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**6th
PLENARY MEETING**

Friday, 19 September 1986,
at 3.05 p.m.

NEW YORK

President: Mr. Humayun Rasheed
CHOUDHURY (Bangladesh).

*In the absence of the President, Mr. Moushoutas,
(Cyprus), Vice-President, took the Chair.*

AGENDA ITEM 6

Question of Namibia (*continued*)

1. Mr. RABGYE (Bhutan): May I begin by congratulating Mr. Choudhury on his election as President of the General Assembly. We are particularly pleased to see him presiding over this most important session of the General Assembly devoted to the question of Namibia. His country Bangladesh, a member of the United Nations Council for Namibia, continues to play an active role towards the realization of Namibia's independence. We are confident that under his able guidance and leadership the session will come to a successful conclusion.

2. In the present circumstances, it is befitting and timely to address the question of Namibia in a special session. It provides us with an opportunity not only to express our solidarity with the peoples of South Africa and Namibia in their struggle for equality and freedom, but also to assess the situation in the region.

3. The question of Namibia has been on the agenda since the first session of the General Assembly and yet Namibia is no closer to independence. Even after 20 years since the termination by the General Assembly of South Africa's Mandate over Namibia and the assumption by the United Nations of direct responsibility for the Territory [*resolution 2145 (XXI)*], South Africa continues illegally to occupy and rule Namibia in defiance of the numerous resolutions and decisions of the United Nations. The closest we have come to resolving the problem is Security Council resolution 435 (1978). The implementation of that resolution and the freedom of Namibia are of paramount importance.

4. It might be redundant to say that numerous allegations have been made against South Africa for its *apartheid* policies imposed upon the Namibian people but peoples of the world will continue to condemn the illegal presence and oppressive actions of South Africa in Namibia, because people will never cease to be appalled by the belligerent and oppressive attitudes of the illegal South African régime towards its fellow human beings. Constant pressure of international opinion and United Nations action under the Charter of the United Nations seem

to be the only peaceful way left to settle the question of Namibia.

5. Recent developments in and around Namibia—South Africa's military build-up, persistent acts of aggression and subversion against independent neighbouring States, forcible displacement of people from their homes, including recruitment and training for military service, the inhuman repression of people, so on and so forth—continue to threaten not only regional peace but global peace and security as well. All these are taking place at the cost of extensive loss of human lives and destruction of the economic infrastructure. We call upon the racist South African régime, in its own interests, to put an immediate end to those degrading activities. Bhutan would like to reaffirm its support for the people of Namibia, South West Africa People's Organization [SWAPO] and the United Nations Council for Namibia in their courageous and untiring efforts in the struggle to achieve freedom and independence, a struggle waged in conformity with the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations and the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples [*resolution 1514 (XV)*].

6. Security Council resolution 435 (1978), which embodies the United Nations plan for the independence of Namibia is the only acceptable and dignified way out of the present impasse. Bhutan once again joins in the urgent appeal for the immediate and unconditional implementation of the resolution to permit a just and peaceful settlement in Namibia. In this regard Bhutan supports the proposal made by India for an urgent meeting of the Security Council to define the timetable for the implementation of its resolution 435 (1978) [*2nd meeting*]. As a non-aligned and peace-loving nation, Bhutan has always sought a peaceful solution to all issues, including the Namibian question. We should like to urge all concerned, especially those in a position to do so, to make renewed and concerted efforts to solve this difficult problem. Bhutan looks forward to welcoming an independent Namibia in the comity of nations.

7. In conclusion, may I express our appreciation to the United Nations Council for Namibia and the Secretary-General for their untiring efforts and reiterate Bhutan's full support for their endeavours.

8. Mr. ORZECZOWSKI (Poland):* The Polish delegation extends its sincere congratulations to Mr. Choudhury on his election to the presidency of this special session of the General Assembly devoted to the question of Namibia. We are convinced that its

* Mr. Orzechowski spoke in Polish. The English version of his statement was supplied by the delegation.

work will be carried out efficiently and successfully for the benefit of the Namibian people, and for the cause of their freedom and dignity.

9. There is no need for assurances that Poland, for its part, will make every effort to work towards that end. We have always done so, giving our unwavering support to the struggle of peoples for their freedom and independence, and deeply understanding their natural and legitimate right to these ideals.

10. As a member of the United Nations Council for Namibia, we have been for years firmly and consistently demanding freedom for Namibia, participating in international support meetings, and rendering our assistance to the struggle of the Namibian people.

11. Unfortunately, today we still have to deal with a problem which should have been resolved at least a quarter of a century ago, which gives even greater importance to this special session and to its outcome. There should be no illusions as to the intentions of the international community regarding this issue: nothing should be left unsaid if omission could be used to obstruct the immediate granting of independence to Namibia.

12. It is with these convictions and hopes that we take part in this special session. It is our desire that this time the Organization, fulfilling its goals and objectives, will create sound grounds for the urgent settlement of the question of Namibia. We very much want to believe that it will not be just one more link in the long chain of activities aimed at the liberation of Namibia from the colonial rule still imposed upon it by South Africa in violation of the law, activities that have been pursued for decades by the international community, the United Nations, the United Nations Council for Namibia and non-governmental organizations—the world-wide front of friends, allies and advocates of freedom for the Namibian people.

13. We have already observed too many anniversaries. Last year we observed the twentieth anniversary of the armed struggle of the Namibian people led by SWAPO, their sole and authentic representative, which has been tested in combat as well as in political and diplomatic activities. This year marks the twentieth anniversary of the adoption by the General Assembly of resolution 2145 (XXI), by which the Assembly terminated South Africa's Mandate over Namibia. We have been tolerating the illegal occupation of the Territory of Namibia for 20 years. We are permitting the ruthless exploitation of a country and its people, violation of fundamental human rights, abasement of human dignity, the transplanting of *apartheid* practices from the Republic of South Africa, the breeding of mistrust, the fomenting of discord among the population, the killing of people and the imposition of suffering and poverty on them.

14. It is inadmissible that these challenges, this defiance of the will of the international community, and the violation of its binding decisions be tolerated any longer. An end must be put to this, decisively and quickly, if we wish to see no further aggravation of the situation, if we want to celebrate next year the anniversary of Namibia's independence rather than the twentieth anniversary of the establishment of the

United Nations Council for Namibia, the only legal Administrating Authority for Namibia until it becomes independent, the authority that the racist régime has never allowed in the Territory to exercise its prerogatives.

15. We can no longer tolerate the present situation in Namibia if in two years time we do not want to mark yet another date, the tenth anniversary of our powerlessness—the anniversary of the putting forward of the United Nations plan for the independence of Namibia embodied in Security Council resolution 435 (1978). The plan remains the only just basis for the solution of the question of Namibia. Everyone, including the representatives of the *apartheid* régime, is perfectly well aware of this fact. The Pretoria régime, by resorting to various manoeuvres and evasive actions, by constantly imposing new conditions, including the notorious “linkage” issue, uses everything in its power to frustrate the plan and to perpetuate its colonial occupation of the Territory. Procrastination by the régime and its practice of creating *faits accomplis* in Namibia in order to consolidate the present illegal state of affairs attest to this. Mass terror and repressions, imprisonment and murder of Namibia's freedom fighters, South Africa's military build-up in Namibia, persistent attempts to impose on it the so-called internal settlement sanctioned by collaborationist groups within the country, and for a year now the consolidation of the so-called provisional government—these are only the essential facts.

16. Is there any need for a better and more emphatic illustration of the true intentions and designs of South Africa towards Namibia and its independence, of its attitude towards the will of the international community as expressed in the United Nations plan for the independence of Namibia?

17. The *apartheid* régime of South Africa is brutal and aggressive, predatory and treacherous. We do not believe its declarations; it has never stood by any of them in the past. We all know its true nature, which today is being fully displayed in respect of its own people, the inhabitants of Namibia, and the neighbouring States which are constantly suffering acts of aggression, intimidation and harassment at the hands of the régime.

18. We do not share the illusions still harboured by South Africa's Western partners that through co-operation and trade, investments and maintaining channels of communications, it is possible to influence the Pretoria régime, and that if pressure is brought to bear on it it will change its domestic and foreign policies.

19. Have these illusions not been shattered by the bitter experiences of the so-called Western contact group whose co-operation with the racist régime only strengthened it in both the economic and military spheres and provided it with a moral alibi for carrying out bloody assaults on its own people, waging terrorist attacks against independent neighbouring States and keeping Namibia in colonial subjugation?

20. The only path to the liberation of Namibia is the one indicated in the documents of recent interna-

tional meetings, at which the true will of the international community was expressed, namely, those of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries and the Organization of African Unity [OAU] and at the World Conference on Sanctions against Racist South Africa held in Paris and the International Conference for the Immediate Independence of Namibia held at Vienna.

21. We fully support the means envisaged in those documents for increasing international pressure on South Africa so as to put an end to its insane policy of creating tension and committing acts of aggression and to divest it of its colonial rule of Namibia. This special session will serve those purposes well.

22. The liberation of Namibia should not be put off in the hope that *apartheid* will soon be dismantled within South Africa itself. It must be brought about at once. We are fully in favour of increasing support and assistance for the struggle of the Namibian people under the leadership of SWAPO in order to attain that goal. It is a legitimate and just struggle.

23. An important instrument in forcing South Africa to abandon its current policy towards Namibia would be the imposition of comprehensive and mandatory sanctions under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations. We declared ourselves fully in favour of that measure at the World Conference on Sanctions against Racist South Africa and the International Conference for the Immediate Independence of Namibia.

24. We further believe that in order to attain that goal, the possibility should be examined of the Security Council's adopting one more decision that would reaffirm that the United Nations plan for the independence of Namibia embodied in Council resolution 435 (1978) remains and that it is the only authentic plan for a settlement of the question of Namibia. This would put an end to speculation that the *faits accomplis* carried out by South Africa in Namibia have altered that plan or made it obsolete.

25. In conclusion, I should like strongly to reaffirm Poland's full support for and solidarity with the peoples of southern Africa and with SWAPO and other national independence movements. In keeping with our firm and earnest commitment to the ideal of national independence and self-determination, we shall continue to render them assistance to the extent of our capabilities. For that fundamental reason Poland will, as a member of long standing of the United Nations Council for Namibia, give its full support to all decisions taken by this special session aimed at the liberation of Namibia from the colonial yoke under which the Namibian people has suffered far too long.

26. Mr. KIKUCHI (Japan): Let me at the outset express on behalf of my delegation my heartfelt congratulations to Mr. Choudhury on his election to the presidency of this special session. Our two countries, *Bangladesh and Japan*, enjoy friendly relations, and we in Japan regard Mr. Choudhury as a close friend.

27. Over the years, the Security Council and the General Assembly have adopted a number of resolu-

tions on the question of Namibia; the front-line States, the Secretary-General and other parties have made serious efforts to resolve the issue and many countries, including my own, have applied strong pressure to South Africa in a variety of ways. South Africa has nonetheless continued its illegal occupation of Namibia.

28. Japan, along with the overwhelming majority of Member States, continues to insist that the independence of Namibia must be achieved in accordance with the wishes of the people of Namibia, as expressed through a free and fair election to be held under the supervision of the United Nations. To that end, it is imperative that the parties concerned faithfully implement Security Council resolution 435 (1978), which is the only internationally accepted basis for a settlement of the question of Namibia. However, while professing co-operation with the international community, South Africa has not in fact been working towards the implementation of that resolution.

29. Its introduction of the so-called linkage issue is a case in point. Japan has steadfastly maintained that efforts to resolve the Namibian question must not be obstructed by the introduction of any extraneous issues. It should be noted in this connection that on 3 March of this year, South Africa proposed that 1 August 1986 be set as the date for the commencement of the implementation of the settlement plan based on Security Council resolution 435 (1978).¹ It is very discouraging that, although the proposal appeared to be a positive step forward, it was not, since South Africa still insists on the pre-condition that a firm and satisfactory agreement be reached before that date on the withdrawal of Cuban forces from Angola.

30. We would also recall that in June 1985, South Africa set up a so-called interim government in Namibia, claiming that it was "an interim mechanism for the internal administration of the Territory".² The whole world knows that this claim cannot be taken seriously. Japan regards this so-called interim government as null and void, because it is incompatible with Security Council resolution 435 (1978).

31. South Africa's armed attacks against neighbouring countries must be halted forthwith. Such actions surely destabilize the situation throughout southern Africa and make the possibility of settling the situation in Namibia even more remote. We particularly deplore the recent attack against Zambia, Zimbabwe and Botswana, carried out on 19 May of this year, as well as the repeated armed incursions into the territory of Angola.

32. Those most seriously affected are of course the people of Namibia, who are suffering under South African occupation, and those who have been forced out of their native land as refugees, as well as the neighbouring countries that must accept those refugees.

33. Japan has long extended assistance to the Namibian people through its contributions to the humanitarian and educational funds and programmes administered by the United Nations. In

fiscal year 1986, Japan's pledged contributions to those efforts on behalf of the Namibian people and the victims of *apartheid* in South Africa amounted to over half a billion US dollars, including contributions to the United Nations Institute for Namibia.

34. Japan is determined to extend such assistance as long as the need continues to exist. When UNTAG comes into being, Japan will provide it with assistance in the form of financial contributions and personnel. Once the independence of Namibia is achieved, Japan will spare no effort in extending bilateral economic and technical co-operation throughout the initial nation-building period.

35. Japan has also taken vigorous measures to press South Africa to end its *apartheid* policy and its illegal occupation of Namibia. First, Japan maintains no diplomatic relations with South Africa, nor does it recognize the so-called bantustan states.

36. Secondly, in demonstration of its disapproval of South Africa's illegal occupation of Namibia Japan refrains from any action which would in effect acknowledge the present *status quo* in Namibia. For example, the Government of Japan does not extend co-operation in the form of grants, loans or technical assistance of any kind to South Africans in Namibia.

37. Thirdly, in the field of economic relations, the Government of Japan prohibits direct investment in South Africa and Namibia by Japanese nationals or corporations. Recognizing the political significance of Decree No. 1 for the Protection of the Natural Resources of Namibia,³ which was enacted by the United Nations Council for Namibia in 1974, the Government of Japan has brought the Decree to the attention of the Japanese people in general by publishing it in the official bulletin of the Japanese Government. Consequently, no Japanese national or corporation maintains mining concessions in Namibia. The Government of Japan has no economic or financial agreement—not even a double-taxation agreement—with the Government of South Africa.

38. Fourthly, the Government of Japan has called upon Japanese commercial banks and their branches abroad not to extend loans to South Africa. Japanese banks continue to observe that appeal faithfully.

39. Fifthly, there is absolutely no military co-operation between Japan and South Africa, nor is there any exchange of military personnel, including, of course, military attachés.

40. Sixthly, Japan maintains its basic policy of not exporting arms to any country, and particularly to South Africa. Its vigorous observance of the arms embargo against South Africa is strictly enforced and recognized in relevant United Nations documents.

41. Seventhly, Japan has never extended co-operation of any kind to South Africa in the field of nuclear development. Japan has not exported nuclear reactors or related materials, nor has it extended any technical assistance to South Africa.

42. Eighthly, Japan severely restricts cultural, educational and sports contacts with South Africa and has no cultural agreement with that country. We do

not, in principle, issue visas to South Africans who apply for entry into Japan for the purpose of cultural, educational or sporting activities.

43. Moreover, on 9 October of last year⁴ the Government of Japan decided to take the following additional measures: to prohibit the export to South Africa of computers that might contribute to the activities of organizations that enforce *apartheid*, such as the South African armed forces and police force; to urge all Japanese not to import kruggerand or other South African gold coins; to increase Japanese assistance in the area of human resource development in southern African countries with a view to improving the status of black people in the region; and, lastly, to call upon Japanese companies that have offices in South Africa to follow equal and fair employment practices.

44. The Government of Japan renews its appeal to all the parties concerned to reach a solution of the problem through dialogue. In particular, it urges the South African Government to take a political decision to release unconditionally Mr. Nelson Mandela and all other political prisoners, to lift the ban on such anti-*apartheid* organizations as the African National Congress of South Africa and the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania and to begin talks as soon as possible with a wide range of black leaders.

45. The Government of Japan announced just today, 19 September 1986,⁵ that, in co-operation with other countries, it will take the following additional restrictive measures with a view to expressing its opposition until the Government of South Africa demonstrates its concrete will to abolish *apartheid*: first, it will prohibit the import of iron and steel products; secondly, it will suspend the issuance of tourist visas for South African nationals and urge the Japanese people to refrain from travelling to South Africa as tourists; thirdly, it will reaffirm the suspension of air links—which we do not now have—with South Africa; and fourthly, it will prohibit the use of South African Airways by Japanese Government officials.

46. Furthermore, it is the intention of the Government of Japan to continue to expand and strengthen its co-operation to help to raise the social status of the black population of South Africa in the hope of creating an environment conducive to the solution of the problem through dialogue. It is also determined to strengthen its economic co-operation with the neighbouring countries, which will suffer economic difficulties as the South African situation develops.

47. Japan has in fact already been making efforts to expand its relations with other African countries. Over the past 10 years we have seen a dramatic increase in our economic assistance to those countries. For example, Japan's bilateral official development assistance to Africa in 1984 as a whole increased more than tenfold over the assistance extended in 1973. Japan is the second largest non-regional contributor to both the African Development Bank and the African Development Fund, and in the field of technical co-operation approximately 40 per cent of Japan Overseas Cooperation Volunteers—the youth corps—are sent to Africa, where they are co-

operating with the local people at the grass-roots level.

48. When the United Nations was founded 41 years ago the majority of the people on Earth were under the yoke of colonialism. Since then the peoples of Asia and Africa have obtained their independence and joined the international community of independent countries. Racial discrimination has been eradicated throughout much of the world. It is disheartening, however, that in southern Africa there still exists a major remnant of colonialism and a particularly virulent strain of racism. Japan fully concurs with the view of the Secretary-General as expressed in his report on the work of the Organization⁶ that "the most urgent remaining problem of decolonization is certainly that of Namibia . . ."

49. The international community is united in calling for the independence of Namibia and the eradication of *apartheid*. Its voice is growing louder with each passing day. I fervently hope that our appeals will be heeded and that the day will soon come when we can welcome Namibia as a State Member of the United Nations in the General Assembly Hall.

50. Mr. FISCHER (Austria): It gives me great pleasure to extend to Mr. Choudhury the congratulations of the Austrian delegation on his election to the presidency of this important special session.

51. The year 1986 marks the twentieth anniversary of the historic decision by the General Assembly to terminate South Africa's Mandate over South West Africa and to place the Territory under the direct responsibility of the United Nations [*resolution 2145 (XXI)*]. Twenty years later, the people of Namibia are still denied the right to exercise their inalienable right to self-determination, national independence and freedom.

52. During these 20 years the General Assembly, as well as the Security Council, have over and over again denounced this state of affairs. The majority of Member States of the Organization have consistently condemned South Africa for its refusal to abide by the decisions and resolutions of the United Nations and to implement the United Nations plan for the independence of Namibia as embodied in Security Council resolution 435 (1978) by linking it to irrelevant and extraneous issues.

53. It is indeed a major shortcoming of contemporary world politics that nearly a decade after the adoption of the plan as embodied in Security Council resolutions 385 (1976) and 435 (1978), despite strenuous efforts by the Secretary-General, his Special Representative, the Security Council, the United Nations Council for Namibia and the Western contact group, as well as other initiatives supported by SWAPO, the OAU and the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, the sovereignty and independence of Namibia still remain to be attained. As the President pointed out during last year's debate in the Security Council, "the question of Namibia is one of the most poignant examples of the saddest chapters of modern history".⁷

54. In the view of the Austrian Government, any political settlement which aims at stability and

durability must rest on the broadest possible base, and include all the parties concerned. The United Nations plan for the independence of Namibia meets these basic requirements. It provides for true self-determination on the basis of democratic and internationally supervised elections, which in our opinion constitutes the only feasible way for the United Nations to discharge its special responsibility for that Territory and to arrive finally at the genuine and peaceful transfer of power to the Namibian people. Under this plan, the constitution for an independent Namibia is to be decided upon by representatives of the Namibian people chosen in free and fair elections.

55. This year has been marked by the convening of major international conferences dealing with the highly explosive situation in southern Africa. My country has participated actively in the World Conference on Sanctions against Racist South Africa held in June 1986 in Paris, as well as in the International Conference for the Immediate Independence of Namibia, which took place at Vienna just 10 weeks ago. Both conferences adopted important documents condemning the abhorrent and intolerable system of *apartheid* and advocating the right of the Namibian people to decide their own future.

56. My country participated actively in both the Paris Conference and the Vienna Conference and declared its commitment to contributing constructively to the solution of these important problems. It is indeed a tragedy that the international community, despite these and other efforts, despite its stated adherence to human rights and moral principles, as well as to international law, has still not succeeded in freeing the people of Namibia from the yoke of colonialism and racism.

57. Austria was among the countries that adopted unilateral steps against South Africa in accordance with Security Council resolutions 566 (1985) and 569 (1985). Austria's deep commitment to and continuing interest in the cause of the people of Namibia is also demonstrated by the fact that Austria enjoyed the privilege of hosting conferences dealing with this important issue twice within 13 months. My Government sincerely hopes that this fourteenth special session of the General Assembly will be able to arrive at conclusions that will ultimately benefit Namibia and its people. My Government hopes that Member States will once again reaffirm the crucial role the Organization can play with its rich store of mechanisms designed to foster a peaceful and orderly transition to an independent Namibia. Austria has always firmly professed its belief in and strong preference for a process of crisis management, peace-keeping and crisis solution initiated by the United Nations. This fourteenth special session should bring Namibia closer to its long awaited independence.

58. World opinion sometimes has difficulty in accepting the fact that conferences are held year after year on the very same issues but achieve little or no progress. And yet, it is necessary to profess over and over again, as in the case of Namibia, that the time has come to conclude the decolonization process in which the United Nations undoubtedly has a proud record. Indeed, the situation in southern Africa now covers the front pages of major international newspa-

pers. It is hoped that the growing public awareness to which our debate will contribute, will have an appreciable influence on the attitudes and policy decisions of our politicians and statesmen. Public opinion will eventually persuade governments to act through increased pressure on the Government of South Africa to obtain not only the abolition of the outrageous system of *apartheid* but also the granting of the long awaited independence of Namibia.

59. The fate of Namibia is a key to a peaceful future of the southern African region. At stake are the freedom and future of the Namibian people, at stake are the fundamental values and principles on which the Organization has been built, and which inspire the confidence and trust that Member States place in it. At stake is the chance for South Africa to arrive at a solution to its own problems by achieving a transformation into a viable, democratic and open society based on the fundamental principles of human rights without any racial discrimination whatsoever. At stake is, furthermore, the chance for the whole region to replace South African threats and acts of aggression against its peaceful neighbouring countries by fruitful co-operation, thus creating stability and peace in the region. All parties concerned ought to realize their grave responsibilities in this respect.

60. The Secretary-General, who has spared no effort to bring about independence for Namibia, stated as follows on the occasion of Namibia Day on 26 August:

“We must all understand the feelings of deep frustration, resentment and impatience of the people of Namibia. All who are committed to justice and human dignity can ill afford such continuing tension and conflict. It is now, therefore, more than ever imperative that the international community redouble its efforts to facilitate an early settlement.”

61. Finally, let me quote our Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr. Peter Jankowitsch, who expressed his hope that

“One day soon we shall welcome Namibia as a free sovereign member in the community of States, and by the same token, see South Africa, after the long nightmare of racial segregation and suppression, fully participate in international co-operation—a South Africa at peace with itself and at peace with the world”.

62. Mr. GURINOVICH (Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic) (*interpretation from Russian*): May I congratulate the President, Mr. Choudhury, of Bangladesh, on his assumption of the office of President of the General Assembly at its fourteenth special session. I should like to wish him every success in this work.

63. The Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic has constantly taken a position of international solidarity with the national liberation struggle of peoples and favours the immediate, full and final elimination of the remnants of colonialism and racism on Earth. In this connection, the decolonization of Namibia which is under the occupation of the South African

racist régime, is undoubtedly one of the most burning issues to be resolved.

64. The newly redrafted text of the Programme of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, which was approved at the twenty-seventh Congress of the Communist Party states that the Party regards it as its international duty to support the struggle of peoples which are still under the yoke of racism and are victims of the system of *apartheid*.

65. When the General Assembly put an end to the Mandate of South Africa over Namibia 20 years ago [*resolution 2145 (XXI)*] the United Nations assumed direct responsibility for the fate of Namibia. This means that the United Nations should finally take appropriate steps to protect the legitimate interests of the people of Namibia and to ensure the exercise of their inalienable right to self-determination and national independence, which naturally would help also to improve the general international climate.

66. As was indicated this year in the decisions of the World Conference on Sanctions against Racist South Africa and the International Conference for the Immediate Independence of Namibia, in whose work the Byelorussian delegation took part, and as was also indicated by many delegations at the current special session, the racist Pretoria régime, by flouting the norms of international law and the demands of the United Nations, including the binding resolutions of the Security Council, continues its illegal occupation of Namibia and is attempting by force of arms to break the will of the Namibian people in their desire for freedom and independence. The racists, in so doing, enjoy the support of the United States, which has declared itself to be the historical ally of South Africa.

67. The international community will not accept the policy of “constructive engagement” with the racists, such as is pursued by the United States and some other Western countries, since it properly considers that this is simply tantamount to an attempt to pacify the *apartheid* régime and to help it to maintain the colonial status of Namibia, encouraging it to use that Territory as a beachhead for aggression against independent African States.

68. Despite the universal condemnation of *apartheid* as a crime against humanity and as a serious threat to international peace and security, the racist South African régime has also extended the system of *apartheid* to the Territory of Namibia.

69. South Africa’s policy of splitting up Namibia into racial groups is, to a great extent, based on the system of bantustanization, which was practised in South Africa. This policy represents a more sophisticated variant of the old colonial strategy of divide and rule. The problem of Namibia is a problem of decolonization. Any attempts to give it any other characterization, to represent it, for example, as a confrontation between East and West, or as any attempts to link the independence of Namibia with extraneous matters. Such manoeuvres are aimed at blocking a solution to the problem of the independence of Namibia. The national liberation struggle, which has been waged by the Namibian people, using all means available to it, including

armed force, is just and legitimate and deservedly enjoys the support of the United Nations.

70. My delegation considers that the United Nations should roundly condemn the actions of those Western Powers which have failed to carry out existing decisions on the complete prohibition of arms supplies to South Africa and should take immediate steps to overcome the resistance of those States to the adoption by the Security Council of a decision which would impose comprehensive mandatory sanctions against the Pretoria régime, in accordance with Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations.

71. It is essential that the decisions of this special session and the resolutions adopted previously be aimed precisely at the immediate attainment of independence by Namibia under conditions whereby its territorial integrity and natural wealth would be preserved, and an end be put to the exploitation of its human resources and the plunder of its natural resources by South Africa, the transnational corporations and other monopolies of the Western countries.

72. Our resolutions and decisions should reject any attempt at linkage of the independence of Namibia with any extraneous issues, including the legitimate military co-operation between Angola and Cuba. This special session is in duty bound to offer protection to the front-line States to protect them from acts of aggression and intervention in their internal affairs on the part of the South African racists and their protectors.

73. The United Nations cannot acquiesce in the bloody repression of the racists against the people of Namibia, with foreign corporations acquiring, in the form of profits, more than 60 per cent of its gross national product; nor can it acquiesce in the impoverished standards of living of the Namibians.

74. Over the last five years the military of South Africa has inflicted damage on the neighbouring States amounting to more than \$10 billion, which is four times greater than the so-called assistance to those countries from the industrial developed countries of the West.

75. It is no longer a secret to anyone that the unholy alliance of the forces of racism, Zionism, imperialism and reaction, which are impeding the independence of Namibia, came into being and exists on the basis of the tightly interwoven political, economic, military and strategic interests of its parties.

76. It is hardly surprising, for that reason, that the solemn promises which have quite recently been made in great profusion by the so-called Western contact group have proved to be empty.

77. The delegation of the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic fully shares the conclusion that at present the main reason for the failure to implement previous resolutions of the United Nations, as well as to meet the demands of the OAU and the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, which are aimed at supporting the legitimate rights of the people of Namibia, is not only the obstructionist position taken by the

South African racists but also the policy of "constructive engagement" advanced by their partners.

Mr. Choudhury (Bangladesh) took the Chair.

78. Among the overt actions taken against Namibia we should single out the attempts to legalize the puppet groups in Namibia from which the occupying authorities fabricated the so-called provisional transitional Government. The racists and their protectors are together attempting to exclude the United Nations from a Namibian settlement, to undermine the internationally acknowledged foundation for guaranteeing Namibia's independence, which has been enshrined in the relevant resolutions of the United Nations, including Security Council resolution 435 (1978). States Member of the United Nations must give a stern rebuff to such unworthy acts.

79. The Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic has consistently and firmly favoured the immediate exercise by the Namibian people of its inalienable rights to self-determination and independence in a unified and territorially inviolate Namibia, which would include Walvis Bay and the offshore islands. It also favours the immediate, unconditional and complete withdrawal from Namibia of all South African troops and administration and it supports SWAPO, which has been acknowledged by the United Nations and by the OAU as the sole, authentic representative of the Namibian people.

80. Our position is based on the decisions of the twenty-seventh Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, which put forward a proposal to establish a comprehensive international security system. Among the foundations of that system, as applicable to the problem under discussion, in particular, it mentions the need for respect in international practice for the right of every country to exercise its sovereign choice with regard to the ways and means of its development, the need for a just political settlement of international crises and regional conflicts, the elimination of genocide, *apartheid*, the preaching of fascism and any other form of racial, national or religious exclusiveness, as well as of discrimination against people on such bases. The valiant Namibian people, who are waging a heroic liberation struggle under the leadership of SWAPO have the sympathy and unswerving solidarity of the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic.

81. The delegation of the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic expresses its firm conviction that, despite the machinations of the South African racists and imperialist forces, the Namibian people, with the support of the forces of peace, progress and justice, will achieve authentic freedom and independence.

82. Mr. HAMEED (Sri Lanka): Sir, it gives me great pleasure to congratulate you, an eminent son of Bangladesh, on your unanimous election as President of the General Assembly at this fourteenth special session. I wish you every success.

83. A month has not yet elapsed since the heads of State or Government of non-aligned countries met at Harare to reaffirm their collective resolve to expedite the emancipation of the people of Namibia. Here at this special session other countries have joined in

demonstrating in no uncertain terms to the world at large that Namibia must not remain in bondage any longer.

84. The anguish of Namibia has continued for too long. Two decades have passed since the United Nations assumed direct responsibility for Namibia. During this period the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries has been deeply concerned with developments in the Territory. The question of independence for Namibia is one of the few issues on which the international community has evolved a consensus. That consensus is one to which even the *apartheid* régime has ostensibly declared its agreement. The tragedy is that, despite such a consensus, the people of Namibia continue to be denied their birthright as a nation. When the Security Council adopted resolution 435 (1978), following intensive consultations with all the parties concerned, including SWAPO, Namibia's sole and legitimate representative, and the South African régime, hopes ran high that free elections under the supervision and control of the United Nations would be held for the whole of Namibia and that this would culminate in independence for Namibia.

85. Such great expectations have not been fulfilled. A combination of force and guile adopted as a twin strategy by the South African minority régime is blocking prospects for a peaceful settlement of the question of Namibia. In his report on the work of the Organization,⁶ the Secretary-General stated that "all the conditions for implementation of the United Nations plan for Namibia laid down by the Security Council have been met." Yet the way to a settlement does not appear clear, because of the prevarications of the South African régime and its desire to continue reaping political, economic and strategic benefits from the occupation of the Territory.

86. The minority régime's insistence on linking the implementation of the United Nations plan for the independence of Namibia, as embodied in Security Council resolution 435 (1978), to the withdrawal of Cuban forces from Angola has been rejected by the non-aligned countries and by virtually every other State as a vain effort to introduce extraneous considerations, *post facto*, in order to retain control over Namibia. In equally unconvincing fashion, the minority régime has foisted a puppet régime upon Namibia in an effort to impart a thin veneer of legality to its illegal control of the Territory. The so-called provisional Government at Windhoek has neither credibility nor legitimacy, but the minority régime has attempted to mount an elaborate charade on the international scene by opening "information offices" for that Government abroad. We fully support the call by the Eighth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries for the closure of these so-called information offices established by the racist régime in different capitals to promote propaganda and lend credibility to a wholly unrepresentative group. The maintenance of these "information offices" is an affront to the aspirations of the majority of the Namibian people, who are debarred from participation in the governance of their own Territory.

87. To prop up its position, the *apartheid* régime has also attempted to inject aspects of great-Power

rivalry and elements of East-West confrontation into the Namibian independence struggle. The ideological dimension has been deployed to conceal the fundamental decolonization issue that is in reality involved.

88. Bolstering these pseudo-theories and misinformation is the barefaced use of ruthless force inside Namibia, and outside against independent States in the southern African region. To hold down a population of 1.5 million, the racist régime has deployed over 100,000 troops in the Territory. Other speakers before me have gone into detail about the brutally repressive measures visited upon the Namibian people. The militarization of Namibia serves not only to suppress the majority within the Territory but also to use it as a launching-pad for acts of aggression, subversion and cross-border terrorism against neighbouring States. The South African régime has, for example, used Namibian territory to provide logistical and other support to dissident groups in Angola to destabilize the Government of that country. Sri Lanka supports Angola's efforts to preserve its independence and territorial integrity against attacks by terrorist groups manipulated, armed and supported by the régime in neighbouring South Africa. We recognize the vital role played by the front-line States, to their great cost, in the struggle to establish majority rule in South Africa and Namibia.

89. What the Commonwealth Eminent Persons Group concluded earlier this year about the *apartheid* régime in South Africa is equally valid in respect of that régime's attitude to Namibia. The Group concluded that South Africa is "not yet prepared to negotiate fundamental change, nor to countenance the creation of genuine democratic structures, nor to face the prospect of the end of white domination and white power in the foreseeable future".⁸

90. Economic considerations weigh heavy in the racist régime's continuing attempts to stifle aspirations to freedom and majority rule in South Africa. President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia, with characteristic simplicity, has said: "Namibia is rich; Namibians are poor." Namibia is being bled of its resources to satisfy the demands of the white minority and other foreign economic interests. The heads of State or Government of non-aligned countries, at their summit meeting held at Harare, condemned the activities of foreign economic interests which impede the granting of independence to Namibia, stressing the incompatibility of those activities with United Nations resolutions and Decree No. 1 for the Protection of the Natural Resources of Namibia,³ enacted by the United Nations Council for Namibia.

91. However exploitative, ruthless and oppressive the minority racist régime has been, the Namibian people's resistance has not faltered. Under the leadership of SWAPO, a heroic nation-wide liberation movement has emerged involving people of all walks of life. Sri Lanka pays a special tribute to the SWAPO leadership, which for 25 years has provided mature and responsible guidance to the Namibian people. Contrary to South African propaganda, SWAPO accepts and reflects the richness of Namibia's racial and ethnic diversity, and anticipates a multiracial, multi-ethnic society in free Namibia. SWAPO is, as its constitution describes it, "the

expression and embodiment of national unity, of a whole people united and organized in the struggle for total independence and social liberation”.

92. Although the independence struggle will attain fruition primarily through the efforts of the people of Namibia themselves, the international community has a duty to assist by exerting all possible pressure on the minority régime to implement, unconditionally and without further delay, the United Nations plan for the independence of Namibia, in accordance with Security Council resolution 435 (1978), the sole internationally accepted basis for a peaceful settlement of the question of Namibia. Those who preach caution are acquiescing in South Africa's patently cosmetic gestures towards reform which will not only prolong the agony of Namibia but also increase the very real prospect of further bloodshed and an escalation of the conflict beyond Namibia's borders into the entire southern African region.

93. While Namibia's struggle for independence has a particular dynamic of its own, one cannot separate developments in the Territory from those unfolding in South Africa itself. The minority régime and the obscene system of *apartheid* on which it prides itself are, as non-aligned heads of State or Government asserted at Harare, the root cause of conflict in the region, which has already jeopardized the peace and stability of the sub-continent.

94. The tide of time favours freedom, justice and democracy for both South Africa and Namibia. International agitation against *apartheid* has grown steadily. The World Conference on Sanctions against Racist South Africa, the International Conference for the Immediate Independence of Namibia and the Eighth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, all held this year in Paris, Vienna and Harare, respectively, have mobilized international opinion in favour of the elimination of *apartheid*. In the West, popular opinion, legislators, trade unions, churches, universities, student groups and others are playing a major role in lobbying for decisive government action against *apartheid*. In the face of continued intransigence on the part of the minority régime, a global consensus is gathering momentum.

95. The global consensus echoed in Paris and Vienna, based on decisions of the non-aligned countries, irrefutably points to comprehensive mandatory sanctions as the most effective peaceful means of coercing the minority régime to dismantle *apartheid* and permit freedom, multiracialism and democracy to flourish in Namibia and South Africa. At the Vienna Conference I observed that we were at a historically decisive stage and that the bastion of *apartheid* had never been under such sustained attack.

96. The message emanating from the Harare Conference is clear, absolute and decisive. One hundred and one countries were represented at Harare. They spoke with one voice and in one idiom: the bondage of Namibia must end. This special session must reiterate and reaffirm that message. The consensus that has clearly emerged must not be permitted to lapse. The Security Council must take swift, sure action, and the United Nations plan for the indepen-

dence of Namibia must be set in motion. As the Secretary-General has said, the problem of Namibia is ripe for solution now.

97. Mr. AL-DALI (Democratic Yemen) (*interpretation from Arabic*): It gives me great pleasure, Sir, to extend to you our warmest congratulations on your election to the presidency of the fourteenth special session of the General Assembly, especially in view of the fact that you represent a sister country bound to mine by close ties. We are fully confident that with your well-known statesmanship and competence you will contribute to the success of the session and the achievement of its desired objectives.

98. The convening of this special session of the General Assembly on Namibia is highly significant in more than one sense. It is the culmination of a series of international Conferences convened this year on the question of Namibia, foremost among which were the World Conference on Sanctions against Racist South Africa, the International Conference for the Immediate Independence of Namibia and the Eighth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries. A cursory examination indicates that those Conferences achieved important results which reflect the will and determination of the international community to take without delay the action necessary to eradicate the policy of *apartheid* pursued by the racist régime of South Africa. That policy has been condemned by the international community, which has declared it a crime against humanity and the dignity of man, incompatible with human rights and the Charter of the United Nations, and a threat to international peace and security.

99. The significance of this special session devoted to the question of Namibia is emphasized by the grave developments unfolding in southern Africa as a result of the persistence by the racist régime of South Africa in its practices aimed at consolidating the policy of *apartheid* against the people of South Africa and in the perpetration of repeated acts of aggression against the front-line States.

100. It is a great honour for my country to be among the Asian countries chosen by the eighth summit Conference to speak before this special session on behalf of the non-aligned countries. We view this session as a reaffirmation of the firm position consistently adopted by the international community in keeping with the moral and legal responsibility of the United Nations for ensuring the complete withdrawal of South Africa from Namibia. This is particularly so in that 20 years have elapsed since the General Assembly terminated South Africa's Mandate over Namibia [*resolution 2145 (XXI)*] and the United Nations assumed direct responsibility for the Territory until its complete independence, which is to be attained in accordance with Security Council resolution 435 (1978). This would put a definitive end to the occupation of Namibia and the policy of *apartheid* currently pursued against its people.

101. The question of Namibia is organically linked to decolonization and must be dealt with in accordance with the provisions of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples [*resolution 1514 (XV)*]. Any attempt to give it

any other character or to settle it outside the framework of the United Nations runs counter to the will of the international community and impedes the accession to independence of Namibia. Genuine independence for Namibia means, above all, the immediate termination of its illegal occupation by the Pretoria régime and of the exploitation of its economic wealth and resources. It requires the complete commitment of all States to the implementation of the relevant General Assembly and Security Council resolutions, foremost among which is Security Council resolution 435 (1978), which clearly defines the means for the achievement of independence by Namibia. It also requires confrontation of all imperialist attempts in various forms to circumvent that resolution and avoid being committed to it.

102. This is exactly what has been done in the case of resolution 418 (1977), adopted by the Security Council in accordance with Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations, in which the Council decided that all States should cease forthwith the provision to South Africa of arms and related *matériel* of all types and refrain from any co-operation with South Africa in the manufacture and development of nuclear weapons.

103. We believe that the settlement of the situation in Namibia in particular and in southern Africa in general could be arrived at by complete commitment to the termination of all commercial, economic, military and political relations with the racist régime of South Africa, the imposition of comprehensive sanctions against the racist régime in accordance with Chapter VII of the Charter and the provision of the necessary unlimited support for the struggle of the African peoples in southern Africa and for their national liberation movements, especially SWAPO, the sole, legitimate representative of the Namibian people, in its just struggle against the racist régime and for the complete independence of Namibia.

104. The relationships maintained in various fields with the racist régime of South Africa, by some Western States, foremost among them the United States of America, on the flimsiest pretexts, have proved completely ineffectual. They adversely affect the struggle of the peoples of southern Africa against *apartheid*, especially since they provide the racist régime with the means of survival, enhance its military power and encourage it to continue its occupation of Namibia and carry out large-scale operations against the people of Namibia and South Africa and repeated acts of sabotage and aggression against the front-line States, with cynical disregard for international humanitarian instruments.

105. The international community has repeatedly condemned the so-called policy of constructive engagement pursued by the United States Administration *vis-à-vis* the racist régime of South Africa, as it has also condemned the similar policies pursued by some other Western States which, in the final analysis, serve the same purpose: breaking the international isolation of the racist régime because of narrow, selfish interests, heedless of the will of the international community and the adverse effects of their policies on the peoples of southern Africa and on international peace and security.

106. This is especially so in view of the fact that these policies impede international efforts to put an end to the *apartheid* régime in South Africa, help to perpetuate the illegitimate occupation of Namibia by that régime, and encourage the racist régime of Pretoria to intensify its oppression against the peoples of South Africa and Namibia, escalate its acts of aggression against the front-line States and continue its intransigence in impeding the independence of Namibia and refusing to heed the will of the Namibian people and the international community.

107. Such Western and United States policies, although they assume differing guises, are repeated in various parts of the world. The clearest example of that is the United States policy in the Middle East aimed at forfeiting the legitimate national rights of the Palestinian Arab people and crushing the will of the other Arab peoples through the provision of unlimited support for Israel to pursue its policies of aggression and expansion against the Arab peoples and countries. Hence it is clear that both racist régimes, in Pretoria and in Tel Aviv, are dependent on international imperialism, for they enjoy support from the same source. Therein lies their persistence in the policy of aggression, oppression and expansion against the Arab and African peoples.

108. Democratic Yemen reiterates its firm position of principle in condemning the policy of *apartheid* and the brutal acts of aggression committed by the racist régime of South Africa against the neighbouring independent States. Democratic Yemen calls for the full eradication of the policy of *apartheid*, total withdrawal from Namibia and the achievement of complete independence for the Territory in accordance with Security Council resolution 435 (1978). Democratic Yemen also calls for the imposition of comprehensive and mandatory sanctions against the racist régime of South Africa under Chapter VII of the Charter. It reaffirms its full solidarity with the front-line States, which are facing repeated military acts of aggression perpetrated by the racist régime of South Africa.

109. In this international forum we salute the growing popular resistance of the peoples of southern Africa against the policy of *apartheid*, and express our deep appreciation for their great sacrifices in human life. We are certain that these sacrifices will not be in vain; rather, they demonstrate that the will of peoples cannot be broken by any war machine, regardless of its power and brutality.

110. There is no doubt that this special session and its positive resolutions will constitute a new step by the international community in emphasizing its solidarity with the peoples of Namibia and South Africa in their struggle, thus accelerating the total eradication of the policy of *apartheid* and leading to full independence for Namibia.

111. Mr. KAPLLANI (Albania): Mr. President, allow me, first of all, to express my delegation's warm congratulations on your election to guide the work of the fourteenth special session of the General Assembly, devoted to the question of Namibia.

112. It is well over half a century now that Namibia has been suffering under the savage rule of occupa-

tion by South Africa, and the Namibian people is still living in segregation and deprived of the most elementary rights. This situation has become intolerable for the Namibian people and the other peoples of the region, and it has aroused the indignation of world public opinion, which is seriously concerned with it.

113. This year the burning issues of Africa became the focus of attention of the Organization, the question of Namibia occupying a very important place. Now, it is subject of this special session of the General Assembly, which is being held shortly after the International Conference for the Immediate Independence of Namibia, held at Vienna, the thirteenth special session of the General Assembly, on the critical economic situation in Africa, and the World Conference on Sanctions against Racist South Africa held in Paris. This fact bears witness to the grave situation prevailing in Namibia, as well as to the mounting indignation and justified reaction of international public opinion against the continued occupation and the employment of racist violence by the Pretoria régime.

114. To this day Namibia remains the only place where *apartheid* and the savage occupation of a country by another are practised. What is happening in Namibia brings to mind the darkest period of colonialist domination and the cruel genocide carried out on the African continent by the white settlers.

115. The laws of racial discrimination have been enforced in all aspects of life in Namibia; they are applied by force of arms and through fascist terror. Under the pretext of "preserving law and order", the Pretoria racists maintain their occupation forces, equipped with modern weapons and ready to put down by fire and sword the revolt and struggle of the Namibian people.

116. Namibia possesses tremendous natural wealth and its people want freedom, independence and progress. Yet it is a bitter and revolting reality that in that very country, rich in diamonds and other precious assets, the people suffer for want of food and have been left in ignorance and misery. For decades on end they have been subject to classical colonialist exploitation by the racists of South Africa and the various imperialist Powers, who have laid their hands upon and plundered the pick of Namibia's natural wealth, reaping fabulous profits.

117. The events that have unfolded testify to the fact that the South African racists have not surrendered—and are unwilling to surrender—their continued occupation of Namibia and their policies of *apartheid* aimed against the Namibian people. Indeed, two decades ago the General Assembly took the decision to put an end to South Africa's Mandate over Namibia [*resolution 2145 (XXI)*]. Nevertheless, to this day Pretoria continues obstinately to pursue its criminal policy, in disregard of the will of the Namibian people and in defiance of United Nations resolutions and of the whole of world public opinion.

118. The arrogance of the South African régime and the atrocities it has inflicted upon the Namibian, Azanian and other African peoples are by no means accidental; nor are they a display of strength by the

racists. They arise from the overt overall support and aid which the imperialist Powers, primarily the United States, render to the racists of South Africa.

119. The so-called constructive engagement of the United States with South Africa is nothing less than total engagement in its alliance with the racists of South Africa. That engagement is in harmony with the interests of the United States imperialists not only in Namibia but throughout southern Africa. It is now an established fact that in the inter-imperialist rivalry for hegemony in Africa between the two super-Powers, the United States and the Soviet Union, that region of particular geo-strategic importance ranks among the top priorities of United States policy in the military, economic and political fields. South Africa has been and remains the best card in Washington's hand in terms of achieving United States ambitions on the African continent. It is precisely this concordance of imperialist and racist interests that constitutes the essence of the alliance binding imperialist Powers with South Africa's racist régime.

120. Without that support and aid, South Africa would not be in a position to turn the entire southern part of the African continent into a zone of instability and tension where sovereign countries are constantly under the threat of aggression and subject to reprisals and other criminal actions. Pretoria's renewed aggressive acts against Angola, Zambia, Zimbabwe, Botswana and Mozambique have further heightened tension and aggravated the situation in the region, inflicting upon the peoples of those countries considerable human losses and material damage.

121. The South African racists have been denounced before world opinion so roundly that for public consumption their imperialist masters and allies have been forced to consider it wiser to take a supposedly critical view of certain aspects of the racist cruelty practised in Namibia. They do not fail to speak even about sanctions against Pretoria. The acceleration of the process of the so-called peaceful settlement of the Namibian problem should also be viewed in that context. The offers regarding "peaceful solutions" presented by the United States and the other Western Powers do not aim at finding a solution to the problem—that is, at putting an end to the occupation and the racial discrimination—but rather at orienting the issue into the blind alley of compromises and bargains. This, in the final analysis, would enable the South African racists to buy more time for action on the military front against the struggle of the Namibia people while posing at the international level as favouring a peaceful solution—even the reformation of the system of *apartheid*.

122. The delegation of Albania holds the view that the issue of the freedom and independence of Namibia should in no way be related to the reform of the system of *apartheid* but rather to the imperative that that ugly system be uprooted altogether. The grave situation in Namibia, which is closely linked with—and has direct consequences for—the development of events in Africa on a continental scale, completely discloses the cunning policy of the imperialist Powers, first and foremost the two super-Powers, whose rivalry in essence makes it easier for the Pretoria régime to carry out its colonialist policy.

Meanwhile, those Powers exploit the state of affairs in Namibia, the critical economic situation on the continent, and the old and new conflicts which stir up animosities between African peoples to create fertile ground for the attainment of their hegemonistic objectives.

123. To anyone with a clear vision of historical development it is evident that the racist domination of South Africa cannot be everlasting. However, the history of the struggle of the African and other peoples against colonialism, racism and imperialist oppression and plunder also shows that the colonialist and imperialist Powers have never given up their positions of their own free will. The South African racists are no exception to that rule, yet the Pretoria régime will be unable to escape its doom in the face of the struggle of the Namibian people for freedom and independence. Like the other colonialist Powers, the South African racists cannot halt or quell the struggle of the Namibian people, which is inspired by their lofty aspiration to live freely in their own country.

124. Living proof of this is the armed struggle and the organized resistance that have been assuming ever greater proportions throughout Namibia. Enjoying the support of the people, the patriotic forces, under the leadership of SWAPO, have already liberated one third of the country's territory. The so-called interim government in Namibia, a puppet clique installed at Windhoek under the shadow of Pretoria's bayonets, represents an unlawful régime which is completely isolated from the people.

125. The struggle of the Namibian people for freedom and independence is a continuation of the century-old struggle of the peoples of Africa against colonialism and racism. It enjoys the whole-hearted support and solidarity of all the African peoples, for they more than anyone else know from their own experience what the bloody shackles of racism and colonialism mean. The African peoples will not tolerate for long Namibia remaining an ugly stain of racist savagery and colonialist oppression on the map of their continent.

126. Along with the rest of world public opinion, the Albanian people are following closely and with profound concern the grave situation in Namibia. They express their indignation at the violence and crimes perpetrated against the freedom-loving people of that country.

127. The Albanian Government and people, sincere friends of the African peoples, have supported and will continue to support unreservedly the struggle of the Namibian people, convinced that through their resolve and determined efforts the Namibian people will succeed in ousting the racist South African occupiers from their land, thus making their century-old dream come true which in turn will open up the road to their country, to independence and progress.

128. Mr. AUGUSTE (Haiti) (*interpretation from French*): My presence here gives me the welcome opportunity of congratulating you, Sir, on behalf of the delegation of Haiti and on my own behalf, on your election to preside over this important session of the General Assembly, which is devoted to one of

the most terrible and cynical tragedies of our age—the illegal occupation of Namibia.

129. How often this issue has been discussed here; how many people from all continents, of all creeds and the most diverse ideologies, have considered it, attempting with all the strength of their convictions to halt the barbaric actions of South Africa and to end the untold suffering of the Namibian people? So far their efforts have been unsuccessful, but their faith in the final triumph of justice, supported by well-judged resolutions of the United Nations, keeps the cause of the Namibian people before the Assembly, at the heart of our civilization, and thus before the world conscience.

130. My delegation hopes that the call to heed the rule of law, so often repeated, will—under your wise guidance, Sir—penetrate the most disbelieving ears and the hardest hearts. That would be the best achievement of this session.

131. That hope is all the more cherished by us Haitians because in addition to our experience of colonization and occupation, which are an integral part of our history, we not only still have the dust of Africa on our feet but have Africa in the very fibre of our beings, and we are still sensitive to everything affecting Africa's most legitimate aspirations.

132. The tragedy of the Namibian people under the South African yoke has gone on for over 70 years. The many turns it has taken are too well-known for me to dwell on them now. But in the past 20 years that tragedy has taken a new turn, has even taken on a new dimension. By putting an end to South Africa's Mandate in resolution 2145 (XXI), of 1966, and placing Namibia under the direct responsibility of the United Nations, the General Assembly brought the matter into the international arena.

133. Five years later in an advisory opinion⁹ the International Court of Justice declared the occupation of Namibia to be illegal and ruled that the States Member of the United Nations should refrain from any acts implying recognition of the legality of the presence of the advocates of *apartheid* on that Territory. Since then there have been many developments, systematically bringing Namibia more and more to the centre of the concerns of the United Nations and under the guardianship of international public order.

134. Of the many actions taken on this question, Security Council resolution 435 (1978), which makes self-determination through free elections under United Nations supervision the basis of the independence plan for Namibia, constitutes the keystone of any peaceful solution to the question of Namibia. It should be remembered that at the time of the adoption of the resolution there was complete agreement between the various bodies of the Organization, especially the General Assembly and the Security Council, which had just taken a stand on the matter. The international community had at last presented a common front to Pretoria's obstinate resistance.

135. However, the institutionalization and internationalization of the question of Namibia's independence, far from bringing the South African Govern-

ment to reason, so strengthened its intransigence and its capacity for intrigue that we began to wonder whether any peaceful settlement was still possible.

136. Is a peaceful settlement in fact still possible within the context of Security Council resolution 435 (1978), when the Namibian people, stripped of their most basic rights, are brutalized, terrorized, imprisoned and mercilessly killed by security forces acting in an ever more arbitrary way; when, according to a report of the Office of the United Nations Commissioner for Namibia, innocent people are shot or detained simply on suspicion that they support SWAPO; and when murderous raids and blatant acts of aggression sow death and destruction in the territories of the front-line States, in order to destabilize them?

137. Is a peaceful settlement still possible, when thus far South Africa remains deaf to the appeals of the Secretary-General and of international organizations on behalf of Namibian independence; when the plunder of the country's mineral and maritime resources is increasing, with the guilty participation of foreign corporations, in violation of Decree No. 1 for the Protection of the Natural Resources of Namibia,³ enacted by the United Nations Council for Namibia and resolutions of the Security Council and the General Assembly; when Pretoria heaps defiance on defiance and is so arrogant as to make Namibia's independence conditional on the withdrawal of the Cuban troops in Angola, gratuitously involving itself in the internal affairs of a sovereign, independent State; and, finally, when it elevates to the status of a method of government *apartheid*, arbitrary detention and State terrorism, and under our indifferent eyes carries out, by inches, the holocaust of an entire people?

138. Never in the annals of the United Nations has a Member State so brazenly kicked over the traces. Confronted with this massive, unique and unprecedented violation of international rules, with the resulting threats to international peace and security, and with a potential war in southern Africa, the international community must act quickly and firmly. Its very future is at stake.

139. For, above and beyond the Namibian people, who are directly concerned and who are resolved—under the enlightened and courageous guidance of SWAPO—to take control of their own destiny, above and beyond the others closely involved in the matter, there is a confrontation between Pretoria and the Security Council, charged under Article 24 of the Charter of the United Nations with the “primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security”, and to that end given the specific powers “laid down in Chapters VI, VII, VIII and XII”.

140. Having taken a stand in resolution 435 (1978), the Security Council cannot go back on its word, retract or retreat when faced with South Africa's unbridled arrogance. It must extract us from the present impasse. It must revive resolution 435 (1978), which until now has remained a dead letter. Until it does so, the international community and the United Nations must do their best to begin the

process of ending the occupation of Namibia and effectively making it a part of international life.

141. My delegation takes the liberty of suggesting that, in preparing a detailed programme of action, the following actions be taken, or strengthened.

142. First, we suggest that an urgent meeting of the Security Council be held to consider, in accordance with the Charter, ways of implementing resolution 435 (1978), with all their legal consequences.

143. Secondly, we must reaffirm the United Nations authority over Namibia and the commitment to work towards its immediate independence.

144. Thirdly, we must reject any attempt by South Africa or the gimcrack Windhoek régime to act on behalf of the Namibian people and represent it abroad, and in particular, we must boycott the “Namibia Information Offices” established in certain capitals.

145. Fourthly, we must implement Security Council resolutions 276 (1970), 283 (1970) and 301 (1971), which recommend that an end should be put to transactions between State enterprises and Namibia, as well as to any form of exchange that might strengthen the authority of South Africa over Namibia. In this respect, the Government of Canada, which last July pledged to put an end to the treatment of Namibian uranium, could serve as an example.

146. Fifthly, we must reiterate our unswerving and active support for SWAPO, the sole representative and authentic spokesman of the Namibian people.

147. Sixthly, we must mobilize public opinion, especially in recalcitrant or indifferent countries, by disseminating in universities, schools and religious and professional centres all relevant information on the question of the independence of Namibia and on the obstructionist attempts by Pretoria and other capitals or corporations that support it directly or indirectly.

148. Seventhly, we must support the activities of the United Nations Council for Namibia, particularly its initiatives¹⁰ to institute legal proceedings against those corporations and individuals that are violating Decree No. 1 for the Protection of the Natural Resources of Namibia.

149. Eighthly, we must finally recognize the need for collective sanctions against South Africa and unreservedly set those sanctions in motion.

150. South Africa is the yoke of the Namibian people. We have a duty to free Namibia of that yoke and to do so as soon as possible. Otherwise, the glassy stare of the freedom fighters who have fallen for that cause we hold so dear will follow us relentlessly, like the ever-present eye of Cain, with a silent and inescapable reproach.

151. Mr. AL-SABBAGH (Bahrain) (*interpretation from Arabic*): I take great pleasure in extending our thanks to the President and the members of the United Nations Council for Namibia, the body responsible for administering Namibia until it

achieves independence and defending the rights and interests of that Territory and its people, pursuant to the mandate conferred on it by the General Assembly in its resolution 2248 (S-V). I should also like to praise the Council for its untiring efforts to enable Namibia finally to achieve its independence and to allow its people to exercise their inalienable right to self-determination, to promote equality and social justice, and establish national independence.

152. It goes without saying that the independence of Namibia is an important question in the decolonization context. The international community, in approving the United Nations plan for the independence of that Territory, has demonstrated its unanimous determination and common will in that respect. I refer here to resolution 40/97A, in which the inalienable right of the Namibian people to live in an independent and united Namibia was reaffirmed.

153. The whole international community has voiced its indignation at the continuing illegal occupation of Namibia by South Africa, while the racist régime of South Africa has continued to consolidate its occupation of that Territory, thus openly defying the international community's call for withdrawal of its troops from the Territory so that the Namibian people can exercise their right to self-determination and genuine independence under the leadership of SWAPO, its sole legitimate representative. SWAPO's celebration this year of the twentieth anniversary of the commencement of the armed struggle coincides with the twentieth anniversary of the decision by the General Assembly to terminate South Africa's Mandate over Namibia [resolution 2145 (XXI)].

154. South Africa is today going to extreme lengths in repressing and persecuting the Namibian people, while it uses the Namibian territory as a springboard to launch acts of aggression against neighbouring independent African States. The most recent of those deliberate attacks was that carried out against Angola on 5 June 1986. Before that, there was the attack against the refugee camps in Zambia administered by UNHCR, and the barbaric air raids carried out against Botswana, Zambia and Zimbabwe on 19 May 1986.

155. Those criminal acts of aggression are part and parcel of international terrorism, and are acts which the international community cannot ignore. Those acts are a flagrant violation of international law and of all the rules of international relations, and they must not be allowed to undermine the fundamental principles of the rule of law. The purpose of those racist onslaughts is to intimidate the African States and to force their Governments and peoples to accept a *fait accompli* which is intended to make them end their support of the rights of the black majority in South Africa who are trying to rid themselves of *apartheid* and to achieve their freedom, independence and security. At the same time, those attacks are intended to destabilize the region. They reflect a systematic and deliberate policy of punishing those African States, militarily, economically and politically, in addition to all the other forms of reprisal.

156. That policy of blatant aggression is a deliberate affront to international will and public opinion. It is an extension of the policy of *apartheid*, which is

based on an outworn racist colonialist doctrine that South Africa is striving to revive today. Pressure must be exerted on South Africa to rid the whole of southern Africa of the scourge of *apartheid* once and for all.

157. In carrying out these acts of terrorism and aggression against neighbouring African States, South Africa claims to be combating international terrorism, while in fact its own actions are nothing less than international terrorism.

158. State terrorism and repression as practised by the South African régime are the cause of a whole range of calamities and assaults inflicted on the Namibian people, and the whole of southern Africa, but the suffering of others means nothing to the régime which is intent on maintaining the *status quo* at any cost. Their cynical claim is that their actions are legitimate acts of self-defence in accordance with Article 51 of the Charter.

159. Clearly the source of the violence raging in South Africa and Namibia is the policy of *apartheid* practised by the South African régime. It is the main cause of the tension that exists in South Africa and in southern Africa; it underpins the position of privilege enjoyed by the whites and perpetuates the penury of the black population. That is the obstacle impeding Namibia's attainment of its political and economic independence.

160. South Africa is draining Namibia of its wealth—its uranium and other mineral resources as well as its human resources—with the connivance of certain foreign countries that have political, economic and ideological interests in southern Africa. The co-operation of these countries with South Africa obviously means that South Africa will tighten its illegal grip over the Territory.

161. Furthermore, South Africa is employing Africans in its armies as cannon-fodder; since 1981 the wretched Namibians have been subject to compulsory military service. As a result, the other countries of southern Africa are being forced to spend a high percentage of their national budgets to buy arms for the defence of their territories, at the cost of their economic development, although those countries are peace-loving countries that abhor the violence and terrorism being practised against the black majority in South Africa.

162. In countless resolutions the General Assembly has called for South Africa's international isolation through a petroleum and arms embargo. The World Conference on Sanctions against Racist South Africa, held in Paris from 16 to 20 June 1986, called for the imposition of sanctions against South Africa and so did the International Conference for the Immediate Independence of Namibia held at Vienna from 7 to 11 July 1986, which called for the mobilization of international support to that end and the granting of independence to Namibia without delay. Resolutions adopted at the Eighth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Harare from 1 to 6 September 1986, called for an end to the illegal occupation of Namibia and for its attainment of independence without delay.

163. The neighbouring African States have been seriously affected by the sanctions that have been adopted against them by Pretoria, yet when the international community seeks the imposition of sanctions against the Pretoria régime certain Western States argue against such action as an immoral act, and counsel restraint, on the grounds that the aim should be to put an end to the *apartheid* régime and not to harm the South African economy. Those countries forget that there is an organic link between the two.

164. It is therefore essential to impose comprehensive and mandatory sanctions against South Africa in accordance with the provisions of Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations. The present escalation of the undeclared war being waged by South Africa is in fact a direct consequence of the support given to South Africa by certain Western States and their transnational corporations, in direct violation of United Nations resolutions.

165. The policy of persecution, terrorism and torture practised by South Africa is equalled only by that pursued by Israel, with its brutal treatment of the Arab populations both within Palestine, and in the occupied territories of Gaza, the West Bank, and the Golan Heights. The vile Israeli death squads are determined to persecute, kill, plunder, and destroy. Southern Lebanon is an example of its repeated attacks against both the Palestinians and Lebanese peoples. Thus those two régimes, in South Africa and Israel, are acting in flagrant and systematic violation of international law, the Charter, and legal and moral principles.

166. The international community's increased awareness of those facts and its unanimous sense of outrage over *apartheid* have intensified its condemnation and strengthened its sense of moral responsibility. Article I of the Charter calls for international co-operation in solving international problems of an economic, social, cultural or humanitarian character, and in promoting and encouraging respect for human rights and for fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion.

167. The appropriate framework for the peaceful solution of the problem of Namibia is provided by Security Council resolution 435 (1978), which sets forth an internationally accepted plan for the independence of Namibia. That resolution is the only basis for a peaceful settlement. South Africa has rejected that plan and has consequently rejected Namibia's independence, which it has made conditional on the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola. It has unilaterally set up a provisional government in Namibia to give the appearance of independence.

168. Today, we must increase the international community's pressure on South Africa, especially in view of the growing awareness of the need for such measures as the only way of ending the injustice and oppression that is the daily lot of the African people in South Africa and Namibia and forcing South Africa to abide by the resolutions of the Security Council, which it has constantly ignored. To do this, we need a firm political resolve. Failing this, catastrophe is inevitable, and will engulf the whole region.

169. Will the year 1986, which will soon end, be the year that will see a final and peaceful settlement of the question of Namibia and its independence? Only the United Nations can answer that question, for this universal Organization represents the will of the international community. All it needs to do is to reaffirm its resolve, impose its will, and thereby restore its credibility. We must remember that this year we have celebrated the day of the liberation of Africa and that the whole world joined in the observation of that historic occasion. Let us hope that augurs well for the future.

170. Mr. GUTIERREZ (Costa Rica) (*interpretation from Spanish*): I should like first of all to congratulate you, Mr. President, on your unanimous election. Although my country's President will soon be congratulating you on behalf of the Government of Costa Rica, I should like most warmly and whole-heartedly to wish you every success in the difficult tasks entrusted to you. I am convinced that your long and brilliant career as a politician and a diplomat is a guarantee of your wise guidance of the General Assembly.

171. I believe that one specific way in which I can co-operate with you, Sir, would be to heed your suggestion and confine my statement to the bare essentials. I shall therefore refrain from rehearsing the historic or legal background to the situation of Namibia. Preceding speakers have already done so eloquently and in full detail. Furthermore, some basic points I shall use as the frame of reference for my own comments have been put forward by the Secretary-General as well as in the report of the International Conference for the Immediate Independence of Namibia, held at Vienna last July.

172. I should like to point out that our voice of support for Namibia is an authoritative one, based as it is on an age-old tradition of commitment to the highest values of the human family. For that reason, Costa Rica views support for the just cause of Namibia, and for the stalwart efforts of the United Nations to make that cause triumph, as a moral and historic imperative.

173. We are distressed at South Africa's repeated flagrant disobedience. It obdurately disregards the just claims of the international community. This disdain, all the more odious as it is institutionalized in the racist policy of *apartheid*, is a defiance of a history which Costa Rica condemns unreservedly. For us, a small country whose strength resides in the international system and in the full exercise of democratic rights, Pretoria's attitude represents a disturbing sign which casts a shadow on the future of the United Nations.

174. To achieve an independent and democratic Namibia in the terms of Security Council resolution 435 (1978) is a right acquired by the people of that country. Just like many nations of the world that have attained full sovereignty in the past 40 years, in good part due to the unstinting efforts of the United Nations, Namibia is entitled to sit with the free nations of the Earth in this Hall. The independence of Namibia is also essential because there is an unequivocal and long-standing mandate from the international community. Given these facts, there

can be no further delay or subterfuge: independence must now be our watchword.

175. Costa Rica wishes to reiterate once again its unwavering support for resolution 435 (1978). In this respect, our position has remained unchanged for many years.

176. In 1983 Costa Rica was the venue of the Regional Symposium in Support of the Namibian Cause in Latin America, the first regional symposium organized by the United Nations Council for Namibia to consider the situation of Namibia. In July this year, faithfully reflecting the wishes of Costa Ricans, President Oscar Arias severed all diplomatic, consular and commercial ties with the Pretoria régime.

177. Costa Rica abolished its army in 1949. That same year, it established and set in motion a distinguished electoral tribunal which, together with a broad system of free and compulsory education and a policy which opted for social justice in freedom, has guaranteed our peace for many decades. It was thanks to the polling booth and to education that our barracks were dismantled and an end was put to militarism. In this respect Costa Rica attaches the highest importance to broad electoral participation in a multi-party system whose results, as we have seen, have allowed us to grow in peace.

178. Resolution 435 (1978), by specifically requiring the holding of free and democratic elections for Namibia, places a particularly heavy responsibility on the United Nations. Costa Rica understands how difficult it is to implement the resolution, but none the less we must agree to its crucial importance for the development of a truly free Namibia.

179. We have emphasized in various forums our profound conviction that peace, a real and lasting peace that guarantees stability as well as bread and justice, can only be guaranteed effectively in a pluralist and representative system of democracy. We believe that this is equally true of Central America and Africa.

180. This year, the International Year of Peace, the debate on the situation in Namibia has become even more relevant than before. It is no longer possible to continue to tolerate such flagrant disobedience and defiance on the part of South Africa. After 20 years of repeated appeals, Pretoria continues its policies of racial segregation and colonial exploitation in Namibia and, far from showing any interest in prompt implementation of the decisions of the General Assembly, the Security Council and the International Court of Justice, it hardens its position more every day and becomes increasingly intransigent. Even those countries which in the past adopted a conciliatory position towards South Africa have agreed to *more forceful pressure in view of the deaf ear that has been lent by that régime to international outcry*. Fortunately the number of sanctions adopted increases daily.

181. South Africa's attitude is undoubtedly an affront to the entire human family, but it also weakens the United Nations as a truly universal Organization. It reflects the arrogance of narrow-minded people who were never able to understand

the message of St. Francis of Assisi, Mahatma Gandhi, Dag Hammarskjöld and Martin Luther King.

182. Costa Rica demands the immediate and unconditional independence of Namibia, the implementation of resolution 435 (1978) in all its aspects and, in particular, the full exercise of the sovereignty of the people, expressed in free multiparty and internationally guaranteed elections, as well as the immediate cessation of the bloody war that has already caused so much suffering to the noble people of Namibia.

183. Costa Rica expresses its hope for the peace of Namibia and its prompt and final liberation.

184. Mr. AL-KAWARI (Qatar) (*interpretation from Arabic*): Sir, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of my country will congratulate you on your election at a later date. I should like now personally to congratulate you on your accession to the presidency of the General Assembly and I should like to wish you every success in your work. At the same time, it is my pleasure to express my delegation's thanks to Mr. Jaime de Piniés for the very fruitful and exemplary manner in which he conducted the work of the General Assembly at its fortieth session.

185. Since the General Assembly ended South Africa's Mandate over Namibia [*resolution 2145 (XXI)*], the United Nations has spared no effort to bring to an end the illegal occupation of Namibia by the forces of South Africa and to induce that country to pay heed to the wishes of the international community and abide by international law.

186. This year has seen the convening of the International Conference for the Immediate Independence of Namibia, held at Vienna from 7 to 11 July. The Conference was a clearer and more emphatic indication of the desire of the countries of the world to put an end to South Africa's constant attempts to obstruct the independence of Namibia, its persistence in defying the wishes of the international community and its continued illegal presence in the Territory. In so doing, South Africa has thwarted every attempt by the United Nations to shoulder its responsibilities towards the Territory, the United Nations being the sole and legitimate governing authority which has been fully entitled since 1966 to administer the Territory until it achieves independence.

187. South Africa set up in June 1985 a so-called provisional transitional government in Namibia. That illegal measure has met with world-wide rejection and the condemnation of the Security Council in the relevant resolutions that it adopted. Similarly, the recently held Vienna Conference declared those measures to be null and void and condemned all the constitutional and political steps taken by South Africa to prolong its dominion in the Territory of Namibia.

188. My delegation has already condemned the tacit support extended to the Pretoria régime by certain States Members of the United Nations and their failure to impose economic sanctions against that régime. Furthermore, the General Assembly, in

its resolution 39/50 A, condemned the increased assistance provided by certain Western Powers and the Zionist régime in occupied Palestine to the South African régime in the political, economic, military and nuclear fields. The International Conference held at Vienna in July reaffirmed this in paragraph 16 of its final document¹¹ in which it is stated that such co-operation not only violates United Nations resolutions but also undermines the efforts of the international community against the *apartheid* régime and helps to prolong its illegal occupation of Namibia. In addition, the Conference condemned the practice whereby certain States have resorted to the use of their power of veto to prevent the adoption of resolutions by the Security Council which would impose effective measures against South Africa.

189. The Pretoria régime is misleading the world in trying to establish some parallel between the independence of Namibia and other irrelevant issues. The International Conference expressed the clear stand of the countries of the world against this obstinate insistence on distorting the reality of the situation in Namibia by presenting it as part of a world-wide East-West confrontation when it is in fact purely a decolonization issue which must be settled in accordance with the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations and the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples [resolution 1514 (XV)].

190. The persistence of the situation in southern Africa in general and in Namibia in particular endangers the peace and security of the region and is a growing threat to world peace and security. It is now 20 years since the General Assembly terminated South Africa's Mandate over Namibia, therefore the Organization must take the necessary steps to bring about the immediate independence of that Territory.

191. My delegation warmly welcomed the Programme of Action on Namibia,¹¹ adopted by the International Conference held in July of this year. We support all the points in that Programme of Action and it is our hope that the very few countries that have stood in the way of the adoption of effective measures against South Africa will review their positions and co-operate with the other members of the international community to ensure the ascendancy of law and allow the people of Namibia to accede to independence without any let or hindrance.

192. Mr. RANA (Nepal): It is with a deep sense of pride and pleasure that I join previous speakers in congratulating you, Sir, on your unanimous election as President of the General Assembly at this special session. We in Nepal, well aware of your diplomatic skills, many personal qualities and contributions to deepening understanding between Nepal and Bangladesh, hold you in high esteem and affection. It is, therefore, natural for my delegation to feel full confidence in your wisdom and ability to guide this special session to a successful conclusion.

193. Once more we find ourselves in special session discussing the question of Namibia. While the session at this crucial juncture serves to emphasize further our concern and mobilize support for the freedom of the brave Namibian people, one may be

forgiven for wondering whether the situation in Namibia will change appreciably unless the outrage expressed here is translated into a concrete programme of action to break the stranglehold of the illegal racist régime on the Territory of Namibia, for which the United Nations assumed direct responsibility 20 long years ago. For, after all, is it not true that for decades past there has been no lack of interest by the United Nations in the affairs of Namibia? Indeed, as one surveys the past it is difficult to find any other question, save perhaps disarmament or the Middle East, that has received the same kind of sustained and deep attention from the international community as has Namibia.

194. The catalogue of all United Nations dealings on the question of Namibia and related issues is long and varied. It includes, to begin with, the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples [resolution 1514 (XV)]. That landmark resolution of the General Assembly paved the way for the eventual independence of scores of former colonial Territories, which have now taken their rightful place in the comity of nations.

195. Another milestone was the termination by the General Assembly in 1966 of South Africa's Mandate over Namibia and assumption by the United Nations of responsibility for the Territory [resolution 2145 (XXI)]. So, too, was the Security Council's endorsement in 1969 of the Assembly's 1966 action with respect to Namibia. In 1971 the International Court of Justice also supported the action of the Assembly. Then, in 1978, the Council adopted a plan for the independence of Namibia, based on South African withdrawal from Namibia and independence following free and fair elections under United Nations auspices. In 1981 the Council met to consider the situation created by South Africa's continued intransigence in respect of Council resolution 435 (1978). That was followed in the same year by the eighth emergency special session of the General Assembly, at which the Assembly [resolution ES-8/2] demanded the immediate commencement of the unconditional implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978). For 20 years every regular session of the General Assembly has considered the question of Namibia, while the United Nations Council for Namibia has been keeping the developments in that Territory under constant and useful review.

196. Though all this has not helped to bring independence within the grasp of the Namibian people, it has helped to highlight the suffering and exploitation of the Namibian people under illegal occupation. The actions of the racist Pretoria régime are all the more outrageous since it has not only defied, with impunity, the decision of the international community by occupying a Territory currently under United Nations jurisdiction, but it has even had the audacity to extend and export its immoral policy of racial discrimination to the Territory itself. And, not content with that double crime, the régime has compounded it by undertaking a systematic campaign of exploitation and plunder of the land, using it as base from which to launch armed attacks against independent neighbouring States.

197. If the root cause of the scandalous delay in granting freedom to the Namibian people is clear to

anyone so is the other contributing factor. Many countries—including major Western Powers—continue to engage in a policy of “business as usual” with a régime that is a blot on human civilization itself.

198. Nepal is firm in its belief that the time is long past for any form of “constructive engagement” with a racist régime which not only continues illegally to occupy and shamelessly exploit a free Territory, with complete disregard for world opinion, but even brazenly extends its hated *apartheid* policy to a Territory to which it has no title.

199. The main obstacle to the immediate independence of Namibia is as evident as the measures necessary to attain it. As delegation upon delegation has emphasized here, we believe that the South African régime must be compelled to co-operate in the implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978) which urges the withdrawal of South Africa from Namibia and the granting of full independence to the Territory after the holding of free and fair elections under United Nations supervision. To accomplish this, it must be made very plain to South Africa and some other States that the international community will not be hoodwinked by such fraudulent political gimmicks as the installation of a puppet government at Windhoek in June 1985. Nor will it countenance any attempt to obscure the real issue by linking the independence of Namibia with extraneous factors.

200. Nepal deplors any attempt to sabotage or delay Namibian independence by portraying it as a part of East-West rivalry. To accept such an interpretation would, in Nepal's view, be tantamount to accepting the doctrine of limited sovereignty and would provide a ready excuse for intervention by the strong in the affairs of the weak.

201. My delegation is fully conscious and appreciative of the personal efforts and contributions of the Secretary-General in seeking a peaceful and just solution to the problems created by the delay of the independence of Namibia, including his negotiations with the parties concerned in November last year, which foundered—predictably enough—because of Pretoria's absurd insistence on the totally indefensible “linkage” issue.

202. Given South Africa's brazen flouting of Security Council resolution 435 (1978) and its defiant refusal to co-operate in its implementation, Nepal considers that the only peaceful way that remains open is to compel the racist régime, the illegal occupant of Namibia, to do so through the imposition of comprehensive and mandatory sanctions as envisaged in Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations.

203. This action, as the Assembly is well aware, has been endorsed, *inter alia*, by the World Conference on Sanctions against Racist South Africa, held in Paris from 16 to 20 June 1986, the International Conference for the Immediate Independence of Namibia, held at Vienna from 7 to 11 July 1986, the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity at its twenty-second ordinary session, held at Addis Ababa from 28 to 30 July 1986 and the Eighth Conference of Heads of

State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Harare from 1 to 6 September 1986.

204. If, however, even this belated opportunity for the speedy and peaceful independence of Namibia is lost, there can be little uncertainty as to what the outcome will be. My delegation sincerely hopes that this special session will be successful in paving the way for the application of needed pressure for the implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978) within the specified time frame. Even at this late hour, we believe that there exists a peaceful way to bring such pressure to bear on the racist, illegal occupant of Namibia by imposing mandatory, comprehensive sanctions against that régime in accordance with Chapter VII of the Charter.

205. Nepal has never suffered the indignity of colonial rule. It can never, therefore, accept such a thing—for itself or others—recognizing it not only as an anachronism but as an unmitigated evil.

206. We have watched with admiration the heroism with which the people of Namibia, under the active and mature leadership of SWAPO, are struggling for liberation and freedom. On this occasion, we declare our full support and solidarity with them for the speedy attainment of independence.

207. Mr. AGUILAR (Venezuela) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Sir, may I first congratulate you, on behalf of my delegation and on my own behalf, on your election to the presidency of the fourteenth special session of the General Assembly. We are aware of the interest that your country, Bangladesh, and you, personally, have always shown in the question of Namibia, as well as of your wisdom and diplomatic experience. For these reasons, we are certain that you will skilfully guide our deliberations.

208. At the first meeting of this special session the Minister for Foreign Affairs and Co-operation of the Congo, on behalf of the OAU, the Acting President of the United Nations Council for Namibia, and other speakers, made a very complete and detailed presentation of the question of Namibia from the historical, legal and political standpoint. We will therefore not dwell on the background.

209. None the less, I do consider it necessary to say that we share with the many delegations that have preceded us in speaking in this already long debate a profound frustration at the fact that, in spite of 20 years of constant efforts by the United Nations, Namibia remains under the colonial régime and its people is subjected to domination by the racist Pretoria régime.

210. The continued illegal occupation of Namibia, which is at variance with the principle of the self-determination of peoples and deprives the Namibians of their fundamental rights and freedoms, constitutes a challenge to the authority and prestige of the United Nations and jeopardizes international peace and security.

211. The problem of Namibia is tending to become a chronic disease. Year after year this subject is on the agenda of the General Assembly, and the passage of time has not served, as in other cases, to facilitate

a solution. This situation cannot go on—because it gives rise to discouragement and tends to undermine the trust that peoples have placed in the Organization.

212. Venezuela, for its part, has always been prepared to contribute to a prompt and just solution of this serious problem. As a member of the Security Council in 1978, Venezuela gave its most unstinted support to resolution 435 (1978) adopted by that body, the almost unanimous adoption of which made the international community think that at last the groundwork had been laid for the independence of Namibia. As a member of the United Nations Council for Namibia, Venezuela has always contributed to the important work of that body and has of course supported the constructive and persevering efforts of the Secretary-General. The participation of my delegation, presided over by our Minister of External Relations, in the International Conference for the Immediate Independence of Namibia, which was held at Vienna from 7 to 11 July of this year, is one more demonstration of our support for that noble cause.

213. Unfortunately, all these efforts and the tireless struggle of SWAPO have not so far yielded the desired results, and, as we meet here at a special session of the General Assembly to consider this issue, we cannot fail to ask ourselves what means remain available to us to discharge our collective responsibility for implementing all the necessary measures to achieve the liberation and independence of Namibia.

214. In this connection, the only viable means to enable the United Nations plan for the independence of Namibia embodied in Security Council resolution 435 (1978) to be fully implemented is the application of comprehensive and mandatory sanctions against the racist Pretoria Government under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations.

215. The Governments of those States that have so far through their veto prevented the Security Council from fulfilling its responsibility should review their position and heed the outcry from the entire international community. The oppressed majorities of South Africa and Namibia, as well as the front-line States, have expressed their readiness to shoulder the burden that may ensue from the application of sanctions against the racist Pretoria régime. This determined stand on the part of those peoples should be reciprocated by those Governments that are still reluctant to agree to measures clearly provided for in the Charter in order to ensure due respect for the decisions of the Security Council.

216. The fundamental question that arises in respect of Namibia is the ending of the colonial régime illegally maintained by the racist Pretoria régime in that Territory. Therefore it is inadmissible to place this problem in the context of geo-strategic considerations or to subordinate the independence of Namibia to conditions extraneous to that fundamental issue.

217. We do not wish to conclude this statement without reiterating once more the unswerving support of Venezuela for the noble cause of the Namib-

ian people and for SWAPO, its sole and legitimate representative according to General Assembly resolution 3111 (XXVIII). In fact we cannot rest until Namibia attains its full independence through free elections held under the supervision and control of the United Nations, as provided for in aforementioned Security Council resolution 435 (1978).

218. Mr. HUSSAIN (Maldives): By convening this fourteenth special session of the General Assembly the international community has once again demonstrated its firm commitment to the legitimate cause of the attainment of independence by the Namibian people.

219. My delegation seizes this opportunity to felicitate you, Mr. President, on the trust conferred on you by the General Assembly in electing you to preside over it at this important session.

220. We add our voice of admiration and associate ourselves with the previous speakers who have more eloquently expressed congratulations to the United Nations Council for Namibia for its dedicated efforts to mobilize international pressure for South Africa's withdrawal from Namibia.

221. The question of Namibia's independence still remains in a stalemate even after a quarter of a century has passed since the adoption of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples [*resolution 1514 (XV)*]. Almost 20 years ago the General Assembly, on 27 October 1966, terminated South Africa's Mandate over Namibia by resolution 2145 (XXI) and placed the Territory under the direct responsibility of the United Nations. The Organization, through the General Assembly and the Security Council, has since adopted numerous resolutions and decisions in the search for a peaceful, acceptable, just and lasting solution to the question of Namibia. The historic United Nations plan for the independence of Namibia, embodied in Security Council resolution 435 (1978), finally emerged. Maldives fully endorses all the demands made in that resolution as the only acceptable basis for a peaceful settlement of this vital issue.

222. *Apartheid* in South Africa and the illegal occupation of Namibia by the South African régime constitute the main causes of tension in the region. The international community condemns *apartheid* as a serious threat to world peace and security. It is not only a crime against the South African and Namibian people but, more appropriately, it is a crime against the peoples of that region in particular and against mankind in general. The oppressive policy of the South African régime has subjected millions of people to suffering the ultimate humiliation of being treated as foreigners in their own country by the denial of their right to citizenship. We are talking about a people whose struggle for peace, social equality and justice is regarded by the South African Government as a crime. Innocent lives are lost in peaceful protests as people become victims of the police and the army. The people are not even allowed to bury their dead peacefully.

223. My delegation notes with abhorrence and dismay the continued occupation of Namibia by the

Pretoria régime and its exploitation of the human and natural resources, in contravention of Decree No. 1 for the Protection of the Natural Resources of Namibia,³ enacted by the United Nations Council for Namibia. Furthermore, the Pretoria régime has always resorted to such ridiculous "logic" as the linking of the independence of Namibia to the withdrawal of Cuban defensive forces from Angola. The insistence on matters totally unrelated to the question as arguments for setting pre-conditions cannot be entertained by this body. South Africa's illegal occupation of Namibia is clear evidence of its continued policy of colonialism. Its imperialistic arrogance seeks every excuse for paving the way to hold on to Namibia and denying its people their birthright to self-determination.

224. The international community is continually frustrated and angered by the obstinate attitude of the Pretoria régime as regards all its efforts. We believe it is our duty to address seriously this unacceptable defiance by the *apartheid* South African Government. We are confident that the United Nations plan for the independence of Namibia offers an adequate and acceptable basis for a final and lasting settlement of the question of Namibia. We therefore applaud the leadership of SWAPO as the authentic and only legitimate representative of the Namibian people, for its vigilant role and full co-operation in the execution of the United Nations plan. My country is irrevocably committed to the cause of the oppressed people of Namibia in their struggle for liberty and human dignity.

225. We should give unqualified support to the heroic people of Namibia in their principled initiative for social change. The glimmer of hope the people have kindled by their daily struggle against the *apartheid* system should not and must not be allowed to diminish. Our encouragement and bold and decisive commitment to dismantle the *apartheid* system in South Africa should be the most vital instrument to secure independence for Namibia. The Organization must therefore embark on a process of negotiation between the South African Government and the legitimate representatives of the South African people. The international community's call for the release of Nelson Mandela and all other political prisoners should be strongly pursued. Our efforts to abolish the repulsive *apartheid* system and to restore political rights to all South African peoples, regardless of colour and race, must be implemented most urgently.

226. South Africa's resolute unwillingness to yield to the provisions of Security Council resolution 435 (1978) has compelled the international community to intensify the debate about sanctions over the years. The General Assembly has thus called upon the Security Council on numerous occasions to harness its wisdom to impose mandatory sanctions against the South African régime. In the mean time, a growing number of Member States have voluntarily ceased to extend any economic, political or military co-operation to the South African régime. We believe that in taking such actions States Members of the Organization are heading in the right direction, however, greater effort is needed to exert increased pressure on a wider basis.

227. The United Nations in its catalytic role must not fail to take effective action against *apartheid*. Recently we have on numerous occasions witnessed human sacrifices by the struggling South African people, which symbolizes their disgust and frustration. We cannot afford to allow such human losses to continue any longer; they have gone on far too long. Oppression by the white minority rulers has created a situation that compels all the oppressed people to rise up against the inhuman rule on which the South African Government has not altered its stand. Almost daily we are witnessing the determination of the oppressed black people of South Africa to continue their struggle. However, their heroic actions are met with additional forms of harassment and are used as an excuse for the declaration of states of emergency. We are fully convinced that these people consider no sacrifice too great for the achievement of their liberty and human dignity.

228. Let us address ourselves to this important question of human rights with all earnestness in order to find a solution once and for all during this historic special session. Let us exploit our collective wisdom and exert our joint efforts and demand that South Africa withdraw immediately and unconditionally from the entire Territory of Namibia, including Walvis Bay and the Penguin and other offshore islands.

229. Mr. WAGNER TIZON (Peru) (*interpretation from Spanish*): I should like to express to you, Sir, my delegation's deep satisfaction at seeing you preside over this special session of the General Assembly, which seeks to bring together all United Nations efforts in support of the just cause of Namibia. Your recognized commitment to this cause and proved experience guarantee us the best possible leadership for our work.

230. More than 60 years ago South Africa received from the League of Nations a Mandate to administer Namibia and prepare it for swift independence. That was the point of departure for a story of usurpation and spoliation which led the General Assembly to revoke South Africa's Mandate over Namibia 20 years ago. [*resolution 2145 (XXI)*]. Thus, South Africa's intransigence and indefinite delaying of Namibia's independence take on characteristics of a grave violation of the legal order that is the obligation of the entire international community to uphold. Approximately one half of the United Nations history has been beclouded by the obstinate violence inherent in the illegal occupation of Namibia; and that is why the Organization will continue to lose credibility if it does not resolve once for all, in a definitive, realistic and effective way, the problem of ending this situation which is as aberrant as it is immoral.

231. On the occasion of the commemorative meeting of the Security Council held last year in connection with the Organization's fortieth anniversary, in my statement as Minister of External Relations of Peru, I mentioned the specific case of Namibia and said:

"Peru believes that the time has come to replace lamentations with the action required by the Charter of the United Nations and, given the

disregard for the Council's resolutions on Namibia and other matters, to take the maximum enforcement measures under Chapter VII of the Charter to put an end to the illegal occupation of Namibia, which is repulsive to our conscience as free men, thus restoring to some extent the credibility of the highest international body."¹²

232. The pace to which the reactionary forces would submit us by delaying and bogging down the application of sanctions is not acceptable. The time for warnings and preventive measures has long since passed. It is now time to adopt new measures, without further delay. What might have been acceptable yesterday is no longer acceptable today.

233. We must think very seriously about the grave violation of international responsibilities by some States, which they have committed in refusing to join in sanctions against the illegal occupying Power, and in persisting in policies which bring them ill-gained material benefits. Our conclusion is clear and unequivocal: in that way they are co-operating in consolidating measures for delaying a proper resolution of the problem and thus contributing to the illegal ends of the usurper, to its purpose of continuing to subjugate human beings and steal wealth. As a result, the political margin for a peaceful solution, which the Organization has been ceaselessly working for, has been reduced.

234. The facts are clear. There are only two actors in the political arena: SWAPO, the only legitimate representative of the Namibian people and recognized by the Government and the people of Peru as such, and on the other side the Pretoria régime. The independence of Namibia is appropriate in the decolonization context and it is an instance of grave neglect to try to adjust this situation to opportunistic perceptions and wrong perceptions of an East-West conflict.

235. We want to honour the Namibian people for sacrificing their lives for basic principles which are internationally enshrined, such as self-determination, freedom and national independence. In this connection my delegation would like to reaffirm its determined support for this common cause. Our people and Government are fully convinced that victory will come. We have said before that the independence of Namibia is not negotiable; it is necessary. We repeat here, as our President, Alan García, said at the Eighth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held a few days ago at Harare:

“Peru at this time formally confirms its militant action for the freedom of Namibia. In this connection it is particularly urgent that all efforts requiring co-operation and international assistance, which through the established machinery can be rendered to SWAPO in its legitimate confrontation for the purpose of liberation, be made.”

236. In this spirit it was a source of great joy to me to be able to accede at Harare to the formal establishment of diplomatic relations between Peru and SWAPO. Our presence in the Committee of the Action for Resisting Invasion, Colonialism and Apartheid Fund, recently established by the non-

aligned summit, can be seen in this light, as is our participation in the Commission of Non-Aligned Foreign Ministers to promote in Europe, the United States and Japan the adoption of sanctions against South Africa. In this process we are encouraged by the signs and demonstrations of an ever-wider awareness of the problem in the international community. We see this in the United States Congress, in the majority agreement of the recent mini-summit of Commonwealth countries in London and in the countries of Western Europe which are intensifying their actions in the European Economic Community and seeking formulas for pressure against the Pretoria régime.

237. It is important to stress how, in a situation where political forces motivated by specific interests come together, the pattern of loyalty to a sphere of influence is being broken and all are agreeing on the need to apply sanctions against South Africa. That trend is one which we consolidated at the World Conference on Sanctions against Racist South Africa in Paris in June this year, over whose deliberations I had the honour and privilege of presiding. There the feeling—which I sense in this Hall today as well—was made very clear, namely, that it is indispensable that *apartheid*, the basic cause of the crisis in southern Africa, be eliminated, in order that peace may be achieved in the sub-region. To that end there is no viable alternative to the application of comprehensive and mandatory sanctions against South Africa under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations.

238. The course and the pace of history can be interpreted in only one way in the Organization. Capricious solutions that would distort our reason for meeting here cannot be allowed. We must warn those who may opt for arguments which would justify delays that, one way or another, through action or omission, a new dynamic will be created in the inevitable march towards independence for Namibia.

239. What we do this year to ensure that Namibia joins the free community of nations through the implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978)—the implementation of which has been entrusted to the Secretary-General, with whom we must fully co-operate—will be crucial. We shall approve a resolution which, through its degree of consensus, will lead the Government of South Africa to abandon its blind, suicidal intransigence.

240. Under constantly growing internal and external pressure, the countdown for the liberation of Namibia has begun. Never will we be able to say with more conviction and certainty than in this case that the struggle is continuing and acquiring wider scope and that victory is becoming more certain and closer every day.

241. Mr ALLEYNE (Trinidad and Tobago): It gives me great pleasure to congratulate you, Sir, on your unanimous election to the presidency of the General Assembly at its forty-first session as well as at this special session on the question of Namibia. My delegation is confident that your broad experience and deep understanding of the problems confronting the southern African region, and your Government's

unquestioned dedication to the just struggle of the Namibian people for self-determination and independence, will contribute to the ultimate success of this important session.

242. Despite the impressive record of the United Nations in the area of decolonization, it is lamentable that, 40 years after the General Assembly's first consideration of the question of Namibia and 20 years since the termination of South Africa's Mandate over that Territory and the launching by SWAPO of the armed struggle against the occupation forces of the racist régime, we are convening yet again to discuss this seemingly intractable issue.

243. This is indeed a very special session on the question of Namibia. My delegation is convinced that we are in fact at a crucial juncture in the history of the Territory and of southern Africa as a whole. The racist régime is at present experiencing an unprecedented level of resistance from within South Africa which has taken various forms. South Africa is at one and the same time attempting to confront an intensification of the fight against *apartheid* and of resistance against a brutal colonialism in Namibia, even as it is also striving to confront an increasingly hostile international political and economic environment.

244. However, neither the Namibian people nor the international community can be complacent about these developments. The brutal and persistent violation of the fundamental rights of Namibians and the subjection of the front-line States to repeated acts of aggression will worsen with the continued illegal occupation of Namibia by the Pretoria régime and any continued collaboration by other States with the régime. It is therefore of utmost importance for this special session to seize on the momentum already engendered within southern Africa, and internationally, particularly during the last two years, and make recommendations that will enable the international community to take effective and definitive action to bring this unhappy episode to an end.

245. The delegation of Trinidad and Tobago fully supports the Declaration of the International Conference for the Immediate Independence of Namibia and the Programme of Action on Namibia, adopted by the Conference¹ which was held at Vienna in July of this year. My delegation is hopeful that the current special session will wholeheartedly embrace the comprehensive action-oriented and unanimously adopted Programme of Action, and will seek to enhance prospects for its full implementation.

246. The Government of Trinidad and Tobago wishes to stress that the Namibian question is not an East-West issue and, accordingly, it rejects all attempts to link the Territory's independence with extraneous matters such as the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola. Such "linkage" has been rejected by the Security Council in its resolution 539 (1983) as being incompatible with and obstructive to the implementation of resolution 435 (1978). South Africa's latest attempt to veil its devious behaviour in a cloak of respectability and apparent co-operation by proposing in a letter dated 3 March of this year that implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978) commence on 1 August 1986,¹ provided,

however, that agreement was reached on the withdrawal of Cuban forces from Angola, is but a flagrant defiance of General Assembly and Security Council resolutions.

247. These ploys and obstructionist tactics of the racist South African régime, which are designed to consolidate the régime's hold on Namibia, have become increasingly transparent to the international community. This was aptly demonstrated by the Security Council's swift and categorical rejection of the illegal and unilateral creation of the puppet administration in Namibia in June 1985 and by subsequent rejection by the General Assembly.

248. The illegal occupation of Namibia by the Pretoria régime must not be allowed to continue. We are now witnessing an intensification of the violation of the fundamental human rights of the Namibian people by the Pretoria régime and its puppets at Windhoek, involving the abhorrent use of arbitrary imprisonment without trial, torture, destruction of villages, mass killings of civilians and ruthless political repression, in the efforts by South Africa to cripple the effectiveness of the SWAPO as a potent and effective force in the struggle for the freedom of the Namibian people. In short, in order to buttress the system of *apartheid* in South Africa, that régime has sought from the beginning to introduce the system of *apartheid* also into Namibia, a mandated Territory of the United Nations.

249. Pretoria's brutal attacks against the Namibian people also extend beyond the borders of the illegally occupied Territory. The Namibian refugees, estimated at more than 70,000, who have sought shelter in front-line States, have been frequent targets of attacks by South African forces. These acts of aggression have hampered efforts to provide such basic amenities as food, shelter, clothing and sanitation. The provision by the international community of adequate assistance to these refugees, as well as to the front-line States, is of vital importance and should be viewed as an integral part of the overall strategy for the realization of an independent and unified Namibia.

250. The continued illegal occupation of Namibia by the racist régime, in contravention of the advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice of 21 June 1971⁹ and numerous Security Council and General Assembly resolutions, has been costly to the Namibian people in terms of the persistent plundering and depletion of the Territory's natural resources. This exploitation persists unabated, despite the enactment by the United Nations Council for Namibia in September 1974 of Decree No. 1 for the Protection of the Natural Resources of Namibia.³ In this connection, Trinidad and Tobago wishes to affirm its unequivocal support for the Council in its efforts to get redress in the form of legal action against the perpetrators of these illegal acts.

251. My delegation also takes this opportunity to pay tribute to the United Nations Council for Namibia for the dedicated and effective manner in which it discharges the mandate entrusted to it by the General Assembly. Trinidad and Tobago joins other speakers in expressing firm support for the Council

in its role as legal Administering Authority of Namibia until independence.

252. In past deliberations, the Security Council has provided a framework for terminating South Africa's illegal occupation of Namibia and effecting the independence of a unified Namibia, including Walvis Bay, the Penguin Islands and all adjacent offshore islands. In this regard my Government has consistently taken the position that the only acceptable plan of action for achieving Namibian independence remains that contained in Security Council resolution 435 (1978). Paragraph 2 of that resolution calls for "the withdrawal of South Africa's illegal administration from Namibia and the transfer of power to the people of Namibia with the assistance of the United Nations in accordance with Security Council resolution 385 (1976)". However, it must be a matter of great concern that eight years after the Security Council approved the plan under which political power would be transferred to the people of Namibia, with the assistance, of course, of the United Nations, the realization of Namibian independence continues to be an elusive goal.

253. One cannot defy the International Court of Justice, one cannot defy the Security Council; one cannot undermine one area of the international legal system without prejudicing the whole fabric of law and order and of justice, without in fact undermining the very foundations of our international institutions and in fact inducing international anarchy.

254. Trinidad and Tobago maintains the view that the Security Council should move with dispatch on this matter of Namibia and take appropriate steps to implement the provisions of Security Council resolution 435 (1978), including the actual establishment of UNTAG, with the aim of ensuring the early independence of Namibia through free elections under the supervision and control of the United Nations.

255. The overwhelming majority of the members of the international community are convinced that the régime in South Africa will not negotiate in good faith over the independence of Namibia. The objectives of Security Council resolution 435 (1978) can be achieved only if external pressure is brought to bear on the South African régime. At this crucial period, when the successes of the anti-*apartheid* campaigns, within and outside of southern Africa, have begun to expose the myths of South African self-sufficiency and invulnerability, it is imperative that the international community increase this pressure by imposing comprehensive, mandatory sanctions against South Africa in accordance with Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations. Certain specific actions can have considerable impact.

256. It has become clear that the international community must broaden the scope of, and tighten the loopholes in, existing sanctions. Certain specific sanctions will undoubtedly have considerable impact. *The United Nations must impose a mandatory oil embargo against South Africa. It must impose a trade embargo on the import of all of South Africa's bulk commodities: minerals, food and agricultural products. It must impose a ban on all air links with South Africa.*

257. The Government of Trinidad and Tobago wishes to reaffirm its continued support, both moral and material, for the heroic struggle of the people of Namibia in their quest for freedom, justice and independence, and it stands ready to act decisively and in concert with the rest of the international community towards that end, so that we can without delay welcome a free and sovereign Namibia within the fold of the United Nations.

258. Mr. GYI (Burma): Let me say, on behalf of the delegation of Burma, how pleased we are to see you, Sir, presiding over this special session of the General Assembly on the question of Namibia. We are all the more pleased to see you assume the presidency as our two countries share a common border and enjoy good-neighbourly relations. Moreover, the active role that Bangladesh plays in international affairs will no doubt contribute to the positive outcome of our endeavours.

259. The convening of this special session on the question of Namibia is a manifestation of the United Nations continued concern with and deep commitment to the cause of the Namibian people's right to freedom and self-determination, which it has been denied for so long as a result of the illegal occupation of its country by the South African régime.

260. The special session is convened at a time when the situation in southern Africa is worsening and when South Africa shows no genuine signs of willingness to conform to the will of the international community. Namibia continues to be occupied by South Africa and is being used as a springboard of aggression against neighbouring States, in violation of their sovereignty and territorial integrity.

Mr. Dos Santos (Mozambique), Vice-President, took the Chair.

261. Needless to say, the policy of *apartheid*, the destabilization of neighbouring States and the illegal occupation of Namibia all form part of South Africa's policy, which not only affects the peace and stability of the region but also has implications for international security in its broader dimension. The irony of the situation which exists in Namibia today is that the Namibian people are not only being denied the right to self-determination but they are also being subjected to the policies of *apartheid* practised by a foreign colonial Power.

262. United Nations responsibilities towards Namibia derive from General Assembly resolution 2145 (XXI) by which the Assembly terminated South Africa's Mandate over Namibia, thereby asserting the fundamental rights of the people of Namibia to self-determination and independence in accordance with General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV), which contains the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. It has therefore devolved upon the General Assembly to deal with the problem on the basis of the principles contained in those resolutions and in accordance with the objectives defined in the Charter of the United Nations.

263. For the past 20 years, since it assumed direct responsibility for Namibia, the United Nations has

endeavoured to find a political solution. Its objectives have been defined in the many resolutions adopted by the General Assembly and the Security Council. However, the stage has been reached when the work of the United Nations has gone beyond the search for solutions. Unremitting efforts by the United Nations, particularly by the Secretary-General, resulted in Security Council resolution 435 (1978), which constitutes the basis for the settlement of the Namibian issue. What is therefore required is agreement on the part of South Africa to co-operate in the implementation of the United Nations plan for the self-determination of the Namibian people. However, pre-conditions insisted upon by South Africa—which are issues of an extraneous nature and which fall within the sovereign jurisdiction of Angola—now stand as obstacles to Namibian independence.

264. The people of Namibia, despite the difficulties and hardships they bear, are unified in their efforts and in their struggle for freedom and independence. Their solidarity is manifested through SWAPO, the authentic movement of the people of Namibia. The General Assembly has affirmed that the genuine independence of Namibia can be attained only with the direct and full participation of SWAPO.

265. Security Council resolution 435 (1978) remains the only acceptable basis for the peaceful settlement of the Namibian question. What is needed is to proceed with its implementation without modification, qualification or pre-conditions. Most recently, the International Conference for the Immediate Independence of Namibia reaffirmed that will of the international community. Moreover, the Conference, in its Programme of Action on Namibia,¹¹ requested that the Security Council adopt and impose comprehensive and mandatory sanctions against South Africa under Chapter VII of the Charter. By its resolution 566 (1985), the Security Council has demanded that South Africa agree to the implementation of the United Nations plan for the independence of Namibia as embodied in Security Council resolution 435 (1978) and has indicated that failure to do so would compel the Security Council to consider the adoption of appropriate measures under the Charter, including Chapter VII, as additional measures to ensure South Africa's compliance with the resolutions of the Security Council.

266. It is therefore incumbent upon the Security Council to take concrete measures in the light of South Africa's adamant refusal to agree to the implementation of the United Nations plan. The will prevailing among the majority of the members of the Security Council is to fulfil the Council's mandate in accordance with its previous decisions and the Charter of the United Nations. However, the lack of unanimity among its members has prevented the Council from taking a decisive course of action. This situation goes against the current of international opinion.

267. In this contemporary world, security is an indivisible concept, and conflicts of a regional character interpreted in terms of East-West power rivalry can become a self-fulfilling prophesy. This should not be allowed to happen in southern Africa. Attempts to portray the situation in the context of East-West

issues serve merely as a pretext for the postponement of the decolonization of Namibia.

268. This special session provides an opportunity for the United Nations to assume its responsibilities towards the cause of the freedom of the people of Namibia and also to prevent the further erosion of stability in the region. It should also provide an opportunity to manifest to the Namibian people the international community's unwavering support and to that end to take further effective action. The march of human history and the weight of world opinion are on the side of the Namibian people, and South Africa cannot prevent that people from ultimately joining the ranks of free nations.

269. Mr. ABISINITO (Papua New Guinea): On behalf of my delegation, I wish to congratulate the President most sincerely on his election to preside over the work of a special session devoted, at an opportune time, to the decolonization struggle of the people of Namibia. His efforts for decolonization, and particularly Namibia's decolonization process, are well known. The Papua New Guinea delegation is confident that under his capable leadership a new and positive phase will emerge on Namibia's road to independence.

270. I take this opportunity to join previous speakers in acknowledging the commendable roles played by the Secretary-General, the United Nations Council for Namibia, SWAPO, which is the sole legitimate representative of the people of Namibia, non-governmental organizations and many other organizations and private citizens throughout the world that have demonstrated their solidarity with the people of Namibia.

271. Papua New Guinea's message of solidarity presented on Namibia Day, 26 August 1986, clearly set out our position on Namibia.

272. The question of Namibia poses a challenge to all States with regard to their commitment to the principles of decolonization. The international community has, in its many deliberations, made strong pronouncements against South Africa's illegal occupation of Namibia and appealed to the régime of South Africa to free the people of Namibia from colonial bondage. Papua New Guinea firmly believes that those who have the capacity to influence South Africa should urgently exercise the necessary political will in taking concrete measures to realize the aspirations of the Namibian people to be independent.

273. We believe that economic interests, among other things, impede the progress towards Namibia's independence. If Namibia were not blessed with abundant natural resources, South Africa would by now have relinquished its grip on Namibia; if South Africa did not enjoy the appeasement tendencies of some States Members of the United Nations, Namibia would be independent now.

274. Papua New Guinea believes that immediate implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978) is the only acceptable means of bringing Namibia to independence. Papua New Guinea deplores South Africa's illegal presence in Namibia.

275. Against the wishes and aspirations of the people of Namibia and the international community, South Africa continues to employ evasive tactics to delay implementation of the United Nations plan for Namibia's independence, which is embodied in resolution 435 (1978). Worst of all is the linkage of Namibia's independence to the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola.

276. We appeal to the international community, and particularly those in a position to influence South Africa, to implement Security Council resolution 435 (1978) immediately and unconditionally.

277. The international community has on numerous occasions sent clear messages to the racist régime of South Africa that it must end its illegal occupation of Namibia and make it possible for the Namibian people freely to exercise their right to self-determination and independence. However, those messages have fallen on deaf ears.

278. Almost all attempts to find peaceful means and avenues to influence racist South Africa to withdraw from Namibia have been exhausted. The patience of the people of Namibia and the black people of South Africa is not, and must not be treated as, an insurance policy for those who collaborate with the *apartheid* régime and benefit from the denial of human rights and the plunder of Namibia's resources. Those who could hurt South Africa most by adopting positive and progressive attitudes towards bringing about change seem to be complacent.

279. The lack of progress on Namibia's independence cannot be viewed in isolation from South Africa's *apartheid* policies. There can be no doubt that the people of Namibia are subjected to *apartheid* policies. We believe that if those who collaborate with South Africa and share its economic, political and social interests continue to engage in evasive rhetoric and policy experiments, Namibia and *apartheid* will remain on the Organization's agenda for a long time.

280. The persistent defiance by South Africa of universal calls for an end to its *apartheid* policies and for its withdrawal from Namibia can be countered only by a strong demonstration of political will and moral responsibility by those who are well placed to bring pressure to bear on South Africa. If that means economic sanctions, that is what is needed now, before it is too late. Time is running out and what is bound to happen in both Namibia and South Africa will not be good for anyone.

281. Papua New Guinea firmly associates itself with those who believe that economic sanctions are the necessary peaceful means to bring about the essential changes that we all hope for in Namibia and South Africa.

282. The people of Namibia have been given false hope for too long. Let us all, through this special session, positively complement the liberation struggles of the people of Namibia by adopting concrete and practical measures.

283. The PRESIDENT: In accordance with the decision taken by the General Assembly at the 1st

meeting, I now call on the representative of the African National Congress of South Africa [ANC].

284. Mr. MAKATINI (African National Congress of South Africa): On behalf of the fighting people of South Africa and their national liberation movement, the African National Congress of South Africa, my delegation is particularly pleased to congratulate the President and his country, Bangladesh, on his taking the helm of the General Assembly at its forty-first session and at this special session. His unanimous election is eloquent testimony to our collective confidence in his diplomatic skills and ability, as well as his vast experience, all of which will stand the Assembly in good stead during the work of this special session and the forty-first regular session.

285. We also thank and congratulate Mr. Jaime de Piniés, who led the work of the General Assembly at its fortieth session with exemplary competence.

286. When we ought this year to have been celebrating the twentieth anniversary of the independence of Namibia, we meet instead at this special session to continue the arduous search for effective ways to accelerate the process of the decolonization of Namibia. The lack of progress on so pressing an issue is all the more unbearable because we already have, *inter alia*, General Assembly resolution 2145 (XXI) and Security Council resolution 435 (1978), the formal instruments which ought to have assured Namibia's speedy decolonization.

287. It is not for lack of effort on the part of the Namibian people and their sole authentic representative, SWAPO, that we continue to be confronted with an apparent stalemate. The Namibian people's profound commitment to freedom, their capacity for struggle and their willingness to make all necessary sacrifices under the distinguished and statesmanlike leadership of SWAPO is well known and beyond question. Lack of progress must be attributed not only to the intransigence of the Botha régime but also to the Reagan Administration, which through the policy of "constructive engagement" continues to invoke and insist upon extraneous and therefore irrelevant issues such as "linkage", in order to frustrate attempts to implement Security Council resolution 435 (1978).

288. As a result of its heinous policies and practices of *apartheid*, the Pretoria racist régime continues its violently repressive reign of terror over the South African people, its illegal and militaristic occupation of Namibia and its aggression against and destabilization of the front-line States and other States in the region, particularly the People's Republic of Angola.

289. Even as we speak, the heroic people of Namibia continue to chafe under the massive brutal military build-up and reign of State terrorism instituted by the Pretoria racist régime, which has also transformed their motherland into a vast military barrack and a launching pad for the wanton and savage attacks of the régime against independent Africa.

290. Through stratagems designed to impose puppet proxies in order to circumvent Security Council resolution 435 (1978) and to perpetuate its illegal

occupation of Namibia, the racist régime is also attempting to programme Namibia for civil strife.

291. In all, as the result of *apartheid*, the situation in southern Africa continues to deteriorate at an accelerating pace. Left unchecked, the conflict being maintained and fuelled by the Pretoria régime is bound to take a qualitative leap, further escalating hostilities, with disastrous repercussions far beyond the region and with the gravest consequences for international peace and security.

292. SWAPO has declared 1986 the Year of General Mobilization and Decisive Action for Final Victory. As usual, the Namibian people have responded with all their might to translate that declaration into revolutionary reality. Following the inflexible logic dictated by the violently repressive intransigence of the Pretoria racist régime's illegal occupation of Namibia, mounting resistance by the Namibian people has been accompanied by the deepening and widening of armed struggle.

293. This has conferred an increasingly significant role upon the People's Liberation Army of Namibia, within the broad and popular Namibian onslaught, led by SWAPO, against Pretoria's illegal occupation and for genuine freedom.

294. It is against this background that I wish to address special greetings and most heartfelt congratulations to the People's Liberation Army of Namibia, which in its 20 years of existence has, through relentless combat action, made Pretoria's illegal occupation of Namibia 20 years too costly.

295. The twentieth anniversary of the People's Liberation Army of Namibia and the launching of the Namibian armed struggle coincides with the further deepening of the irreversible crisis of *apartheid*. The imposition of virtual martial law in South Africa's black townships through the imposition of two states of emergency in less than two years has signally failed to prevent the collapse of the Fascist ideology of *apartheid* and the disintegration of its racist political programme.

296. Nor has it stemmed the multiplication of deep divisions within the ranks of both the leadership and the traditional constituency of the Pretoria racist régime. The people have wrested the initiative from that régime through mass united action on every front. Where they have paralysed *apartheid's* administrative extensions into black communities, they are replacing them with democratic people's committees and tribunals, which in turn enable them to take control of their destiny and to dispense true justice. Where they have forced Bantu education to grind to a halt, students are replacing it with a new and radical alternative—a people's education whose content is the message of liberation. The workers are today advancing under the banner of the Congress of South African Trade Unions, attacking *apartheid* through strikes at its points of production and through a consumer boycott at its marketing outlets.

297. In the townships, the people are creating combat units to defend their revolutionary advances, thus reinforcing the armed offensive of *Umkhonto We Sizwe* to raise the armed struggle to the level of a

people's war and to pave the way for the armed seizure of power by the South African people under the leadership of ANC.

298. The reign of terror imposed by means of states of emergency has failed to reverse the South African people's campaign to render *apartheid* unworkable and the country ungovernable. Instead, it has stripped the Pretoria racist régime of all pretense of legality and has exposed the narrow limits of repressive military might.

299. In an unwitting confession of abject failure, the racist régime has resorted to a new and far more sinister strategy. It is resorting to the use of death squads and vigilantes to do its bloody work, thus effectively creating a body of black *contras*. Yet, as in the past, because there is no alternative to the destruction of *apartheid* and the creation of a free, united, non-racial and democratic South Africa, the racist régime is again bound to fail.

300. At this moment, even with the townships under heavy military siege, the people are rallying to the battle cry, "From ungovernability to people's power". Thus, like the people of Namibia, the people of South Africa confront the same racist army of occupation in the townships. Whether we fight in Namibia under the leadership of SWAPO or in South Africa under the ANC, our struggle is one against a common enemy. Our mutual solidarity is completely natural.

301. This special session was preceded by the eighth annual meeting of the Central Committee of SWAPO. That important meeting of SWAPO's leadership gave appropriate recognition to the development of a political climate in Namibia which is enhancing the prospects of liberation. In particular, it saluted and underlined the importance of consolidating the broad mass unity of Namibian workers, youth, students, women, intellectuals and the peasantry, as demonstrated by the highly successful mass rally called by SWAPO and held at Windhoek last 27 July despite harassment and intimidation by the occupation régime.

302. It correctly reiterated SWAPO's rejection of the irrelevant linkage of the process of Namibian decolonization to the presence of Cuban internationalist forces in the sovereign and independent People's Republic of Angola. It also reiterated SWAPO's rejection of whatever puppet arrangements the Pretoria racist régime has made or may make in future in an effort to derail the struggle of the Namibian people.

303. It condemned the Reagan Administration's disastrous policy of "constructive engagement", which is also the mother of linkage, if not the code word for military alliance with the Pretoria régime. It also condemned the Pretoria régime's policy of destabilization of the front-line States, especially the People's Republic of Angola, as well as the covert and overt support by the Reagan Administration for UNITA¹³ bandits. Most importantly, the final declaration of that historic meeting gave recognition to the fact that, in the new situation, with appropriate and possible forms of principled international co-opera-

tion, the Namibian people's struggle, led by SWAPO, stands within reach of victory.

304. In the spirit of the declaration of the eighth annual meeting of the Central Committee of SWAPO, which was also a most moving expression of principled solidarity with the people of South Africa, led by the ANC, we reiterate our unyielding solidarity with the struggle of the Namibian people, led by SWAPO.

305. This special session of the General Assembly comes in the wake of several international and intergovernmental conferences on southern Africa and other related issues, whose impressive outcomes are most relevant to the work of the special session and thus merit the most serious attention. We are referring in particular to the World Conference on Sanctions against Racist South Africa held in Paris, from 16 to 20 June 1986, and the International Conference for the Immediate Independence of Namibia held at Vienna, from 7 to 11 July 1986. In the final Declaration of the World Conference¹⁴ and in the Declaration of the International Conference for the Immediate Independence of Namibia, the Programme of Action on Namibia and the Appeal for the Immediate Independence of Namibia issued by the eminent persons participating in the International Conference,¹¹ realistic and adequate recognition was given to the sad fact that all forms of peaceful persuasion had failed to enlist the co-operation of the Pretoria régime in the quest for lasting peace and genuine freedom in southern Africa. The Conferences underlined the increasingly urgent need to impose meaningful and effective sanctions against the Pretoria racist régime if catastrophe is to be averted. They also underscored the imperative need to render increased and comprehensive support and assistance to the national liberation movements, as well as to the front-line and other independent States, in southern Africa. The final documents adopted by the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity at its twenty-second ordinary session,¹⁵ held at Addis Ababa, and the Eighth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries,¹⁶ held at Harare, reaffirmed and stressed the same positions. They called in particular for the intensification of the global campaign for the imposition of comprehensive and mandatory sanctions against the Botha régime. The OAU and the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries also decided to establish several solidarity funds to aid the victims of *apartheid* in the whole of southern Africa.

306. So, once more we have clear-cut evidence that the overwhelming majority of mankind recognizes the necessity of intensifying all-round support and assistance to all the victims of *apartheid* as well as the urgent need to impose comprehensive and mandatory sanctions under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations against the Pretoria racist régime. This special session on Namibia should take proper and adequate account of this important fact and use it as a basis for further action. Any other line of action is bound to be inadequate and would only serve to permit a further aggravation of the situation in southern Africa.

307. We wish at this point to thank the Secretary-General for his relentless efforts to ensure the earliest implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978). We are particularly delighted to see him back in good health and at the helm of the Organization.

308. We also wish to thank and congratulate the United Nations Council for Namibia, and the United Nations Commissioner for Namibia for their selfless endeavours in the most difficult of circumstances in support of the Namibian people's just struggle for freedom.

309. Finally, we wish to reaffirm our solidarity with all peoples and their national liberation movements or other leadership structures engaged in struggles against oppression, war and want and for a free, humane, peaceful and abundant future for themselves and for all mankind.

310. The PRESIDENT: In accordance with the decision taken by the General Assembly this morning at its 5th meeting, I call upon the representative of the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania, the last speaker in the debate.

311. Mr. MAKHANDA (Pan Africanist Congress of Azania): On behalf of the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania, the custodian of the genuine aspirations of the dispossessed, the oppressed, the exploited and discriminated-against but resisting people of Azania, we should like most sincerely to congratulate the President on his unanimous election to guide the General Assembly at its forty-first regular session and at this special session on Namibia. It is our firm conviction that under his wise and dedicated guidance, and given his well-tested diplomatic skills and statesmanship, this special session will fully discuss the important issue before it and recommend appropriate and immediate action.

312. We also wish to associate ourselves with all those who have expressed appreciation to Mr. Jaime de Piniés for his outstanding performance as President of the General Assembly at its fortieth session.

313. Our intervention on this important question of Namibia is dictated by our love for truth and peace and because the peoples of Azania and Namibia are oppressed, exploited and colonized by the same racist minority. Therefore, our enemy is one and our struggle mutually complementary.

314. The international community is, to a large extent, very sympathetic to the just cause of the Namibian and Azanian peoples. That is because in the last quarter of this century colonialism and blatant forms of racism have become discredited systems and concepts. Today, even the most ardent supporters and apologists of *apartheid*, at least in public, have to condemn it.

315. Two decades ago the General Assembly declared that racist South Africa's continued presence in Namibia was illegal and terminated its Mandate over the Territory [resolution 2145 (XXI)]. That correct decision led to the establishment by the Assembly [resolution 2248 (S-V)] of the United Nations Council for Namibia as the only legal authority to administer the Territory and to promul-

gate the laws, decrees and regulations necessary to set up a machinery for the election of a constituent assembly to draw up a constitution. In 1971, the International Court of Justice upheld that decision.

316. We have to admit that the Council has been unable to carry out its mandate. The responsibility for that lies squarely with the intransigence of the racist régime and the overt and covert support it continues to receive from some Western quarters, particularly the Administrations of Reagan, Thatcher and Kohl. Those Administrations have refused to implement effective sanctions against South Africa, despite their constituencies' undeniable support for their so doing.

317. In pursuance of the recognition that as a mandated Territory Namibia is a United Nations responsibility, the Security Council unanimously adopted resolution 435 (1978). The provisions of that resolution still constitute the best basis for resolving the Namibian question. None the less, it is common knowledge that its unadulterated implementation has run into several difficulties, much of them generated by the subjective introduction of cold-war rhetoric and hegemonistic interests. If that assumption were an observation only of the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania, then skepticism could be entertained—but it is not. With the General Assembly's indulgence may I quote from one whose integrity of character and mental abilities have seldom been questioned, that is, Mr. Sean McBride:

“In the course of endless negotiations which have taken place, five Western countries, which incidentally are all members of NATO, constituted themselves as a ‘contact group’ which undertook to persuade South Africa to comply with the decisions of the Security Council, namely, to allow the United Nations to take control of Namibia and to organize elections under United Nations supervision and control. Many African States became suspicious as to the real purpose of this ‘contact group’. Was it really to persuade South Africa to relinquish its occupation of Namibia or was it a device to enable South Africa to gain time during which South Africa would attempt to set up a South African ‘independent’ administration? Unfortunately, those suspicions were well founded and South Africa set up unilaterally, in December 1978, a so-called independent administration or government for Namibia.

“During the same period South Africa proceeded to build a paramilitary force consisting of blacks and whites and mercenaries to form a military force to oppose SWAPO. It is generally believed that the plans for an ‘organized delay’ in regard to the implementation of the United Nations decisions were arrived at a secret meeting which took place in September 1976 at Zurich between Prime Minister Vorster of South Africa, Dr. Henry Kissinger of the United States and General Alexander Haig, Commander-in-Chief of the NATO forces. That such a meeting took place is admitted; what is not admitted by the United States is that at this meeting plans were made for the setting up of a ‘quisling-type’ government and for the creation of a paramilitary force that would enable South Africa to maintain its illegal occupation of Namibia

by a proxy military force. This would enable South Africa to maintain its illegal occupation of Namibia with an economy of South African lives.”

Mr. McBride goes on to say:

“The burning question, now, is: Will the United Nations continue to allow South Africa to flout its decisions? These are clear and unambiguous. Or, will it take measures to ensure compliance with the decisions of the United Nations in regard to Namibia? It is believed that a decision by the Security Council, with the firm backing of the Western Powers to impose economic, financial and trade sanctions against South Africa would result in the liberation of Namibia . . . The alternative to this will have three inevitable consequences: [one of which is] . . . A long and bloody war which will escalate over a number of years causing untold suffering to both the black and the white people of southern Africa but which will ultimately result in the liberation of Namibia and which will end white minority rule in southern Africa.”

318. The above position was presented to the Special Committee on *Apartheid* at its 474th meeting held at United Nations Headquarters on 27 March 1981. It is as apt an analysis today as it was then, over five years ago. Only the characters have changed.

319. From the preceding facts, we can safely assume that, unless there are clear and discernible policy shifts among the major Western Powers, Namibia will remain occupied by racist South Africa. We can equally assume that this change cannot come from the Western Powers themselves. They have had over two decades to bring it about and have not yet done so. It is therefore our strong conviction that if the Western countries—United Kingdom and the United States—insist on using their veto in the Security Council to frustrate the imposition of comprehensive and mandatory sanctions against racist South Africa, the international community should take the only course open to it, that of increasing the material and other aid to the only force that can be and is the vehicle of change in Namibia: the people of Namibia and their national liberation movement. The Pan Africanist Congress of Azania has proved and will continue to prove, through the time-tested people's war strategy it adopted and presented to the OAU in the early 1960s, that the people are their own liberators and the only vehicle for true and genuine change. The Namibian people will be no exception.

Organization of work

320. The PRESIDENT: We have heard the last speaker in the debate. Before adjourning the meeting, I should like to inform representatives that tomorrow the General Assembly will take a decision on the draft resolution circulated in document A/S-14/L.1.

The meeting rose at 7.20 p.m.

NOTES

¹See *Official Records of the Security Council, Forty-first Year, Supplement for January, February and March 1986*, document S/17892.

²*Ibid.*, *Fortieth Year, Supplement for April, May and June 1985*, document S/17152.

³*Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-fifth Session, Supplement No. 24*, vol. I, annex II.

⁴See *Official Records of the Security Council, Fortieth Year, Supplement for October, November and December 1985*, document S/17563.

⁵*Ibid.*, *Forty-first Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1986*, document S/18359.

⁶*Official Records of the General Assembly, Forty-first Session, Supplement No. 1*.

⁷See *Official Records of the Security Council, Fortieth Year*, 2586th meeting.

⁸The Commonwealth Group of Eminent Persons, *Mission to South Africa: The Commonwealth Report* (The Chaucer Press Ltd., Bungay, Suffolk, Great Britain, 1986).

⁹*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.

¹⁰See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Fortieth Session, Supplement No. 24*, part three, chap. II.B.

¹¹See *Report of the International Conference for the Immediate Independence of Namibia, Vienna, 7–11 July 1986* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.86.I.16 and addendum).

¹²See *Official Records of the Security Council, Fortieth Year*, 2608th meeting.

¹³União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola.

¹⁴See *Report of the World Conference on Sanctions against Racist South Africa, Paris, 16–20 June 1986* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.86.I.23).

¹⁵See A/41/654, annex II.

¹⁶See A/41/697, annex.