Mr. Tornudd, Finland)

The question of Namibian independence not only is a burning political problem; it also has economic, social and human dimensions. The economic exploitation of the natural resources of Namibia under foreign rule has been devastating. The Namibian economy is in severe crisis despite the natural wealth of the Territory. Unemployment and poor educational and health services cloud the lives of Namibians. It is extremely important to continue and intensify work to promote developmental, economic, social and educational institutions to support the future independence of Namibia. Finland's continuing dedication to the cause of the people of Namibia is manifested in our annual contributions to the United Nations Fund for Namibia, the United Nations Institute for Namibia and the Nationhood Programme for Namibia. In addition, we have supported the Namibian Extension Unit.

As an example of our concrete activities I should like to mention that for several years Finland has allocated funds for education, training and health programmes carried out in Finland in close co-operation with SWAPO. Nearly 200 Namibians have been trained in Finland in the technical, social and medical fields. As part of the humanitarian assistance Finland has also supported the production of school books and educational material to be used at primary-school level. Our objective is to help to meet the immediate need to develop the educational and training personnel that the new nation will need when it gains its independence. A number of Finnish non-governmental organizations are also active in assisting Namibians, and these efforts are supported with official development aid funds.

Finland is prepared to continue its assistance to the Namibian people after independence. Namibia is foreseen to be among the main recipients of Finnish development assistance. The volume of assistance is expected to be increased considerably during the first few years of independence. The sectors of

(Mr. Tornudd, Finland)

co-operation will be agreed upon with the Government of the future independent Namibia. It would seem natural to extend to Namibia, in addition to the bilateral programmes and continued assistance through the United Nations organizations, some of the development projects financed by Finland within the framework of the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC), which are of considerable magnitude.

Mr. JAYA (Brunei Darussalam): Over a period of four days we are again meeting here to look at the Namibian issue - an issue of the utmost concern to the international community. Namibia has come up for discussion in this Assembly, in the Security Council, in the Organization of African Unity, in the Movement of Non-aligned Countries, in the Commonwealth, in the Organization of the Islamic Conference and in other governmental and non-governmental organizations. We are all familiar with the issue and are in complete agreement as to a settlement. From this very rostrum statesmen from all over the world have called for the immediate removal of this blot on the history of the United Nations that has existed for such a long time.

Twenty-two years ago the United Nations terminated South Africa's Mandate to administer the Territory of Namibia. The United Nations assumed direct responsibility for that Territory and proposed an independence plan for Namibia. In 1978 Security Council resolution 435 (1978) was accepted. For Brunei Darussalam resolution 435 (1978) remains the fundamental basis for Namibian independence. We should like to take this opportunity to call upon the Pretoria régime yet again to co-operate with the United Nations in order to enable the people of Namibia to exercise their right to self-determination.*

* The President returned to the Chair.

(Mr. Jaya, Brunei Darussalam)

The oppressed people of Namibia, under the leadership of the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO), ask only for what they are entitled to - freedom, true independence and the right to be governed by a Government they have chosen themselves, not one established by the invader and occupier.

Namibia has suffered military occupation, foreign rule and economic exploitation. The people of Namibia have been subjugated by an inhumane racist régime devoid of human values. The suffering in Namibia is indeed doubly brutal. The foreign occupation entails foreign exploitation and the plunder of their rich resources, while the tyrannical apartheid régime deprives the citizen of his rights and man of his humanity. South Africa never recognizes such rights. The régime thrives by savage aggression, brutal repression and the criminal confiscation of property and wealth. The so-called interim government in Namibia is a mere extension of the despicable racist régime of South Africa.

The international community has time and again been subjected painfully to the disdainful arrogance of the apartheid régime. The Security Council, whose decisions are binding, has remained paralysed and impotent in the face of South Africa's wanton challenge. These criminal and vicious acts by South Africa deserve unreserved condemnation by the international community.

Brunei Darussalam totally supports the Secretary-General and is in complete agreement with the international community in its steadfast support for the cause of the Namibian people under the leadership of SWAPO. We support all the resolutions on the question of Namibia and stand for the application of comprehensive mandatory sanctions against South Africa.

We would like also to take this opportunity to express our hope that the final round of talks between Angola, Cuba and South Africa, with the mediation of the United States, to be held in Brazzaville, will result in an overall settlement of the conflict in south-western Africa. The current global atmosphere of optimism

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and the strengthening process of dialogue and negotiation should promote development towards Namibia's independence and the implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978). Some areas of international life have felt the positive consequences of this encouraging state of affairs, which has brought a certain relaxation of international tension. We must therefore seize this opportunity to ensure that the Namibian question is settled once and for all.

The people of Namibia have always looked towards the United Nations for moral and practical support so that they too may enjoy the freedom and independence that each one of us here enjoys and cherishes. They have suffered long enough, and it is the moral responsibility of the international community, particularly the United Nations, to bring about the freedom and independence for which the people of Namibia long.

It is time for Namibia to take its rightful place in the family of nations. My delegation looks forward to welcoming Namibia as a Member of the United Nations in the not too distant future.

Mr. SUMAIDA (Iraq) (interpretation from Arabic): Despite the climate of optimism which the international community is endeavouring to strengthen and use constructively in order to solve the problems of this world, it is indeed a cause for anger and dismay that the illegal occupation of Namibia and the usurpation of the inalienable rights of the Namibian people by the racist South African régime should continue, together with the denial of that people's fundamental freedoms and the plundering of the Territory's resources before the very eyes of the international community.

The fact that 22 years have passed since the termination of Pretoria's mandate over Namibia places the international community before an historic impasse, not only because it poses a problem that has remained unsolved for so long but also because it embodies the worst possible form of international relations, divorced from any feeling of moral, ethical or political responsibility. The international community is confronting a clearly defined problem, one with no shades of grey, a problem on which all are agreed. Indeed it is not controversial to say that occupation runs counter to international law and humanitarian values. There is no debate on the consequences of such occupation. All the members of the international community, the Member States of the United Nations, agree on condemnation of Pretoria's occupation of Namibia. They all agree that the United Nations Council for Namibia has the right to administer the Territory as a first stage towards its independence. We all agree that the régime of Pretoria, a racist régime, is perpetrating the worst possible forms of oppression and terror against the people of Namibia. Similarly, we all agree on the need to put an end to the exploitation and plundering of the resources and natural wealth of Namibia.

The racist South African régime has endeavoured to transform Namibian territory into a military base for aggression and expansion at the expense of the African peoples, in a manner which threatens international peace and security. In

(Mr. Sumaida, Iraq)

that connection we could, for example, refer to the Advisory Opinion of the International Court of Justice of 1971, according to which the presence of South Africa in Namibia was to be considered an illegal act of occupation and any collaboration with that régime constituted a clear breach of commitments under the Charter of the United Nations. That supports our opinion that the identification of the nature and consequences of the problem in terms of international law and legality is not a source of contention among States. Furthermore, the resolutions of the Security Council and the General Assembly as well as the national legislation of many States all point to consensus on the way to deal with this problem.

The crime which has been perpetrated by the South African régime for more than 20 years is a slur on human conscience and a disgrace to the values of civilization. How can such shame remain in our contemporary history, contrary to agreed values and consensus among States? What prevents us from removing this blot from the pages of contemporary history?

In order to answer that question we must confront many factors that are not related to legitimacy or the bases of international law, or yet the Charter and resolutions of the United Nations. Those factors stem from shortcomings in practical implementation due to the policies based on the narrow interests pursued by some States and transnational corporations. What is happening is in fact in total contradiction to resolutions, legislation and laws. A more careful study of those breaches of United Nations resolutions would reveal many striking and well-known cases that have already been covered in many international reports on this very issue.

We know that there is international consensus on the need to achieve immediate independence for Namibia, which calls for the imposition of comprehensive sanctions against the racist régime through an immediate economic and military boycott. Iraq

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believes that the imposition of such a boycott calls for the consideration of two elements; first, the resources of the Pretoria régime, that is, its own internal capacity to face up to such a boycott, and secondly, the loopholes in such a boycott, that is, the collaboration of some States and corporations with the South African régime. All the evidence suggests that neglect of those two considerations is one of the main reasons for the perpetuation of the illegal occupation of Namibia. Iraq is fully convinced that the most dangerous form of collaboration, the one which has had the greatest effect in perpetuating the occupation, is the strategic co-operation between the racist Zionist régime in Tel Aviv and the racist South African régime. That co-operation comprises a multifaceted network covering many fields and interests, including nuclear and military co-operation.

Whereas the collaboration of some States with the Pretoria régime is based on a selective approach to their commitments under the Charter of the United Nations or to the principles of human rights, the co-operation between Tel Aviv and Pretoria is based essentially on the common ground of the two régimes, namely, their racist nature. They are both based on the usurpation of the rights of peoples - the Namibian and Palestinian peoples - and the perpetration of the worst possible forms of discrimination and apartheid. Clearly, the acts perpetrated by the Zionist occupying forces in the Arab territories to put down the uprising of the Palestinian people are very similar to those perpetrated by the South African forces against the Namibian people in its uprising to achieve freedom and self-determination, and to the policies of apartheid enforced in South Africa.

Racist régimes are very much alike in their nature, practices and policies, which are based on aggression and expansion at the expense of other peoples. This is borne out by history and by sociological, historical and political study. The most outstanding example of this must be the ideological similarity between the

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régimes in Tel Aviv and Pretoria, respectively perpetuating the racist movement in the northeastern and southwestern parts of the African continent through colonial settlement based on the usurpation of the lands of others, the subjugation of their peoples by military force, and the perpetration of acts of armed aggression and air raids against neighbouring States, while continuing a policy aimed at creating problems, encouraging sectarian and regional disputes and destabilizing other Governments so that the two racist régimes can impose their hegemony on the Arab and African regions.

(Mr. Sumaida, Iraq)

The second thing which is preventing the implementation of the comprehensive boycott is the co-operation between some States and the Pretoria régime. In that connection we reaffirm Iraq's continuing rejection of the so-called policy of constructive engagement which, basically, means assisting the South African régime and ultimately undermining the international boycott, and hence providing the racist régime with the means to continue occupying Namibia and encouraging it to ignore the United Nations resolutions.

We believe, therefore, that the boycott against Pretoria requires very firm control over any loopholes which might be used by Pretoria to weaken its effectiveness. Undoubtedly, the worst expression of the policy of constructive engagement is the repeated use by some States of their right of veto in the Security Council to prevent the imposition of sanctions on the South African régime in accordance with Chapter VII of the Charter. That was indeed the reason for the non-implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978), which was adopted more than 10 years ago. We therefore urge all States and Governments to refrain from providing any form of assistance to the South African régime, for such assistance merely encourages that régime to perpetuate its occupation of Namibia. We urge them also to end, immediately, all their relations with the régime in South Africa, in accordance with Security Council resolution 283 (1970).

Developments at the various stages of the question of Namibia have shown us how much a people can be harmed, how much its rights, wealth and future can be harmed, when the narrow interests of international blocs converge to make the cause of that people a hostage in the struggle between East and West. Iraq reaffirms its support for the inalienable rights of the Namibian people, and has refused to link the question of Namibia to East-West relations, for it is an entirely different issue, on which the international community has adopted clear resolutions. Indeed,

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linkage between the independence of Namibia and other issues is an illogical pretext, which has been rejected by the international community in its resolutions. I repeat, the question of Namibia is a separate issue.

Iraq reaffirms that the question of Namibia's independence must be settled without further delay, and would welcome any international effort or agreement, which might assist in achieving that noble objective. Proceeding from that premise, we believe that the new climate in international relations must be utilized to achieve Namibian independence and that the major Powers and the parties involved in the explosive situation in southern Africa must undertake a commitment to that effect and earnestly set about removing the obstacles to the independence of Namibia and its valiant people under the leadership of the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO). We remain convinced that the best way to do so would be to compel the racist régime in South Africa to agree to the immediate and unconditional implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978).

Proceeding from its firm position of principle, Iraq, both directly and through the League of Arab States and through joint Arab-African efforts, attaches the greatest importance and priority to Arab-African solidarity and co-operation; and had it not been for the war of aggression imposed on Iraq for eight years, we would have redoubled our moral and material assistance to the Namibian people and the front-line States. We therefore call upon all Member States of the United Nations to increase their assistance, both moral and material, to the struggle of the Namibian people under the leadership of SWAPO, and to provide more assistance to the front-line States, which are under great political and economic pressure and confronting continued acts of aggression by the racist régime of South Africa aimed at destabilizing them and breaking their national unity, just because of their position of principle and support for the struggle of the Namibian and South African peoples.

(Mr. Sumaida, Iraq)

Iraq appreciates the untiring efforts of the United Nations Council for Namibia, its effective work and constant follow-up in support of the struggle of the Namibian people and its promotion of trust in the efforts of the United Nations and its many organizations. Iraq, while reaffirming its unshakeable support for the Namibian people in its struggle to secure its inalienable rights and achieve the unity of its national territory, including the islands belonging to the Namibian Territory, strongly condemns all the racist, aggressive policies which are impeding the freedom and progress of peoples. We condemn any degradation of human rights and fundamental freedoms. Iraq will do its utmost in the various regional and international forums to promote African-Arab co-operation, to speed up the liberation and independence of Namibia, and to erase that shameful blot from this page of the contemporary history of the world, now on the threshold of its twenty-first century.

Mr. DIAKITE (Mali) (interpretation from French): Once again the General Assembly is considering the question of Namibia, because of racist South Africa's continuing illegal occupation of the Territory. Twenty-two years after South Africa's Mandate over Namibia was terminated, the situation in that Territory, which is a typical case where decolonization has not been completed, is a source of major concern to the international community. Yet 22 years ago the international community had grounds for thinking that the decolonization of Namibia was about to be concluded quickly, for the United Nations Council for Namibia had been established and mandated by the General Assembly to administer the Territory until independence. That, however, failed to take account of the stubbornness of the minority racist régime in Pretoria, which, despite that decision of the General Assembly and the advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice, preserved its presence in Namibia and continued to deprive the Namibian people of the

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resources on its territory, in complicity with foreign interests and in violation of Decree No. 1.

The racist régime of South Africa, resolved to continue its policy of occupation and colonial domination, extended its wretched system of apartheid and brutal repression to Namibia, where it is practising bantustanization and racial segregation in the schools, hospitals and all aspects of daily life. Economic exploitation, a permanent state of war and blind repression resulting from the occupation have led many Namibians to flee their homeland and seek refuge in neighbouring countries, particularly Angola and Zambia. The Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees has estimated at 80,000 the number of Namibian refugees in various countries, where they are living under extremely difficult conditions.

In the last few months the repression has been stepped up in the Territory. Cold-blooded murder, systematic torture, kidnappings, arbitrary detention by South African death squads, disappearances of civilians - all that has become a daily occurrence.

At the political level South Africa tried to impose an internal settlement by setting up a puppet administration. The international community quite rightly clearly rejected that approach by Pretoria, the main goal of which was the annexation of the international Territory of Namibia, the perpetuation of apartheid and aggression against neighbouring countries. Here I would emphasize that no lasting solution will be found to the question of Namibia without the participation of the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO), the sole, authentic representative of the Namibian people.

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We can never overemphasize the responsibility of the international community for Namibia. The international community must no longer let South Africa get away with it. It is high time for the martyred Namibian people to exercise their right to self-determination and independence in accordance with Security Council resolution 435 (1978) and other relevant decisions by the United Nations. Ten years after the adoption of Security Council resolution 435, South Africa must no longer be permitted to defy the international community. Need I recall that resolution 435 (1978) was at the time adopted without any expressed reservations whatsoever? It was and remains the sole basis for a settlement of the question of Namibia. Implementation must be the goal of any effort to find a solution to the problem of Namibia.

Throughout the world we hear voices raised in condemnation of the stubbornness of the Pretoria régime. We hear voices raised, inviting the international community to take strong measures so that right will finally win out over violence in Namibia.

The Security Council, in its wisdom, on 30 October 1987 adopted resolution 601 (1987) authorizing the Secretary-General of the United Nations to organize a cease-fire between South Africa and the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO), so that administrative and other practical measures could be taken enabling the United Nations Transition Assistance Group to start work.

In his report to the forty-third session of the General Assembly, the Secretary-General noted:

"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

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recommended for beginning the implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978)." (A/43/1, p. 3)

Today is 16 November 1988. The glimmer of hope in the Secretary-General's report - and I would pay tribute to him for the tireless efforts he has made for peace - has not yet materialized. But nobody should be surprised at the attitude taken by the Pretoria régime. It has never really wanted to abide by the will of the international community which calls for the Namibian people's exercise of their right to self-determination and independence. And yet South Africa should learn from the history of the struggle of the colonial peoples for, in fact, no people has ever been kept in subjugation indefinitely.

So the international community should without further delay take the necessary measures under the relevant provisions of Chapter VII of the Charter if the racist régime of Pretoria continues its defiance and refuses to co-operate with the Secretary-General and the Security Council. If such measures are taken, the peoples of southern Africa will be spared a confrontation the consequences of which are unpredictable.

The Government and people of Mali support the heroic struggle of the Namibian people under the leadership of SWAPO, their sole and authentic representative. We continue to believe that a solution to the problem of Namibia cannot be found unless there is a real political will to that end. A solution would involve a cease-fire, immediate and unconditional withdrawal of South African troops from Namibia, exercise by the Namibian people of their right to self-determination and independence, without any constraints, in accordance with resolution 1514 (XV) and Security Council resolution 435 (1978).

Africa in general and Mali in particular follow with great interest the activities now under way in the southern part of Africa, hoping that they will lead to tangible results. Here I would recall the statement made by the Head of State

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of Mali, current Chairman of the Organization of African Unity (OAU), who spoke here on 4 October and said:

"The Organization of African Unity ... supports all sincere efforts whose objective is to enable the Namibian people to regain its independence and to establish peace and security in southern Africa." (A/43/PV.16, p. 8)

My delegation believes that the time is not far off when, thanks to the resolve of the Namibian people, Namibia will emerge from the long colonial night to make its valuable contribution to universal civilization.

Mr. BELONOGOV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (interpretation from Russian): For many years the problem of Namibia has remained on the agenda of the United Nations. Over 20 years have passed since the General Assembly terminated South Africa's Mandate over Namibia and made the Territory the direct responsibility of the United Nations. For 10 years that well-known decision by the Security Council, resolution 435 (1978), that set forth the ways and means of ensuring Namibia's transition to independence, has remained unimplemented. The heart and mind of the international community and our solidarity and support go to the just cause of the Namibian people, fighting against colonial oppression and for freedom and independence.

The Namibian people has indeed won the right to genuine self-determination and independence through the long years of suffering under the colonial yoke and the selfless struggle for independence.

Yet the Pretoria régime illegally occupying Namibia still preserves the racist and colonial order through force of arms and mass repression. Moreover, Namibian territory is often used as a bridgehead by South Africa for its acts of aggression and subversive activities against Angola and other African States that have liberated themselves. Such South African policies create serious tensions in the area and are a permanent threat to peace and security.

(Mr. Belonogov, USSR)

The United Nations has direct responsibility for the political fate of Namibia and its decolonization. The internationally recognized basis for a Namibian settlement is found in Security Council resolutions 385 (1976) and 435 (1978) and in other relevant decisions of the United Nations. Attempts to resolve the Namibian problem that circumvent the United Nations, through a so-called internal settlement and the establishment of a puppet government in Namibia, have demonstrated that such attempts are designed to turn the road to a just settlement into a dead end. This was reconfirmed in the agreed statement issued by the Security Council on 29 September this year, which called on South Africa to comply with the Security Council's resolutions and decisions and to co-operate with the Secretary-General of the United Nations in implementing them strictly and without delay.

(Mr. Belonogov, USSR)

It is known that the roots of the conflict in southern Africa lie in the policy of apartheid pursued by the Government of South Africa, its actions to destabilize neighbouring countries and its continuing illegal occupation of Namibia. The only way to eliminate this hotbed of tension is to reach a political settlement taking account of the interests of all the parties involved in the conflict.

As a result of the new political thinking spreading throughout the world and the initiatives and joint efforts of the States involved in international intercourse, positive trends have emerged and are growing in international relations. This year is noteworthy in that, thanks to the efforts of the international community and the active role played by the United Nations, a start has been made in the process of settling regional conflicts and conflict situations. The finding of solutions to conflicts and the elimination of hotbeds of tension have triggered a kind of chain reaction of overall improvement in the situation in the world, which has extended to the sphere of a settlement of the situation in South-West Africa.

The talks between Cuba, Angola and South Africa, with the mediation of the United States on ensuring the security of Angola and the independence of Namibia are part of that overall trend of settling regional conflicts by peaceful and political means on the basis of respect for the social and political choice of peoples, equal rights and the search for mutually acceptable compromises.

The Soviet Union supports the efforts of Angola and Cuba to that end, as was confirmed by the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, Mr. Mikhail Sergeevich Gorbachev at his recent Moscow meeting with the Chairman of the MPLA - Party of Labour, the President of Angola, Mr. José Eduardo dos Santos.

(Mr. Belonogov, USSR)

A successful conclusion to the quadripartite negotiations would indeed create good pre-conditions for ensuring the security of Angola and could at the same time mark the start of the implementation of the plan for the independence of Namibia endorsed in Security Council resolution 435 (1978). In welcoming the progress achieved at the talks in Geneva, we express our hope for an early settlement of the situation in South-West Africa.

The Soviet Union has consistently supported the exercise of the Namibian people's inalienable right to genuine self-determination and independence as soon as possible on the basis of the preservation of unity and territorial integrity, including Walvis Bay and the offshore islands, the unconditional and complete withdrawal of South African troops and administration from Namibia and the holding of general elections in that country under the supervision and control of the United Nations. The Soviet Union expresses its solidarity with the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO) which, through its selfless struggle for an independent, democratic and united Namibia, has won recognition as the sole, authentic representative of the Namibian people.

The Soviet Union attaches great importance to the internationalization of efforts to find a political settlement to the situation in South-West Africa, and favours a more active role for the United Nations, the Secretary-General and, above all, the Security Council in ensuring early independence for Namibia. The Soviet Union is prepared, together with other members of the Security Council, to be a guarantor of such a settlement.

The twenty-seventh Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, in determining its foreign policy objectives, stressed that the prerequisites of improvement in the international situation include unconditional respect in international practice for the right of every nation to make a sovereign choice regarding the manner and form of its development, just political settlement of

(Mr. Belonogov, USSR)

international crises and regional conflicts and total eradication of genocide, apartheid, all forms of racial or nationalistic exclusivity and discrimination against people on that basis.

Condemning the inhuman policy of apartheid and aware of the need for the international community to take effective measures to put an end to it, we have supported, and continue to support, the demand of African and other countries for measures to be taken to influence the racist system in southern Africa.

Effective measures to eliminate the hotbed of tension from southern Africa are long overdue. The Soviet Union believes that the yearning of the Namibian people for freedom and independence cannot be suppressed and that an early settlement of the conflict situation in the region of southern Africa, including decolonization of Namibia, is completely in the interests of the strengthening of peace and stability in the African continent and in the world as a whole.

Mr. HASMY (Malaysia): The issue of Namibia has been before the General Assembly since 1946. All efforts by the United Nations aimed at facilitating the independence of Namibia have been repeatedly obstructed by the régime of South Africa. The record shows that in 1946 South Africa refused to submit to the General Assembly's request to place Namibia under the international trusteeship system established under Chapter XII of the Charter of the United Nations. South Africa proceeded to govern Namibia as its own territory and followed that by establishing a puppet régime in Namibia. Since 1966 South Africa has occupied Namibia illegally in defiance of General Assembly resolution 2145 (XXI) of 27 October 1966. In other words, what we see in Namibia today is not an accident of history but a deliberate effort designed by South Africa.

The South African régime has extended the inhumane system of apartheid into Namibia. It has pursued a policy of brutal repression against all forms of

(Mr. Hasmy, Malaysia)

opposition by the Namibian people in their struggle for the right to exercise their self-determination and national independence.

To sustain its illegal occupation in the face of the valiant struggle for national liberation by the Namibians under the leadership of the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO), their sole and authentic representative, the racist Pretoria régime maintains a large military force of 100,000 troops and 10,000 policemen in Namibia. With a population of only about 1.5 million, Namibia has the highest per capita military occupation in the world. South Africa has also expanded and fortified its military bases. The régime's policy of military conscription in Namibia, in contravention of General Assembly resolution 42/14, was designed to deceive the international community into believing that Namibians are fighting among themselves, while the reality is that they are being manipulated by that régime.

(Mr. Hasmy, Malaysia)

The abundant natural resources of Namibia have also been exploited by the régime in Pretoria and by foreign interests, in total violation of the relevant resolutions of the United Nations and Decree No. 1 for the Protection of the Natural Resources of Namibia. This is further facilitated by the apartheid system in Namibia, which has resulted in cheap and exploited labour and high profits. The Council for Namibia, in its report in document A/AC.131/286, has indicated that between 16 and 20 per cent of the gross domestic product (GDP) of Namibia is being remitted abroad. The entire economic life of Namibia, including its banking and financial sector, has been so structured as to be totally dependent on foreign economies. It is highly deplorable that the unjust economic exploitation of Namibia can be prolonged in this modern era, when every State aspires to economic justice.

The pace of progress towards the independence of Namibia has been slow indeed, despite the fact that the Special Committee on decolonization has reaffirmed every year the inalienable right of the Namibian people to independence and self-determination. Malaysia is gratified to learn of the latest development in the Geneva talks, which appears to be a breakthrough in the negotiations. We welcome the fact that this provisional agreement reached in Geneva coincides with the General Assembly's deliberations on the subject of Namibia. We would urge the Governments concerned to accept this provisional agreement and to proceed apace with their planned meeting in Brazzaville, so that with the implementation of the agreement the sufferings of the people of Namibia can come to an end. We would particularly urge the South African régime not to backtrack from this agreement and once again squander opportunities for a peaceful settlement of the Namibian question. In welcoming this breakthrough, the international community should be mindful of the past record of that régime in meeting its commitments and should continue to maintain the pressure.

(Mr. Hasmy, Malaysia)

The untiring efforts of the Secretary-General to facilitate the implementation of resolution 435 (1978) must be commended by the international community.

Malaysia, in its endeavour to contribute to the efforts of the United Nations to attain the early realization of the independence of Namibia, has agreed to provide and emplace its troops for the United Nations Transition Assistance Group (UNTAG) in Namibia once an agreement is secured. We have also offered technical assistance to the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO) within the framework of our contribution to the Africa Fund.

Malaysia would like also to reaffirm its unreserved support for the Council for Namibia, which was established by resolution 2248 (S-V) of 1967, in its role as the legal Administering Authority for Namibia. Under the able leadership of its President, Ambassador Peter Zuze, the Council has been playing an important role in mobilizing international support for Namibian independence and in preparing the people of Namibia for independence.

Malaysia is confident that the Namibian people will achieve their cherished objective of national independence through their own hard struggle and with the assistance of the international community, and looks forward to welcoming independent Namibia in the assembly of sovereign nations in the very near future.

Mr. ROSHAN-RANAAN (Afghanistan): The question of Namibia, the question of the freedom and independence of a heroic nation that has been denied its natural rights, is once again before the General Assembly. Year after year - for years now - we, like the Namibians themselves, have been hoping that by the next General Assembly session the need to address this question would be eliminated. However, in the face of the intransigence of the apartheid régime in South Africa and its total defiance of the verdict of the United Nations and the entire world community, we have had to come again and again to the Assembly to engage in yet another exercise of debating the question of Namibia. This, unfortunately, has been the

(Mr. Noshan-Rawaan, Afghanistan)

case not for years but - yes - for decades, beginning with the very inception of the United Nations itself. In the meantime, the valorous people of Namibia have been suffering under the colonial yoke and the apartheid policies of the Pretoria régime.

This year, however, we are discussing the question of Namibia in circumstances in which there exists some hope that the debate on Namibia this time will indeed prove to be the last one. The progress made yesterday at Geneva in the negotiations between the sides concerned justifies a certain amount of hope. We commend in this regard the constructive position adopted by Angola and Cuba towards reaching a tentative agreement to settle the situation in southwestern Africa. However, the international community must remain vigilant because, unfortunately, the Pretoria régime has a long record of finding pretexts to defy the will of the Namibian nation and the verdict of the international community.

It is the earnest hope of my delegation that this time pessimism will prove wrong, and that sooner rather than later the Namibian nation will see dawning on their ancestral land the light of the independence and freedom which, by virtue of their long, arduous and heroic struggle, they so richly deserve.

The history of the suffering of the Namibian people has indeed been very long. For more than a century and a half, generation after generation of the Namibian people have lived, suffered and struggled under the colonial yoke. For more than 20 years they have been waging, under the leadership of the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO), a valiant armed struggle for the attainment of their inalienable rights. Two full decades have passed since the United Nations terminated the illegal occupation of Namibia by the racist Pretoria régime and legally shouldered the responsibility for preparing the nation for statehood. Security Council resolution 435 (1978), embodying the United Nations plan for the independence of Namibia, has been left unimplemented although it was accepted by

(Mr. Roshan-Rawaan, Afghanistan)

SWAPO. In the meantime, the Namibian people have been subjected to the dual cruelty of oppressive and exploitative colonialism and the intrinsically inhuman policy of apartheid.

Even in recent months, while negotiations on the independence of Namibia have been in progress, the apartheid régime of South Africa has increased its various repressive colonial measures in order to continue trampling under foot the rights and freedoms of the Namibian people. Reinforcing its already huge repressive machinery in the country, the Pretoria régime has poured more occupation troops and war material into Namibia. Murder squads and the police have been let loose to commit acts of repression and terrorism against innocent civilians, shooting people at will and looting their property.

(Mr. Roshan-Rawaan, Afghanistan)

Imprisonment, detention without trial and torture of the heroic sons and daughters of Namibia have not only continued but considerably increased.

Yet, as I have said, there is a flicker of hope, but for this hope to be realized the General Assembly has to send the strongest signal of the need for the full implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978). The United Nations plan for the independence of Namibia endorsed in that resolution provides a just, orderly and practicable way to bring about the attainment of full independence and freedom for the heroic Namibian people. The Pretoria régime's army of occupation must be removed from the territory of Namibia, and other such paramilitary organizations as the special murder squads must be dismantled; and measures should be taken to prevent them from disrupting the process of the transition of the Namibian people to independence and statehood. My delegation firmly supports the territorial integrity of Namibia including Walvis Bay, the Penguin Islands and other offshore islands which are integral parts of Namibia. The fate of those regions must not be left for future negotiations between Namibia and South Africa.

To conclude, I should like to reaffirm the solidarity of the people and Government of the Republic of Afghanistan with the Namibian people, and our unswerving support for their legitimate and heroic struggle and for their sole, legitimate representative, SWAPO. Like so many others in this Hall, we earnestly hope to see the delegation of a free and independent Namibia among us at the next General Assembly session. Such a happy event will be the zenith of the decolonization process begun by the United Nations decades ago with the adoption of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

Mr. TEEHANKEE (Philippines): This Organization's struggle for the freedom of Namibia will be remembered as among the most protracted and tortuous processes ever sorely to test the will, resolve and determination of the United

(Mr. Teehankee, Philippines)

Nations. What started out as a case of decolonization, with the seemingly simple solution in 1966 of terminating South Africa's Mandate over Namibia, proved to be not so simple.

Having been granted in 1919 the defunct League of Nations Mandate over the former German colony, South Africa's ignoble intentions towards Namibia became obvious in the late 1940s. South Africa demanded that it incorporate Namibia after refusing to enter into a trusteeship agreement mandating the Territory to be led to full independence. Long diplomatic discussions ensued at the United Nations and the World Court, leading to the adoption by the General Assembly in 1966 of resolution 2145 (XXI), which finally terminated South Africa's Mandate and made Namibia the direct legal responsibility of the United Nations.

At that time the international community did not fully comprehend South Africa's designs and how reprehensibly it would behave. South Africa defied the resolutions of this world body and refused to leave Namibia. For 22 years South Africa has stayed on, to this very day.

The people of Namibia instinctively recognized their adversary. Their insight was born of their sad experience under the racist and illegal occupier of their land. They did what they had to do to free themselves and their land from South Africa's grip. They organized themselves and launched their just struggle for freedom. The South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO) was born.

Thus the United Nations Council for Namibia was established to act as the sole, legal Administering Authority for the Territory. It was given the mandate to promote the welfare of the people of Namibia and to advance their cause and fulfilment of their legitimate aspirations to self-determination and independence. In 1978 the Security Council adopted resolution 435 (1978), which endorsed the universally accepted plan for Namibia's independence.

(Mr. Teehankee, Philippines)

The Philippines has always maintained that the long-overdue implementation of this resolution offers the best hope for a peaceful settlement of the Namibian question. Among other things, the resolution outlines a programme for bringing Namibia to independence through free elections under international supervision, thereby terminating South Africa's illegal occupation of Namibia. Since all the outstanding issues pertaining to the implementation of the plan had been resolved as early as 1985, with agreement reached on the electoral system, we see no valid reason why the implementation of the resolution should be delayed any further.

Namibia's independence has been linked to the larger conflict in the south-western African region, but we hold the view that this linkage is unwarranted. The Namibians' long-frustrated, just aspiration to independence, which has long been denied them, must not be held hostage to the political, security and economic interests of South Africa and the Powers that support Pretoria.

For too long has the presence of over 100,000 South African troops turned Namibia into an armed camp, the war disrupting the daily life of its people, causing many of them to flee to neighbouring States as refugees from their own land. For too long has Namibia's patrimony been ravished. The selfish exploitation by foreign economic interests of Namibia's natural resources, consisting of uranium, diamonds, zinc, lead, copper and manganese, as well as agricultural and fishery resources, has continued unabated and virtually unregulated, with an estimated 16 per cent to 20 per cent of Namibia's gross domestic product remitted abroad in the form of profits salted away by foreign exploiters. For too long have Namibian workers been forced from their land by decadent colonialism and denied basic human rights by apartheid, trapped in an economic system that ensures foreign interests an abundant supply of their cheap,

(Mr. Teehankee, Philippines)

enslaved labour. For too long has Namibia been ruled by internal Governments using repressive laws and proclamations to ensure control of the land and deprive its people of their birthright.

The Namibians' control over their own destiny must be secured soon, through concerted efforts that would effect the early liberation of the Territory. The Philippines follows with keen interest the ongoing peace process in south-western Africa, which should bring about Namibia's independence without further delay. The Geneva protocol of 5 August 1988, agreed to by Angola, Cuba, and South Africa, set out the sequence of steps necessary to prepare for the independence of Namibia in accordance with Security Council resolution 435 (1978). This gives us cause for hope that the Namibians may finally taste the fruit of their long years of struggle.

We have noted the Secretary-General's preparation for the timely emplacement of the United Nations Transition Assistance Group (UNTAG) in Namibia. We are gratified by the result of his working visit to southern Africa, which, among other things, led to the finalization of the draft agreement establishing the legal status of UNTAG, and to agreement on the recent dispatch of a United Nations technical team to the Territory to update United Nations plans to meet administrative and logistic requirements.*

*Mr. Dlamini (Swaziland), Vice-President, took the Chair.

(Mr. Teehankee, Philippines)

We look forward to the day when the Security Council will adopt the enabling resolution signalling the implementation of resolution 435 (1978) and emplacing UNTAG in Namibia.

These recent developments have ushered in a general cessation of armed acts of hostility in the south-western region of Africa - in Namibia and Angola. The report today that an agreement has finally been reached in the current negotiations on Namibian independence and on the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola is most heartening. The Philippines welcomes these happy developments, for they enhance the prospects for a lasting and amicable settlement of the conflict in the region as a whole and give universal peace a chance to succeed.

In spite of all these signs of hope, South Africa has to this day remained in Namibia. South Africa must leave Namibia now. South Africa must be made to realize that its policies of apartheid and its denial of freedom and human rights have been universally condemned and repudiated by a civilization born of the holocaust of the Second World War, a civilization that acknowledges the primacy of human dignity regardless of race, colour or creed and respects the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations. At this crucial stage when the independence of Namibia is within our grasp, the international community must not let the opportunity pass or relax its pressure for the urgent implementation of resolution 435 (1978) before this year ends. Justice for the Namibian people cannot be delayed any further. They deserve it in full and they deserve it now.

Mr. SERRANO CALDERA (Nicaragua) (interpretation from Spanish): On 19 July 1979 the people of Nicaragua closed for ever one of the darkest chapters in its history: the period of the Somoza military dictatorship. With its overthrow, our people assumed control of its own destiny once more. Because we have lived through the historic experience of waging a struggle of national liberation, we

(Mr. Serrano Caldera, Nicaragua)

fully appreciate what it means for a people to struggle for its independence and self-determination. For that reason, and on grounds of principle, we have always supported, and we shall always support, those who fight to free themselves from injustice and repression. Such is the case with the people of Namibia, whose struggles and hopes we completely share.

Once again the General Assembly is dealing with the question of Namibia, because this question constitutes an international problem of extraordinary importance that remains unresolved because of the intransigence and the illegal occupation by the South African régime.

More than 20 years have gone by since the United Nations rejected the South African request to annex the Territory and since the establishment, in 1967, under resolution 2248 (S-V), of the United Nations Council for Namibia for the purpose of administering the Territory until its accession to independence. Ten years have elapsed since the Security Council adopted resolution 435 (1978), which represents a milestone in the struggle of our Organization to achieve the independence and self-determination of the Namibian people.

Today we are considering the question of Namibia in an atmosphere which we can describe as one of expectation and uncertainty. We have followed with expectation the development of the quadripartite talks among Cuba, Angola and South Africa, with the United States acting as mediator, in the hope that these would at last lead to the independence of Namibia and to the ending of South Africa's aggression and occupation of Angola. Nevertheless, we must make it clear that there can be no conditional link between the development of these talks and the implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978).

It is pertinent to reiterate, in this regard, as is pointed out in the report of the Special Committee of 24, that any political settlement of the question of Namibia must be based on the immediate and unconditional termination of South

(Mr. Serrano Caldera, Nicaragua)

Africa's illegal occupation of the Territory, the withdrawal of its armed forces and the free and unrestricted exercise by the Namibian people of its right to self-determination and independence in accordance with General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV).

The United Nations plan for the independence of Namibia contained in Security Council resolutions 385 (1976) and 435 (1978) is the only universally accepted basis for a peaceful settlement of the question of Namibia, and for this reason it is essential that it be implemented immediately without pre-conditions or modifications.

The uncertainty results from the history of deception on the part of South Africa and its allies in their desire to continue to postpone indefinitely the implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978). We all hoped that on 1 November the process of implementing resolution 435 (1978) would finally begin, but once again our hopes were dashed by new pretexts and delays. This reaffirms, once again, that the only way of dealing with the racist Pretoria régime is by international pressure, for we cannot expect that it will correct its behaviour on its own initiative. The concerted pressure of the international community will always be necessary if there is to be forward movement along the path leading to Namibia's independence.

(Mr. Serrano Caldera, Nicaragua)

It is a fact known to all that Pretoria, while talking about peace, has increased the repression and militarization of Namibia. South African military personnel in the Territory now number more than 100,000. It is particularly striking that this increased militarization coincided precisely with the cease-fire announced in August by the President of the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO), Comrade Sam Nujoma, which entered into force on 1 September this year.

We have always considered the root of all the problems in southern Africa to be the existence of apartheid in South Africa. The collaboration South Africa receives from its allies constitutes a sizeable obstacle to the full enjoyment of the inalienable rights of the South African and Namibian peoples and to the attainment of peace and stability in southern Africa.

Nicaragua insists on the imposition of broad mandatory sanctions on Pretoria as a fundamental step by the international community to put an end to apartheid. We hope those who now proclaim themselves to be defenders of freedom and democracy but ironically support the racist minority and injustice in South Africa will place the human rights of 25 million human beings above the financial profits obtained through the sacrifice of so many.

The United Nations has direct responsibility over Namibia. Nicaragua, as an observer member of the United Nations Council for Namibia, reaffirms its support for the work of the Council, which will end only with the attainment of complete and total Namibian independence.

We have heard that progress was made yesterday as a result of the negotiations in Geneva. If that is so, it is of course an encouraging sign and we welcome it. None the less, the problem continues to demand priority attention and the pressure on Pretoria must continue in order to ensure compliance with what has been agreed.

(Mr. Serrano Caldera, Nicaragua)

In conclusion we wish to reiterate our unswerving solidarity with the heroic people of Namibia and its sole, legitimate vanguard, SWAPO, in its just struggle to win its inalienable rights: justice, freedom and peace.

Mr. KAM (Panama) (interpretation from Spanish): The debate on the question of Namibia is taking place today in an atmosphere of cautious optimism produced by the news which has reached us from Geneva. The information in fact indicates that in the most recent round of talks held in Geneva by the Governments of Angola, Cuba and South Africa, they have reached important agreements that give us hope that at last it will be possible to implement the United Nations plan for the independence of Namibia approved in Security Council resolution 435 (1978).

Ten years have passed since the adoption of the plan - 10 more years of suffering, oppression and privation for the people of Namibia, but also 10 years of struggle, resistance and courage on the part of that heroic people, under the leadership of its sole and legitimate representative the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO), to which Panama reaffirms its constant solidarity. They have also been 10 years of daily condemnation of South Africa and of growing solidarity with the Namibian people on the part of the international community.

Today there is a greater awareness in the world in respect of Namibia. The illegality of Namibia's occupation by South Africa is no longer being discussed. No one questions the inalienable right of the people of Namibia to self-determination and independence. None the less, as the Secretary-General has said, Namibia is the most urgent remaining problem of decolonization.

Namibian independence has for too long been the victim of obstruction and policies that put selfish interests ahead of the sacred rights of peoples and the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter, which remain a dead letter, in order to meet hegemonic appetites.

(Mr. Kam, Panama)

Panama has unswervingly affirmed that the question of Namibia is essentially colonial in nature and must be solved on the basis of the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of South Africa from the Territory so that the people of Namibia can freely and unconditionally exercise its inalienable right to self-determination and independence in a united Namibia.

We have insisted that Namibia must achieve independence without any detriment to its territorial integrity, including Walvis Bay, the Penguin Islands and other islands off the coast of Namibia, which are an inseparable part of its territorial heritage and can under no circumstances be annexed by South Africa.

In 1966 the General Assembly terminated South Africa's Mandate over Namibia and decided that the Territory would be the direct responsibility of the United Nations until it achieved complete self-determination and independence.

In 1978 the Security Council adopted its resolution 435 (1978), which approved the United Nations plan for the independence of Namibia, the sole internationally accepted basis for a peaceful solution to the question of Namibia. Three years ago the Secretary-General informed us that all matters related to that plan had been resolved when, in November 1985, an agreement was reached on the question of the electoral system.

(Mr. Kam, Panama)

None the less, the South African régime persistently refuses to implement the plan completely, putting forward unjustifiable arguments and introducing extraneous factors having nothing to do with the question of Namibia, especially the so-called linkage between the withdrawal of the Cuban internationalist forces from Angola and the independence of Namibia. Thanks to the constructive and flexible position taken by the Governments of Angola and Cuba, that artificial and inappropriate obstacle, raised by South Africa and fervently defended by its allies, is now almost overcome and the way is thus cleared for the implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978) and its plan for Namibian independence.

Since the formulation of that plan in 1978, Panama has considered it of the utmost importance. We have always recognized that the question of Namibia involves fundamental principles that have been shaped by mankind in its constant endeavour to attain a world of freedom, justice and peace. Hence my country from the very outset unhesitatingly and fully support its implementation.

In 1978, as a matter of fact, Panama offered to the United Nations a contribution of 500 units from its defence forces to form part of the United Nations Transition Assistance Group (UNTAG) during the period of transition to independence. The United Nations has since accepted my country's offer: Panama was included in the list of countries accepted to participate in the military component of the Assistance Group. Today, as we have done on other occasions, we confirm before the Assembly Panama's decision and its determination to fulfil that commitment undertaken 10 years ago. This is evidence of our unwavering determination to make an effective contribution to the process that will lead to independence for Namibia.

Having said that, it is our duty to alert the international community to certain attempts to prevent my country's participation in the Transition Assistance

(Mr. Kam, Panama)

Group. Indeed, my delegation has information indicating that a permanent member of the Security Council is abusing its veto power, by attempting to prevent Panama's participation. It is deplorable that a major Power should be displaying such pettiness, bringing its persecution of and reprisals against my country into the field of independence for Namibia. It is deplorable that that permanent member of the Security Council has chosen the plan for Namibian independence as a field of action for its bilateral differences with Panama. It is also condemnable that that permanent member of the Security Council is attempting to use that operation in Namibia as an instrument to punish my country for not bending to its dictates and for defending its own self-determination and independence unswervingly.

The Nobel Peace Prize for 1988 has been awarded to the United Nations peace-keeping forces because the entire world recognizes their professionalism, their neutrality and their dedication to the lofty principles and purposes of the San Francisco Charter. Let us fight to preserve that reputation and let us not under any circumstances, under any pretext, allow any permanent member of the Security Council, or any country whatsoever, to try to use the peace-keeping operations of the United Nations as a tool for its individual policies, let alone as a means of reprisal and retaliation against any other country.

Mr. JAYASINGHE (Sri Lanka): The question of Namibia has been under consideration by the United Nations for 42 years, having been inscribed on the agenda at its very first session in 1946. The original date set by the United Nations for Namibia's independence was two decades ago. It is a decade since the adoption by the Security Council of resolution 435 (1978), which set out the United Nations plan for Namibian independence.

The reason for the failure of our continued efforts to usher in independence for Namibia is well known. It is the continued illegal occupation by South Africa of Namibian territory in contravention of numerous General Assembly and Security

(Mr. Jayasinghe, Sri Lanka)

Council resolutions. The question of Namibia is of prime importance in the process of decolonization to which the entire civilized world is committed. It is neither a bilateral nor a regional conflict; it is a global problem which calls for justice. With the exception of South Africa, the world community holds this view. The important question before us for long years has been how to translate this view into action amidst South Africa's continued defiance of the overwhelming desire of the international community.

Sri Lanka once again strongly reaffirms the inalienable rights of the Namibian people to self-determination and independence in a united Namibia in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations and General Assembly resolutions 1514 (XV), 2145 (XXI) of October 1966, and subsequent resolutions relating to Namibia.

Sri Lanka holds the view that the Territory of Namibia must include Walvis Bay, the Penguin Island and other offshore islands which are integral parts of Namibia.

The United Nations is directly responsible for Namibia until independence is achieved, in terms of the relevant resolutions and decisions of the General Assembly and the Security Council. This view was further confirmed by the International Court of Justice by its judgement which held that South Africa continued to have obligations under the League of Nations Mandate and was bound to submit to the supervision of the United Nations, the legal successor of the League. South Africa ignored this ruling and proceeded to govern Namibia. Since then it has vacillated considerably in its manner of exercising control over Namibia.

With mounting frustration in the international community, as well as amongst the Namibians themselves, the United Nations by General Assembly resolution 2145 (XXI) terminated the Mandate over Namibia and placed Namibia under its direct responsibility. At present the legitimacy of this action is questioned only by

(Mr. Jayasinghe, Sri Lanka)

South Africa. The international community must be wary of continued attempts by South Africa to circumvent the declared objectives of the United Nations. How much credence can we attach to the current declared intention of South Africa to leave the illegally occupied Namibian territory? The international community must avoid complacency in its dealings with South Africa. Pretoria's past behaviour does not inspire confidence in its words and pledges.

Any solution of the Namibian situation must be based on the immediate and unconditional termination of South Africa's illegal occupation of the Territory, the withdrawal of its armed forces and the free and unfettered exercise by the Namibian people of their right to self-determination and independence in accordance with General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV). The United Nations plan for the independence of Namibia, embodied in Security Council resolutions 385 (1976) and 435 (1978) is the only internationally accepted basis for a peaceful settlement of the Namibian question, and we should ensure its immediate implementation without pre-conditions or modification. Any other negotiations, such as the ongoing quadripartite negotiations, must be aimed at accomplishing the objectives of the United Nations mandate.

(Mr. Jayasinghe, Sri Lanka)

Sri Lanka rejects the attempts to impart to the question of Namibia a dimension different from what it is really - an act of colonial domination in violation of the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter. Any attempt to portray the Namibian question as part of an East-West confrontation rather than one of decolonization is in flagrant defiance of the will and judgement of the international community. Sri Lanka also considers the policies of "constructive engagement" and "linkage" as extraneous issues that are not relevant to the question of the independence of Namibia. These policies have encouraged the South African régime to continue its illegal occupation of the Namibian territory. Such extraneous issues are deliberate ploys intended to delay the independence of Namibia and jeopardize the responsibility of the United Nations for the Territory and the authority of the Security Council, which decided on the universally supported plan for its independence.

Sri Lanka reaffirms its solidarity with, and support for, the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO), the sole and authentic representative of the Namibian people, and pays a tribute to that organization for the sacrifices that it has made in the field of battle and also for the spirit of statesmanship, co-operation and far-sightedness it has displayed in the political and diplomatic arenas, despite the most extreme provocations on the part of the South African régime. We extend our unreserved support for the courageous people of Namibia in their legitimate struggle for self-determination and national independence in the context of Pretoria's continued intransigence and brutal repression of the Namibian people. The liberation struggle of the Namibian people, led by SWAPO, constitutes an important and decisive factor in the efforts to achieve independence in a united Namibia.

It is a matter of profound concern that the situation on the ground in Namibia contrasts sharply with developments in the diplomatic field. The Pretoria régime

(Mr. Jayasinghe, Sri Lanka)

has intensified its repressive measures against the Namibian people. The shooting of innocent civilians, the looting of property, detention and torture have been on the increase in recent months. Pretoria has reinforced its military forces in the Territory. The fresh wave of repression and intimidation has forced many more Namibians to seek exile in other countries. Reportedly, hundreds of Namibians are seeking refuge in Angola. In the light of these developments the international community must be extra vigilant. The political and diplomatic pressures on Pretoria must continue until South Africa accedes to unconditional withdrawal from Namibia and the implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978).

The assault on the Namibian people comes from many fronts and continues unabated in spite of the overwhelming demand of the international community for the liberation of Namibian territory. The illegal exploitation of the natural resources of Namibia has not decreased. These natural resources, which include marine resources, are the inviolable heritage of the Namibian people. The exploitation of those resources, in particular that of the uranium and diamond deposits by South African and foreign economic interests, is in violation of the pertinent resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council and is contrary to the advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice of June 1971, and is of serious concern to the Namibian people and to the international community. These foreign economic interests should, in compliance with the relevant resolutions and decisions of the United Nations, immediately withdraw from Namibian territory. Their presence and co-operation with the illegal régime of South Africa and their continued exploitation of the human and natural resources of the Territory are detrimental to the interests of the Namibian people and constitute a major obstacle to the realization of the independence of Namibia.

(Mr. Jayasinghe, Sri Lanka)

We are happy to hear that a preliminary agreement on a formula for Namibian independence was reached at the quadripartite talks concluded recently in Geneva. Although we do not recognize the so-called linkage policy as an issue directly connected with Namibian independence, we welcome any developments in the region that would facilitate the prompt gaining of independence by the Namibian people. It is our earnest hope that this agreement will be ratified by the respective Governments and put into effect without undue delay so that the long awaited United Nations plan for Namibian independence can proceed. Until we reach this stage, our response to the present development should be one of cautious optimism. With our past experience with South Africa, we should not be overly optimistic and lose sight of other options available, in particular the option of imposing comprehensive and mandatory sanctions under the terms of the Charter. It is our sincere hope that by agreeing to a definite plan for withdrawal from Namibia, South Africa will not compel the international community to stretch itself to that extent. Until such time, the United Nations is legally and morally bound to continue to exert pressure on the illegal occupier of the Namibian territory.

The meeting rose at 1.10 p.m.