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GENERAL ASSEMBLY

PROVISIONAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE FIFTY-FOURTH MEETING

Held at Headquarters, New York,
on Wednesday, 4 November 1987, at 10 a.m.

President: Mr. FLORIN (German Democratic Republic)

- Question of Namibia [36]
 - (a) Report of the United Nations Council for Namibia
 - (b) Report of the Special Committee on the Situation with Regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples
 - (c) Report of the Secretary-General
 - (d) Report of the Fourth Committee
 - (e) Draft resolutions

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The meeting was called to order at 10.40 a.m.

AGENDA ITEM 36

QUESTION OF NAMIBIA

- (a) REPORT OF THE UNITED NATIONS COUNCIL FOR NAMIBIA (A/42/24)
- (b) REPORT OF THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE ON THE SITUATION WITH REGARD TO THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE DECLARATION ON THE GRANTING OF INDEPENDENCE TO COLONIAL COUNTRIES AND PEOPLES (A/42/23 (Part V); A/AC.109/916)
- (c) REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL (A/42/596)
- (d) REPORT OF THE FOURTH COMMITTEE (A/42/698)
- (e) DRAFT RESOLUTIONS (A/42/24 (Part III) and (Part III)/Corr.1, chap. I)

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Russian): Among the documents the Assembly has before it is the report of the Fourth Committee concerning the hearings of organizations (A/42/698).

May I take it that the General Assembly wishes to take note of that report?

It was so decided.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Russian): I should like to propose that the list of speakers on this item be closed today at 5 p.m.

May I take it that there is no objection to that proposal?

It was so decided.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Russian): May I request representatives wishing to participate in the debate to add their names to the list of speakers as soon as possible.

I now call upon the Rapporteur of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, Mr. Ahmad Farouk Arnouss of the Syrian Arab Republic, to introduce Part V of the Special Committee's report (A/42/23).

Mr. ARNOUSS (Syrian Arab Republic), Rapporteur of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples (Special Committee of 24): I have the honour to introduce to the General Assembly the chapter of the report of the Special Committee (A/42/23 (Part V)) covering its work during the year concerning the question of Namibia.

The report, which relates to item 36 of the agenda, is submitted pursuant to operative paragraph 12 of General Assembly resolution 41/41 B of 2 December 1986 on the implementation of the Declaration, by which the General Assembly requested the Special Committee to continue to seek suitable means for the immediate and full implementation of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) in all Territories that had not yet attained independence and, in particular, to formulate specific proposals for the elimination of the remaining manifestations of colonialism.

In continuing to perform these tasks in relation to the question of Namibia the Special Committee took into consideration the various relevant resolutions of the General Assembly concerning this question, in particular resolution 41/39, as well as the related decisions of the Security Council and the United Nations Council for Namibia.

As will be noted from the report, the Special Committee once again examined in depth developments relating to the question of Namibia, with the participation of the representatives of the Council for Namibia and the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO).

As reflected in paragraph 13 of the present report, the Special Committee reaffirmed that the question of Namibia was a burning issue of primary importance in the process of decolonization and noted with grave concern the critical

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situation in and around Namibia resulting from the continued illegal occupation of the Territory by the racist minority régime of South Africa.

The Committee reaffirmed the inalienable right of the Namibian people to self-determination and independence in a united Namibia, in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations and General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV). It also reaffirmed the legitimacy of their struggle by all means at their disposal to achieve freedom.

The Committee reiterated its conviction that the apartheid régime of South Africa was responsible for creating a situation that seriously threatened international peace and security as a result, among other factors, of its persistent non-compliance with and violation of United Nations resolutions and decisions; its brutal repression of and violence against the Namibian people; its repeated acts of aggression, subversion and destabilization against neighbouring States; its continued manoeuvres to prevent the implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978); and its sinister attempts to impose on the people of Namibia an internal settlement in order to consolidate its illegal hold over the Territory by creating puppet political institutions to serve its own interests. The Committee stressed that there were only two parties to the conflict: the people of Namibia, led by their sole and authentic representative, SWAPO, and the racist régime of South Africa, which illegally occupied Namibia.

The Committee reiterated that any political solution to the Namibian situation must be based on the immediate and unconditional termination of South Africa's illegal occupation of the Territory, the withdrawal of its armed forces and the free and unfettered exercise by the Namibian people of their right to self-determination and independence, in accordance with Assembly resolution 1514 (XV).

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It reaffirmed that the United Nations plan for the independence of Namibia, embodied in Security Council resolutions 385 (1976) and 435 (1978), was the only internationally accepted basis for a peaceful transition in Namibia and demanded its immediate implementation without pre-condition or modification.

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The Committee rejected attempts by South Africa or any other State to impart to this question a dimension different from its true one: namely, an act of colonial domination. In the Committee's view, the question has always been and remains a decolonization issue which must be addressed and resolved in accordance with the provisions of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples and relevant United Nations resolutions. Any attempt to portray it as part of an East-West confrontation rather than a question of decolonization, is in flagrant defiance of the will of the international community, and can only result in further delaying the independence of Namibia.

In rejecting the persistent attempts by South Africa and the United States to establish a linkage between the implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978) and extraneous issues, particularly the presence of Cuban forces in Angola, the Committee declared that such attempts were ploys intended to delay the independence of Namibia, to jeopardize the responsibility of the United Nations for this Territory and to undermine the authority of the Security Council. The Committee thus rejected the policies of constructive engagement and linkage, which had encouraged the racist régime of South Africa to continue its illegal occupation of Namibia, and called for their abandonment so that the United Nations resolutions and decisions on Namibia could be implemented.

The Committee strongly condemned South Africa for its military build-up in Namibia, particularly its repeated acts of aggression and subversion against neighbouring States, its illegal use of Namibian territory for perpetrating such acts of aggression, its introduction of compulsory military service for Namibians, its proclamation of a so-called security zone in Namibia, its forced recruitment

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and training of Namibians for tribal armies and its use of mercenaries. The Committee further condemned the continued military and nuclear intelligence collaboration between South Africa and certain Western and other countries, which constitute a violation of the arms embargo imposed against South Africa by the Security Council in its resolution 418 (1977), of 4 November 1977. The Committee urged the Security Council to adopt further measures to widen the scope of that resolution.

The Committee also deplored the continuing collaboration of certain Western States and other countries with the racist régime of South Africa in the political, economic, military, nuclear, financial, cultural and other fields, and declared that such collaboration encouraged the Pretoria régime in its defiance of the international community and obstructed efforts to eliminate apartheid and bring South Africa's illegal occupation of Namibia to an end. The Committee thus called for the immediate cessation of such collaboration.

In reaffirming that the natural resources of Namibia, including its marine resources, were the inviolable heritage of the Namibian people, the Committee strongly condemned the activities of all foreign economic interests operating in Namibia that were illegally exploiting these resources. The Committee demanded that such exploitation should cease forthwith.

The Special Committee recommended that the Security Council should act decisively against any dilatory manoeuvres and fraudulent schemes of the illegal occupation régime, and strongly recommended that the Council respond positively to the overwhelming demand of the international community by imposing forthwith comprehensive mandatory sanctions against that régime under the terms of Chapter VII of the Charter.

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The Special Committee reaffirmed that the national liberation movement of Namibia, SWAPO, was the sole and authentic representative of the Namibian people, and strongly condemned the illegal South African Administration for its persistent and systematic attempts to undermine, discredit and destroy that organization, its members and supporters through arbitrary arrests, torture, intimidation and terror. The Special Committee commended SWAPO for the exemplary leadership it had provided to the Namibian people and for its continued co-operation with the United Nations in its efforts towards the full and speedy implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978).

On behalf of the Special Committee, I commend the report for the serious attention of the General Assembly.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Russian): I call on the President of the United Nations Council for Namibia, Mr. Zuze of Zambia, to introduce the report of the Council.

Mr. ZUZE (Zambia), President of the United Nations Council for Namibia: First I wish to express my deep appreciation of another opportunity to take up consideration of the question of Namibia. I do so with some trepidation. The Assembly has debated this item for four decades at both regular and special sessions in order to end the illegal occupation of Namibia by South Africa. But South Africa is still in Namibia, and now, of course, claiming special responsibility for the protection of Namibians against a perceived communist threat from the north. So the agenda for decolonization remains unfinished.

Next, I wish to offer you very warm congratulations, Sir, on behalf of the United Nations Council for Namibia, on your unanimous election to the high office of President of the General Assembly. You represent a country that is truly

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committed to the independence of Namibia and the total eradication of the evil system of apartheid. It is our hope and expectation that during your tenure of office the people of Namibia will be given an opportunity to exercise their inherent right to self-determination and independence.

Namibia has been under foreign domination for more than 100 years. The international community has recognized South Africa's occupation of Namibia as illegal since 1966, and the United Nations noted then that South Africa had failed, in the terms of the original Mandate, to promote to the utmost the material and moral well-being of the Namibian people. The Territory was made a direct United Nations responsibility until it should gain internationally recognized independence. Although this decision was confirmed by both the Security Council and the International Court of Justice, it has been defied by South Africa.

The United Nations Charter was framed in such a way that it meticulously takes into account among its provisions the obligation of administering Powers to promote the interests of the inhabitants of the Territories they administer. Article 73 of the Charter is to this extent relevant. It states inter alia:

"Members of the United Nations which have or assume responsibilities for the administration of territories whose peoples have not yet attained a full measure of self-government recognize the principle that the interests of the inhabitants of these territories are paramount, and accept as a sacred trust the obligation to promote to the utmost, within the system of international peace and security established by the present Charter, the well-being of the inhabitants of these territories and to this end, ... to develop self-government, to take due account of the political aspirations of the peoples, and to assist them in the progressive development of their free political institutions."

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Council for Namibia)

Although the decision of the Assembly at its first session in 1946 to include Namibia on its agenda seemed to hold promise for an early end to the colonial situation in the Territory, the people of Namibia have, over the years, endured a tormenting uncertainty over the future of their motherland. The collective efforts of the United Nations to end South Africa's illegal occupation of Namibia have yielded no positive results. South Africa is still in Namibia by force. The multilateral mechanism set out in the Charter, and subsequent resolutions of the United Nations which supplement the provisions of the Charter, have been unheeded by the defiant South African régime.

The creation of the United Nations Council for Namibia attests to the resolve of the United Nations to bring independence to Namibia. The stumbling block, of course, has been and continues to be the Pretoria régime.

Thirteen years ago, the United Nations Council for Namibia enacted Decree No. 1 for the Protection of the Natural Resources of Namibia, prohibiting the export of Namibia's resources without the consent of the United Nations. Adopted in response to the activities of the companies taking advantage of conditions created by South African rule, this Decree has also been ignored.

Never before has a State Member of the United Nations been so contemptuous of this world body. We in the Council for Namibia strongly believe that the international community should take the necessary steps for the immediate implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978).

At a ministerial meeting of the Council, a decision was taken to call for an urgent meeting of the Security Council, in order to obtain agreement on an early date for the commencement of the implementation process of Security Council resolution 435 (1978). Following that meeting, the Security Council met last week

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and took a historic decision by adopting Security Council resolution 601 (1987). This resolution authorized the Secretary-General to proceed to arrange a cease-fire between South Africa and the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO), in order to undertake administrative and other practical steps necessary for the emplacement of the United Nations Transition Assistance Group (UNTAG).

Let me stress the point - the United Nations can go on adopting resolutions on Namibia as it has done in the past. Without pressure on the racist régime, these resolutions would just end up on paper. Indeed, we risk being labelled paper tigers. In this regard, the United Nations Council for Namibia recommends that all States should take individual and collective measures, including those provided for under Chapter VII of the Charter, to ensure South Africa's compliance with the resolutions and decisions of the United Nations.

The Council reiterates its strong condemnation of the linkage policy and appeals once again to the United States Administration to abandon it so that the collective efforts of the United Nations may bear fruit. We urge the Security Council to ensure that all Member States respect its resolutions and decisions in order that the people of Namibia may also exercise their inalienable right to self-determination and independence.

For its part, the United Nations Council for Namibia has continued its endeavours to fulfil its Mandate as the legal Administering Authority for the Territory until independence. It has continued to consult and co-operate closely with SWAPO, the sole and authentic representative of the Namibian people, and to represent the interests of Namibia and its people. It has sought broader support for their struggle for self-determination and independence. It has striven

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to break through the conspiracy of silence on Namibia in order to inform public opinion about Namibia and to mobilize support for its cause. Parts I and II of the report of the Council to the Assembly set forth in detail some of the activities of the Council. I commend it to the Assembly.

The quest for freedom, dignity and national independence of the Namibian people cannot be suppressed forever. Namibia, under the leadership of SWAPO, continues to wage a heroic struggle to get South Africa out of the Territory and they have our unqualified support to use whatever means at their disposal, including armed struggle. South Africa is a terrorist régime and no amount of reasoning makes sense to the Boers. In their just struggle against colonialism, occupation and foreign domination, the people of Namibia need the increased assistance of all the freedom-loving countries now more than ever, in order to dislodge the genocidal régime of South Africa. We have a grave responsibility to ensure Namibia's unimpeded accession to genuine national independence. Let us move forward towards the fulfilment of this lofty objective.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Russian): The next speaker is the Chairman of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, Mr. Tesfaye Tadesse of Ethiopia.

Mr. TADESSE (Ethiopia), Chairman of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples (Special Committee of 24): Twenty-one years ago the United Nations terminated South Africa's Mandate over Namibia and assumed direct responsibility for the Territory. Today we still stand here debating how to implement that decision. This notwithstanding, the Security

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Council and the Assembly have not ceased to adopt resolution after resolution calling for the withdrawal of the illegal occupying forces of South Africa. How much longer will South Africa be allowed to continue its lawlessness, in spite of the fact that we have laws by which violators of that ilk can be punished. There must be a limit to such ironic mockery of justice.

Nine years ago, through the adoption by the Security Council, in its resolution 435 (1978), of the United Nations plan for the independence of Namibia, accepted by both South Africa and SWAPO, the world community believed that an independent Namibia was at last in sight. The plan still stands unimplemented because the racist régime, in betrayal of trust, continues to defy all decisions of the international community.

At every critical moment of the negotiations, when the international community was led to believe that the implementation of the plan was imminent, the South African régime invariably came up with new demands and shoddy pretexts aimed at obstructing the way to its implementation.

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Over the years, the international community has been subjected to one frustrating subterfuge after another. Throughout these frustrating experiences, SWAPO has invariably been realistic, showing flexibility and genuine interest in the Territory's peaceful transition to independence under the auspices of the United Nations. Yet, for every accommodation and concession made by SWAPO, South Africa has responded with new pretexts aimed at sabotaging implementation of the plan.

The policies of apartheid South Africa, well known and condemned by the world community, are by their very nature incompatible with the ideals, values and principles upheld by this Organization. They are illegal as they are immoral, constituting a flagrant violation of all rules of international law. Thus, if this Assembly is to make a positive contribution towards the elimination of the present impasse, it must bear in mind the historical facts; it must separate fact from fiction; and it must take a new and bold initiative aimed at concrete action. The régime's constant delaying tactics amply confirm what we have known all along - that South Africa will not willingly permit the fulfilment of the legitimate aspirations of the Namibian people for true independence and liberation. Pretoria has exploited the efforts of the international community with calculated cunning in order to bring about a sham independence in Namibia under a puppet régime designed to perpetuate its colonial domination. We have all been witness to South Africa's dilatory manoeuvres and to the deceitful manner in which, while delaying the implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978), it has presented us with a succession of faits accomplis, including the latest attempts to circumvent the United Nations plan by promoting an internal settlement through the so-called interim government. As we once again debate the cause of the Namibian people, we

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must call for the immediate and unconditional implementation by South Africa of Security Council resolutions 385 (1976) and 435 (1978).

The adoption last week by the Security Council of resolution 601 (1987) must now be the final test of South Africa's willingness to facilitate conditions for implementation of the decisions of the international community concerning its illegal presence in Namibia. By this resolution, the Secretary-General is now mandated to arrange a cease-fire for which, on the part of SWAPO, a firm assurance of readiness has already been issued. The ball is now in Pretoria's court and, despite nagging skepticism, we await any of its reactions to the present resolution.

We are hopeful that the Security Council, depending on the racist régime's response to resolution 601 (1987), will be prepared to take concrete action under Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter. New pretexts or the usual dilatory tactics must not be allowed any longer to delay further the long overdue process of the Territory's accession to independence.

Any attempt to undermine the United Nations plan for Namibia's independence embodied in resolution 435 (1978), any attempt, in particular to introduce extraneous issues, such as linkage, must likewise not be allowed to continue to stand in the path of the international consensus against Pretoria's criminality and the illegality of its presence in the international Territory - for that consensus represents the only acceptable basis for a peaceful transition of Namibia to independence, without pre-condition or modification.

No less crucial is the pressing need to provide an increased level of support to the struggling people of Namibia and their sole and authentic national liberation movement, SWAPO. The international community has a particular responsibility to ensure that, through the Nationhood Programme, the Institute for

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Namibia and other relevant United Nations programmes, all possible steps are taken to offer maximum training opportunities to the people of Namibia, in preparation for the establishment of an independent and sovereign Namibia.

I wish to express my sincere hope that the appeals addressed to all Member States, the specialized agencies and other organizations, both within and outside the United Nations system, will elicit a positive and generous response, so as to strengthen the programme of assistance to meet the ever-increasing requirements of the Namibian people in this regard. I wish also to draw the particular attention of members and the United Nations system of organizations to the Africa Fund, established recently by the non-aligned countries.

As the Rapporteur of the Special Committee has fully reported at the outset of this meeting, the Special Committee considers that the only political solution for Namibia is one based, in the first instance, on the termination of South Africa's illegal occupation and the withdrawal of its forces and, secondly, on the free and unfettered exercise by all Namibian people of their right to self-determination and independence within a united Namibia, in accordance with the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. To that end, it is imperative that the United Nations Transition Assistance Group (UNTAG) be emplaced in the Territory without further delay, in accordance with Security Council resolution 435 (1978).

The validity of this position, which is based on the Special Committee's conviction that the United Nations is duty-bound to do everything possible to terminate South Africa's illegal occupation, has, I trust, been more than amply demonstrated in the imperatives for action contained in the recent decision adopted by the Security Council less than a week ago in its resolution 601 (1987). The

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Special Committee awaits with great expectation the Secretary-General's report pursuant to that resolution. In so doing, I wish to thank the Secretary-General for his continuing efforts in search of a satisfactory solution to the problem of Namibia.

The spirit of accommodation, patience and statesmanship continuously demonstrated by the leaders of SWAPO deserves our warmest tribute. For its part the Special Committee will continue to extend to SWAPO and, through it, to the people of Namibia, its full support in their struggle to achieve the goal of a free, democratic and independent Namibia. In the same context, I wish to pay a special tribute to the leaders of the front-line States and other African countries for the crucial role they have played and continue to play in support of the cause of the Namibian people.

I also wish, on behalf of the Special Committee, to pay a particular tribute to the United Nations Council for Namibia for the important task it has continued to carry out so effectively, under the leadership of its President, Ambassador Peter Zuze of Zambia.

Mr. President, I am confident that, under your leadership and guidance, and with your skill and diplomacy, backed by your country's steadfast support for decolonization and independence, the work of this Assembly at this session will make a further positive contribution towards the total liberation of Namibia from illegal, colonial domination.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Russian): In accordance with General Assembly resolution 31/152 of 20 December 1976, I call on the Observer for the South West Africa People's Organization.

Mr. GURIRAB (South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO)): I have the pleasure to congratulate you, Mr. President, an eminent representative of the German Democratic Republic, upon your brilliant election to preside over the business of the forty-second session of the General Assembly.

Your great country stands in the forefront in rendering political support and material assistance to the oppressed but struggling peoples of South Africa and Namibia. Moreover, I am particularly pleased to stress here your country's principled and generous co-operation that is being extended to the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO) in various fields, including the provision of scholarships, education for our very young in the excellent kindergartens that have been put up in the German Democratic Republic specifically for them and, indeed, the physical and health rehabilitation of many Namibian victims of Pretoria's unmitigated State terrorism and military attacks, at home and in our exile centres.

I should also like to congratulate the Foreign Minister of Bangladesh, His Excellency Mr. Choudhury, for the able manner in which he guided the work of the forty-first session of the General Assembly.

Last but not least, I wish to pay a special tribute to the illustrious Secretary-General, Mr. Javier Perez de Cuellar, whose untiring and deserving efforts give constant inspiration to our people in their struggle and further strengthen the confidence we have in him and whose unshakeable faith in the United Nations Charter contributes to enhancing the efficacy of this Organization in its maintenance of peace and security and in support of liberation for oppressed and colonized peoples everywhere.

We see the Secretary-General as a veritable force for positive change in the world, and that is why we will continue to give him our full support. In his report on the work of the Organization now before the Assembly the Secretary-General reiterated his belief in the Charter as a living document.

(Mr. Gurirab, SWAPO)

He said:

"The Charter of the United Nations defines the principles to be followed in gaining peace in the fullest meaning of what true peace entails. These principles have lost none of their relevance or validity. What has too often been lacking is the readiness of Member States to put aside national differences and national ambitions and work together within the United Nations in accordance with these principles towards common goals." (A/42/1, p. 17)

In lamenting the total lack of progress on Namibia the Secretary-General declared in the same report that the continued denial of freedom to the people of Namibia also bred unending violence and suffering. Nevertheless, he held out hope for a possible breakthrough in stating that, if the situation were re-examined with realism and sincere concern for the plight of the victims, it should be possible to open the way for the implementation of the United Nations plan for the independence of Namibia, as endorsed in Security Council resolution 435 (1978).

On the occasion of the recent Security Council debate on the situation in Namibia, held from 28 to 30 October 1987, the Secretary-General repeated this note of optimism and further reaffirmed that all the outstanding issues relevant to resolution 435 (1978) had been resolved and that the next course of action should focus on a cease-fire and the emplacement of the United Nations Transition Assistance Group (UNTAG) in Namibia.

That the Secretary-General has remained actively seized of the Namibian issue is unquestionable. For its part SWAPO has always maintained close co-operation and regular consultations with him and his Special Representative, Mr. Martti Ahtisaari, who undertook one more mission to southern Africa in August this year aimed particularly at securing Pretoria's compliance to set off the process of implementation of the United Nations plan.

(Mr. Gurirab, SWAPO)

The two most recent reports before the Security Council, contained in documents S/18767 of 31 March 1987 and S/19234 of 27 October 1987, have amply demonstrated the extent of public advocacy which the Secretary-General and his assistants have been conducting to speed up the independence process of Namibia.

The current debate in the Assembly is thus taking place in the aftermath of a successful meeting on the same topic, the question of Namibia, in the Security Council.

There were two other important meetings held by the United Nations Council for Namibia on 2 October and 27 October 1987 respectively. The first was a special ministerial meeting convened pursuant to the decision taken at the extraordinary plenary meetings of the Council held at Luanda, in May 1987. An action-oriented communiqué, contained in S/19187 of 2 October 1987, was issued by the ministerial meeting. The ministers called upon the Security Council to assume its Charter responsibilities fully in respect of Namibia and to re-activate the established machinery necessary for the holding of free and fair elections, under the supervision and control of the United Nations in Namibia, without any further delay or prevarication.

But they also strongly expressed the view that:

"In the event of the Security Council's inability to adopt concrete measures to compel South Africa to co-operate in the implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978) by 29 September 1988, the Ministers called upon the General Assembly to consider, at its forty-third session, necessary action in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations, cognizant of the fact that this was a unique instance in which the United Nations had assumed direct responsibility for promoting self-determination, freedom and national independence for Namibia." (S/19187, para. 20)

(Mr. Gurirab, SWAPO)

The other meeting, held on 27 October 1987, was an annual solemn meeting which the United Nations Council for Namibia has been organizing for the past 10 years in commemorating the week of solidarity with the people of Namibia and SWAPO, their sole and authentic representative.

These were all important meetings held prior to this debate which is starting today. They were intended further to sensitize the world community about the plight of our people and to galvanize the States and peoples of the world to help expedite the process of bringing about the liberation of Namibia, which is the direct responsibility of the United Nations.

(Mr. Gurirab, SWAPO)

Of particular importance for this debate is the latest resolution, 601 (1987), adopted last Friday, 30 October, by the Security Council. In our view, it underscores the urgency of the problem and gives evidence of renewed commitment on the part of the Council to proceed with the implementation process as envisaged in resolution 435 (1978). The Council picked up the gauntlet by adopting that new technical resolution by 14 votes in favour, with one abstention - the United States - and none against.

In paragraph 5 of that resolution, the Council decided to authorize the Secretary-General to proceed to arrange a cease-fire between South Africa and SWAPO in order to undertake the administrative and other practical steps necessary for the emplacement of the United Nations Transition Assistance Group (UNTAG) in Namibia. The SWAPO delegation dutifully reiterated our movement's often-repeated readiness to sign and observe a cease-fire and called upon Pretoria to show good faith and readiness.

In concluding my statement before the Security Council after the vote was taken, I entreated its members in these words:

"Let us now together proceed, on the basis of resolution 601 (1987), which has just been adopted, to restore to the Namibian people their inalienable right to self-determination, freedom and independence, as envisaged in Security Council resolution 435 (1978). SWAPO is ready. It is now up to the Security Council to compel the Botha régime to reciprocate and accept a cease-fire as the first step in that process." (S/PV.2759, p. 88)

That remains our position, which reflects our readiness to co-operate with regard to all aspects of the historic but still unimplemented resolution 435 (1978). But let it be clearly understood that our readiness to sign and observe a cease-fire and to accept the emplacement of UNTAG in Namibia is a sign

(Mr. Gurirab, SWAPO)

neither of SWAPO's recent conversion nor of weakness. We communicated our position on these crucial issues to the Secretary-General in August 1978. We have merely been repeating ourselves all these years in the face of racist South Africa's intransigence and endless political obfuscation.

This leads me to recall what a prominent former United Nations official with deep knowledge of the chicanery of the racist Boers said in his latest biographical book. He characterized Pretoria's obfuscations as follows:

"The South African Government's way of facing its problems often seems to be an exercise in schizophrenia. On the one hand, South Africa agrees in principle that a problem must be solved; on the other hand, every possible obstacle is put in the way of solving it."

How true this is; and how much this vacillating has bedevilled past Namibia negotiations and present efforts to spur progress.

Deranged mentally by the crippling disease called racism and incapacitated politically by a self-inflicted sense of paranoia, the Boer leaders and spokesmen have, true to form, year after year treated this Organization to verbal abuse and despicable as well as costly delaying tactics concerning the Namibia problem, which is nearly as old as the United Nations itself. We are having to repeat here and in other places the same old tragic story, year after year, because the situation remains unchanged. Measured in terms of the lives lost and the random devastation that our oppressors are carrying out each year in occupied Namibia, the situation has now got seriously out of hand.

The comprehensive annual report of the United Nations Council for Namibia now before the Assembly cites one case after another and provides additional concrete examples with a view to exposing the régime's heinous crimes against innocent Namibian men, women and children and its endless political and constitutional

(Mr. Gurirab, SWAPO)

ploy, by means of which the Botha régime is laying the basis for a puppet solution in Namibia. The minority racists are dead scared of freedom and democracy; they are determined to continue monopolizing the land, power, wealth and privileges for themselves, giving only a few breadcrumbs to their treacherous puppets, the latest bunch of whom they installed as a so-called interim government in June 1985.

The United Nations Special Committee on decolonization, whose Chairman has just addressed the General Assembly, has in its report submitted this morning by its Rapporteur further supplemented the report of the United Nations Council for Namibia and reinforced the illuminating points made by Mr. Zuze, President of that Council, in his important statement.

We are not going to travel the same old road in recounting Namibia's tragic history. The issue is well known in this house. Resolutions and decisions covering a period of 41 years are clearly understood by all, even though those among them which would long ago have brought about our freedom remain unimplemented. The reasons for this regrettable and condemnable situation are also all too familiar to everyone gathered here.

The major Western Powers, which some 40 years ago mobilized the whole world to help them fight against Hitler, have abandoned without the slightest remorse the victims of the evil neo-Nazi system of apartheid in South Africa and Namibia to their own fate, because what matters most to these recalcitrant States is their selfish strategic interests and profit and, we are forced to conclude, perhaps racist considerations. But, again, this is also all too familiar. For one thing, the key ones among them treat their own black countrymen as second-class citizens. We have gained this knowledge from their own mass media and public opinion. How could they really care more about the blacks in Namibia?

(Mr. Gurirab, SWAPO)

I have mentioned the progress recently made in the Security Council, but to us, historically, some of the most important decisions relating to Namibia were either made or given legitimacy by the General Assembly. I need not enumerate them, for the record is available. The Assembly continues to be indispensable and is the most representative deliberative United Nations body. We do not vote yet but we have a strong voice in the work of the General Assembly.

(Mr. Gurirab, SWAPO)

This forty-second session is taking place at a very crucial juncture in international relations. We are human beings and we cohabit this planet with the rest of the human race - even with the filthy Boers who kill us for demanding the return of our land and the restoration of our inalienable rights to self-determination and freedom. We think about our children and agonize about a nuclear holocaust, just as our minds are being increasingly exercised by the reported threat of a diminishing ozone layer. All this puts us together as likely victims in the same boat with the citizens of Australia, Argentina, Angola and South Africa. It is therefore in our own enlightened self-interest to support the leaders of the Soviet Union and the United States of America in their new thinking for a new world, without nuclear weapons and arms races and oppression. We are fighting to save lives, and we therefore take seriously the admonition that no man is an island unto himself.

Since 1945 the world has witnessed 185 armed conflicts, as a result of which millions of human lives have been wasted, not to mention the immense material destruction. Ninety-seven per cent of these armed conflicts have taken place in the developing world. And today most of the hotbeds of tension are in the third world. Namibia has been turned into such a hotbed of tension by the racists and their allies.

The United Nations itself emerged out of two world wars. Its Charter is a treaty which it is hoped will promote the maintenance of peace and security among States and help decolonize countries and peoples by providing the legal and political framework.

There is today no political issue that enjoys such unanimity in the world as the decolonization of Namibia. Last year the United Nations convened an International Conference for the Immediate Independence of Namibia. This global

(Mr. Gurirab, SWAPO)

consensus was reaffirmed. Subsequently, the General Assembly held a special session on Namibia, from 17 to 20 September 1986, and adopted important resolutions and decisions.

Notwithstanding all that, here we are back before the Assembly, for the very simple reason that Namibia is not yet free. The plunder of Namibian resources and the exploitation of Namibian labour continue unabated, and there are new sinister schemes afoot to expand the commercial interests of certain Western nations and their transnational corporations in Namibia.

Two things are worth recalling here. The special session directed the United Nations Council for Namibia to effect its presence in our country, as a matter of urgency, in 1987, as the legal Administering Authority over the Territory until its independence. Pretoria has blocked this mission and stubbornly continues its illegal occupation. The Assembly also called upon the Security Council to speed up the process of the immediate and unconditional implementation of its resolution 435 (1978).

In this connection, the Security Council held two series of meetings this year, one in April and the other last month. By adopting resolution 601 (1987) the Council responded positively to the Assembly's call. Now the Assembly must itself fall in line and take urgent action to speed up Namibia's decolonization. Action is what the Namibian people expect to see, 21 years after the United Nations promised them freedom by assuming direct responsibility on their behalf.

The reactionary violence which our people have been subjected to since we last met and the endless killing by the occupation army and police have assumed genocidal proportions. The silence by the Western mass media on the Pretoria racists' blackout of news and information on the critical situation in Namibia is most regrettable.

(Mr. Gurirab, SWAPO)

We cannot afford to run away from naked aggression, however brutal, against our person and dignity. The objective of our patriotic war of resistance is to liberate the motherland but also to vindicate justice and compel the Boer régime to accept the independence of Namibia.

The General Assembly and the Security Council are once again of one mind that the Namibian people must be allowed to exercise their right to self-determination, on the basis of free and fair elections, and that the country must rapidly proceed to independence - now. The International Court firmly endorses that view.

Resolution 601 (1987) also urged United Nations Member States to render all the necessary practical assistance to the Secretary-General and his staff in the implementation of that resolution. It is in this body that all those States are represented, and this is the proper forum in which to appeal to the reluctant ones to fulfil the promise of Namibia's freedom.

Let the linkage-pushers get the clear message that continued denial of our freedom is a source of tremendous pain and betrayal to us - but also to the values they profess to uphold. Little children are becoming orphans in the tens of hundreds as their parents are killed daily; they are brutalized and thrown into racist dungeons in the hundreds; they are forced into the enemy's armed forces and taught at a very tender age to kill - to kill their parents and other loved ones; and their future is denied to them, for they have become mere tools in the enemy's deadly game. What kind of a culture, what kind of a political ideology can do such heinous things, can pursue with such hatred and insensitivity a course of decapitating a people to gain a political advantage? After 103 years of a bitter anti-colonial struggle and the very high price we have had to pay in lives of our people, we are today having to do more dying, while our fate is being determined on

(Mr. Gurirab, SWAPO)

a chess-board by our enemy's friends - as if we were mere chips and not human beings. Let me once again call upon the United States of America to abandon the discredited and unconscionable linkage policy.

(Mr. Gurirab, SWAPO)

The crisis of children is bewildering, and that is an understatement. An International Conference on Children, Repression and the Law in Apartheid was held in Harare from 24 to 27 September 1987. The Conference adopted a declaration in which the participants committed themselves to keeping the world aware of the plight of children in southern Africa. Earlier the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) had released a report on the same tragic subject, particularly the physical elimination of children by their thousands in Mozambique and Angola.

The front-line States, especially Angola, in relation to Namibia, have suffered in terms of the lives of their citizens and the destruction of valuable property for supporting the struggles of the peoples of South Africa and Namibia. Angola's losses are now estimated to be in excess of 60,000 human lives lost and \$US 12 billion in property destroyed as a result of the criminal acts of the racist Pretoria régime and the Angolan UNITA bandits, who are equipped with Stinger missiles and money by the United States Administration. These peaceful States need more than solidarity; they need concrete, all-round assistance for self-defence and economic development.

Before concluding, let me reaffirm our comradely solidarity with the struggling people of South Africa and their liberation movement and with all the democratic forces in South Africa which are fighting for a democratic, non-racial and unitary South Africa built on the ashes of apartheid. The African National Congress of South Africa (ANC) will lead the way to victory.

Freedom is indivisible. The right of self-determination must be universal in its application. In supporting the struggling people of Western Sahara and the Saharan Arab Democratic Republic, led by the POLISARIO Front, for the achievement of the independence of their country, we are supporting a cause which we consider to be our own.

(Mr. Gurirab, SWAPO)

History and common human interest impel us to support the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), the sole, legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, in its just struggle for the restoration of the inalienable right of the Palestinian people to self-determination and the establishment of an independent State of their own. The proposed international conference on peace in the Middle East should help to hasten the attainment of that noble goal. In many parts of the world there are nations and peoples, such as those in New Caledonia, who are forced to defend their sovereignty or fight for liberation. We will always support them, now and as citizens of an independent Namibia.

In conclusion, we urge representatives to vote enthusiastically in favour of the draft resolutions on Namibia. Pretoria has not so far indicated its intention to sign and observe a cease-fire. The struggle must, therefore, be intensified in all fields in the meantime until the régime stops wasting time on unfounded and preposterous claims about SWAPO's military setbacks and faces up to the reality of the situation, namely, that SWAPO and South Africa must, sooner rather than later, agree jointly to stop the blood-letting in Namibia. Our record speaks for itself. It is time now for the Botha régime to show political will. We await the Secretary-General's report pursuant to Security Council resolution 601 (1987) and wish him well in his historic mission.

Mr. SHIHABI (Saudi Arabia): As I am speaking for the first time at this session of the General Assembly, I extend to you, Sir, my congratulations and those of my delegation on your election to the high post of President. The Foreign Minister of my country, in his statement, eloquently expressed his congratulations to you and his appreciation of your country's role.

(spoke in Arabic)

This forum, the greatest in the world today, has been established for the purpose of giving expression to the appeals, exhortations and values that have

(Mr. Shihabi, Saudia Arabia)

made the United Nations the hope of peoples and the sanctuary of States, and to indicate the path to the co-operative future of mankind. It was first established to express the conscience of nations united in an endeavour to uphold the principles of freedom and the rights of people. We know that the road before us is not short and that there will, naturally, be obstacles, but we shall remain on that road to attain the purposes enshrined in the Charter. This is a perception based on reality and truth, because in the past 40 years, a short period indeed, we have witnessed enormous strides towards the establishment of a firm belief in the principles of the United Nations and the necessity for their swift application to secure the independence of peoples and preserve the freedom of nations in most areas of the world. However, there remain two areas for which foreign occupation and settler colonialism have singled out a special role and in which with the passage of time the malice of oppression is increasing in intensity. I refer to Namibia, southern Africa, and Palestine.

The United Nations took over the problem of Namibia and declared its independence over 21 years ago. Three years later it established a Council to administer the Territory in the name of the United Nations, requested the compliance of South Africa and called upon the world to work diligently to ensure implementation of its decision in this regard. However, the Government of South Africa rejected all this.

I should like to put on record here our thanks to the Secretary-General and our appreciation for his continuous efforts in attempting to establish a just and peaceful system in an independent Namibia. I wish also to convey our gratitude for the efforts of the United Nations Council for Namibia in dealing with these problems by mobilizing the potential of the United Nations to attain its objectives in Namibia, where the revolution has existed for many years and the path of the armed struggle has been strewn with sacrifices.

(Mr. Shihabi, Saudi Arabia)

An investigative look at the method of foreign rule, the practices of external occupation and the exploitation of the country's wealth for other than its own people, to the detriment of its future generations, reveals one of the most horrendous pictures of the colonialism of the past in this modern age, under the very eyes of the United Nations.

Since Namibia was first occupied and fell under foreign colonization, 102 years have elapsed. Most of the areas of the world have become independent, while Namibia is still under colonization in this age in which colonies are vanishing forever. In its colonization by the Pretoria régime Namibia has suffered military occupation, foreign rule and economic exploitation, while its society has been subjugated to a malicious racist régime devoid of all human values. This is Namibia caught between two fires: the fire of foreign occupation, which entails foreign exploitation and the plundering of resources, and the fire of a violent racist régime which is depriving the citizen of his rights and man of his humanity and which has been condemned by the United Nations and all its Member States and agencies in all forums and on every possible occasion. The governing régime in Namibia is an extension of the despicable racist régime of South Africa. This inhuman régime embodies the constituent crimes of its perpetrator through its inhuman practices even before it reaches its victims. It is a régime founded on the most heinous principles known to human relations and suffered by mankind in the whole history of the oppression of man by man, a régime that will bring upon the Government of South Africa disasters worse than any that could be inflicted upon it by the most formidable of its foes.

The racist régime is the harshest enemy of those that believe in it and the most harmful in the end for those that are practising it. In South Africa a man is told that he is black, and this automatically relegates him to a lower level of treatment; and in Palestine, a man is told that he is an Arab, in order to deny him

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his rights as a citizen of his country. Those régimes, which do not believe in God and his creatures or in human values, while claiming belief in religious values, usurping the rights of indigenous peoples and unjustly claiming that they are implementing the stipulations of religion, have a dark future and will have one day to account for their actions on this earth.

The likes of those régimes do not learn from history; they do not learn even from recent history. They do not look back to see how the Nazi leaders paid for their deeds that violated humanity. If they imagined that their inhuman acts represented a lesser violation of law and humanity, they have miscalculated in every respect. History is recording the evidence of what they are doing every day, and their day of reckoning is not far off.

That the Pretoria régime is bad is a truth which is taken for granted and there is nothing new in this. What is unacceptable is the continued co-operation of some States Members of the United Nations - and their names are known. They deal with this régime in order to profit from the wealth which the Pretoria régime is plundering by denying the right of the people of Namibia to its natural resources in order to sell them to other countries. This is stolen money. Clearly, they should recognize that dealing with a failing system is a losing game in the end, and even the worst investment as far as economic and political returns are concerned.

Namibia is one of the richest countries of Africa in agricultural potential, and mineral and marine resources. That rich country has been victimized by many large companies, which are predominantly owned by South Africa and are plundering its wealth in order to obtain the maximum possible return in the shortest possible time, without regard for the economic future of the country and ignoring the fact that on the day that imperialism leaves Africa the economic feasibility of those projects will become negative, and that the core of that wealth will be depleted

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after its fruits have been smuggled to the centres of the exploiters. This is a race against time, a race for plunder and theft.

I will quote various statistics on the methods of economic exploitation. The 95 per cent of blacks in the population work in agriculture and reap 2.5 per cent of the produce, while the 5 per cent of whites take 95 per cent of the agricultural and livestock production of the country. The exploitation of the production of minerals is even more ominous for the country's economic future, since a few companies own 80 per cent of the mineral reserves of the country and are responsible for 95 per cent of the country's exports. Where are the rights of the Namibian people in the face of these facts and figures? Where are its present wealth and its future rights? Where is the right of the future generations to the wealth of their country, which is today being plundered at the cheapest rates? The exploiters of the wealth of the country should know that what they are doing now is illegal and that it is the right of the Namibian people to claim it from them, as companies and as individuals, before the law.

Those are some of the political and economic aspects of the colonization of Namibia.

As for the educational aspects, which are tailored to the objectives of imperialism, the meagre health services, the police régime and the arbitrary measures are all an extension of the sick racist régime, whose officials and leaders are sick in soul and sick in mentality.

When we review the possibilities and potentials of South Africa, which nurture these practices in Namibia, we are not forgetting that South Africa is the natural partner of the racist Zionist régime in Palestine: its partner in the concept and ideology which preaches the superiority of one people over another and legalizes

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killings, the plundering of wealth and property and the usurpation of rights; its partner in commerce and industry; its partner in strategic terrorist co-operation inside and outside Africa; its partner in the companies that are carrying out the exploitation of the wealth of the country; its partner in producing and trading in weapons. Representatives must not be misled by any Israeli announcement about limiting its dealings with South Africa. They have an organic partnership of destiny and the Israeli organizations and authorities and their partners in South Africa will use every means to ensure that the situation continues as it is, under the guise of any other measures they announce and which are not subject to examination.

(Mr. Shihabi, Saudi Arabia)

The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia has announced its full support for the steps taken by the United Nations to resist the exploitation of Namibia and to preserve the wealth of its people. It has also announced and has taken every measure to implement the boycott which the United Nations has imposed on South Africa, it is committed to the boycott, and is taking all measures against those who are violating these regulations.

Despite the darkness that hangs over Namibia and South Africa, there will dawn a day not very far away, a day when Namibia will seize its independence and take its place here among sovereign States. This is a fact that we know and which is known to those of sound mind in South Africa above all. On that day, we will stand here to witness the disappearance of a colonialist racist régime in the way that every colonialist racist régime on the face of this Earth will vanish. There is no place for such régimes now. Will South Africa understand this and will it try to salvage what can be saved before it is too late?

Mr. ENGO (Cameroon): The item on Namibia comes annually before the General Assembly, because it remains one of the prominent issues that exposes the mediocrity of this generation in implementing the imperatives of lofty ideals proclaimed by this Organization. We seem to face a dilemma in addressing the obvious with candor that, sooner rather than later, even the most powerful of the age must yield to the will of a people to be free.

The Namibian issue has many dimensions: political, economic, military, legal and moral. If we fail to undertake an analysis of these today, we shall be guilty of maintaining a reprehensible process, refusing to understand the nature of the noxious seeds of pestilence we help to cultivate in South Africa.

This cannot be an appropriate moment in which to reiterate overstated national or even group positions. We must not even be seen to repeat performances that in

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the past resulted in voting patterns that diminished the significance of the term "resolution". For, if we do this, we expose our Assembly to justifiable condemnation by victims of the unimaginative articulations of apartheid's theological professors in South Africa.

Our developed expertise for working out sterile compromises of language and substance has undoubtedly done little to reassure the struggling populations in Africa, especially those in the south from whom years of dignity and decent living have been stolen.

Nearly seven decades ago, the German territorial claims to Cameroon, South West Africa, Tanganyika and Togoland were undermined by warfare. Those colonies were taken over by other imperial Powers. The 1960s brought organized freedom to our nation, Cameroon, and other sister African nations, except South West Africa, now properly called Namibia. The advent of independence to those new nations gave a political and moral glimpse of the magnificence of international co-operation in attaining universal ideals. Cameroon is now free, and so are Tanzania and Togo, each endeavouring to participate in the fullness of international life.

But, for their sister nation, Namibia, the passions of an extraordinary peace-loving people have had to contend with a persisting illegal occupation of the home country. That occupation has lasted seven decades, bringing with it an outrageous crescendo of violent repression, cruelty, immorality, murder and defiance of decency: all at their most characteristic worst; all before an unobservant world, a world too engrossed in other matters to observe the steady decline in universal moral values, not sensitive enough to reject racism and to confront brutality as it assails the inherent spirituality of the Namibian people.

(Mr. Engo, Cameroon)

What we must address in examining the reports before us are the realities of today. Those realities are not academic; they are unsuitable for mere moot debate. We must address the absurdities of contemporary life for the purpose of adopting truly new resolutions. In that process we must collectively search for new thoughts concerning southern Africa as a whole. It has become imperative for us to match the concerns of the migrant Afrikaners, who wield momentary power in Pretoria with the predicament of Africans reduced to slave status in the land of their ancestors.

This is an informed generation, a generation blessed with a communications network to see and to understand the central issue in southern Africa. There is no one - man, woman, child, State or groups of States alike - who is not aware of the blood that flows senselessly in that subregion.

This forty-second session has been marked by increased concern for the survival of man on this planet. We have welcomed the attempt of the two supreme military giants of the times to seek collective solutions to the wasteful and dangerous arms race in the nuclear and conventional fields. We have witnessed some of the richer nations unconditionally wipe out the external debts which plague critical economic development on the African scene. We have attempted to set universal standards in addressing national disasters, poverty, disease and the environment, in a quest to resolve threatening human malaise. All these and more are efforts in the right direction.

We must now expand the vistas of productive change to southern Africa. The situation is, as the SWAPO representative just informed us, explosive and the vibrations could be felt beyond this century if steps are not taken universally to remove the impediments to the construction of edifices for peace, security and racial harmony.

(Mr. Engo, Cameroon)

What do we expect of future generations of South Africans, black, white, Coloured and mixed? Are we not permitting generations of leaders in the subregion to be born and to grow up in an atmosphere of hatred, so strong one can almost physically touch it? Young people, who should provide hopes and guarantees of progress for the future, are being schooled in the most despicable forms of racism and defiance and rejection of norms of morality and decency.

(Mr. Engo, Cameroon)

The poor white child in South Africa must grow to despise his black fellow citizen. The poor black child must see the blood of relatives and friends shed; he must be informed of the gloomy world in which he lives. The truths appear with sinister clearness and the passions of revenge blur visions of better alternatives for the future.

The universal conscience must not abandon the peoples of southern Africa. It must seek solutions, not permit persistence in discord over the wordings of General Assembly resolutions. Let us seek new thoughts, new inspiration, new avenues for collective co-operative effort - effort, not mere lip-service to it.

Last week the Security Council adopted, without a dissenting opinion, resolution 601 (1987), which responds to the need to implement decisions previously unanimously taken. The Secretary-General's report announced that conditions outlined in Security Council resolution 435 (1978) had at last been satisfied. The time for action had thus arrived.

The Security Council has authorized the Secretary-General

"... to proceed to arrange a cease-fire between South Africa and the South West Africa People's Organization in order to undertake administrative and other practical steps necessary for the emplacement of the United Nations Transition Assistance Group (UNTAG)". (Security Council resolution 601 (1987), para. 5)

This action on the part of the Security Council is welcome and must be commended. It is a major follow-up to the great achievement involved in the adoption of resolutions 385 (1976) and 435 (1978). We must, however, ensure that delay does not attend the present resolution 601 (1987) as it did the previous ones. The current decision of the Council is a response to the urgency of the times and must be treated as such.

(Mr. Engo, Cameroon)

This is a historic moment. No agreement written on a sheet of paper would attract any viability unless the credibility of the contributors were consciously fostered by adequate political will and action.

We consequently address a strong appeal, in the first instance to the Security Council. That organ must remain the watch-dog of peace and security in Namibia and in southern Africa as a whole. The problems of the region emanate from a single principal source: Pretoria.

The Security Council is composed of concerned States, including the five permanent members which, individually and collectively, possess the means of dictating the fortunes of this generation. The world's great economic and military Powers must understand the security issues involved in the question of southern Africa as a whole and in Namibia in particular.

The full spectrum of issues in the subregion must not be undesirably separated. Lasting peace and security can be ensured only by a calculated dismantling of the rudiments of all impediments to a cease-fire and the establishment of peace. The incentives for peace and economic development are tremendous in that region of abundant material and human resources. Poverty and underdevelopment are components of weakness; they are provocative of lewd ambitions among the strong, which could spark conflict - indeed, dangerous conflict.

This is not a matter merely for the domestic concerns of African peoples or of the people of Namibia alone.

It is time for the international community represented in the General Assembly to turn some of its attention away from the important but over-stated danger of nuclear holocaust. A nuclear war has been rendered comparatively unlikely by a mature consciousness of the disaster it would breathe on all human existence on this planet.

(Mr. Engo, Cameroon)

It is imperative that we commence a new process, one that recognizes that some of our contemporary conflicts and issues could trigger real disaster for global peace and security, if we neglect to act at moments of their metamorphosis. The multilateral process launched must be nourished for purposes of productivity and international concord.

As we had occasion to point out recently in the Security Council, South Africa is no longer a remote location from the major seats of economic and military power. It was a region of vital strategic interest for the victorious Powers during the two major wars of this century. It may still be of such interest, and more. Nuclear weapons have found their way into the area, a region of uncertainty and induced instability. The situation continues to lend itself to an arms race which, if controlled now - right now, given the present conditions - could release energies and resources for recycling into development endeavours.

I need not add that, neglected or permitted to degenerate further, it will increasingly constitute a global disaster waiting impatiently to happen.

Namibia's freedom, the reinstatement of the dignity and worth of the African personality in southern Africa, the attainment of peace and security by the front-line States, especially in Angola and Mozambique, would usher in a new era of economic progress not only for the sub-region but also for Africa as a whole.

A free Namibia; a peaceful Mozambique; an unmolested Angola; a South Africa cleansed of the fantasies and illusions of a retrograde ruling class - these would take their rightful places alongside other members of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) to enhance Africa's struggle against economic odds in a cruel world. When Africa is given a fair chance to address its internal economic woes, it will cease to be a burden to the industrialized sector of the international community. Movement away from the evils of armament and civil strife would, through

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co-operation, strengthen our capacities to develop our continent with the same resources that have nourished phenomenal development in many of the great Powers of today.

The Secretary-General, whose quiet diplomacy must be commended, has thus informed the Council for Namibia, the Security Council and the General Assembly that all the conditions outlined in Security Council resolution 435 (1978) have been met. We have heard the leadership of SWAPO, the sole representative of the Namibian people, reiterate again this morning its willingness to sign and observe a cease-fire agreement, once again demonstrating characteristic instincts and inspiration for peace. The Security Council must contribute to a much needed sense of credibility for international institutions and the multilateral process. The hands of the Secretary-General must be strengthened by full backing to negotiate the necessary follow-up.

The Assembly is nothing but a legal personality, like the parent body, the United Nations itself. It is, in the final analysis, the will and action of States that constitute its achievements. The fundamental responsibility rests, in our view, with the permanent members of the Security Council. The Secretary-General may be expected to dedicate all his energies to the good of existing Charter principles, but he can do nothing substantially unless the permanent members demonstrate not only a political will but also a visible commitment to squeeze ideological confrontation from their relations on the issue of Namibia's freedom.

(Mr. Engo, Cameroon)

Once again, in the spirit of friendship and sharing a common fellowship and desire for freedom and peace with peoples around the globe, we seize this opportunity to appeal to the United States of America to bring to bear on our quest for lasting solutions the great dream of human freedom of their founding fathers. It is a nation born of spectacular revolution which declared certain fundamental truths to be self-evident, namely

"that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by the Creator with certain inalienable rights, that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness"

Resistance to inequities and love of freedom constitute the haemoglobin of the American political blood type.

It is always a matter of happiness to refer to the words of America's second President, John Adams, who said:

"The Revolution was effected before the war [of independence] commenced. The Revolution was in the minds and hearts of the people."

Namibians of today share a similar chemistry of thought and experience with Americans of over two centuries ago. The freedom of the latter as a people, based on such noble ideals, is called into question while fellow mortals elsewhere languish in conditions that Americans morally and spiritually reject as a way of life. America must mobilize in order that Namibia's freedom may not be delayed any longer.

We call upon the Soviet Union, another nation born in a number of historic revolutions in this century. The ups and downs of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, from which Russia's history took its rhythm, moulded a crucial era of revolutions between 1900 and the 1930s. The Russian people witnessed a transformation that launched one of the major systems of our times. A blend of

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European and Asian blood equips the Soviet Union to understand the nature of the struggle to survive. In the prophetic words of Nicholas II, the depressive conditions made "social revolution in its most extreme form ... inevitable". They, too, should understand the pangs of hunger for freedom that Namibians and black South Africans feel.

The leadership of the Soviet Union has declared a commitment to this Organization and to international peace through the Charter principles. Recent follow-ups to that declaration demonstrate the political will to contribute to the interantional peace process. This is welcome. The Soviet policy of encouraging the struggle of people for self-determination should stir the leadership to new quests for the realization of the stated objectives of that policy.

We are passing through an oasis of hope in a desert of international chaos in many areas. The summit meetings, followed by consultations at lower levels, between the United States and the Soviet Union present an opportunity for non-confrontational dialogue between the two supreme military Powers. With every step they take they tread history.

The past is relevant only to the extent that it explains the present and provides some clues to the future. Pretoria must not live in the past, with its fleeting glories and illusions. Fantasies must give way to clearer visions of a greater and better sustained future, because it concerns the lives and existence of all people domiciled in southern Africa, because too, our universal future and that of generations to come are at stake.

The two great giants of the age can do more than merely tread history. They can proceed inspired by the lofty universal ideals of the age. They can make history, sharing a common aspiration to steer the cause of peace in southern Africa. They can give guarantees to all involved in the conflict in southern Africa.

(Mr. Engo, Cameroon)

Pretoria must by now know that it chooses a wrong and dangerous path towards the future it wants for generations of southern Africans to come. The system by which the racists have attempted to suspend time may well be proving cumbersome. In the prevailing circumstances, years of rhetoric make retreat from apartheid difficult; the meanness of the spirit endures. Botha and his clique, deep down, must be seeking and hoping in silence for redemption. Let us provide an excuse for change. Let us show them that this universal body is truly ready for change. Let us call for a cease-fire or a truce, for the time is ripe to make it clear that not even the acquired nuclear capability of South Africa can annex the will and determination of peoples indefinitely. There must be no further bloodshed and repression. We must send this message to that nation.

We call on France and the United Kingdom, both nations that had critical formative years in revolutions and have lent their languages and culture to help blend new forms of relationships among peoples and among nations. We strongly appeal to those nations to join forces to end the reign of terror and the waste of human and material resources in southern Africa. What is happening there goes against the ethics of their culture and the norms they hold so dear.

The two nations that, respectively, gave the world the Magna Carta and the Napoleonic codes must actively champion the cause of freedom, for those historic documents were born in the rejection of cruelty and injustice: the same conditions which our brothers and sisters in Namibia today reject and for protesting against which they are themselves murdered by the brutality of better armed occupation forces.

Someone once said that the germs of our most modern ideas can be found in the Middle Ages and that the quaintest medieval notions survive in our midst. Yes, the emotions and passions that Namibians feel today were to be found in those who sought the Magna Carta and the French Revolution.

(Mr. Engo, Cameroon)

We call on those four great nations - the United States, the Soviet Union, France and the United Kingdom - to seek new measures and to provide new leadership to ensure that nothing impedes the achievement envisaged and inspired by resolutions 435 (1978) and the recently adopted 601 (1987). It is perhaps the last frontier of peace still open. Let not extraneous issues divert their noble efforts.

We call on the Federal Republic of Germany, a technological giant of our time, linked in history by a colonial past, which must shed tears at the knowledge of what has happened in South West Africa since it was forced to abandon the Territory seven decades ago. The realistic policies they proclaim towards African development are appreciated, but there is attached the extra obligation to a friend in desperation. Namibia needs them to help influence change and plan the true course towards a free and prosperous future.

We must of necessity call on our Chinese friends, on a nation whose Oriental wisdom could provide leadership to a confused world. Sharing common aspirations with the deprived of the times, we count on the Chinese Government and people to bring their pressure to bear on those who are incapacitated by proclaimed divergencies of means or methods in a common cause.

(Mr. Engo, Cameroon)

The term "revolution" should frighten none of these great nations. Their own individual experience demonstrated that for struggling people seeking self-determination it means the inevitable change that liberates the human spirit and inspires new human relations for a better life. Whether a revolution is later betrayed or not is immaterial. Namibians seek a revolutionary change in a quest for the opportunity to embark on shaping their own destiny, not to destabilize their neighbours or peoples. It is their fundamental right to govern - or, if one prefers to pass external judgement, misgovern - themselves, but as they wish. They, too, want to recite, with adaptation, the triumphant refrain of Victor Hugo, when he said:

"The Lord be praised. We are delivered from the Greeks and the Romans."

Indeed, the nations of southern Africa want to be liberated and to join in meaningful relationships for mutual benefit.

Let us, ambassadors and representatives of our respective nations who meet here today, not join the escapists. In the final analysis, nations are composed of peoples. We who are here are the human agents of Governments far removed from the political and diplomatic climate of this Hall. It is to us that Governments entrust the responsibility for promoting as well as assessing the response to national foreign policies.

The Namibian issue has many facets. We cannot escape the moral, as well as the professional, responsibilities thrust upon us to fight for our beliefs and the purposes of the United Nations which provide a common basis for the universal aspirations here. We owe to our Governments, our nations, our peoples and to decency the duty to apply our individual influence at every opportunity. We appeal for a contribution to the strengthening of the universal conscience. Namibia provides an excellent challenge to us all.

(Mr. Engo, Cameroon)

In a matter of a few weeks, the festive season of Christmas will be upon us and the spirit of human fellowship will be proclaimed as the true base for peace and goodwill among men. Let us leave this Hall today asking ourselves the value we attach to our blessings of freedom while the cruelty of certainty reveals what misery will afflict homes and families in Namibia and southern Africa this winter. Let the thought inspire us, as well as our nations, to new endeavours for freedom for our brothers and sisters there.

Our thoughts and emotions remain with the Namibian people in their painful efforts to exercise their right of self-determination. Let each of our nations provide the solidarity they desperately need at this time.

Mr. NYAMDOO (Mongolia) (interpretation from Russian): The General Assembly is returning once again to this item in circumstances where the situation in Namibia is deteriorating further. The South African colonialists are stepping up their terror and repression of the indigenous population of the country and are attempting to undermine the national unity and territorial integrity of Namibia. They continue to use the Territory they have occupied as a springboard for armed aggression against Angola and other neighbours. The natural and human resources in Namibia are being ruthlessly exploited by the racist régime and foreign monopolies.

It is my country's belief that the further deterioration of the situation in Namibia and Pretoria's policies and practices of apartheid of Pretoria in southern Africa are fraught with dangerous consequences for international peace and security. We believe that immediate and effective measures must be taken to give independence to Namibia in accordance with United Nations decisions, in particular Security Council resolutions 385 (1976) and 435 (1978). In this regard we welcome Security Council resolution 601 (1987) of 30 October, which authorizes the Secretary-General of the United Nations to proceed with preparations for a

(Mr. Nyamdoo, Mongolia)

cease-fire between South Africa and the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO) in order to undertake administrative and other practical steps necessary for the emplacement of the United Nations Transition Assistance Group (UNTAG) in Namibia in order to pave the way for the implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978). The Mongolian delegation keenly appreciates SWAPO's readiness to sign and observe an agreement for a cease-fire with South Africa.

It is now extremely important for this Security Council decision to be put into effect without any obstacles. It is also necessary to prepare subsequent measures to provide for full self-determination for the Namibian people and the total transfer of power to SWAPO, which is recognized by the United Nations and the Non-Aligned Movement as the sole, legitimate representative of that people. We whole-heartedly share the Secretary-General's conviction that the people of Namibia must be enabled to exercise their right to freedom and independence. The concerted efforts of the international community will be required to achieve that goal, and our delegation on the whole supports the efforts of the United Nations Council for Namibia this year.

The Mongolian delegation condemns all attempts to hinder the implementation of United Nations decisions on the granting of independence to Namibia, particularly the artificial linking of a settlement of the Namibian question with the withdrawal of foreign troops from Angola. As everyone knows, the Cuban internationalists are there on the basis of reciprocal agreement on the part of sovereign States, owing to the growing threat to the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the People's Republic of Angola from the racist régime of South Africa.

We oppose so-called constructive engagement, or any other kind of co-operation, with the racist apartheid régime and support the appeal to certain Western Powers to refrain from this policy.

(Mr. Nyamdo, Mongolia)

South Africa would not have been able to disregard for so long the demands of the world community had it not been for the support and protection it enjoys from these States.

Mongolia maintains the view that, in the event of South Africa's failing to comply with United Nations decisions, comprehensive mandatory sanctions should be introduced against it under Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter, including an embargo on the delivery of oil and oil products to South Africa. We fail to understand why those that so often have recourse to sanctions of all kinds, including embargoes, against independent States should at the same time so obstinately refuse to apply the same measures to the racist apartheid régime.

Mongolia also believes that the whole process of a Namibian settlement should be kept under the constant and effective international surveillance of the United Nations, and that the international community should not tolerate any manoeuvres or machinations which would obstruct the attainment by Namibia of true independence.

My country, which was the first of all the countries of the East to emerge from a successful popular revolution at the dawn of a new epoch of freedom, independence and social progress, directly influenced by the liberating ideas of the Great October Socialist Revolution, has always been and will remain a supporter of colonial peoples struggling for their national liberation and social justice. Therefore the solidarity of the Mongolian people with the peoples of Namibia and South Africa in their struggle against the inhuman régime of apartheid, racism and colonialism, a solidarity which we proclaim anew today, has profound historical roots. The Mongolian delegation is convinced that the seventieth anniversary of the October Revolution - which was, as it were, the culmination of the aspiration

(Mr. Nyamdoo, Mongolia)

to liberty of the peoples of the world - which mankind is now celebrating, will lend further momentum to the efforts of the international community to do away once and for all with the last vestiges of colonialism.

Mr. MLLOJA (Albania): The delegation of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania is participating in the deliberations on the agenda item on the question of Namibia with deep concern over the critical situation that continues to prevail in Namibia as a result of its illegal occupation by the racist régime of South Africa. Defying international public opinion, this international forum and its numerous relevant resolutions, the South African racists continue to pursue an unparalleled policy of occupation, exploitation and genocide against the Namibian people. Thus, Namibia constitutes a special case, for the apartheid régime of South Africa, known for its savage racist violence against the Azanian people, as an occupier oppresses and exploits the people of another country, depriving them of the lawful right to self-determination.

During the developments in Namibia during the period between the two regular sessions of the United Nations General Assembly, as well as those on a broader scale - namely, what is happening in the southern region of the African continent - it can easily be seen that the racists of South Africa are doing their utmost to achieve step by step their aims of perpetuating the occupation of Namibia and preserving and strengthening the apartheid system there and in South Africa. At the same time they are trying to turn Namibian territory into a springboard from which to implement their expansionist policy against the other African countries of the region. It is no accident that Pretoria maintains in Namibia an army of more than 100,000 troops armed to the teeth. That army serves to preserve the occupation and keep in line the puppet régime in Windhoek. The whole territory of Namibia has been turned into one big prison for the people, who have been brutally

(Mr. Mlloja, Albania)

herded into so-called security zones or bantustans, a euphemistic label used by the racists for concentration camps. The young generations and even children are being forcibly recruited into the mercenary army. As for the conditions of life of the population, all the facts already indicate a lamentable situation.

The present situation in Namibia and the unchanging policy of the racist régime of South Africa, that savage enemy of the Azanian people and of all the African peoples, are closely linked with the massive help and support it receives from imperialism, especially from the United States imperialists. This support is in line with their expansionist policy and its African dimension in rivalry with the other super-Power and its Soviet social-imperialism.

The tensions, turbulences and conflicts that have been created from time to time by the Pretoria régime, that imperialist gendarme in the southern part of Africa, through its systematic acts of armed aggression against neighbouring countries, are all being exploited in a diabolic way by the United States and the Soviet Union to pave the way for their expansionism in this region - one of them justifying it as support in restraining Soviet penetration and the other as assistance to the liberation movements which are fighting against apartheid and imperialist-racist expansionism in the region.

The so-called quiet diplomacy, through multilateral talks carried out under various plans, has not yielded any good results for the Namibian people. On the contrary, it is aimed at sabotaging their just cause, using it in the mechanism of imperialist plots or reducing it to a bargaining chip in the context of the Soviet-American rivalry or of East-West relations.

However, in reviewing the developments in Namibia we can say that its enemies will not be able to achieve their wicked aims, for the Namibian people will never let them have a free hand to play with Namibia's destiny. Strong testimony to this

(Mr. Mlloja, Albania)

is provided by their resistance, the struggle being waged by them under the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO), their sole legitimate leadership. This struggle is being constantly intensified.

The Namibian people not only have been able to resist an occupationist army equipped with the most sophisticated weapons of the day, but at the same time have thwarted the schemes plotted by the enemy by refusing to accept the puppet government installed in Windhoek with the help of Pretoria's bayonets. The treacherous elements of the so-called transitional government have been isolated from the masses of the people; whereas the Namibian patriots, who for a long time now have been fighting weapons in hand against the racist beast, enjoy the people's full support. They have achieved significant victories and have inflicted considerable losses on the enemy.

(Mr. Mlloja, Albania)

All this is a clear demonstration of their strength and their determination to achieve final victory. This is also testified to by the strikes and various protest actions that are being organized throughout Namibia.

The Albanian people and their Government have always followed with due attention, concern and pain the developments in Namibia. The same is true of the developments throughout the African continent, with whose peoples we are linked by friendly and militant feelings of solidarity in the struggle against imperialism and neo-colonialism. As in the past, when the African peoples suffered the wounds of savage colonial rule, today socialist Albania strongly condemns the racist régime of South Africa and stands firmly at the side of the Namibian people, who are suffering under the yoke of South Africa. At the same time, we rejoice at every victory won by the Namibian people in their struggle.

We express our conviction that, like the other African peoples that have thrown over oppressive régimes, the Namibian people will throw over the racist apartheid régime and will win freedom and independence, taking their lawful place in the community of nations and embarking on the road to economic and social progress.

The meeting rose at 1.05 p.m.