



**President: Mr. Paul J. F. LUSAKA
(Zambia).**

*In the absence of the President, Mr. Gbeho (Ghana),
Vice-President, took the Chair.*

AGENDA ITEM 29

Question of Namibia:

- (a) 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;**
- (b) Report of the United Nations Council for Namibia;**
- (c) Reports of the Secretary-General**

1. The PRESIDENT: I propose that the list of speakers be closed this afternoon at 5 p.m. May I take it that there is no objection to this proposal?

It was so decided.

2. The PRESIDENT: I call on Mr. Kirca, Acting President of the United Nations Council for Namibia, who wishes to introduce the report of the Council [A/39/24].

3. Mr. KIRCA (Turkey), Acting President of the United Nations Council for Namibia: It is my proud privilege and great honour first to congratulate the President, Mr. Paul Lusaka, on his assumption of the presidency of the General Assembly. I am doing so in my capacity of Acting President of the United Nations Council for Namibia, of which he is the President. The Council he served with such distinction has made considerable progress in the discharge of its responsibilities under his skilful and dedicated leadership.

4. Our deep appreciation is also extended to the Secretary-General, who has demonstrated exemplary leadership qualities as Chief Executive of the United Nations in ensuring that the mandate of the Organization concerning the independence of Namibia is carried out with the highest degree of efficiency and dispatch.

5. Permit me to recall the President's statement to the General Assembly at its thirty-seventh session. On that occasion, Mr. Lusaka said, among other things:

"The United Nations Council for Namibia remains convinced that the heroic and exemplary struggle of the people of Namibia for independence, under the leadership of SWAPO, aided by the sustained support of the international commu-

nity, will soon bear the fruits of victory." [101st meeting, para. 126.]

6. Two whole years have gone by and those robust principles, that ardent hope expressed in the President's statement, still remain unimplemented, owing to South Africa's continued contravention of all the resolutions of the United Nations demanding a cessation of its illegal activities in Namibia. Indeed, the current session of the General Assembly marks the thirty-ninth year that the question of Namibia has been on the international agenda. During those years, fundamental decisions have been taken by both the Security Council and the General Assembly upholding the right of the Namibian people to self-determination and independence. Attention has been drawn to the threat to international peace and security implicit in the continued illegal presence of South Africa in Namibia, but those decisions have remained unimplemented.

7. In spite of those resolutions, there has been an acceleration by South Africa and its trading partners of the ruthless plunder of Namibia's natural resources. Such plunder is ultimately bound to have an adverse effect on the economic development of an independent Namibia. Also, a concerted subversion of the national and territorial integrity and unity of Namibia by the racist South African régime has been the order of the day in that régime's claim to sovereignty over Walvis Bay and several islands that justly form an integral part of the Namibian territory.

8. South Africa has engaged in a bantustanization of the Namibian territory through uprooting indigenous Namibians from their homes and forcing them to live in the most unproductive sections of the Territory. The odious policies of *apartheid* have grown by leaps and bounds. There have been repeated attempts by the Pretoria régime to eliminate the South West Africa People's Organization [SWAPO], the sole and authentic representative of the Namibian people, through an escalation of its military operations and an intensification of its policies of aggression against the people of that Territory. Wanton killings, arrests and detentions without trial have been readily resorted to by South Africa in an attempt to foil the just aspirations of the Namibian people and other freedom fighters struggling for their inherent right to self-determination and independence. In fact, it was in January of this year that the Security Council had to convene another meeting to consider the question of the death sentence passed by the Supreme Court of South Africa on Benjamin Maloise Malesela, a member of the African National Congress of South Africa [ANC].

9. In June of this year, the South African régime arrested 37 SWAPO members and supporters, including several prominent personalities, who were gathered at a Catholic seminary at Dobra, eight miles north of Windhoek, to celebrate the release of 54

prisoners from the Mariental jail in May. These 54 prisoners were themselves incarcerated by South Africa six years earlier during its raids on the Kassinga refugee camp in 1978.

10. There have been reports that as recently as August 1984 widespread atrocities were again committed against civilians in the northern part of Namibia by the activities of the so-called special unit of the South African Defence Force who, posing as SWAPO freedom fighters, razed a kraal in western Kavango, killing several civilians, including women and children. These crimes against the people of Namibia are appalling to all freedom-loving and civilized nations.

11. States neighbouring South Africa have likewise been subjected to the régime's ruthless armed aggression. During the course of this year, the Security Council convened yet another meeting, in response to a request by Angola, in order to avert the worsening of the military situation in southern Angola and the violent combat being waged between South African military units and Angolan units about 200 kilometres from the Namibian border.

12. Since the collapse of the pre-implementation talks in Geneva in 1981—a collapse brought about by South Africa's intransigence—there have been continued and repeated attempts by that régime to impose an internal settlement in Namibia, outside the framework of Security Council resolution 435 (1978). That régime's preoccupation with linking Namibian independence to the withdrawal of Cuban forces from Angola is justifiably regarded by the United Nations Council for Namibia as yet another attempt by the Pretoria régime to perpetuate its illegal administration in that Territory.

13. There have been endless speculations in the press about the recent discussions between South Africa and Angola on the withdrawal of Cuban forces from Angola. Reports abound of other diplomatic efforts that are being made aimed at breaking out of the current impasse in the Namibian independence talks. While the United Nations Council for Namibia welcomes those discussions and efforts, it remains firmly convinced that the only fair and just settlement of the Namibian question will be one that falls within the framework of Security Council resolution 435 (1978).

14. The United Nations Council for Namibia, as the legal Administering Authority for the Territory until independence, has spared no effort to fulfil the responsibilities entrusted to it by General Assembly resolution 2248 (S-V). The totality of our concern for Namibia has been manifested in the various symposia and seminars that we have hosted during the course of the year. The objective of these exercises is to build public awareness of the Namibian cause and to draw the attention of the international community to the dangers inherent in South Africa's continued illegal occupation of that Territory.

15. In carrying out its various activities and programmes, the Council has been much encouraged by the firm solidarity and support of Member States. Those States and some of their domestic organizations have expressed a genuine desire for an effective solution of the Namibian question. A common conclusion that can be drawn from the various symposia and seminars organized by the Council during the course of this year is the recognition, by the participants, of the United Nations Council for Namibia as the legal Administering Authority for the Territory until independence, unqualified support for

the Council's various activities and an appeal to the Council to accelerate its efforts to achieve independence for the people of Namibia.

16. In the Bangkok Declaration and Programme of Action on Namibia [A/39/24, part two, chap. III, sect. B], adopted by the United Nations Council for Namibia on 25 May 1984 at its extraordinary plenary meetings held at Bangkok, the Council emphasized the importance of action by local authorities, trade unions, religious bodies, academic institutions, mass media, solidarity movements and other non-governmental organizations, as well as individual men and women, in mobilizing Governments and public opinion in support of the liberation struggle of the Namibian people, under the leadership of SWAPO, and in counteracting all forms of collaboration with the occupation régime in Namibia. It commended all those who had steadfastly supported the Namibian cause for their unflagging commitment and urged them further to co-ordinate and intensify their efforts.

17. I wish to reiterate the profound gratitude of the United Nations Council for Namibia to all the participants in our various gatherings and to express the hope that they will use their influence with the Governments of their respective countries in furtherance of the achievement of the aims and objectives of the Council. The Council is fully convinced that it was such influence that led to the exertion of the international pressure which secured the release of Mr. Andimba Toivo ya Toivo on 1 March 1984, after 16 years of incarceration by the racist régime of South Africa.

18. Against that background, I am sure that the Assembly will understand why it is the fervent hope of the Council that it may once again rely on the Assembly for overwhelming support for and favourable reaction to the report of the United Nations Council for Namibia [A/39/24], which I am about to present to it.

19. This report consists of four parts and three annexes. The first part deals with the work of the Council as a policy-making organ of the United Nations; the second part concerns the work of the Council as the legal Administering Authority for Namibia; the third part concerns the organization and decisions of the Council; and the fourth part deals with recommendations and activities involving financial implications. It is the fourth part that contains the draft resolutions recommended by the United Nations Council for Namibia to the General Assembly for adoption.

20. As in recent years, the Council is again presenting five draft resolutions to the General Assembly.

21. In draft resolution A, entitled "Situation in Namibia resulting from the illegal occupation of the Territory by South Africa", account is taken of previous resolutions recommended to and adopted by the General Assembly on the question of Namibia. In this text, South Africa's continued colonial domination of the Territory is firmly denounced and concerted efforts are called for to counter all manoeuvres aimed at undermining the fulfilment of the primary responsibility of the United Nations for the decolonization of Namibia.

22. For the past several years, the Security Council has been called upon by the United Nations Council for Namibia to impose comprehensive mandatory sanctions against South Africa under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations, in order to ensure

the total cessation of all co-operation with that régime by Governments, corporations, institutions and individuals. That appeal is reiterated in draft resolution B, entitled "Implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978)".

23. The "Programme of work of the United Nations Council for Namibia" is the subject of draft resolution C. Draft resolution D, entitled "Dissemination of information and mobilization of international public opinion in support of Namibia", envisages a broad programme of activities aimed at intensifying the international campaign in support of the Namibian cause. In draft resolution E, entitled "United Nations Fund for Namibia", the Assembly decides that the Council should continue to formulate policies of assistance to Namibians and co-ordinate assistance for Namibia provided by the specialized agencies and other organizations and institutions of the United Nations system. The Assembly expresses its appreciation of the assistance from those bodies and urges their close co-operation with the United Nations Institute for Namibia in strengthening the programme of its activities.

24. In general, the draft resolutions appeal, as have those of previous years, to the international community for its unreserved support for the just struggle of the Namibian people and all measures undertaken by the Council in the promotion of independence for Namibia, in accordance with Security Council resolution 435 (1978). Our draft resolutions may have been couched in milder tones during the initial stages of our negotiations with the racist régime for a withdrawal of its illegal occupation from Namibia. The firmness of our draft resolutions in recent years is our natural reaction to South Africa's ongoing rejection of all efforts on the part of the United Nations to solve the Namibian question. Also, the intensity of our appeals is consistent with the diversification of our work and our increased commitment and obligations concerning the liberation of the Namibian people.

25. I express the hope that the initiatives taken by the Council in each of these draft resolutions will generate a favourable reaction.

26. The PRESIDENT: I now call on the Rapporteur 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, Mr. Adhami, who will introduce chapter IX of the report of the Special Committee [A/39/23].

27. Mr. ADHAMI (Syrian Arab Republic), Rapporteur 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: I have the honour to introduce to the General Assembly chapter IX of the report of the Special Committee, covering its work during 1984 concerning the question of Namibia.

28. The report is submitted pursuant to paragraph 12 of General Assembly resolution 38/54, of 7 December 1983, on the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, by which the General Assembly requested the Special Committee

"to continue to seek suitable means for the immediate and full implementation of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) in all Territories that have not yet attained independence and, in particular:

"(a) To formulate specific proposals for the elimination of the remaining manifestations of colonialism"

29. In continuing to perform these tasks in relation to the question of Namibia, the Special Committee took into consideration the various relevant resolutions of the General Assembly concerning this question, in particular resolutions 38/36 A to E, as well as the related decisions of the Security Council and the United Nations Council for Namibia.

30. As will be noted from the report, in 1984 the Special Committee once again examined in depth the developments relating to the question of Namibia, with the active participation of the President of the United Nations Council for Namibia and the representative of SWAPO.

31. In a decision adopted by the Special Committee, as reflected in paragraph 15 of chapter IX of the report, the Committee noted with great concern the critical situation in and around Namibia resulting from the continued illegal occupation of the Territory by the racist minority régime of South Africa, its persistent defiance of the relevant resolutions and decisions of the United Nations and its sinister attempts to impose neo-colonial institutions on the people of Namibia, through bogus and puppet political groupings, to legitimize an internal settlement. The *apartheid* régime of South Africa is thus responsible for a situation that seriously threatens international peace and security.

32. Because of the intransigence of South Africa, its persistent delaying tactics to prevent the speedy implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978), its massive military buildup in Namibia and its repeated acts of armed aggression against the Namibian people, the Special Committee observed that it was more imperative than ever for the United Nations to reassert its legal responsibility for Namibia and take urgent steps to bring about faithful and unqualified compliance by the racist régime of South Africa with the decisions of the United Nations in order to enable the people of Namibia to exercise without further delay their inalienable right to self-determination and independence.

33. In reaffirming once again that Namibia is the direct responsibility of the United Nations, the Special Committee condemned South Africa's continued illegal occupation of the Territory, its brutal repression of the Namibian people and its persistent violation of their human rights, as well as its efforts to destroy the national unity and territorial integrity of Namibia.

34. The Special Committee reaffirmed the inalienable right of the people of the Territory to self-determination and independence in a united Namibia and the legitimacy of their struggle, by all means at their disposal, against the illegal occupation of their territory.

35. The Special Committee rejected and denounced all manoeuvres by South Africa designed to bring about a sham independence in Namibia under a puppet régime or any other fraudulent constitutional and political schemes designed to perpetuate its colonial domination in Namibia. It condemned the latest attempts by South Africa to circumvent the United Nations plan by promoting an internal settlement through the so-called Multi-Party Conference. Such attempts by the racist régime, following on the heels of the decision to establish a so-called State Council with the object of drawing up a "Constitu-

tion", once again made it clear that the Pretoria régime had no intention of complying with the letter and the spirit of the United Nations plan and sought instead to consolidate its illegal hold on the Territory through the installation of puppet political institutions subservient to its own interests. Declaring that all illegal acts taken to this end were null and void, the Special Committee called upon all States to deny any recognition to and to refuse all collaboration with any illegal entity that South Africa might impose upon the Namibian people in disregard of the relevant resolutions of the Security Council and the General Assembly.

36. Condemning South Africa for its large-scale military buildup in Namibia, its introduction of compulsory military service for Namibians, its forced recruitment and training of Namibians for tribal armies, its use of mercenaries to reinforce its illegal occupation of the Territory and to participate in its attacks against independent African States, and its illegal use of Namibian territory for acts of aggression against independent African countries and the establishment of new military bases, the Special Committee called upon all States to take effective measures to prevent the recruitment, training and transit of mercenaries for service in Namibia. It further condemned the continued military, economic and intelligence collaboration between South Africa and certain Western and other States, in particular the United States and Israel. The Committee accordingly called for all such collaboration to be terminated forthwith. The Committee condemned and rejected the policy of so-called constructive engagement pursued by the United States Government, which had further emboldened the *apartheid* régime to intensify its repression of the people of South Africa and Namibia and to escalate aggression against the front-line States. That policy had also encouraged the régime to continue its intransigence over the independence of Namibia, against the wishes and aspirations of the Namibian people and in defiance of resolutions and decisions of the United Nations. It recommended that the Security Council consider adopting further measures to widen the scope of resolution 418 (1977) in order to make it more effective and comprehensive.

37. Reiterating that the United Nations plan for Namibia, endorsed by the Security Council in resolution 435 (1978), remained the only acceptable basis for a peaceful settlement of the Namibian question, the Special Committee reaffirmed the need to proceed to its immediate implementation without modification, qualification or pre-condition and reaffirmed the need to hold, without further delay, free elections under the supervision and control of the United Nations in the whole of Namibia as one political entity, in accordance with Security Council resolutions 385 (1976) and 435 (1978).

38. The Special Committee rejected the attempts by South Africa and its allies to impart to the question of Namibia a dimension different from what it is, namely, an act of colonial domination in violation of the principles and objectives of the Charter of the United Nations and of the relevant resolutions and decisions of the United Nations. The question of Namibia has always been and remains a decolonization issue and should be addressed and resolved in accordance with the provisions of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples [resolution 1514 (XV)] and other relevant United Nations resolutions.

39. Any attempt, therefore, to portray the Namibian question as part of an East-West confrontation or to link it with other extraneous considerations was a flagrant defiance of the will of the international community, as reflected in the position adopted by the United Nations, and could only have the effect of further delaying the independence of Namibia. In rejecting the persistent attempts by the United States and South Africa to establish any linkage or parallelism between the independence of Namibia and any extraneous and irrelevant issues, in particular the withdrawal of Cuban forces from Angola, the Special Committee recalled that both the General Assembly and the Security Council had rejected such linkage and emphasized unequivocally that the persistence of such attempts would only retard the decolonization process in Namibia as well as constitute interference in the internal affairs of Angola. The Committee called upon those who drew this linkage to abandon immediately the policy, which was unacceptable and repugnant to the international community.

40. Further, the Special Committee condemned the South African and other foreign economic interests which continued to exploit and plunder the human and natural resources of the Territory, in disregard of Decree No. 1 for the Protection of the Natural Resources of Namibia,¹ and demanded that such exploitation cease forthwith. In reaffirming that all the natural resources of Namibia were the inviolable and incontestable heritage of the Namibian people, the Committee condemned South Africa's illegal exploitation of such resources, including its illegal extension of the territorial sea, its proclamation of an economic zone off the coast of Namibia and its illegal exploitation of the Territory's marine resources.

41. Finally, the Special Committee recommended that the Security Council act decisively against any dilatory manoeuvres and fraudulent schemes of the illegal occupation régime aimed at frustrating the legitimate struggle of the Namibian people, and it recommended that the Security Council, in the light of the serious threat to international peace and security posed by South Africa's actions, respond positively to the overwhelming demand of the international community by imposing forthwith comprehensive mandatory sanctions against that country under the terms of Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations.

42. On behalf of the Special Committee, I commend its report to the serious attention of the General Assembly.

43. The PRESIDENT: I call on the Chairman of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, Mr. Koroma.

44. Mr. KOROMA (Sierra Leone), Chairman of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples: I am gratified to see Mr. Lusaka, an eminent and worthy representative of Zambia, presiding over this session of the General Assembly. His election is a deserved tribute to his country, whose Government and people are in the front line of the struggle for equality, freedom and justice, as well as against the outrageous and outmoded system of *apartheid*. The sacrifice of the people of Zambia in promoting and supporting that struggle is a source of inspiration to us all. His presidency is also an eloquent testimony to

his own excellent qualities as a diplomat, statesman and dedicated fighter for freedom and justice.

45. May I say how equally gratified I am at seeing Mr. Gbeho presiding over the deliberations of this important question. Having worked closely with him as a friend and colleague here in New York and having experienced his qualities of leadership, eminently displayed as they have been, I am convinced that these deliberations could not have been under a better stewardship.

46. As the Assembly turns its attention to the question of Namibia, this most intransigent of problems, it is profoundly disquieting that the efforts of the international community to bring about genuine independence in Namibia continue to be obstructed by the defiant attitude of the minority régime of South Africa. Almost 18 years after the General Assembly's historic decision [*resolution 2145 (XXI)*] to declare Namibia an international Territory under its jurisdiction, South Africa is the one and only country that has refused to accept the legality of that decision despite the advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice² confirming it.

47. The continued illegal occupation of Namibia by South Africa constitutes a blatant violation of international law, the denial of self-determination to the Namibian people, the continued encroachment on and defiance of the authority of the United Nations and a veritable threat to international peace and security. All those elements have made this question a perennial item on the agenda of the United Nations for nearly 40 years now.

48. Furthermore, the minority régime continues to resort to force and political stratagems in order to prolong its illegal occupation of the Territory and to deny the oppressed people of Namibia their most basic rights and fundamental freedoms.

49. Constant delaying tactics amply demonstrate what we already know—that is, that South Africa will not willingly permit the fulfilment of the legitimate aspirations of the Namibian people for true independence and liberation. On the contrary, it has, with calculated cunning, exploited the efforts of the international community and seeks to bring about a sham independence in Namibia under a puppet régime designed to perpetuate its colonial domination in Namibia. We have all been witnesses to South Africa's dilatory manoeuvres and to the deceitful manner in which, while delaying the implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978), it has presented us with a succession of *faits accomplis*, including the latest attempts to circumvent the United Nations plan by promoting an internal settlement through the so-called Multi-Party Conference.

50. Speaking on 28 November 1983, at the thirty-eighth session of the General Assembly [*72nd meeting*], I stated that the situation prevailing in Namibia, which continued to elude a peaceful transition to majority rule, was entirely due to the ongoing intransigence of the racist occupying régime of South Africa. At the same time, I underscored the obligation of the international community to apply all available measures to bring about South Africa's compliance with the decisions of the Security Council and to put an end to its illegal occupation of that international Territory.

51. One year later, despite the continuing efforts of the international community, the situation in Namibia continues to pose a threat to international peace and security. During the period, a series of

intensified measures and actions were taken by the United Nations bodies and organs concerned in our continuing efforts to find an internationally acceptable solution to the problem. Conferences, seminars and symposia were held at the international, regional and national levels. As described just now so succinctly by the Acting President of the United Nations Council for Namibia, throughout the year the Council has given extensive consideration to every aspect of the question. The Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, within the context of the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, also undertook a serious and vigorous review of the situation in Namibia and, in a decision adopted on 20 August 1984 [*A/39/23, chap. IX, sect. B*], firmly reiterated a set of fundamental principles and the underlying tenets for the liberation of the people of Namibia from 100 years of colonial oppression.

52. Inasmuch as the Rapporteur of the Special Committee, my colleague and friend Mr. Adhmi, has just given a thorough outline of that decision, I shall not elaborate on it further; nor do I intend to give a detailed account of the decisions, declarations or conclusions adopted at those forums because they are all too well known to us here. I wish only to emphasize that the crisis situation in South Africa, *in toto*, owes its being to the inhuman and criminal schemes of subterfuge perpetrated by the illegal occupying régime of Pretoria to seek control over the region through acts of aggression, destabilization and political and economic domination. South Africa continues its blatant attempt to intimidate and demoralize its opponents outside its borders and to stifle and decimate those within South Africa and in Namibia.

53. Through an expansionist scheme which it calls a "constellation of States", South Africa continues its relentless attempt to seek and maintain economic and political subjugation of its neighbours and to exert its control over their policies and their development. These unceasing acts of military aggression and political and economic brigandage, both overt and covert, have inflicted severe economic damage on its neighbours, thus further aggravating the already explosive situation in the region.

54. In tandem with the illegal occupation of Namibia, the Pretoria chieftains have continued occupying southern Angola for the past three years and have refused to withdraw from that territory. It is against this background that the Special Committee has once again reiterated its calls for, first, immediate application of measures under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations; secondly, intensified assistance to the people of Namibia and their sole and authentic representative, SWAPO; and thirdly, provision of the maximum possible assistance to the member Governments of the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference to help them in their efforts to promote regional economic co-operation and development and reduce their economic dependence on the Pretoria régime. On behalf of the Special Committee, I wish to reiterate the confident hope that these appeals will meet with positive responses from all Member States and from the United Nations system of organizations.

55. We, the members of the international community, have the means to solve the problem of the

illegal occupation of Namibia. All that is required of us is that we summon the will to address ourselves to the problem squarely and that we persevere in the only course open to us—that of support for the people whose future we have taken in our hands and whose cause we should betray if we hesitated further in bringing full and effective pressure to bear on the oppressors.

56. Before concluding, I should like, on behalf of the Special Committee, to acknowledge with appreciation the important work being carried out by the United Nations Council for Namibia in the discharge of the mandate entrusted to it. The role of the Council as the legal Administering Authority for Namibia until independence cannot be over-emphasized. At the present stage of the struggle of the Namibian people, it is essential that the Council be given the maximum co-operation by all the Member States so that it can continue to discharge its responsibilities with even greater effectiveness.

57. I am confident that, under the President's leadership and guidance and given his skill, wisdom and diplomacy, the work of the Assembly will make a further positive contribution towards ending the situation in Namibia. We of the Special Committee are convinced that the independence of Namibia is inevitable.

58. The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of Cameroon, who will speak in his capacity as Chairman of the Group of African States.

59. Mr. ENGO (Cameroon): The issue of Namibia has been before the General Assembly for nearly 40 years, drawing the cries of the afflicted peoples of Africa, provoking the indignation of peoples across the globe who still cling to the noble values of decency and demonstrating the scope of the threats and defiance that the decadent South African régime represents to the United Nations and the principles of its Charter, a defiance that mocks our collective endeavour to build a new world motivated by the imperative need to save succeeding generations everywhere from the scourge of war.

60. In these years, we have assembled mountains of speeches and declarations, pleading, appealing, threatening and arguing among ourselves, going to the International Court of Justice for determinations and declaratory judgements that were obvious, some appeasing the South African régime even when its actions are contrary to the most cherished legal traditions and moral values of their nations. Some have introduced ideologies and concepts in their attitudes towards that régime, which purport to carve out a way towards improving the situation in southern Africa. If these have done anything at all, they have succeeded in causing diversionary debates and buying more time and encouragement for the racist régime. What they definitely have not done is change the perspectives, the designs and the naked defiance of the settler group on the southernmost tip of our continent.

61. We have listened with deep appreciation to the statements of the Acting President of the United Nations Council for Namibia and the other speakers. Two nights ago we had the privilege of listening to Nobel Peace Prize winner Bishop Desmond Tutu, Secretary-General of the South African Council of Churches, and also of hearing the pertinent observations of United States Senator Edward Kennedy. All of these have underlined the gospel truth that, far from improving, the situation—a situation, in fact, mischievously created by the racist régime in south-

ern Africa—has worsened. What was said in the debate on *apartheid* is equally applicable to the Namibia issue.

62. The Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity met at its twentieth ordinary session at Addis Ababa, from 12 to 15 November 1984. The African leaders reviewed the situation in Namibia, reaffirming not only "the primary responsibility of the United Nations over Namibia" but also that "Namibia's independence cannot be held hostage to the resolution of issues which are patently damaging to the decolonization process of Namibia".³

63. Next year we shall commemorate the beginning of the last decade of the first half-century of the United Nations. We cannot afford to celebrate as we take stock of the failures that have haunted the attainments. The freedom of the Namibian people is not an academic question requiring speeches and ineffective resolutions. It involves the determination of a deprived people to survive. For the entire continent, the present situation makes nonsense of the principles of self-determination and threatens the entire region with an inevitable arms race, with grave repercussions not only for economic development but also for international peace and security.

64. It is time we mobilized our collective forces at the United Nations to bring a speedy end to the despicable conditions of illegal and immoral imperialism in Namibia. The organ responsible for security in the United Nations system is the Security Council. Six years have elapsed since Security Council resolution 435 (1978) was adopted; its implementation is in a state of paralysis which the Council and the General Assembly cannot ignore if our credibility before history is to be sustained.

65. South Africa has betrayed the generation that entrusted the colonial Territory of South West Africa to it, that gave that racist régime a mandate to hold it in trust under the stated ideals of the international community, which has progressively developed to assume its contemporary corpus. There has been a shameless and fraudulent conversion of the Territory, obtained under a specific mandate, to an annexation for illegal and immoral gratification.

66. Others, such as Great Britain and France, were given similar responsibilities in Africa, concerning my own country, Cameroon, for one. They fulfilled their mandates, adhering to the rules of civilized conduct and permitting history to take its course without bloodshed.

67. It is time for all members of the Security Council, in whose hands permanent responsibilities were placed because of their proved ability to maintain peace and security, to take the necessary action in accordance with their sense of responsibility. Resolutions adopted here and in the Security Council at this time cannot be a substitute for the implementation of resolutions 385 (1976) and, especially, 435 (1978). The proliferation of resolutions is not the problem; the acts perpetrated by the occupation forces and the racist régime constitute the problem.

68. It is the apparent impotence of this universal body on this issue that inflates the arrogance and the illusions of the South African régime, an impotence which is demonstrated by the search for annual tranquillizers in the form of purely condemnatory resolutions and the exhibition of a sense of resignation in the face of a grave evil.

69. For the immediate victims of the curse on our generation represented by the Namibian case, the best and most appropriate resolution at this time is that which each nation makes to provide both the necessary political will and the material resources for the immediate ending of one of the most explosive situations of our times.

70. We must all remember that the spirit of people struggling for the survival of their fatherland can never be destroyed, not even by the development of nuclear weapons, which even the uncivilized racists would not dare to use within or outside their current jurisdiction.

71. We salute the heroic struggle of our brothers and sisters in Namibia, under the inspired leadership of SWAPO, their sole and authentic representative. History is on our side; the continental African struggle will succeed, no matter how long it takes and no matter what the cost.

Mr. Lusaka (Zambia) took the Chair.

72. Wars are always hell, but those who die in that hell in the noble pursuit of freedom and justice do not die in vain. It is death for a fundamental freedom—to remain free, to be the architect of the determination of one's fortune.

73. In the larger context of the values set forth in and sustained by the Charter of the United Nations, the freedom fighter of today is the truest defender of that Charter and the great builder of lasting peace. We can make his labours easier by removing the necessity for armed struggle. His road looks dark and lonely today because of the indifference of some of the critical nations which have the power to cause change; but this is part of the price that history's great must pay. Victory in the long run is a substantial reward.

74. As for the lackadaisical régime in South Africa, which so obviously relishes dangerous political jokes, perhaps to soothe its wild instincts, we recommend that its members look at the clear writing on the walls of history. Resources spent on aggression could be better channelled to development and to peace. It is the persistence in mistakes that constitutes evil. Childlike and mischievous constitutional contrivances bring neither lasting comfort nor solutions. In the glory that is assumed to exist, through the illusions of support on the part of those who propose unworkable systems in their relations with the South African Government, the ingredients of doom are embodied.

75. Nations rise and fall as part of the process of history. That process is designed for the arrogant who reject change and who must lose the power they refuse to use with a sense of the values of justice and peace.

76. In closing, we once again appeal to the conscience of the leaders of the world and call on them to abandon the cause of appeasement in connection with the racist and decadent régime of South Africa and to join in working out a concrete programme for the dissolution of the cruel imperialism and the most evil form of racism that blocks the exercise by the Namibian people of their right to the benefits of freedom and peace.

77. We invite those that still entertain illusions regarding the devastation caused by the obstructionist policy of *apartheid* to listen to the reports of the United Nations Council for Namibia, to the details of experiences supplied by the legitimate leaders of the heroic people themselves, namely, SWAPO. It is

not to the racist perpetrators that we turn for information and change within; it is, indeed, to the victims of the system, the men, women and children who carry out the resistance, to the families of murdered patriots and witnesses, that we must turn for an understanding of the hideous crimes against humanity perpetrated in Namibia.

78. We have noted with interest the letter addressed to the Secretary-General by the President of the People's Republic of Angola, José Eduardo dos Santos [A/39/688], on efforts to bring about the withdrawal of troops from Angola. We sincerely hope that there will be a troop withdrawal, but the Namibian question must not be linked unduly with issues which touch upon the security of the sister country of Angola. The true issue is the independence and freedom of Namibia. We must not be distracted from that truth. Once free, Namibia could help the cause of lasting international peace in the area.

79. The PRESIDENT: I now call on Mr. Andimba Toivo ya Toivo, Secretary-General of the South West Africa People's Organization, in accordance with General Assembly resolution 31/152 of 20 December 1976.

80. Mr. TOIVO ya TOIVO (South West Africa People's Organization): I feel very honoured and privileged to be addressing this thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly. Until February of this year, it had never occurred to me that one day I might be addressing the United Nations. I know that over the years many of my colleagues in the leadership of SWAPO have been able to present the demands of the oppressed but struggling Namibian people, both from this rostrum and before other organs of the United Nations.

81. I consider this, however, a unique opportunity personally to bring to all Members warm greetings and best wishes from my people, whose heroic anti-colonial struggle marks its one-hundredth year in 1984, from their militant national liberation movement, SWAPO, and from the combatants of the People's Liberation Army of Namibia [PLAN]. As a people, my people regard themselves as the ward of the United Nations. It follows from this that, because they have so regarded themselves all these years, my people wish me to say to the Assembly that they are very tired of repeated promises and pious words, which have so far proved meaningless considering racist South Africa's continued defiance of the authority of the United Nations and the brutal aggression and State terrorism that are so prevalent today in our country.

82. What my people expect from the United Nations and the rest of the international community at this critical stage in their struggle is no more mere words, but concrete and meaningful action to implement the resolutions and decisions already adopted on the question of Namibia, particularly the adoption of enforcement measures under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations, in order to force the Pretoria régime to relinquish its illegal hold over Namibia.

83. While the world community is paying tribute to the 100 years of heroic struggle of our valiant people against colonial occupation and foreign exploitation, we should like to urge our friends and supporters to redouble their efforts to increase concrete material, financial, military and humanitarian assistance to our movement to enable us further to intensify the struggle to wrest our freedom from the racist occupiers of our country. Our patriotic struggle is legitimate

and just, and we therefore expect those who uphold justice and love peace to spare no efforts to assure a speedy end to colonialism, *apartheid* and reaction in our motherland.

84. I have spent the past 18 years in the racist gaols of the *apartheid* régime; I spent 16 of those precious years of my life on the notorious Robben Island. I am out of gaol today, and I am glad to be here, but sad that my country is not yet free. My compatriots and I were incarcerated in 1966 for opposing the colonial oppression and humiliation that our people go through daily at the hands of the *apartheid* racists in our country. We were political prisoners. The only crime we were guilty of was our relentless demand to be free and to see to it that our people would once again become masters of their own destiny.

85. During the period between 1966, when we were arrested, and 1968, when we appeared before the racist court, all of us came to terms with the hard realities of the situation we were in. We realized in due course that some of us were destined to die and that others would spend many years in gaol.

86. The all-white parliament in Cape Town—to which Botha and his henchmen are now trying to give a deceptive multi-racial appearance under the guise of the bogus constitutional reforms which stand rejected by the majority of the people of South Africa—rushed through, in 1967, yet another piece of Draconian legislation, which became known as the Terrorism Act, designed expressly to deal with the case of the captured SWAPO freedom fighters. This repressive law was adopted within a matter of days and was made retroactive to 1962, specifically in order to convict us.

87. The trial itself was a complete mockery. It was a severely harrowing experience for all of us. We witnessed an extreme example of racial intolerance. Indeed, all of us had been tortured in one way or another for months on end in the *apartheid* dungeons—our torture included being kept in solitary confinement for very long periods—to compel us to sign the so-called confessions admitting that we were guilty of the charges trumped up against our movement.

88. At the end of the kangaroo-court trial, the racist court convicted us, solely on the basis of statements extracted from us through torture and Nazi-style interrogations and the “evidence” of witnesses similarly tortured and intimidated, as well as on the basis of the lies told by some puppet chiefs and headmen who had been brainwashed to repeat malicious anti-SWAPO propaganda to suit the whims of their masters.

89. Before 34 of us were sentenced on 9 February 1968—22 of us to life imprisonment; 7 of us, myself included, to 20 years’ hard labour; 2 of us to five years; and 3 of us to three-year suspended sentences—I made a statement from the dock. I am pleased to have learned since my release, from my SWAPO comrades and from numerous well-wishers, that the words I spoke in 1968 in Pretoria, in the name of SWAPO and on behalf of those accused with me, indeed, on behalf of the entire oppressed people of Namibia, have had some lasting impact worldwide and have helped to galvanize world public opinion in support of our cause and the ongoing campaign for the release of all South African and Namibian political prisoners.

90. On that fateful day in Pretoria, far from the land of our birth, it became very clear to me that our

character as patriots and our commitment to the cause were being put to the test. Our accusers and torturers were anxious to see whether we would disown SWAPO, renounce the armed struggle and betray the trust and confidence placed in us by our people. Our inspiration came from the enduring anti-colonial heritage of national resistance that has come down to us through the years from our forefathers.

91. The awesome weight that descended upon us in the courtroom as we awaited our fate did not in any way shake the indomitable spirit of our people, which had sustained us throughout the ordeal up to that point. I was ever conscious of the courage and devotion with which the brave Namibian sons and daughters, the combatants of SWAPO’s military wing, PLAN, set out to liberate the motherland. I also knew that, no matter how hard the Boers tried during the so-called trial to cut us off from our people and the world, those who uphold justice and love peace would continue to support the just struggle of the Namibian people, led by SWAPO, for freedom and national independence.

92. With all this in mind, I stated, in part:

“We are Namibians and not South Africans. We do not now, and will not in the future, recognize your right to govern us, to make laws for us in which we had no say, to treat our country as if it were your property and us as if you were our masters. We have always regarded South Africa as an intruder in our country. This is how we have always felt and this is how we feel now, and it is on this basis that we have faced this trial.”

93. Then I felt it was necessary for me to remind my accusers a little about what happened during the Second World War, in order to expose the pretence and hypocrisy. These were my words:

“My Lord, you found it necessary to brand me as a coward. During the Second World War, when it became evident that both my country and your country were threatened by the dark clouds of nazism, I risked my life to defend both of them, wearing a uniform with orange bands on it. But some of your countrymen, when called to battle to defend civilization, resorted to sabotage against their own fatherland. I volunteered to face German bullets, and as a guard of military installations, both in South West Africa and the Republic, I was prepared to be the victim of their sabotage. Today they are our masters and are considered the heroes, and I am called the coward.”

94. These are the Nazi collaborators and saboteurs whom Reagan, in 1981, soon after he became President, erroneously characterized as the wartime allies and friends of the United States and whom he refused to abandon.

95. I feel even more strongly now than at the time when we were incarcerated and I am proud that we had taken up arms to fight for the liberty of our people and the independence of the motherland.

96. At the end of my statement, I declared with conviction that I was a loyal Namibian and could not betray my people to their enemies. I dared to admit that I had decided to assist the combatants of SWAPO in the armed struggle which our movement had launched on 26 August 1966. Considering the increasing military buildup and the extensive use of the colonial army and police for political purposes, it became obvious to us that the struggle would be long and bitter. But my colleagues and I were convinced

that our people would wage that struggle, whatever the cost.

97. I believe firmly that the price of liberty is suffering—that is to say, a patriot who considers himself a man must be prepared to die for his people and country.

98. The account I have given here about what my compatriots and I suffered is by no means the whole story about the brutal, long and systematic massacres, violence and repression to which our people have been subjected by the successive colonial régimes during the past 100 years in Namibia. As leaders and as combatants, we are servants of the people. That is why I feel—and I know those of my fellow countrymen who were released with me, and others since, feel the same way—that our release, in spite of the years that we spent behind the iron bars of the racist gaols, is meaningless as long as our country is not yet free. We have merely rejoined the larger community of the suffering masses in a concentration camp, namely, the whole country, Namibia, occupied illegally by the racist régime of Pretoria which relies on a huge occupation army of more than 100,000 troops, police and other racist and puppet agents of colonialism and foreign interests to maintain domination.

99. When we were called upon to renew our pledge and loyalty to SWAPO—that ideal for which we had taken up arms to honour the commitment to the cause of the total liberation of our country—we were categorical and unwavering. I know that this is what our people and movement expected of us, and no less. We kept the faith and paid our dues.

100. I would like to take this opportunity to thank most sincerely the United Nations, its Secretaries-General, who have spearheaded the Organization during the past 18 years, and all those in various parts of the world whose dedication and hard work have resulted in our release, and to say to one and all that I consider our release a victory for international solidarity and the dynamic campaign for the release of all Namibian and South African political prisoners. May I urge you all to intensify this co-operation and campaign until all the political prisoners in the racist gaols in *apartheid* South Africa and occupied Namibia are released unconditionally. I should also stress once again that all captured freedom fighters should be accorded prisoner-of-war status.

101. Equally, I should further appeal to the international community to render humanitarian assistance to SWAPO in order to assist those who have just been released in terms of resettlement and rehabilitation.

102. Needless to say, the Namibian people believe in the ideals for which the United Nations stands. We uphold the principles of its Charter and of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Together they hold out a promise for a just world order, complete with liberation, justice and progress for all the oppressed and colonized peoples everywhere. Our participation in the work of the United Nations has given not only a further enhancement to our diplomatic standing but also legitimacy to the struggle, so that today we are able to see ever broadening and deepening support from all the continents of the world.

103. Nevertheless, it must be pointed out that there are many impediments which are being put in the way of Namibia's independence by some of the States Members of the United Nations. The major

Western Powers, which are more preoccupied with their own direct control of the world's raw materials and with the unimpeded reaping of profits, have consistently derailed the process of Namibia's independence. They have, in the process, thrown their prestige and resources behind the *apartheid* régime, to the extent that they are today without doubt witting collaborators in the bloody repression in South Africa itself and the perpetuation of illegal occupation and colonial oppression in Namibia. Theirs is a single-minded greed for mineral rights over human rights.

104. As long ago as 1958, and indeed before, I used to send petitions and correspondence to the United Nations.

105. Strange as it might sound now from the vantage point of the 1980s, at that time, in the 1950s, we were not demanding even the exercise of the right to self-determination, let alone calling for independence. We would have been satisfied with trusteeship status under the auspices of the United Nations. One thing was absolutely certain: we hated, as we still do today, the *apartheid* system. We wanted the Boers and their obnoxious *apartheid* system out of our country—lock, stock and barrel. There were no two ways about that.

106. I must confess, however, that our initial view of the United Nations and its ability to save us from the clutches of the racists was rather naïve and unrealistic. Apparently we had not fully understood the conflicting interests of the Member States, between those closely tied to *apartheid* South Africa and those which were supportive of the aspirations of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America who were fighting for freedom and nationhood. Also, the balance of power and influence in the United Nations at that time, unlike today, favoured the West. South Africa was, therefore, insulated from ostracism and encouraged to entrench *apartheid* and colonialism at will.

107. In 1958 I sent a tape-recorded message to the United Nations, hidden between the leaves of Robert Louis Stevenson's *Treasure Island*. In that message, as in other communications, I urged the United Nations to show the courage of its conviction to bring racist South Africa to book for its total failure to promote to the utmost the material, moral and social well-being and political development of the Namibian people, leading them to independence in the spirit of the "sacred trust". That the "sacred trust" has been betrayed, not only by the racist occupiers of our country but also by some powerful Western countries that have, for selfish reasons, allied themselves with *apartheid*, is well known, regrettable as this situation is. Quite a number of my compatriots sent similar written petitions to the United Nations, since we were not allowed to travel abroad to publicize the plight of the Namibian people.

108. As I speak now, my people have their ears glued to their transistor radios in the hope that my words before the General Assembly will rekindle outrage and invigorate the world community to take concrete measures to assure the implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978).

109. So much has changed in the course of the past 18 years in the field of decolonization. In the late 1950s and the early 1960s, we were confident that Namibia would be free long before some of our neighbours in southern Africa, all of which are now independent States; but when independence finally comes, Namibia will be one of the two last colonial

strangleholds to be freed. On the other hand, all has not been lost. For their part, the Namibian patriots have sustained the long and bitter struggle against overwhelming odds and against the most powerful military machine of racist South Africa. The changes that have taken place in the world have augured well for the intensification of the struggle. In a no less significant way, the forces of liberation have contributed towards those positive changes.

110. I have discovered during my travels since my release, in Africa, Europe and the United States, and particularly on the basis of the invaluable contacts that I have made here at the United Nations, that there is much goodwill and support for our cause and solidarity with SWAPO, the sole and authentic representative of the struggling Namibian people.

111. The United Nations, which has for so long featured in my dreams and served as a beacon of hope for the solution of world problems and for bringing about conditions that would enable our people to achieve self-government and national sovereignty, is no longer a remote place somewhere in the world. I have observed some of its workings for a while now. I have been listening to statements made in the General Assembly since the beginning of its thirty-ninth session. I now have mixed feelings about the Organization on the basis of various positions taken by different delegations on the burning issues of the day. I have witnessed how, in the interest of political expediency and naked greed, some countries continue, without shame, to try to explain away their long-standing collusion with colonialism and *apartheid* in order to perpetuate the *status quo* in our part of the world. But then, on the other hand, I have been deeply moved by the renewed pledges of support and assistance coming our way from other countries that have no hesitation in identifying themselves closely with our struggle.

112. I have, moreover, learned about the tireless efforts being employed by various United Nations bodies and departments of the Secretariat to promote the interests of the Namibian people, about the human and material resources being utilized on assistance and developmental projects and programmes under the direction of the United Nations Council for Namibia and those being implemented by the specialized agencies that are of direct benefit to our people. I am most grateful for all this and wish to urge all those institutions to continue the good work.

113. I first met you in person, Mr. President, only this year, in March, in Lusaka, the capital of your great country, but I can say that I have known you through your able leadership of the United Nations Council for Namibia since you first became its President in 1973. The record of achievements of the Council are many, and its continuing activities, in close co-operation with SWAPO, to promote further the interests of our people, are encouraging and commendable.

114. I am particularly pleased to extend to you warm greetings and best wishes on your brilliant election as President of the thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly. I congratulate you most sincerely for your qualities as a wise and outstanding statesman and a comrade whose commitment to the total decolonization of Africa, the eradication of *apartheid* and the elimination of exploitation of man by man is second to none. You will therefore understand when I say that I am gratified to be delivering my maiden

address before the General Assembly under your presidency.

115. I listened most attentively to your acceptance speech on 18 September 1984. In my view, it was a masterpiece, marked by courage, compassion and imagination. There was no mincing of words about the evil system of *apartheid* in racist South Africa. You correctly described *apartheid* as "a diabolical policy that inevitably corrupts the people and the State that practise it. *Apartheid* not only robs Africans of their basic human dignity; it is also a device that imposes a patently unacceptable white minority rule in South Africa." [1st meeting, para. 71.] The message was strong and convincing, if only the racist Boers and their allies had ears to hear.

116. On the question of Namibia, a subject that has for many years exercised the intellect of representatives and made continuous demands on their time and energy, their admonition to the illegal occupiers of the country and those that have arrogantly linked Namibia's independence to totally extraneous issues was timely and direct. For us, it is most regrettable that the United States Administration has now completely aligned itself with the illegal régime of Pretoria by holding Namibia's independence hostage to its imperialist regional and strategic interests, regardless of the unwarranted suffering that our people are forced to endure.

117. May I express the hope, Sir—which I do knowing that it is what my people want me to say here—that under your presidency the General Assembly will take a long, hard look at the critical situation on the ground in Namibia. Then the realization will sink in that the United Nations is being pushed to the sidelines and that the racists and their Washington allies have sinister schemes up their sleeves to bypass the Organization in favour of their own internal arrangements in Namibia. There is therefore an imperative need for a sober-minded reassessment of the role of the United Nations in the process of the decolonization of Namibia. What is required is a reinvigorated political role for the United Nations Council for Namibia and the Office of the United Nations Commissioner for Namibia as the focal points in the United Nations system on the Namibian problem. It is not enough merely to catalogue racist South Africa's crimes and instances of its defiant attitude. These we have become accustomed to by now. What is of the utmost urgency is the adoption of effective measures to change the situation, which continues to drift towards even more generalized violence, loss of life and destruction of property.

118. The Security Council must meet as soon as possible in order to remove all impediments to Namibia's independence and expedite implementation of resolution 435 (1978). The Secretary-General needs all the encouragement and support he can get from Member States, in particular the members of the Security Council, to secure South Africa's co-operation in implementation of the United Nations plan, which has been collecting dust on the shelves for more than six years.

119. Our heartfelt thanks and commendations are due the Secretary-General for his undying efforts to hasten Namibia's independence. We recognize his difficulties, but we also know his personal commitment, which is a vital ingredient in fulfilling his heavy responsibility.

120. Now is the time for the United Nations as a whole to say "enough is enough" and to impose

comprehensive, mandatory sanctions, under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations, against South Africa, as an effective, peaceful way of bringing it to book.

121. We have just heard the important statement made by the Acting President of the United Nations Council for Namibia, Mr. Coskun Kirca, of Turkey, who also introduced the report of the United Nations Council for Namibia [A/39/24] and the recommendations contained therein. We have also heard another important statement, dealing with the activities 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, made by the Chairman of the Special Committee, Mr. Koroma, of Sierra Leone, as well as the statement of the Rapporteur of that Committee, Mr. Adhami, of the Syrian Arab Republic, introducing chapter IX of the report of the Committee [A/39/23], concerning Namibia. In addition, we heard the statement of the Chairman of the Group of African States, who indicated the support that Group is giving to our cause.

122. Mr. President, I wish to appeal through you to the Assembly to give its full support to the recommendations dealt with in those statements and to ensure the adoption of all the draft resolutions on Namibia. That is the minimum that the United Nations can do in response to the expectations of my people.

123. Every time a major meeting is held to deal with the problem of Namibia, we hear voices pleading for patience and moderation and repeating empty words to the effect that a breakthrough is at hand, that there is progress. Again, of late those voices have been heard from the usual discredited quarters. Actually, as far as Namibia is concerned, there has been absolutely no progress. There is a total impasse. The Namibian issue has been altogether relegated to the bottom of the priority list of the self-appointed political brokers who have usurped United Nations responsibility for the process towards Namibia's independence. In other words, all is quiet on the diplomatic front in terms of negotiations or direct talks on a cease-fire arrangement. No action, no progress; and what remains is a mere charade that can serve Pretoria's interests only, while the racist régime is trying to create new conditions for yet another *fait accompli* in preparation for a unilateral declaration of independence in Namibia.

124. South Africa's lack of political will to make a firm commitment to relinquish its colonial stranglehold on Namibia has been repeatedly demonstrated. The record of the *apartheid* junta on the issue, over many long years, remains one of prevarication, defiance and outright belligerence towards the entire world community.

125. For example, it was the Pretoria régime which sabotaged the 1981 pre-implementation meeting on Namibia, convened by the Secretary-General in order to secure an agreement between SWAPO and South Africa for the implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978), starting with a cease-fire.

126. This year two similar meetings have been held, in Lusaka and Mindelo, on Namibia's independence. In both cases, it was once again the representative of the Pretoria régime who deliberately created confusion prior to the meetings and eventually sabotaged the independence talks. This goes to show that the illegal occupiers of our country have no intention

whatsoever of finding a negotiated settlement on Namibia. The struggle will, indeed, still be long and bitter.

127. In Namibia itself, racist South Africa's organized State terrorism, generalized and violent repression and massive military buildup continue unabated. Namibians are victims of daily wanton killings, police brutality, torture, arrests and incarceration. In a nutshell, Namibia continues to be one huge Nazi-style concentration camp for the Africans. For many years now, virtually the entire country has been under martial law, reinforced by a series of abominable, illegal acts, which South Africa's colonial governor, the so-called Administrator-General, routinely imposes on our people to suppress their political demands.

128. Moreover, despite the persistent and overwhelming rejection of its diabolical policies by our people and the wider international community, the occupation régime is still attempting to set up puppet political institutions in preparation for an internal settlement, outside the framework of Security Council resolution 435 (1978). Realizing that its reactionary schemes and the local quislings of the puppet Multi-Party Conference are consistently being rejected by the Namibian patriots, the Botha régime, true to form, has recently embarked on an expensive and malicious promotion campaign abroad to popularize them. The United Nations and the rest of the world will, however, see those machinations for what they truly are and reject them.

129. We feel duty-bound to condemn once again the Reagan Administration for establishing the so-called Liaison Office in Windhoek, the capital of Namibia, in direct violation of the relevant resolutions and decisions of the United Nations and against the expressed will of the oppressed people of Namibia. By its unwarranted presence in Namibia, the United States Government is lending legitimacy to the occupying régime and, even more dangerous, is slowly but surely becoming involved in the colonial conflict in our country. The United States must get out of Namibia now.

130. To add insult to injury, the racist aggressors, while still stubbornly insisting, in collusion with the United States Administration, on the notorious linkage pre-condition—thereby creating a major stumbling-block to our freedom—decided recently to impose military conscription on all Namibian males between the ages of 17 and 55 to serve in the occupying colonial army in a sinister and dangerous attempt to "Namibianize" the conflict by forcing brother to kill brother.

131. Those very same evil forces are busy ripping up the three-branch railway lines that connect strategic points in Namibia, in the areas of Gobabis, Outjo and Lüderitz. This destructive action is clearly illegal, since racist South Africa illegally occupies Namibia and all its actions in relation to the Territory are illegal. In addition to sowing the seeds of civil and racial conflicts in Namibia, Pretoria has already started to cripple the country's infrastructure in a piecemeal fashion in order to push the Government of an independent Namibia into a subservient position of dependency. There is also the fast-growing problem of foreign debts which Pretoria is incessantly accumulating in the name of Namibia, in the hope of leaving this heavy burden behind for the Namibian nation to deal with. The Government of an independent Namibia will definitely not be responsible for those debts. Of course, the plunder of

Namibia's natural resources and the exploitation of our labour force are going on in full swing, benefiting exclusively the racists, their Western allies and the transnational corporations.

132. We challenge those who run around talking about progress and breakthroughs in Namibia to show us concrete evidence in support of their claims. For us, the situation has gone from bad to worse. As a matter of fact, we are now faced with a grave situation which is being exacerbated further by the latest moves of the racists. The United Nations must respond urgently and decisively to this situation before everything goes up in flames.

133. It is against this background that, with all the seriousness at my command, I urge the United Nations and the rest of progressive mankind to redouble their efforts to help us liberate Namibia.

134. There is a division of labour in this common struggle. SWAPO is more determined than ever to intensify further the political, military and diplomatic struggles. There is no way out of this for us. We have accepted the challenge to be our own liberators.

135. Similarly, the United Nations, which has assumed direct responsibility for Namibia, and particularly the United Nations Council for Namibia, the legal Administering Authority for the country until independence, must truly rise to the challenge posed by the continued colonial oppression, illegal occupation and military aggression in our country. The primary challenge is racist South Africa's persistent defiance and prevarication. Our collective determination must be greater than that challenge in order to achieve the noble goal of Namibia's independence. Until that goal is achieved fully, there cannot be any room for wavering, hesitation or confusion about what has to be done.

136. On the wider international plane, we are greatly encouraged to see that the Organization of African Unity, which has now re-emerged with a clear direction and reinvigorated commitment, has adopted an important statement of principles on southern Africa and a strong resolution on Namibia to which I invite the Assembly's attention. In this context, I wish to refer to the latest developments in the region of south-west Africa which affect Angola and Namibia.

137. With the circulation of a letter dated 17 November 1984 [A/39/688] from Mr. José Eduardo dos Santos, President of the People's Republic of Angola, to the Secretary-General, all the confusion and misrepresentation regarding Angola's position in the current negotiations have been removed. The Angolan Government's firm position on the independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and security of Angola has been reiterated. At the same time, Angola has once again demonstrated flexibility and the political will to find amicable solutions to the problems of our region, including the rapid implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978). SWAPO supports Angola's position and will continue to do its very best to strengthen further co-operation between itself, the MPLA⁴-Workers' Party and the fraternal people of Angola. On the other hand, there is racist South Africa's objectionable letter, which has also been circulated as a reply to Angola's constructive proposals. It offers nothing new and must be rejected.

138. The Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, too, has renewed its pledge to continue and increase all forms of support and assistance to SWAPO. In

welcoming that principled expression of solidarity—for which we are most grateful—we remember the lasting contribution made to our struggle by the Chairman of that Movement, the late Prime Minister of India, Mrs. Indira Gandhi.

139. It goes without saying that the community of socialist countries has consistently rendered, and continues to render, massive all-round assistance to SWAPO, which has enabled us to advance the struggle to the present stage.

140. On the other hand, we are proud recipients of generous and invaluable humanitarian aid, especially from the Nordic countries, the Netherlands and other friendly countries in the West. We trust that this exemplary co-operation will continue, even after Namibia's independence.

141. Our friends and supporters in the numerous non-governmental organizations, as well as committed individuals, have for many years always played an indispensable role in the struggle. Their time, energy and creativity have been dutifully combined to strengthen people-to-people contact and co-operation.

142. All these Governments, parliaments, organizations and peoples have stood with us in this long and bitter struggle. We continue to count on them to remain resolute in the work and be generous, as always, in assisting us.

143. In conclusion, I should be failing in my duty if I did not from this rostrum renew SWAPO's unwavering and comradely solidarity with and support for the heroic struggles of the peoples of Western Sahara, led by the Frente POLISARIO⁵ and its Government, the Saharan Arab Democratic Republic; of Palestine, led by the Palestine Liberation Organization, who must be supported until they have established their own independent state; of Puerto Rico and their vanguard socialist party; and of South Africa and the liberation movement, led by the ANC. We share the daily agonies of the valiant people of South Africa. Our destinies have been linked by history and geography and the circumstances of the common struggle against the common enemy: *apartheid* South Africa.

144. In the mean time, until the final victory, which will surely come, sooner rather than later, and in spite of the unholy alliance between Pretoria and Washington, the struggle continues. Victory is certain.

145. Mr. GOLOB (Yugoslavia): Next year there will be two important anniversaries: the fortieth anniversary of the founding of the United Nations and the twenty-fifth anniversary of the adoption of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

146. Looking back at the activities of the United Nations, one outstanding achievement certainly looms large and that is the anti-colonial revolution under the aegis of the United Nations. The wave of independence and freedom has substantially altered the political map of the world, the membership of the United Nations and the United Nations itself. Its role in the process of decolonization is one of the brightest pages in the history of the world Organization.

147. Looking towards the future and the future activities of the United Nations, there are overwhelming and just demands to be met in the urgent completion of the process of decolonization. Those demands are made in the light of the fact that the

United Nations has been the firmest stronghold of the struggle for independence of those under colonial domination. The United Nations should remain such a stronghold.

148. The people of Namibia are still deprived of their inalienable rights to freedom, independence and self-determination. Colonial occupation, terror and exploitation by the South African régime continue, causing immense human suffering. The illegal occupying régime continues the arrests and murders of Namibian patriots, fighters and supporters of SWAPO. Through the use of various forms of pressure and threats, the citizens of Namibia are made to leave their homes, and large numbers are living in refugee camps in neighbouring countries.

149. The illegal occupying régime is brazenly violating the human rights of the Namibian people. South Africa is trying to carry out its policy of *apartheid* and racial discrimination in Namibia as well. It is turning a deaf ear to the demands of the international community for the eradication of *apartheid*. Moreover, it is trying to spread it beyond its borders.

150. In order to weaken the struggle of the people of Namibia, there are attempts to divide it and to introduce bantustanization. Every attempt is being made to secure prolongation of the occupation and domination. There are also attempts to establish puppet political institutions in Namibia, such as the so-called Multi-Party Conference. These and other so-called internal solutions have been rightfully rejected by the international community as attempts to impose a neo-colonial solution in Namibia.

151. The recent forced conscription of Namibians into the occupying army is another attempt to undermine the liberation struggle and to involve the people of Namibia in a fratricidal war.

152. The ruthless exploitation of the human and natural resources of Namibia by South Africa and by transnational corporations continues. This constitutes a flagrant violation of the rights of Namibians freely to dispose of their natural and economic potential and is contrary to United Nations decisions, in particular Decree No. 1 for the Protection of the Natural Resources of Namibia,¹ enacted by the United Nations Council for Namibia.

153. All these attempts to obstruct the liberation struggle of the people of Namibia have not succeeded and cannot succeed. For 100 years, Namibians have been fighting heroically against colonial occupation. These 100 years have been years of suffering and sacrifice but also years of belief and resolve that freedom will not remain just a dream. With such conviction, the people of Namibia will never be thrown to its knees, nor will its struggle be quelled.

154. SWAPO, the sole and authentic representative of the people of Namibia, has for years been at the helm and in the thick and thin of the struggle for self-determination and national independence. SWAPO is leading the people and fighting for the people; it is a true people's organization.

155. Nothing attracts the support of the international community as much as the will and determination to fight for independence and self-determination. The struggle of the Namibian people has received international recognition, respect and support. The participation of SWAPO in the work of the United Nations and other international organizations and its membership in the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries are expressions of that support.

SWAPO, while waging a heroic struggle on the battlefield, has in the political arena shown a full measure of statesmanship and has consistently given the United Nations full co-operation in all matters pertaining to implementation of the United Nations plan for Namibia.

156. We are glad to see in this Hall the Secretary-General of SWAPO, Mr. Toivo ya Toivo. After 16 years in gaol in South Africa—a gaol within a gaol for fighters for independence and freedom—he is again, together with the President of SWAPO, Mr. Sam Nujoma, leading his movement and his people in the battle. At this point it may be appropriate to recall the words that Mr. Toivo ya Toivo uttered after his release from prison: "Although I have been released, I am not free yet until my people and country are free."

157. The situation in Namibia poses a threat to peace and security in the region, in the entire continent of Africa and beyond it. The prolongation of the occupation and of acts of aggression against both Namibia and the front-line States carries the danger of increasing interference by non-regional factors.

158. On many an occasion, there has been the broadest consensus on the need for the urgent and unconditional attainment of independence by Namibia. Most expressly this position was seen in the Security Council, when it endorsed the United Nations plan for Namibia, later reaffirmed by the General Assembly.

159. None the less, South Africa defies the will of the international community and refuses to comply with these decisions, trying to prevent or at least postpone the attainment of independence by Namibia. Insisting on linking Namibian independence with the presence of foreign troops in Angola, South Africa has been blocking implementation of the United Nations plan. This linkage is designed further to deny freedom to Namibians, to prolong the illegal occupation of Namibia and to prolong the exploitation of its human and natural resources.

160. It is high time for the United Nations to proceed with resolute action and fulfil its direct responsibility for Namibia. All Member States should firmly endeavour to bring about, as a matter of urgency, the settlement of the question of Namibia on the basis of the United Nations plan for Namibia, which is the only basis for a peaceful solution. The United Nations plan should be implemented without delay.

161. However, it does not seem to be enough at this stage to support the United Nations plan. It has not proved to be sufficient for its implementation. Determination should be shown to use other means to bring about the independence of Namibia.

162. The Security Council has the central role in the implementation of the United Nations plan. The Council should monitor the issue, intervene on a timely basis, remove all obstacles and take all measures that are at its disposal.

163. The Secretary-General should receive our full support in fulfilling his mandate on the Namibian issue.

164. We feel that it is necessary to put renewed pressure on South Africa and to refrain from any contacts or co-operation with that régime. This implies the adoption of mandatory sanctions, under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations, which would entail, in addition to the arms embargo,

the immediate cessation of any form of economic, military, political, cultural or scientific co-operation with South Africa, as well as co-operation in sports.

165. It is our duty, furthermore, to render effective political, moral and material assistance and support to the Namibian people and to its liberation movement, SWAPO. Their resolve and determination and their goal make this support a duty for the international community.

166. At their meeting held in New York from 1 to 5 October, the Ministers for Foreign Affairs and Heads of Delegation of the Non-Aligned Countries to the thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly renewed their determination to convene an extraordinary ministerial meeting of the Co-ordinating Bureau of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries on the question of Namibia, not later than April 1985 [A/39/560, annex, para. 43]. This to our mind is another manifestation of the solidarity of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries with the people of Namibia and its support for the heroic struggle of that people.

167. The international community should also help the front-line States, which are exposed to attacks on their territorial integrity, security and national economies by the régime in Pretoria.

168. In the present situation, the activities of the United Nations Council for Namibia are becoming even more important and the support of all Member States for the activities of the Council even more essential. The Council, working under your presidency, Sir, as the Ambassador of Zambia, has initiated and successfully carried out numerous actions aimed at ensuring the implementation of the United Nations plan, achieving independence for Namibia and rendering help to the Namibian people, to SWAPO and to their legitimate struggle for independence. You have given us wise and able guidance in the Council.

169. We feel that the Council should continue its work to strengthen international support for the implementation of the United Nations plan for Namibia and to ensure the aid and assistance of Governments and non-governmental organizations.

170. There are, however, a number of things that remain necessary; among them are further action in support of the struggle of the Namibian people and SWAPO, further legal action to protect the interests of the Namibian people, further action to secure prisoner-of-war status for captured freedom fighters in Namibia, and the adoption of other measures.

171. We feel it is also necessary to strengthen support for the United Nations Fund for Namibia,

the Nationhood Programme for Namibia and the United Nations Institute for Namibia. These institutions are carrying out diversified and essential programmes of assistance to the people of Namibia, particularly in the social and educational fields.

172. The activities of foreign economic, financial and other interests in the Territory of Namibia are a direct obstacle to its political independence. All countries, transnational corporations and other organizations that are exploring and exploiting the natural resources of Namibia should immediately cease their activities in the Territory, including Walvis Bay, the Penguin Islands and other offshore islands. The illegal exploitation of these resources, in the sea and on the land, is in clear violation of Decree No. 1.

173. For its part, Yugoslavia will continue to render support to the struggle of the people of Namibia, under the leadership of SWAPO, until they achieve freedom and independence. We in Yugoslavia consider this support an obligation arising from our own history and our own struggle for independence and resulting from the ideals and principles that we have been guided by in our own fight for freedom and in the period following it.

174. As a member of the United Nations Council for Namibia, Yugoslavia will continue to make its full contribution to its work.

175. We feel that the United Nations and the entire international community bear a historical responsibility regarding the independence of Namibia. The solution of this issue would end the suffering of the people of Namibia and enable them to live in freedom and independence. It would also provide an incentive for a general relaxation of tensions and for enhancing the stability of international relations.

The meeting rose at 1 p.m.

NOTES

¹ *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-fifth Session, Supplement No. 24, vol. I, annex II.*

² *Legal Consequences for States of the Continued Presence of South Africa in Namibia (South West Africa) notwithstanding Security Council Resolution 276 (1970), Advisory Opinion, I.C.J. Reports, 1971, p. 16.*

³ See A/40/87, annex, resolution AHG/Res.125 (XX).

⁴ Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola.

⁵ Frente Popular para la Liberación de Saguia el-Hamra y de Río de Oro.