

**REPORT
OF THE
UNITED NATIONS COUNCIL
FOR NAMIBIA**

GENERAL ASSEMBLY

OFFICIAL RECORDS: FORTY-SECOND SESSION

SUPPLEMENT No. 24 (A/42/24)



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UNITED NATIONS

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NOTE

Symbols of United Nations documents are composed of capital letters combined with figures. Mention of such a symbol indicates a reference to a United Nations document.

The present volume contains the final text of the report of the United Nations Council for Namibia, which was originally issued in mimeograph form as documents A/42/24 (Part I) of 15 October 1987; A/42/24 (Part II) of 19 October 1987; and A/42/24 (Part III) of 22 October 1987 and Corr.1 of 28 October 1987.

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FREQUENTLY USED ABBREVIATIONS

| | |
|-------------|--|
| AFRICA Fund | Action for Resisting Invasion, Colonialism and Apartheid Fund |
| ANC | African National Congress of South Africa |
| ECA | Economic Commission for Africa |
| EEC | European Economic Community |
| FAO | Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations |
| IAEA | International Atomic Energy Agency |
| ILO | International Labour Organisation |
| IMO | International Maritime Organization |
| ITU | International Telecommunication Union |
| LAS | League of Arab States |
| OAU | Organization of African Unity |
| PAC | Pan Africanist Congress of Azania |
| PLAN | People's Liberation Army of Namibia |
| PLO | Palestine Liberation Organization |
| SADCC | Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference |
| SWAPO | South West Africa People's Organization |
| UNCTAD | United Nations Conference on Trade and Development |
| UNDP | United Nations Development Programme |
| UNESCO | United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization |
| UNHCR | Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees |
| UNIDO | United Nations Industrial Development Organization |
| WFUNA | World Federation of United Nations Associations |
| WHO | World Health Organization |

LETTER OF TRANSMITTAL

15 October 1987

Sir,

Pursuant to section V of General Assembly resolution 2248 (S-V) of 19 May 1967, I have the honour to transmit herewith the twenty-second report of the United Nations Council for Namibia, which the Council adopted at its 506th meeting, held on 15 October 1987. The report covers the period from 1 September 1986 to 31 August 1987.

In the discharge of its responsibilities as the legal Administering Authority for Namibia until independence and as a major policy-making organ of the United Nations, the Council, during the period under review, intensified its activities with a view to mobilizing concerted international action to seek the speedy termination of South Africa's illegal occupation of Namibia. In that connection, it is significant to point out that the Council organized a Seminar on Support for the Immediate Independence of Namibia and the Effective Application of Sanctions against South Africa, at Buenos Aires, from 20 to 24 April 1987, and held extraordinary plenary meetings at Luanda, People's Republic of Angola, from 18 to 22 May 1987. It also conducted workshops in the Federal Republic of Germany, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, Japan and the United States of America, in co-operation with non-governmental organizations.

The overwhelming support voiced by the international community at those meetings for the Namibian cause clearly demonstrated its impatience at racist South Africa's intransigence with regard to the implementation of the resolutions of the United Nations on the question of Namibia and the continued perpetuation of its illegal occupation of that Territory.

Pursuant to General Assembly resolution 41/39 C of 20 November 1986, the Council sent Missions of Consultation to Governments and intergovernmental organizations. The purpose of those consultations was to co-ordinate efforts with the various Governments and organizations for the implementation of resolutions of the United Nations on the question of Namibia and to mobilize support for Namibian independence.

As the legal Administering Authority for Namibia until the independence of that Territory, the Council continued to render assistance to the Namibian people. In the formulation and execution of its various activities, the Council worked closely with the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO), which the General Assembly has recognized as the sole and authentic representative of the Namibian people.

During the period under review, the racist régime of South Africa continued to resort to inhuman and repressive measures aimed at forcibly suppressing the

His Excellency
Mr. Javier Pérez de Cuéllar
Secretary-General of the United Nations
New York

legitimate aspirations of the Namibian people, and escalated its war of aggression against SWAPO. It also continued to intensify its acts of aggression against, and destabilization of, the front-line and other States.

For the past 22 years, Namibia has continued to feature on the agenda of the United Nations as a Territory under South African colonial bondage. The Council stresses that certain Western and other countries that continue to collaborate with the racist régime share some of the responsibility for Pretoria's continued illegal occupation of Namibia.

The United Nations Council for Namibia remains convinced that only intensified international pressure will compel South Africa to accede to the speedy independence of Namibia. It therefore renews its appeal to the Security Council to impose comprehensive and mandatory sanctions against South Africa under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations.

In accordance with the terms of General Assembly resolution 2248 (S-V), I have the honour to request that the report be distributed as a document of the General Assembly at its forty-second session.

Accept, Sir, the assurances of my highest consideration.

(Signed) Peter D. ZUZE
President of the
United Nations Council for Namibia

INTRODUCTION

1. The General Assembly, by its resolution 2145 (XXI) of 27 October 1966, terminated South Africa's mandate over Namibia and placed the Territory under the direct responsibility of the United Nations. One year later, on 19 May 1967, the Assembly, by its resolution 2248 (S-V), established the United Nations Council for Namibia to carry out, on its behalf, the administration of Namibia until the Territory achieved its independence.
2. The present session of the General Assembly marks 20 years since the United Nations assumed direct responsibility over Namibia and since the establishment of the United Nations Council for Namibia. In total defiance and disregard of those and other subsequent resolutions and decisions of the Security Council and of the General Assembly calling for the immediate independence of Namibia, the racist South African régime still holds the Territory under its colonial domination. The continued illegal occupation of Namibia by South Africa, which constitutes an act of aggression against the Namibian people, as well as that régime's use of the Territory for acts of aggression against and destabilization of the independent States in the region, constitute a threat to international peace and security.
3. During the period under review, South Africa continued to employ every oppressive measure aimed at total subjugation of the Namibian people. Its apartheid policies continued to be extended to all aspects of life of the Namibian people. It increased its militarization of the Namibian territory and its acts of brutality and oppression with a view to intimidating the Namibian people. Disappearances and detention of members of the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO) and of its supporters and sympathizers were stepped up and cold-blooded murders became widespread. The state of emergency, martial law and dusk-to-dawn curfew in Namibia were enforced by the Pretoria régime's imposition of so-called security zones covering more than two thirds of the Territory with the aim of suppressing the political struggle of the Namibian people under the leadership of SWAPO, their sole and authentic representative.
4. These fruitless attempts did not succeed in deterring the people of Namibia, led by SWAPO, in their just struggle for the liberation of their country. Recognized by the General Assembly as the sole and authentic representative of its people, SWAPO continued to lead and intensify the liberation struggle against the South African régime with courage and steadfast determination.
5. The United Nations Council for Namibia remains convinced that the collaboration and protection accorded to racist South Africa by certain Western and other States has encouraged the régime to treat every initiative by the United Nations aimed at bringing about the independence of Namibia with arrogant intransigence. The Council continues to view with grave concern the failure by those Western trading partners of the apartheid régime to apply pressure on it to end its illegal occupation of Namibia as demanded by the overwhelming majority of the international community. The political, economic, military and social collaboration of those States with the racist régime continues to encourage Pretoria's brutal repression of the Namibian people and its refusal to comply with the resolutions and decisions of the United Nations on the question of Namibia.
6. For its part, the Council, since its creation, has spared no effort in carrying out the mandate entrusted to it as the legal Administering Authority for

Namibia until independence. It has continued to work closely with SWAPO in the formulation of its programme of activities, aimed primarily at bringing an end to racist South Africa's illegal presence in Namibia and protecting the rights and interests of Namibia and its people.

7. Accordingly, during the period under review the Council held consultations with Governments of Member States to review and consider all possible measures and initiatives to be undertaken in compliance with resolutions of the United Nations on the question of Namibia. It continued to represent Namibian interests in international organizations and conferences, to provide moral and political support, as well as material assistance, to the people of Namibia and to disseminate information on the current situation in and relating to Namibia.

8. Delegations of the Council visited and held consultations with the Governments of India, Japan and China during May 1987. The importance of the Mission to India was underscored by the special position that the Prime Minister of India occupied as the Chairman of the Committee of the Action for Resisting Invasion, Colonialism and Apartheid Fund (AFRICA Fund) of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries. The objective of the consultations was to exchange views with those Governments on new initiatives that could be undertaken towards the effective implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978) of 29 September 1978, which embodies the United Nations plan for the independence of Namibia.

9. In furtherance of its activities in the mobilization of international support for the early independence of Namibia, the United Nations Council for Namibia held extraordinary plenary meetings at Luanda from 18 to 22 May 1987 (A/AC.131/PV.486-492). It also organized at Buenos Aires, from 20 to 24 April 1987, a Seminar on Support for the Immediate Independence of Namibia and the Effective Application of Sanctions against South Africa (see paras. 242-247).

10. At the conclusion of its meetings at Luanda, the Council adopted a final document containing the Declaration and Programme of Action on Namibia (see para. 203), in which it undertook an in-depth review and analysis of the rapidly deteriorating situation in and relating to Namibia and the obstacles that continued to impede Namibia's transition to genuine independence. It also considered measures for securing the early implementation of the United Nations plan for the independence of Namibia, contained in Security Council resolutions 385 (1976) of 30 January 1976 and 435 (1978). For that purpose, the United Nations Council for Namibia, decided, inter alia, to hold a ministerial meeting at United Nations Headquarters in New York, during the convening of the General Assembly at its forty-second session. The United Nations Council for Namibia also strongly requested the Security Council immediately to impose comprehensive and mandatory sanctions against South Africa, under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations.

11. The activities of the United Nations Council for Namibia also extended to the promotion of Namibia's interests in specialized agencies and other international organizations and conferences. In that regard, it represented Namibia in the meetings of the Preparatory Commission for the International Sea-Bed Authority and for the International Tribunal for the Law of the Sea, the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD), the Executive Committee of the Programme of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, the International Labour Organisation (ILO), the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (FAO), the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural

Organization (UNESCO), the International Telecommunication Union (ITU), the United Nations Industrial Development Organization (UNIDO), and the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA). The conference and the organizations and institutions have granted full membership to Namibia, represented by the Council. Namibia, represented by the Council, is also an associate member of the World Health Organization (WHO). The Council likewise participated in the session of the Governing Council of the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) in connection with the indicative planning figure for Namibia.

12. The Council also participated in meetings of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) and the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries held during the period under review.

13. The Council continued to provide material assistance to Namibians through three accounts of the United Nations Fund for Namibia, namely, the General Account for education, social and relief activities, the United Nations Institute for Namibia at Lusaka and the Nationhood Programme for Namibia.

14. During the period under review, the Council gave the widest publicity to the plight of the Namibian people. It stepped up its dissemination of information activities in co-operation with the Department of Public Information of the Secretariat, through publications, films, radio programmes, photographic displays and other publicity areas. It also organized journalists' encounters for media representatives from all regions of the world which were held prior to the fourteenth special session of the General Assembly on the question of Namibia, the Seminar at Buenos Aires and the extraordinary plenary meetings at Luanda.

15. The Council further intensified its close co-operation with non-governmental organizations, bearing in mind the important and effective role that they continue to play in mobilizing international public opinion in support of the just struggle of the Namibian people for self-determination and national independence. It organized, in co-operation with non-governmental organizations, workshops in the Federal Republic of Germany, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, Japan and the United States of America, with the participation of parliamentarians and representatives of other non-governmental organizations, support groups and the media.

16. The Council, once again, draws the attention of the international community to the deteriorating situation in and relating to Namibia and to the grave threat to international peace and security stemming from racist South Africa's continued illegal occupation of Namibia, and calls for the imposition of comprehensive and mandatory sanctions against the Pretoria régime, in accordance with Chapter VII of the Charter. It also renews its determination to exert every effort in support of the inalienable right of the Namibian people for self-determination and national independence in a united Namibia, under the leadership of SWAPO, their sole and authentic representative.

PART ONE

DIRECT RESPONSIBILITY OF THE UNITED NATIONS OVER NAMIBIA

CHAPTER I

GENERAL

17. Pursuant to the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples contained in General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) of 14 December 1960, by which the Assembly declared, inter alia, that all peoples have the right to self-determination and that all steps must be taken to transfer all powers to them "without any conditions or reservations, in accordance with their freely expressed will and desire", the Assembly has consistently adopted resolutions and decisions aimed at achieving the goal of ensuring the inalienable right of the people of Namibia to self-determination, freedom and national independence in a united Namibia, in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations and as recognized in the above-mentioned General Assembly resolution.

18. It has now been 20 years since the General Assembly, by its resolution 2248 (S-V), having terminated in 1966 the Mandate of South Africa over Namibia and placed the Territory under the direct responsibility of the United Nations, established the United Nations Council for Namibia as the legal Administering Authority for Namibia until the Territory achieved its independence. Since the adoption of that resolution, the General Assembly has continued to undertake further efforts aimed at assisting the people of Namibia, under the leadership of SWAPO, to exercise their right to self-determination, freedom and national independence.

19. The unique responsibility of the United Nations over Namibia has been confirmed by the advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice of 21 June 1971, 1/ in which the Court stated that Member States "are under obligation to recognize the illegality and invalidity of South Africa's continued presence in Namibia". By its resolution 301 (1971) of 20 October 1971, the Security Council took note with appreciation of the advisory opinion and agreed with the Court's opinion that the continued presence of South Africa in Namibia being illegal, South Africa was under obligation to withdraw its administration from Namibia immediately and to put an end to its occupation of the Territory.

20. The United Nations Council for Namibia was established by the General Assembly with the objective, inter alia, of ensuring the withdrawal of the illegal South African régime from Namibia and taking over the administration of the Territory. In subsequent resolutions, the Assembly has assigned a broad range of policy-making and administrative functions to the Council, to be undertaken in close consultation with SWAPO, which the Assembly recognized as the sole and authentic representative of the Namibian people.

21. In fulfilment of the above-mentioned mandate entrusted to it by the General Assembly, the Council continued to participate in the formulation of United Nations policy on Namibia by submitting to the General Assembly annual reports containing its assessment of the situation in Namibia, an account of its activities as Administering Authority for the Territory and its recommendations for action by the

Assembly. The report of the Council is the main document before the Assembly when it considers the question of Namibia, and the recommendations of the Council provide the basis for the resolutions adopted by the Assembly on that question.

22. During the period under review, the United Nations Council for Namibia has also taken an active part in the meetings of the Security Council of March and April 1987 to consider, respectively, the situation in southern Africa and the question of Namibia.

23. In addition, the United Nations Council for Namibia participated actively in the work of other United Nations bodies, specialized agencies and other institutions. In particular, it participated in meetings 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 and the Special Committee against Apartheid. Similarly, the Council continued to invite those bodies to be represented at its own meetings and events that it organized.

24. The Council continued to co-operate fully with OAU and the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries by taking part in their meetings and contributing to the elaboration of the declarations and resolutions of those organizations on the question of Namibia.

CHAPTER II

MEETINGS OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY ON THE INDEPENDENCE OF NAMIBIA

A. Fourteenth special session

25. By its resolution 40/97 F of 13 December 1985, the General Assembly, gravely concerned that 20 years after the termination by the General Assembly of South Africa's Mandate over Namibia and the assumption by the United Nations of direct responsibility for the Territory, the racist South African régime continued to occupy the Territory illegally, in violation of the relevant resolutions and decisions of the United Nations, decided to hold a special session on the question of Namibia before its forty-first regular session.
26. In pursuance of that resolution, the General Assembly held a special session on the question of Namibia from 17 to 20 September 1986.
27. In his opening statement, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Bangladesh, Mr. Humayan Rasheed Choudhury, in his capacity as President of the special session, said that the main obstacle to the realization of self-determination for the Namibian people and to independence of that Territory was South Africa's refusal to fulfil its obligations under the Charter and to co-operate in implementing the resolutions of the General Assembly and of the Security Council, in particular Security Council resolution 435 (1978).
28. The President recalled that South Africa's attitude towards the United Nations in respect of Namibia's liberation had been characterized at every turn by contempt, duplicity, bad faith and intransigence. This was clearly established in the history of the negotiations with SWAPO, the sole and authentic representative of the Namibian people, for implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978). More recently, the proclamation of a so-called interim government in Namibia had served to demonstrate further that South Africa was continuing its attempts to subvert and bypass the United Nations and to institute its own process of change in the Territory, a process calculated to ensure its continuing domination of the Territory and the perpetuation of its abhorrent system of apartheid.
29. Mr. Choudhury stated that eight years after the adoption by the Security Council of its resolution 435 (1978), which was accepted by all sides, the situation in Namibia remained critical. New and totally extraneous and unrelated factors and issues had been introduced to becloud the central question of the right to self-determination and independence of the Namibian people. Meanwhile, the agony and travail of the people of the Territory continued. Stressing that the situation had reached a point which the international community could no longer tolerate, the President appealed to all concerned to co-operate in a constructive manner to bring an end to that intolerable situation.
30. Mr. Javier Pérez de Cuéllar, Secretary-General of the United Nations, stated that for many years there had been unanimity on how the right to self-determination and independence could be secured for the Namibian people. The United Nations plan for Namibia embodied in Security Council resolution 435 (1978) had long been accepted by all sides, but there had been an inordinate delay in its implementation as a result of issues which were extraneous and irrelevant to the question of

Namibia. The convening of the special session on Namibia was another expression of the broad commitment of the United Nations to support the demand of the Namibian people for freedom and independence, as well as the reflection of a mounting sense of urgency about working out a just and peaceful settlement of the question.

31. The Secretary-General also stated that all outstanding issues pertaining to the implementation of the United Nations plan had been resolved in November 1985, when agreement was reached on the electoral system. At that time, he had urged South Africa to co-operate in the establishment of the earliest possible date for a cease-fire and the implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978). South Africa's response was to propose that 1 August 1986 be set as the date for commencement of implementation of the plan, on condition that a firm and satisfactory agreement was reached before that date on the withdrawal of Cuban forces from Angola. South Africa insisted on that condition, despite the fact that he had repeatedly made it clear that "linkage" had been rejected by the Security Council as incompatible with its resolution 435 (1978).

32. He expressed deep concern that the continued obstruction of the process leading towards independence would not only prolong the suffering of the Namibian people but also aggravate the turmoil and instability in the region as a whole. It was high time the Government of South Africa complied with the will of the international community and made a serious effort to resolve that long-standing problem through the early and unconditional implementation of the United Nations independence plan for Namibia.

33. The Movement of Non-Aligned Countries had made a very important contribution to the success of the special session. The Eighth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries had issued a special appeal for the immediate independence of Namibia 2/ and had requested its members to participate in the special session at the highest level possible. It had also decided for the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of 15 of its member States to participate actively in the session.

34. Speaking on behalf of the Chairman of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, Mr. Witness Mangwende, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Zimbabwe, stated that notwithstanding resolutions and decisions of the General Assembly and of the Security Council, the racist Pretoria régime had stubbornly refused to withdraw its administration or its armed forces from Namibia and had, on the contrary, increased its stranglehold over that illegally occupied Territory and its long-suffering people, wilfully and brutally denying them their right to freedom and to sovereign independence. He said that the world had witnessed the increasingly barbaric lengths to which the régime would go to maintain its grip on Namibia, a land whose resources it plundered relentlessly and callously in order to sustain the oppressive apparatus of apartheid, and a land it used as a springboard to further its notorious policy of regional destabilization.

35. He stressed that the emergence of "linkage" marked the introduction of a brand new dimension into the Namibian question: that of cold-war politics. It represented a deliberate attempt not only to subordinate the real issues at stake, namely, freedom and independence for the Namibian people, to this extraneous and totally irrelevant question of super-Power rivalry, but also to negate promises and assurances already given with regard to ending its racist colonial rule in Namibia.

36. Mr. Mangwende stated that the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries represented most of the States Members of the United Nations. There were many other nations, which were not members of the Movement, that shared its sentiments on the issue of apartheid and were prepared to join in imposing sanctions against the Pretoria régime. Those who blocked the imposition of sanctions could, and must, in the end, be persuaded to join in adopting a course of action which was just. Sanctions, by themselves, would not bring down apartheid. Added to other international pressures, however, and the pressure being imposed on the racist régime from within its own border as well as from within Namibian borders, sanctions would speed up its eventual collapse by sapping its strength from within and by undermining the Afrikaner self-confidence.

37. The representative of the Chairman of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries concluded by stating that the imposition of sanctions would contribute to a free Namibia more quickly and less painfully than non-imposition of sanctions. Sanctions must be mandatory for them to be effective and fair, because voluntary sanctions would be open to abuse. Only mandatory sanctions under Chapter VII of the Charter could minimize delinquent activities by the unscrupulous. He concluded by urging the General Assembly to recommend the adoption of comprehensive and mandatory sanctions by the Security Council.

38. Speaking on behalf of OAU, Mr. Antoine Ndinga-Oba, Minister for Foreign Affairs and Co-operation of the Congo, stated that the racist minority régime of South Africa had continued to regard with utter scorn, the resolutions and decisions taken by the two most important bodies of the United Nations, the General Assembly and the Security Council.

39. The strengthening of its military presence in Namibia, estimated at more than 100,000 men, the introduction of compulsory military service for Namibians, the establishment of a so-called security zone in Namibia, the forced recruitment and training of Namibians for the purpose of forming tribal armies and the use of mercenaries to strengthen the illegal occupation of the Territory were all concrete proofs that the racist régime had no intention of pulling out of Namibia.

40. Mr. Ndinga-Oba said that racist South Africa continued in its policy of apartheid, occupation and colonial exploitation of Namibia because of the stance taken by certain Western and other countries, and some permanent members of the Security Council. Their support had encouraged the Pretoria régime to continue its illegal and brutal colonial occupation of Namibia in defiance of numerous resolutions of the United Nations.

41. The time had come, the Minister continued, for all the Members of the United Nations to participate in solving the problem of Namibia and bringing about the effective liberation of its people and the abolition of apartheid. OAU considered that the fight against the intolerable system of apartheid must entail the effective application of sanctions against South Africa in all areas. He appealed to the permanent members of the Security Council who had hitherto prevented the United Nations body from taking effective action against South Africa to reconsider their position in the light of the intransigence of the Pretoria régime and the increasingly explosive situation in Namibia.

42. The Acting President of the United Nations Council for Namibia, Mr. Noël G. Sinclair (Guyana), said that when the General Assembly terminated South Africa's mandate over Namibia in 1966 and assumed responsibility for the Territory,

it was asserting the fundamental right of the people of Namibia to self-determination and independence, the enjoyment of which the Pretoria régime had sought to frustrate through its non-compliance with the terms of the mandate which had been entrusted to it.

43. He said that efforts to terminate South Africa's illegal occupation of Namibia through the implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978) had not succeeded, due to the racist régime's intransigence and its insistence on the prior withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola. Both the General Assembly and the Security Council had resolutely rejected "linkage", affirming that the independence of Namibia could not be held hostage to the resolution of issues alien to Council resolution 435 (1978).

44. The Acting President also said that in the light of South Africa's demonstrated unwillingness to co-operate in the implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978), the international community had to come to the conclusion that sanctions were the only peaceful means of compelling South Africa's co-operation in implementing that resolution. Certain States had, however, used their vetoes to protect South Africa from comprehensive and mandatory sanctions.

45. He noted that SWAPO had indicated on more than one occasion its acceptance of Security Council resolution 435 (1978) and had indicated its preparedness to submit itself to all the provisions of the resolution. Implementation of the resolution and the freedom of Namibia were among the foremost international concerns today.

46. Mr. Sinclair concluded his statement by urging the special session to live up to its responsibility in respect of Namibia, resolve to exert maximum pressure for the implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978) by a specified date and to take the necessary action for the complete isolation of South Africa with a view to compelling its co-operation.

47. Mr. Theo-Ben Gurirab, Secretary for Foreign Affairs of SWAPO, said that a few months prior to the termination of racist South Africa's mandate over Namibia, the Namibian people had taken a historic step forward in the war of national liberation, after a long period of being the victims of the most brutal and inhuman colonial legacy of genocide, concentration camps, forced labour, ruthless exploitation and unmitigated impoverishment. On 26 August 1966, the People's Liberation Army of Namibia (PLAN), the military wing of SWAPO, had decided to launch the armed struggle and had fired the first shots against the enemy occupation forces and installations.

48. He stated that despite those struggles, regrettably Namibia was still not free. The injustice of colonial occupation continued unabated. The brutality of the massive military build-up and State terrorism of the Botha régime had transformed the country into a huge military barrack of the occupation army, where new types of weapons and other lethal instruments of human destruction were deployed and used as experiments. The continued illegality of the racist régime and its endless political manoeuvrings in favour of puppet groups and institutions had already sowed seeds of enmity, distrust and civil strife in the country. The politics of eternal postponement of Namibia's independence and the introduction of the notorious "linkage" pre-conditions, for which SWAPO held, in particular, the Reagan Administration responsible, continued to hold Namibian independence to ransom and cause untold suffering to the people.

49. He stated that despite Pretoria's continuing attempts to keep the heroic resistance of the Namibian people largely hidden from the world media, SWAPO continued to be the central factor in the Namibian political equation, without whose leading role the colonial conflict in Namibia could not be solved. Rejecting the puppet entities being created in Namibia by the racist régime, including the latest one installed at Windhoek on 17 June 1985, he reiterated that the only parties to the conflict in Namibia were on the one hand the Namibian people, represented by SWAPO, their sole and authentic representative, and on the other the racist régime of South Africa, which illegally occupied Namibia.

50. The Secretary for Foreign Affairs of SWAPO strongly condemned all the vicious and criminal actions taken by that régime against the front-line States for their principled support of the liberation struggles in South Africa and Namibia, and called upon all peace-loving people to render all forms of practical assistance to Angola and other front-line States, in order to enable them to strengthen their defence capabilities and to concentrate on development without interference and destabilization by the Pretoria régime and its friends and puppets.

51. Among the speakers who made statements at the special session were the Acting 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, and the Acting Chairman of the Special Committee against Apartheid.

52. During the debates, delegations noted that the Secretary-General, in his recent report to the Security Council, 3/ had stated that all outstanding issues relevant to the United Nations independence plan for Namibia had been resolved, but that Security Council resolution 435 (1978) remained unimplemented because of the continued insistence by South Africa and the United States on the linking of Namibian independence to the withdrawal of Cuban forces from Angola. There was unanimous rejection of "linkage" as a deliberate attempt to subordinate the freedom and independence of Namibia to extraneous and irrelevant issues.

53. Delegations expressed disappointment that the imposition of comprehensive and mandatory sanctions against the racist régime had not been secured. They reaffirmed their belief that only mandatory sanctions under Chapter VII of the Charter would force the racist régime to terminate its illegal occupation of Namibia and urged the General Assembly to recommend the adoption of comprehensive and mandatory sanctions by the Security Council.

54. The speakers were unanimous in their support for Security Council resolutions 385 (1976) and 435 (1978), containing the only internationally accepted plan for bringing independence to Namibia. They strongly condemned the Pretoria régime for its non-compliance with the plan and demanded its immediate implementation.

55. Delegations also expressed strong support for the unrelenting armed liberation struggle waged by SWAPO against the South African army of occupation. There was widespread condemnation of the militarization of Namibia by the occupation régime and the use of the Territory as a base for acts of aggression, destabilization and State terrorism against neighbouring sovereign African States.

56. Delegations strongly condemned the policy of "constructive engagement" as an impediment to Namibia's independence. They emphasized that the policy had also encouraged the racist Pretoria régime to commit acts of aggression against and

political and economic destabilization of the front-line and other independent States in southern Africa.

57. Delegations condemned the continued exploitation of Namibia's natural resources by South Africa and other foreign economic interests in contravention of the relevant resolutions and decisions of the United Nations and in violation of Decree No. 1 for the Protection of the Natural Resources of Namibia. 4/ In that connection, several delegations reaffirmed support for the decision adopted in 1985 by the Council to initiate legal proceedings in the courts of Member States against corporations and concerns engaged in the plunder of Namibia's resources.

58. On 20 September 1986, at the conclusion of the debate, the special session of the General Assembly adopted resolution S-14/1.

59. By that resolution, the General Assembly, *inter alia*, strongly condemned the racist régime of South Africa for its continued illegal occupation of Namibia and its persistent refusal to comply with the resolutions and decisions of the General Assembly and the Security Council, thus violating the principles of the Charter and defying the authority of the United Nations.

60. The General Assembly strongly condemned once again the racist régime of South Africa for the installation of the so-called interim government in Namibia on 17 June 1985 and rejected as illegal, null and void all such fraudulent constitutional and political schemes by which the Pretoria régime attempted to perpetuate its illegal occupation of Namibia, and also demanded once again that the apartheid régime of South Africa immediately and unconditionally withdraw its illegal administration, occupation army and police force from Namibia.

61. The General Assembly called upon the United Nations Council for Namibia to take immediate practical measures to establish its Administration in Namibia in accordance with its resolutions 2248 (S-V) and 40/97 A of 13 December 1985.

62. The General Assembly reaffirmed its full support for SWAPO, the sole and authentic representative of the Namibian people in accordance with General Assembly resolutions 3111 (XXVIII) of 12 December 1973 and 31/146 and 31/152 of 20 December 1976, and called upon Member States to render it increased and sustained support and material, financial, military and other assistance to enable it to intensify its struggle for the liberation of Namibia.

63. The General Assembly also upheld the legitimacy of the struggle of the Namibian people by every means at their disposal, including armed struggle, to repel South Africa's aggression and to achieve self-determination, freedom and independence in a united Namibia. It commended SWAPO for the exemplary leadership provided by it to the Namibian people for over a quarter of a century and for the sacrifices made in the field of battle.

64. The General Assembly reaffirmed that the United Nations plan for the independence of Namibia, contained in Security Council resolutions 385 (1976) and 435 (1978), was the only internationally accepted basis for a peaceful settlement of the Namibian question, and demanded its immediate implementation without pre-condition or modification.

65. It called upon South Africa to desist from linking the independence of Namibia to irrelevant and extraneous issues, such as the presence of Cuban troops in Angola,

as such "linkage" was incompatible with the relevant resolutions of the United Nations, particularly Security Council resolution 435 (1978).

66. It strongly rejected the policies of "constructive engagement" and "linkage", which had served to encourage the racist régime of South Africa to continue its illegal occupation of Namibia, and called for their abandonment so that resolutions and decisions of the United Nations on the question of Namibia could be implemented.

67. The General Assembly reiterated that comprehensive and mandatory sanctions under Chapter VII of the Charter were the most effective peaceful measures to ensure the compliance of racist South Africa with the resolutions and decisions of the United Nations on the question of Namibia.

68. The General Assembly condemned the plunder by South Africa and other foreign economic interests of the natural resources of Namibia in contravention of the relevant resolutions of the United Nations and of Decree No. 1 for the Protection of the Natural Resources of Namibia. It strongly urged once again those States that had not done so to cease forthwith, individually and collectively, all dealings with South Africa in order to isolate it totally politically, economically, militarily and culturally.

69. Finally, the General Assembly called upon the Security Council to convene urgently to take action for the immediate and unconditional implementation of the United Nations plan for the independence of Namibia, endorsed by Council resolution 435 (1978).

B. Forty-first session

70. During the general debate of the General Assembly, delegations reaffirmed their solidarity with, and support for, the liberation struggle waged by the Namibian people under the leadership of their sole and authentic representative, SWAPO. They strongly condemned the Pretoria régime for its continued illegal occupation of Namibia, its intransigence with regard to the implementation of the United Nations plan as embodied in Security Council resolution 435 (1978) and its attempts to link the independence of Namibia to the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola, and demanded an immediate end to its illegal occupation of Namibia. They also called for the imposition of comprehensive and mandatory sanctions against South Africa, to force that régime to comply with the resolution of the United Nations on the question of Namibia.

71. The General Assembly considered the question of Namibia at its forty-first session, from 17 to 20 November 1986.

72. At the 67th plenary meeting of the General Assembly on 17 November 1986, the President of the United Nations Council for Namibia, in introducing the draft recommendations of the Council for the consideration of Member States, stated, *inter alia*, that since the United Nations terminated South Africa's Mandate over Namibia and the Security Council adopted resolution 435 (1978), the Western world had been predicting that independence for Namibia was imminent. The press, he said, regularly reported what it called progress.

73. In 1985, however, almost 20 years after the world community ended South Africa's Mandate and almost 40 years after the League of Nations ceased to

exist, South Africa still occupied Namibia illegally. The attitude of the South African régime was a classic case of a country defying the world and resorting to straightforward annexation and theft on a scale unmatched in the modern world. The South African régime dared to put up bargaining conditions, as if it had legally and morally acquired possessions with which to bargain.

74. The President concluded by expressing the hope that the present session would be the occasion for a renewed and concerted effort by the international community finally to overcome the artificial barriers to Namibia's independence by joining together in pursuit of the common goal embodied in the framework provided by the United Nations.

75. Mr. Gurirab, Secretary for Foreign Affairs of SWAPO, stated that the sad reminder to the international community continued to be the fact that Namibia was not only not yet free but also that the people of Namibia continued to be subjected to untold suffering at the hands of the neo-Nazi Botha régime, noted for the most brutal and vicious methods of repression in the world. The Namibian people lived in a state of perpetual nightmare; their daily existence was controlled by the trigger-happy occupation army and police forces along with the other murderous armed gangs hired by Pretoria to kill, maim and destroy. The people witnessed the brutal murder in cold blood of their loved ones as Pretoria's murder squads continued ruthlessly to perpetrate death, destruction and darkness throughout the country.

76. He drew attention to the massive militarization of Namibia by racist South Africa and stated that Pretoria had maintained a state of emergency in the Territory for the past 14 years. Martial law had been decreed eight years previously, virtually the whole country had been divided into so-called security zones, and numerous other repressive measures had been imposed in the fashion of a fascist State.

77. The struggle of the Namibian people had been long and bitter; that struggle, however, would be intensified on all the fronts of combat. The year 1986, Year of General Mobilization and Decisive Action for Final Victory, so designated by the Central Committee of SWAPO, had seen courageous and determined action by the masses of the people against the racist enemy and its agents in Namibia. Under the vanguard leadership of SWAPO, the Namibian people had effectively frustrated Pretoria's fraudulent, neo-colonial schemes around its latest so-called interim government.

78. Mr. Gurirab extended heartfelt thanks to those Governments, organizations and peoples all over the world that continued to give political and material, including military, support as well as moral support to SWAPO in the just struggle of the Namibian people. He called upon Member States of the United Nations to complement the efforts of SWAPO by acting in unison and decisively to impose comprehensive and mandatory sanctions against the Pretoria régime.

79. During the course of the debate, delegations expressed profound indignation at South Africa's continued illegal occupation of Namibia, in defiance of the resolutions of the United Nations which demanded its withdrawal from the Territory. Reiterating their support for those resolutions, and in particular Security Council resolutions 385 (1976) and 435 (1978) as constituting the only internationally accepted basis for Namibia's peaceful transition to independence, the delegations rejected attempts to hold Namibia's independence hostage to

extraneous and irrelevant issues, inconsistent with Security Council resolution 435 (1978).

80. They strongly condemned the application of apartheid in Namibia by the South African régime. They expressed the strong opinion that the support given to the Pretoria régime by its Western collaborators encouraged it not only to adopt more repressive measures against the people of Namibia, but to carry out armed aggressions and acts of destabilization against independent sovereign African States, in particular Angola.

81. In that regard, delegations reaffirmed the urgent need to exert pressure on the Pretoria régime to comply with the resolutions of the United Nations on the question of Namibia. They expressed the strong view that the time had come for the Security Council to use its authority to end racist South Africa's delaying tactics and fraudulent machinations in Namibia by adopting the comprehensive and mandatory sanctions provided for in Chapter VII of the Charter.

82. They emphasized that the repeated veto by certain Western permanent members of the Security Council against the imposition of comprehensive and mandatory sanctions against racist South Africa under Chapter VII of the Charter contributed to the continued illegal occupation of Namibia and the aggravation of the situation that obtained in the region.

83. Delegations reaffirmed support for the legitimate struggle of the Namibian people for self-determination, freedom and independence under the leadership of SWAPO, their sole and authentic representative. They stressed the need for the international community to give all possible moral, political and material support to the struggling Namibian people.

84. They expressed warm appreciation for the work of the United Nations Council for Namibia and its efforts to obtain the withdrawal of South Africa's illegal administration from Namibia and to mobilize world opinion in support of the Namibian people.

85. At its 79th plenary meeting on 20 November 1986, the General Assembly adopted resolutions 41/39 A to E on the question of Namibia. By its resolution 41/39 A, the Assembly reaffirmed the inalienable right of the people of Namibia to self-determination, freedom and national independence in a united Namibia, in accordance with the Charter and as recognized by the General Assembly in its resolutions 1514 (XV) and 2145 (XXI) and in subsequent resolutions of the Assembly relating to Namibia, as well as the legitimacy of their struggle by all the means at their disposal, including armed struggle, against the illegal occupation of their Territory by South Africa.

86. It strongly condemned the South African régime for its continued illegal occupation of Namibia in defiance of the resolutions of the United Nations relating to Namibia, and declared that that illegal occupation constituted an act of aggression against the Namibian people in terms of the Definition of Aggression contained in General Assembly resolution 3314 (XXIX) of 14 December 1974. It supported the armed struggle of the Namibian people, under the leadership of SWAPO, to repel South Africa's aggression and to achieve self-determination, freedom and national independence in a united Namibia.

87. The General Assembly reaffirmed its decision that the United Nations Council for Namibia, in fulfilment of its mandate and in view of racist South Africa's arrogant refusal to withdraw from the Territory, should proceed to establish its administration in Namibia in 1987, in accordance with General Assembly resolutions 40/97 A of 13 December 1985 and S-14/1.

88. The General Assembly welcomed and endorsed the universal and categorical rejection of "linkage" between the independence of Namibia and irrelevant and extraneous issues, such as the presence of Cuban forces in Angola, and emphasized unequivocally that such "linkage", in addition to delaying the decolonization process in Namibia, constituted an interference in the internal affairs of Angola.

89. It further welcomed and endorsed the world-wide and justified condemnation of the policy of "constructive engagement" with South Africa as one which, in addition to encouraging South Africa's intransigence and thereby delaying Namibia's independence, had been discredited and made bankrupt by the very actions of the Pretoria régime, both within South Africa and in the southern African region as a whole.

90. The General Assembly once again strongly condemned the continuing collaboration between South Africa and certain Western countries in the political, economic, diplomatic and financial fields, and expressed its conviction that such collaboration helped to prolong South Africa's domination and control over the people and Territory of Namibia. In that context, it deplored the establishment and operation by racist South Africa of the so-called Namibia Information Offices in France, the Federal Republic of Germany, the United Kingdom and the United States, which were aimed at legitimizing its puppet institutions in Namibia, in particular the so-called interim government for which the racist régime had been condemned by the Security Council and the international community, and demanded their immediate closure.

91. By its resolution 41/39 B, the General Assembly strongly condemned South Africa for obstructing the implementation of Security Council resolutions 385 (1976), 431 (1978) of 27 July 1978, 435 (1978), 439 (1978) of 13 November 1978, 532 (1983) of 31 May 1983, 539 (1983) of 28 October 1983 and 566 (1985) of 19 June 1985, and for its manoeuvres, in contravention of those resolutions, designed to consolidate its colonial and neo-colonial interests at the expense of the legitimate aspirations of the Namibian people for genuine self-determination, freedom and national independence in a united Namibia.

92. The General Assembly reiterated that Security Council resolutions 385 (1976) and 435 (1978), embodying the United Nations plan for the independence of Namibia, constituted the only internationally accepted basis for a peaceful settlement of the Namibian problem and demanded their immediate and unconditional implementation. It strongly condemned the racist régime of South Africa for the installation of the so-called interim government in Namibia on 17 June 1985, in defiance of resolutions and decisions of the United Nations; declared that measure null and void; and called upon the international community to continue to refrain from according any recognition or extending any co-operation to any régime imposed by the illegal South African administration upon the Namibian people.

93. The General Assembly strongly condemned the use of the veto by two Western permanent members of the Security Council on 15 November 1985, as a result of which the Council was prevented from taking effective measures under Chapter VII of the

Charter against South Africa, and called upon the Western permanent members of the Council to support the imposition of enforcement measures by it in order to ensure South Africa's compliance with resolutions of the Council. It urged the Security Council, in view of the persistent refusal by the racist régime of South Africa to comply with the resolutions and decisions of the United Nations on the question of Namibia, particularly Council resolutions 385 (1976), 435 (1978), 539 (1983) and 566 (1985), and, in the light of the serious threat to international peace and security posed by South Africa, to impose comprehensive and mandatory sanctions against that régime as provided for in Chapter VII of the Charter.

94. The General Assembly requested the Security Council to meet urgently in order to exercise its authority with regard to Namibia and to undertake decisive action in fulfilment of the direct responsibility of the United Nations over Namibia, and to take, without further delay, appropriate steps to ensure that Council resolutions 385 (1976) and 435 (1978), embodying the United Nations plan for the independence of Namibia, were implemented without any pre-conditions.

95. By its resolution 41/39 C, the General Assembly approved the report of the United Nations Council for Namibia, including the recommendations contained therein concerning the programme of work of the Council.

96. By its resolution 41/39 D, the General Assembly requested the Council, in co-operation with the Department of Public Information of the Secretariat and in consultation with SWAPO, in pursuance of its international campaign in support of the struggle of the Namibian people for independence, to continue to consider ways and means of increasing the dissemination of information relating to Namibia in order to intensify the international campaign in favour of the cause of Namibia.

97. By its resolution 41/39 E, the General Assembly decided that the Council should continue to formulate policies of assistance to Namibians and co-ordinate assistance for Namibia provided by the specialized agencies and other organizations of the United Nations system.

98. The General Assembly also appealed to all Governments, specialized agencies and other organizations of the United Nations system, non-governmental organizations and individuals, to make generous contributions to the United Nations Fund for Namibia in order to support the field attachment programme and to meet the financial requirements.

CHAPTER III

MEETINGS OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL ON THE SITUATION IN NAMIBIA

99. The United Nations Council for Namibia, in pursuance of its mandate as the legal Administering Authority for Namibia until the independence of the Territory, also participates in debates of the Security Council on the situation in Namibia. The United Nations Council for Namibia further submits recommendations to the General Assembly, which form the basis for the resolutions of the General Assembly on the question of Namibia, in which the Security Council is called upon to take action in order to ensure the early independence of Namibia.

100. Meeting at the request of the Chairman of the Group of African States at the United Nations ^{5/} and the Chairman of the Co-ordinating Bureau of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, ^{6/} the Security Council considered the situation in Namibia during eight meetings from 6 to 9 April 1987.

101. It will be recalled that, on 6 September 1985, the Secretary-General submitted to the Security Council his report, ^{7/} pursuant to paragraph 15 of its resolution 566 (1985), concerning the question of Namibia. On 31 March 1987, the Secretary-General submitted a further report ^{3/} to provide the Council with an account of developments since then concerning the implementation of its resolutions 435 (1978) and 439 (1978) on the same question.

102. In his report, the Secretary-General informed the Security Council that in accordance with paragraph 11 of its resolution 566 (1985), he had resumed consultations with the Government of South Africa with a view to obtaining its choice of the electoral system to be used for the election, under United Nations supervision and control, for the Constituent Assembly, in terms of Council resolution 435 (1978). He also summarized his discussions with SWAPO, representatives of the front-line States, Nigeria, the Chairman of OAU and the Chairman of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries.

103. The Secretary-General stated that in November 1985 agreement had been reached with the parties concerned on the system of proportional representation for the elections envisaged in Security Council resolution 435 (1978). With this agreement, the last outstanding issue relevant to the United Nations plan had been resolved. The Secretary-General said it was hoped that this would pave the way for the adoption by the Security Council of an enabling resolution for the emplacement of the United Nations Transition Assistance Group in Namibia. To this end, he had proposed to the Government of South Africa on 26 November 1985, ^{8/} that it should join him in establishing the earliest possible date for a cease-fire and the implementation of Council resolution 435 (1978).

104. The Secretary-General further stated that "regrettably, South Africa's proposal that 1 August 1986 be set as the date for the implementation of the United Nations plan ran counter to relevant Security Council decisions, since it reaffirmed that prior agreement must be reached on the total withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola before implementation. The proposal as a whole could therefore not be sustained as a valid basis for proceeding with the implementation of the United Nations plan. This linkage pre-condition, which dates back to 1982, now constitutes the only obstacle to the implementation of the United Nations plan for Namibia. I do not recognize the validity of the linkage pre-condition, nor can I

accept it as a pretext to delay any further the independence of Namibia. The presence of Cuban troops in Angola is a separate matter, to be dealt with by those directly concerned acting within their sovereign competence". 3/

105. The Secretary-General concluded that it was his emphatic view that the Government of South Africa should urgently reconsider its position on the linkage pre-condition in order to enable the United Nations to proceed with the implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978). He called for a determined effort on the part of all those directly concerned, as well as by the international community as a whole, to emplace UNTAG in Namibia in 1987. He reiterated his firm commitment to persevere in his efforts towards the goal of independence for Namibia.

106. During consideration of the item by the Security Council, 62 speakers took part in the debate, including 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, the Chairman of the Special Committee against Apartheid and a representative of the Organization of the Islamic Conference.

107. A delegation of the United Nations Council for Namibia, led by its President, Lt. Gen. Peter D. Zuze (Zambia), participated in the debates. A delegation of SWAPO, led by Mr. Gurirab, Secretary for Foreign Affairs, also participated in the debates.

108. At the opening meeting, Mr. James Victor Gbeho (Ghana), the Chairman of the Group of African States at the United Nations, explained that it was against a background of "apparent paralysis" that the African nations had requested the convening of the Security Council to put the question of Namibia firmly back on the agenda of the international community and demand immediate independence for the Territory. He reiterated the clear position of the African Governments that the United Nations was an appropriate forum for resolving the question of Namibia. 9/

109. The Chairman stated that the concern of the international community was once again reiterated by the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of OAU, at its twenty-second ordinary session held at Addis Ababa from 28 to 30 July 1986, and at the Eighth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Harare from 1 to 6 September 1986; and the international community was called upon to increase its efforts to bring about the immediate independence of the Territory.

110. The representative of the Chairman of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries stated that while it was true that South Africa was continuing to insist on 'linkage', what was crucial to the Pretoria régime was "the emergence and survival of an amenable puppet régime in Namibia so that that Territory might continue to serve as a buffer state for apartheid South Africa". 10/

111. He also stated that Pretoria should not be given any more time to think about leaving Namibia. It was there illegally, in defiance of Security Council decisions. The authority of the Council had been challenged, and he asked if the Council had the political will to uphold its authority. South Africa must be given the choice of either agreeing to the implementation of Council resolution 435 (1978) immediately or facing the imposition of comprehensive and mandatory sanctions under Chapter VII of the Charter.

112. In his address to the Security Council, 9/ the President of the United Nations Council for Namibia stated that as far as the United Nations was concerned, there were no outstanding issues standing in the way of implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978). The United Nations Council for Namibia, therefore, expected that the Security Council would take the necessary steps to end the illegal occupation of Namibia by the racist régime of South Africa. He said that the Security Council, in fulfilment of its responsibility under the Charter, must demand of South Africa nothing less than full compliance with all its resolutions and decisions relating to Namibia.

113. The President stressed that it was inconceivable that members of the Security Council should be seen to flout resolutions of this important organ in the name of economic and ideological reasons. Indeed, the reputation of the Security Council remained questionable as long as its resolutions were only respected in breach. It made a mockery of the efforts of the Secretary-General to bring about the independence of Namibia and eroded the confidence which the people of Namibia had so rightly reposed in the United Nations. He reiterated that the Security Council had a grave responsibility to the people of Namibia, and its members should not permit self-centred interests to thwart the collective efforts of the international community. He pointed out that the inability of the Security Council to act decisively had encouraged the racist régime of South Africa in its intransigence.

114. The President called upon the Security Council to adopt a resolution calling for comprehensive and mandatory sanctions against the South African régime in order to compel it to abandon its illegal occupation of Namibia.

115. In his address to the Security Council, 9/ the Secretary for Foreign Affairs of SWAPO urged the Council to assume its responsibilities fully in accordance with the Charter, and especially on the basis of its own resolutions, including in particular resolutions 385 (1976) and 435 (1978). He reminded the Council that it was almost exactly 10 years ago that the "Western initiative" by the contact group was launched which led to the adoption of Security Council resolution 435 (1978).

116. He further pointed out that, except for Canada, all the other members of the contact group were represented on the Security Council, as they were 10 years ago, and yet Namibia was not free and Security Council resolution 435 (1978) remained unimplemented.

117. The Secretary for Foreign Affairs urged the Security Council to impose comprehensive and mandatory sanctions under Chapter VII of the Charter against racist South Africa as an additional, necessary and peaceful means of pressure on it to co-operate in the implementation of its resolution 435 (1978).

118. He also pointed out that although sanctions against the Pretoria régime had become a universal call, the Governments of certain Western countries were the ones obstructing the implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978) by opposing sanctions. He stated that the "linkage" pre-condition was holding hostage the freedom of Namibia and emboldening the South African régime in its prevarication and intransigence.

119. He drew attention to reports that certain Western Governments were giving forms of recognition and support to the so-called interim government installed at Windhoek by the Pretoria régime in June 1985.

120. The Secretary for Foreign Affairs of SWAPO stated that the Namibian people, led by SWAPO, would continue the liberation struggle on all fronts until final victory.

121. He made a final appeal to the Security Council to take the necessary measures to implement immediately and unconditionally its resolution 435 (1978) in order to bring Namibia to independence.

122. Delegations participating in the debate were unanimous in their condemnation of the continued illegal occupation of Namibia by South Africa. They reiterated that Namibia was an international responsibility and expressed frustration at the inability of the United Nations to implement Security Council resolution 435 (1978) because of South Africa's delaying tactics, and reiterated that Council resolution 435 (1978) remained the only internationally acceptable basis for Namibia's independence.

123. All delegations participating in the debate called for the immediate and unconditional implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978), in which the Council endorsed the United Nations plan for the independence of Namibia and which would ensure a peaceful settlement of the Namibian question. The Security Council thus, by its responsible and concerted action, would enable the people of Namibia to exercise their inalienable right to self-determination, freedom and national independence in a united Namibia, under the leadership of SWAPO.

124. Delegations saluted the heroic struggle of the Namibian people for self-determination and national independence under the leadership of SWAPO, their sole and authentic representative, and expressed their solidarity with that legitimate cause.

125. During the debate, despite the fact that Security Council resolution 435 (1978) was the only internationally accepted basis for Namibia's accession to genuine independence, the representative of the racist Pretoria régime once again proclaimed South Africa's shameless attempt to establish a "linkage" between the implementation of the resolution and extraneous and irrelevant issues. Pretoria further extended its defiance of the will of the international community by threatening to proclaim a unilateral independence in Namibia.

126. All delegations commended the Secretary-General for his efforts for the independence of Namibia and for his further report concerning the implementation of Security Council resolutions 435 (1978) and 439 (1978) concerning the question of Namibia. 3/

127. They stated that there was widespread support for the imposition of comprehensive and mandatory sanctions against South Africa under Chapter VII of the Charter, in order to force that régime to commit itself to implementation of the resolutions and decisions of the United Nations on the questions of Namibia and apartheid. In that regard, the delegations strongly appealed to certain permanent members of the Security Council not to impede the Council, through the use of their veto, from taking decisive action against South Africa under Chapter VII of the Charter. The speakers emphasized that Pretoria continued to rely on the support of certain Western States in order to defy with impunity relevant resolutions and decisions adopted by the United Nations.

128. The overwhelming majority of speakers condemned and rejected the policy of "constructive engagement" and were unanimous in their rejection of "linkage" of the presence of Cuban forces in Angola to the independence of Namibia.

129. They condemned and rejected the so-called interim government imposed on the Namibian people by the racist régime of South Africa. They rejected all attempts to introduce an East-West confrontation into the question of Namibia.

130. Delegations condemned the use of Namibian territory as a springboard for acts of aggression against the front-line States and the economic and political destabilization of those States. They expressed their full support for the efforts of the front-line States to safeguard their territorial integrity and sovereignty.

131. On 9 April 1987, at the conclusion of the debate, the Security Council had before it a draft resolution 11/ submitted by its members that are members of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries. By that draft resolution, the Council would have determined that South Africa's continued illegal occupation of Namibia constituted a breach of international peace and security in violation of the Charter; that the persistent refusal by racist South Africa to comply with resolutions and decisions of the Security Council and the General Assembly on the question of Namibia and its violation thereof constituted a serious threat to international peace and security; and that the militarization of Namibia and the repeated armed attacks perpetrated from Namibia by South Africa against independent and sovereign States in southern Africa constituted grave acts of aggression.

132. The Security Council would have decided to impose comprehensive and mandatory sanctions against South Africa under Chapter VII of the Charter and in conformity with its primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security, and would have called upon all States, in conformity with Article 25 of the Charter, to implement the draft resolution and all the other relevant resolutions of the Security Council relating to Namibia.

133. The draft resolution received 9 votes to 3 (Federal Republic of Germany, United Kingdom and United States), with 3 abstentions (France, Italy and Japan), and was not adopted, owing to the negative votes of two permanent members of the Security Council.

134. Once again, the Security Council was prevented from acting decisively against the South African régime in illegal occupation of Namibia and from taking effective measures under Chapter VII of the Charter because of the continued misuse of the veto power by two of its permanent members, namely, the United States and the United Kingdom.

135. During the period under review, the United Nations Council for Namibia also participated in the meetings of the Security Council in February 1987 on the question of South Africa.

PART TWO

MAJOR ACTIVITIES OF THE UNITED NATIONS COUNCIL FOR NAMIBIA AS THE LEGAL ADMINISTERING AUTHORITY FOR NAMIBIA FOR BRINGING ABOUT THE IMMEDIATE INDEPENDENCE OF NAMIBIA

CHAPTER I

GENERAL

136. As mentioned above, the General Assembly, by its resolution 2145 (XXI), terminated South Africa's Mandate over Namibia and placed the Territory under the direct responsibility of the United Nations, pending its attainment of independence. Over the past 20 years, however, South Africa's refusal to withdraw its illegal administration from Namibia has prevented the goal of independence from being achieved. During the period under review, the United Nations Council for Namibia, as the legal Administering Authority for Namibia, recognizing that concerted and intensified international action would be required to overcome the intransigence of the Pretoria régime, made the immediate independence of Namibia the principal focus of its activities.

137. In accordance with General Assembly resolution 41/39 C of 20 November 1986, the Council held extraordinary plenary meetings at Luanda from 18 to 22 May 1987 (A/AC.131/PV.486-492), and conducted at Buenos Aires, from 20 to 24 April 1987, a Seminar on Support for the Immediate Independence of Namibia and the Effective Application of Sanctions against South Africa (see paras. 242-247). During the period under review, the Council also sponsored four workshops for non-governmental organizations, parliamentarians, trade unionists, academics and media representatives. The workshops were held at Bonn from 28 to 30 April (see paras. 250-255), in London from 11 to 13 May (see paras. 256-264), in Tokyo on 30 May (see paras. 265-269) and at Chicago from 23 to 25 July 1987 (see paras. 270-278). The purpose of these events was to mobilize further international support for the struggle of the Namibian people for self-determination and national independence, to consider new proposals for eliminating the obstacles to Namibia's independence and to increase the dissemination of information to the general public on the question of Namibia and the activities of the Council.

138. The Council dispatched missions to India, Japan and China to consult with the Governments of those countries on the implementation of United Nations resolutions on Namibia (see paras. 279-290). While in India, the mission also met with officials of the AFRICA Fund of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries.

139. The Council assessed the political, military, economic, social and legal aspects of the Namibian situation and published detailed reports on these topics to serve as a factual basis for the activities of the international community in support of Namibia's independence (A/AC.131/240-243). The Council also prepared a comprehensive report on contacts between South Africa and those States which, through their political, diplomatic, military and other relations with the racist régime, lend support to its continued illegal occupation of Namibia (A/AC.131/265).

140. The Council continued to co-operate with the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of

Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, the Special Committee against Apartheid, OAU and the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries in matters of mutual concern. It also represented Namibia in a variety of specialized agencies of the United Nations and other intergovernmental organizations and conferences. In so doing, it sought to derive maximum benefit for the Namibian people from the assistance programmes sponsored by those agencies, and to protect the interests of Namibia and its people as actively as possible.

141. The Council was keenly aware of the important role played by public information in the mobilisation of broad international support for the Namibian people's struggle for self-determination and independence. It therefore conducted an extensive programme of dissemination of information designed more fully to acquaint the general public, as well as political leaders, educators, artists, journalists, trade unionists and other opinion-makers, with all aspects of the Namibian question.

142. In conjunction with its efforts to promote Namibia's immediate independence, the Council continued to supervise the United Nations Fund for Namibia, the main vehicle for the provision of United Nations assistance to Namibians in the pre-independence period. It also directed the work of the Office of the United Nations Commissioner for Namibia in, among other matters, assistance programmes for Namibians, the issuance of travel documents, the dissemination of information on Namibia and the implementation of Decree No. 1 for the Protection of the Natural Resources of Namibia, including, in particular, the institution of legal proceedings in the domestic courts in the Netherlands.

143. The Council continued to co-operate closely with SWAPO, the sole and authentic representative of the Namibian people, in the formulation and implementation of its programme of work, and in other matters of interest to the Namibian people.

CHAPTER II

ORGANIZATION OF THE WORK OF THE COUNCIL

A. Officers of the Council

144. At its 482nd meeting, on 9 January 1987, the Council elected Lt. Gen. Peter D. Zuse (Zambia) as its President for 1987. At the same meeting, the Council elected Messrs. Hocine Djoudi (Algeria), Noel G. Sinclair (Guyana), Chinmaya Rajaninath Gharekhan (India), Iltar Türkmen (Turkey) and Dragoslav Pejic (Yugoslavia) as Vice-Presidents for 1987.

145. Upon the departure of Mr. Sinclair, the Council elected Mr. Samuel R. Insanally (Guyana) as Vice-President at its 484th meeting on 10 April 1987.

B. Steering Committee

146. The Steering Committee of the Council consists of the President of the Council, the five vice-presidents, the chairmen of the three Standing Committees and the Vice-Chairman and Rapporteur of the Committee on the United Nations Fund for Namibia.

C. Standing Committees

147. At its 482nd meeting, on 9 January 1987, the Council elected Messrs. Tommo Monthe (Cameroon) as Chairman of Standing Committee I, Anjes-uddin Ahmed (Pakistan) as Chairman of Standing Committee II and Ivan Stefanov Kulov (Bulgaria) as Chairman of Standing Committee III for 1987.

148. At its 140th meeting, on 13 January 1987, Standing Committee I elected Mr. Nihat Akyol (Turkey) as its Vice-Chairman.

149. At its 175th meeting, on 24 February 1987, Standing Committee III elected Mr. Luis Alberto Barrero-Stahl (Mexico) as its Vice-Chairman.

150. The composition of the Standing Committees as at 31 August 1987 was as follows:

- | | |
|------------------------|--|
| Standing Committee I | - Algeria, Cameroon, China, Colombia, Finland, Haiti, Indonesia, Nigeria, Poland, Senegal, Turkey, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Venezuela and Zambia. |
| Standing Committee II | - Algeria, Angola, Australia, Bangladesh, Botswana, Bulgaria, Chile, Colombia, Cyprus, Egypt, Finland, Guyana, India, Liberia, Mexico, Pakistan, Romania and Zambia. |
| Standing Committee III | - Algeria, Angola, Australia, Belgium, Bulgaria, Burundi, Colombia, Cyprus, Egypt, India, Mexico, Nigeria, Pakistan, Romania, Venezuela, Yugoslavia and Zambia. |

D. Committee on the United Nations Fund for Namibia

151. In accordance with the terms of reference of this Committee, approved by the Council at its 297th meeting on 17 April 1979, the President of the Council acts as Chairman of the Committee on the Fund.

152. At the 81st meeting of the Committee on the Fund, on 9 January 1987, Mr. Alvaro Carnevali-Villegas (Venezuela) was elected Vice-Chairman and Rapporteur for 1987.

153. The composition of the Committee on the Fund is as follows: Australia, Finland, India, Nigeria, Romania, Senegal, Turkey, Venezuela, Yugoslavia and Zambia.

E. Other committees and working groups

154. A working group of the Steering Committee assisted the Council in preparing for its extraordinary plenary meetings held at Luanda from 18 to 22 May 1987. In accordance with usual practice, a drafting committee was also established to prepare the annual report of the Council to the General Assembly. At its 482nd meeting, on 9 January 1987, the Council elected Mr. Ahmed Ouyahia (Algeria) as Chairman of the Drafting Committee and the Working Group.

F. Observers in the Council

155. At its 494th meeting, on 21 July 1987, the Council decided to grant observer status to Nicaragua and Zimbabwe. The Council also decided to grant observer status to Cuba, at its 498th meeting, on 1 September 1987.

G. Office of the United Nations Commissioner for Namibia

156. By its resolution 2248 (S-V), the General Assembly decided that the Council should entrust such executive and administrative tasks as it deemed necessary to a United Nations Commissioner for Namibia, appointed by the Assembly on the nomination of the Secretary-General. The Assembly further decided that, in the performance of his tasks, the Commissioner should be responsible to the Council. The Commissioner is normally appointed with an annual mandate.

157. At its 101st plenary meeting, on 11 December 1986, the General Assembly, on the proposal of the Secretary-General (A/41/957), appointed Mr. Bernt W. Carlsson as United Nations Commissioner for Namibia for a six-month term beginning on 1 July 1987, and extended the term of the incumbent Commissioner, Mr. Brajesh C. Mishra, to 30 June 1987.

H. Secretariat services

158. The secretariat of the Council services the Council, its Steering Committee and three Standing Committees, the Committee on the United Nations Fund for Namibia and other committees and working groups, as well as seminars, symposia, workshops and missions of the Council, as required. It also undertakes research on developments in Namibia and prepares working papers and other documentation as requested by the Council and its committees.

159. The secretariat comprises the following established posts within the Department for Special Political Questions, Regional Co-operation, Decolonization and Trusteeship: one D-1 (Secretary of the Council), two P-5s, one P-4, two P-3s and four G-4s. In addition, there are two temporary posts at the P-4 level, four at the P-3 level and four at the G-4 level.

CHAPTER III

INTERNATIONAL AND REGIONAL ACTIVITIES

A. Extraordinary plenary meetings of the United Nations Council for Namibia, held at Luanda from 18 to 22 May 1987

Organisation of the extraordinary plenary meetings

160. By its resolution 41/39 C, the General Assembly requested the United Nations Council for Namibia to hold extraordinary plenary meetings in southern Africa during the week of 19 May 1987. In pursuit of that mandate, the Council decided to hold its extraordinary plenary meetings at "The 10th December" (Palacio dos Congressos) at Luanda, from 18 to 22 May 1987.

161. At its 241st meeting, on 24 March 1987, the Steering Committee of the Council adopted the report of the President on the organization of the extraordinary plenary meetings and also approved the agenda of the meetings (A/AC.131/244 and Corr.1).

Extraordinary plenary meeting

162. The extraordinary plenary meetings of the United Nations Council for Namibia in the People's Republic of Angola were of particular importance because they took place in a front-line State which is providing support to the Namibian people and is itself confronting encroachment on its independence, national sovereignty and territorial integrity which are constantly violated by acts of aggression and destabilisation perpetrated by the racist régime of South Africa and its proxies from illegally occupied Namibia.

163. At its 486th meeting, on 18 May 1987, the Council held the solemn opening of its extraordinary plenary meetings. A minute of silence was observed in memory of all Namibian patriots who had fallen in the struggle for self-determination, freedom and independence in a united Namibia.

164. The meetings were inaugurated by Mr. Carlos Fernandez, Minister for Transport and Communications of the People's Republic of Angola, as representative of the host Government. Statements were also made by Messrs. Humayan Rasheed Choudhury, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Bangladesh and President of the General Assembly at its forty-first session; Abdulrahim Farah, Under-Secretary-General for Special Political Questions, Regional Co-operation, Decolonization and Trusteeship and representative of the Secretary-General; Andimba Toivo ya Toivo, Secretary-General of SWAPO; Tesfaye Tadesse, 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; Michael O. Ononaiye, representative of the Chairman of the Special Committee against Apartheid; and Dawit Gebre-Egziabher, representative of the Secretary-General of OAU. Lt. Gen. Zuze, President of the United Nations Council for Namibia, gave the final address at the inaugural meeting. At the same meeting, a message received from the President of the Security Council was read out by Mr. Abdul Hamid Kabia, Secretary of the United Nations Council for Namibia.

165. At its 487th meeting, on 18 May 1987, the Council established a Committee of the Whole and elected Mrs. Olga Lima of Angola to serve as its Chairman and Mr. Akyol (Turkey) as its Rapporteur.

166. The Committee of the Whole established a drafting committee. Mr. Miguel Marin-Bosch (Mexico) was designated Chairman and Mr. Ahmed (Pakistan), its Vice-President.

Statements and messages

1. Statement by the Minister for Transport and Communications of the People's Republic of Angola

167. In his inaugural statement, Mr. Fernandez, Minister for Transport and Communications of the People's Republic of Angola, said that the current international political situation was a result of the spiteful neo-colonialist policies of the most conservative forces of imperialism. The main factor of destabilization in southern Africa was the existence of apartheid in South Africa. The elections held on 6 May in South Africa had demonstrated the racist régime's intention of maintaining the status quo.

168. It was regrettable, he said, that the racist régime continued systematically to attack neighbouring States and persisted in its aggressive policies under the pretext of the threat of internationalist Cuban forces based in Angola. He emphasized that the Cuban forces were in Angola at the invitation of the Government and were helping the people of Angola to protect themselves against invasions and against damage that had been estimated at \$10 billion.

169. The Minister stressed that, with a view to finding a just and peaceful solution to the problem, the Angolan Government had spared no effort towards negotiations. Both South Africa and the United States, however, had shown a lack of will to reach a just solution. Pretoria had taken part in the negotiations to break the diplomatic isolation in which it found itself, while the United States had given the necessary cover with its policies of "linkage" and "constructive engagement". The recent decision by the Government of Angola to resume talks with the United States Government for the speedy implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978) demonstrated the positive will of his Government to bring a just peace to the region.

170. The Minister stated that the military assistance given to the people of Namibia by Angola was in conformity with the Charter and in strict compliance with international law. He appealed to countries that consistently vetoed Security Council resolutions on Namibia to join the consensus of the international community.

2. Statement by the President of the General Assembly

171. Mr. Choudhury, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Bangladesh and President of the General Assembly, said that it was important to note that the meetings of the United Nations Council for Namibia were being held soon after the international community's efforts to impose comprehensive and mandatory sanctions against South Africa had been frustrated in the Security Council. He was encouraged that the Council, the only legal Administering Authority for Namibia, was holding its

meetings in a front-line State to reiterate its support for, and commitment to, the independence of Namibia.

172. He emphasized that South Africa's rejection of the United Nations plan for the independence of Namibia was sufficient reason for the Security Council to proceed to impose sanctions for non-compliance. Despite South Africa's continued defiance of the United Nations and its escalation of aggression against the people of Namibia and independent African States, the Council had been rendered ineffective and had been prevented from taking measures against the racist régime under Chapter VII of the Charter.

3. Message from the Secretary-General of the United Nations

173. In a message read out by Mr. Farah, Under-Secretary-General for Special Political Questions, Regional Co-operation, Decolonization and Trusteeship, and representative of the Secretary-General, the Secretary-General said that it was fitting that the Council should hold its extraordinary session in a country that had constantly supported the cause of self-determination of the people of Namibia.

174. The Secretary-General also said that, in addition to meeting the challenges of development, the States of the southern African region were having to contend with political and security problems brought about by South Africa's acts of destabilization and armed attacks against neighbouring States. It was a matter of deep concern that the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Angola, in particular, had been repeatedly violated by South Africa.

175. In his message to the meeting, the Secretary-General of the United Nations stressed that Namibia remained a matter of very special importance to the United Nations and one in which the commitment of the international community was total and unequivocal. He stated that after years of painstaking negotiations it had not been possible to proceed with the implementation of the United Nations plan for the independence of Namibia, embodied in Security Council resolution 435 (1978), owing to South Africa's insistence on linking its implementation to an issue extraneous to the Namibian question. He urged South Africa to reconsider its position and enable the United Nations to proceed with the implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978).

4. Statement by the Secretary-General of SWAPO

176. Mr. Toivo ya Toivo, Secretary-General of SWAPO, stated that since its independence, Angola had borne the brunt of imperialist wrath and racist South African aggression. Enormous pressure of destabilization had been exerted upon Angola by Pretoria and its imperialist backers with a view to forcing the country to abandon its principled support for the Namibian people's struggle for independence. Owing to the firm stand of the leadership of the Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola workers' party, however, Angola had remained unwavering in its commitment to the total liberation of Namibia and South Africa.

177. He also stated that the meeting would critically analyse the situation in and around Namibia and come up with a political programme with a view to more effectively galvanizing world public opinion for action for the immediate implementation of the United Nations plan for the independence of Namibia. The

meeting was taking place at a time when the confrontation between the forces of repression and those of liberation was rapidly sharpening. Recent months had witnessed the stepped-up reign of terror by the illegal régime of occupation against the Namibian people. Despite the reign of terror, however, the Namibian people, under the leadership of SWAPO, remained firm in their resolve to resist apartheid colonialism.

178. Mr. Toivo ya Toivo further stated that SWAPO would keep up the pressure on all fronts, particularly on the military front, in order to compel the enemy to agree to an immediate cease-fire and to trigger the immediate implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978). He reiterated the total rejection by SWAPO of the "linkage policy" of the Reagan Administration. Colonialism in Namibia and the presence of Cuban internationalist forces were two entirely separate issues. Any attempt to link them must be totally rejected. He reaffirmed the condemnation by SWAPO of interference by the United States Administration in the internal affairs of Angola through the arming and financing of the bandits of UNITA, to carry out acts of subversion and killings of innocent Angolans, in the service of United States imperialism and apartheid South Africa.

5. Statement by 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

179. Mr. Tadesse (Ethiopia), Chairman of the Special Committee, said the Special Committee was irrevocably committed to finding a speedy and effective solution to end colonialism in all its forms and manifestations in the remaining colonial Territories, particularly Namibia.

180. South Africa's continued manoeuvres to undermine the international consensus embodied in Security Council resolution 435 (1978) must be strongly resisted, for that consensus represented the only acceptable basis for a peaceful transition of Namibia to independence. In that context, he categorically rejected any attempt to establish the so-called linkage between the independence of Namibia and the withdrawal of Cuban internationalist forces from Angola. Such attempts would only retard the decolonization process in Namibia and constitute interference in the internal affairs of Angola.

181. He commended the leaders of SWAPO for the spirit of accommodation, patience and statesmanship they had demonstrated during their long struggle and their negotiations for the implementation of resolution 435 (1978). It was imperative, he said, that the international community increase its support and assistance to the front-line States so as to enable them to resolve their own economic difficulties that were largely a consequence of Pretoria's policies of aggression and subversion.

6. Statement by the representative of the Special Committee against Apartheid

182. Mr. Ononaiye (Nigeria), representative of the Special Committee against Apartheid, stated that Pretoria's defiance of resolutions of the United Nations on

South Africa and Namibia, its increased repression in the region and violence against the civilian population, its so-called interim government in Namibia and its continued plunder of the natural resources of Namibia were matters of grave concern to the international community, as was the co-operation extended to it by certain Western and other countries and foreign interests. The recent whites-only election in South Africa did not augur well for a peaceful and speedy settlement in South Africa or Namibia. The people of South Africa and Namibia had no choice but to continue and intensify their struggle. The only peaceful means left for the resolution of the crisis in South Africa and Namibia was the imposition of comprehensive and mandatory sanctions against the apartheid régime. He appealed to all Member States to terminate any collaboration with the apartheid régime in order to assure its complete isolation.

7. Message from the Secretary-General of the Organization of African Unity

183. In a message read out by Mr. Gebre-Egziabher, representative of the Secretary-General of OAU, the Secretary-General stated that the fact that the Council was holding its session in southern Africa, and more particularly in Angola, was befitting and meaningful because it was clear recognition of the monumental contribution that Angola had made for the eradication of the odious system of apartheid from South Africa and for the liberation and accession to independence of Namibia, and because the very presence of the Council in this part of the continent would serve as an indication to the people of Namibia that it shared their agony.

184. The Secretary-General of OAU further stated that the efforts of the Council and the Secretary-General of the United Nations to ensure the early implementation of the United Nations plan had been calculatingly frustrated by the racist South African régime with the explicit approval of certain Western Powers, which ironically had been the promoters of that very plan. He reiterated the rejection by OAU of any "linkage" or parallelism between the independence of Namibia and the presence of Cuban troops in Angola. He called upon the Security Council immediately to impose comprehensive and mandatory sanctions against the racist régime in order to compel it to co-operate with the United Nations in the implementation of its plan for the independence of the Territory.

8. Statement by the President of the United Nations Council for Namibia

185. Lt. Gen. Zuze (Zambia), President of the United Nations Council for Namibia, made a statement in which he paid tribute to the Angolan people for the sacrifices they had made in support of the cause of freedom and justice for Namibia. The Angolan people had paid an incalculable price for their support of the Namibian liberation struggle, in terms of precious human lives, material damage, loss of infrastructure and setbacks to social and economic development. Yet they had remained steadfast in their solidarity with the Namibian people's struggle for self-determination and independence.

186. The President further stated that after eight years of fruitless negotiation and efforts at diplomatic persuasion, it was now more clear than before that sanctions were the only peaceful means of compelling South Africa to end its

illegal occupation of Namibia and transfer power to the people of the Territory. He pledged the resolve of the United Nations Council for Namibia to bring about the immediate independence of Namibia and urged those States that had prevented the Security Council from imposing comprehensive and mandatory sanctions against the racist régime of South Africa to reconsider their position in view of the deteriorating situation in Namibia and in southern Africa as a whole.

9. Message from the President of the Security Council

187. In a message read out by Mr. Kabia, Secretary of the United Nations Council for Namibia, the President of the Security Council stated that Security Council resolution 435 (1978), which embodied the resolve of the international community to find a genuine political solution to the Namibian question under the aegis of the United Nations, had won universal acceptance as a just basis for the peaceful transition to independence in Namibia. The Security Council shared the widespread concern that, despite intensive efforts to implement the United Nations plan, the promise of Namibia's independence had not been realized because of obstruction by the Government of South Africa.

188. The Security Council, he said, had condemned and rejected any unilateral action by South Africa towards an internal settlement outside Council resolution 435 (1978) as unacceptable, declared the establishment of the so-called interim government in Namibia to be null and void, and called upon all Member States to repudiate that action and to refrain from according any recognition to it.

189. He concluded his message by stating that the Security Council, by its resolutions 539 (1983) and 566 (1985), had also rejected South Africa's insistence on linking the independence of Namibia to irrelevant and extraneous issues as incompatible with its resolution 435 (1978).

General debate

190. Statements were made in the general debate by representatives of States members and non-members of the United Nations Council for Namibia, as well as United Nations bodies and specialized agencies.

191. Speakers paid tribute to the Angolan people for their steadfast commitment to and solidarity with the Namibian people and saluted the martyrs of the Angolan people who, since independence, had been forced to engage in a heroic struggle of self-defence. They also expressed their solidarity with the front-line States confronting Pretoria's adventurist policy of aggression and destabilization, which was in flagrant violation of international law, particularly the relevant resolutions and decisions of the Security Council and of the General Assembly.

192. Speakers reaffirmed that the question of Namibia was a clear case of colonialism, racism, foreign occupation and oppression, which were allowed to persist in flagrant violation of the fundamental rights of the Namibian people and in defiance of the resolutions and decisions of the United Nations. They rejected all attempts to treat the question in the context of an East-West ideological confrontation.

193. Many delegates expressed solidarity with the people of Namibia in their legitimate struggle for freedom and national independence under the leadership of

SWAPO, their sole and authentic representative, and urged States, specialized agencies and other organizations to continue and to increase political support and material, financial, military and other assistance to SWAPO, in order to enable it to intensify its struggle for the liberation of Namibia.

194. Many speakers reaffirmed the inalienable right of the Namibian people to self-determination and independence, and expressed their full support for the just struggle, including armed struggle, waged by the Namibian people under the leadership of SWAPO, as well as efforts of the United Nations for a speedy resolution of the Namibian problem in accordance with the relevant resolutions of the United Nations on the question of Namibia.

195. Speakers condemned South Africa's illegal occupation of Namibia, the deplorable conditions imposed on the Namibian people by the apartheid régime and the repressive measures used to keep the people of Namibia under colonial bondage.

196. Speakers stated that the United Nations plan for the independence of Namibia constituted the only acceptable basis for a lasting settlement of the Namibian question. Despite the perseverance of the Secretary-General in his efforts towards its implementation, the United Nations plan for Namibia continued to be held hostage to the prevarications and manoeuvres of the racist Pretoria régime. It was, therefore, essential to mobilize the international community to bring about the implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978) unconditionally and without delay.

197. In this connection, they categorically rejected the "linkage" of the independence of Namibia with extraneous and irrelevant issues, such as the withdrawal of the Cuban troops from Angola. They condemned such a policy as a pretext for hindering implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978).

198. Speakers condemned South Africa's continued attempts to circumvent the internationally accepted United Nations plan for the independence of Namibia through the imposition of puppet institutions, such as the so-called interim administration installed by Pretoria in Namibia on 17 June 1985, which the Security Council declared to be illegal, null and void.

199. They called for the immediate application of mandatory sanctions against the Pretoria régime as the most effective and peaceful means to assure the swift implementation of the United Nations plan. They regretted the use of veto in the Security Council to block the adoption of sanctions and urgently appealed to South Africa's allies to reconsider their position in view of the continuing failure to implement Security Council resolution 435 (1978).

200. Speakers pointed out that the non-application of decisive measures against Pretoria had opened the way for armed aggression by the racist régime against States of the region. In this connection, they condemned the repeated aggression by South Africa against neighbouring independent States and called upon the international community to render increased assistance to the front-line States so that they might better withstand the racial and economic damages inflicted by South African aggression.

201. Speakers deplored the continued illegal exploitation of Namibia's human and natural resources by South Africa and transnational corporations in flagrant

violation of Decree No. 1 for the Protection of the Natural Resources of Namibia. 4/ They strongly condemned all foreign economic interests that were illegally exploiting Namibia's resources and demanded that they cease their operations in the Territory.

Adoption of the Luanda Declaration and Programme of Action

202. The Council concluded its deliberations with the adoption by acclamation of the final document at its 492nd meeting, on 22 May 1987.

203. The Luanda Declaration and Programme of Action* reads as follows:

"Luanda Declaration and Programme of Action

"Introduction

"1. In accordance with General Assembly resolution 41/39 C of 20 November 1986, the United Nations Council for Namibia, the legal Administering Authority for the Territory until independence, held extraordinary plenary meetings at Luanda from 18 to 22 May 1987.

"2. The Council's meetings in the People's Republic of Angola were of particular importance because they took place in a front-line State that is providing unstinting support on all fronts to the Namibian people and is itself confronting encroachment on its independence, national sovereignty and territorial integrity, which are constantly violated by acts of aggression and destabilization perpetrated by the racist régime of Pretoria and its proxies from illegally occupied Namibia.

"3. At the solemn opening of the Council's meetings at Luanda, the President of the General Assembly reiterated that the question of Namibia was one of decolonization and illegal occupation. The settlement of the Namibian question was of overriding importance for the peace and prosperity of the southern Africa region. The continued refusal of the racist régime of South Africa to co-operate in the implementation of the United Nations plan was sufficient reason for the United Nations Security Council to impose sanctions against that régime.

"4. In his message to the meeting, the Secretary-General of the United Nations stressed that Namibia remained a matter of very special importance to the United Nations and one in which the commitment of the international community was total and unequivocal. He stated that after years of painstaking negotiations it had not been possible to proceed with the implementation of the United Nations plan for the independence of Namibia, embodied in Security Council resolution 435 (1978), owing to South Africa's insistence on linking its implementation to an issue extraneous to the Namibian question.

* Previously issued under the symbol A/42/325-S/18901.

"5. The President of the United Nations Council for Namibia made an important statement in which he pledged the Council's resolve to bring about the immediate independence of Namibia. He urged those States which had prevented the Security Council from imposing comprehensive and mandatory sanctions against the racist régime of South Africa to reconsider their position in view of the deteriorating situation in Namibia and in southern Africa as a whole.

"6. The Council had a commemorative meeting on 19 May 1987 to mark the passage of two decades since the adoption of General Assembly resolution 2248 (S-V) of 19 May 1967, by which the Assembly established the United Nations Council for Namibia as the legal Administering Authority for the Territory until independence.

"7. At the commemorative meeting, His Excellency Mr. José Eduardo dos Santos, President of the People's Republic of Angola, delivered an inspiring statement in which he emphasized that the assistance rendered by Angola to the Namibian people was non-negotiable and could not be used as a forum of exchange to appease the racist aggressors who continuously violated Angolan territory. South Africa continued to occupy parts of southern Angola and to conduct a massive destabilization campaign against the front-line States. He reiterated that Namibia's independence could not be made contingent upon the withdrawal of Cuban forces, whose presence predated the adoption of Security Council resolution 435 (1978).

"8. The United Nations Council for Namibia also heard an important statement by His Excellency Mr. Kenneth D. Kaunda, President of the Republic of Zambia, in his capacity as Chairman of the front-line States. He declared that the continuing destabilization and the acts of aggression perpetrated by the racist Pretoria régime against the front-line States, as well as the continued illegal occupation of Namibia, were intended to protect the loathsome system of apartheid. He stated that it was very important for all Namibians to remain united and fully support their sole and authentic representative, the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO). He observed that the Council had accomplished a great deal during very trying times, including the establishment of the United Nations Institute for Namibia at Lusaka.

"9. In his message at the commemorative ceremony, His Excellency Mr. Denis Sussou-Nguesso, President of the People's Republic of the Congo and current Chairman of the Organization of African Unity (OAU), stated that although the United Nations had established the basis for Namibian independence, much remained to be done. Tension in southern Africa was a consequence of the arrogance of the apartheid régime, which continued to defy the will of the international community with impunity. He stated that it was incumbent upon the international community to support the struggle of the Namibian people by imposing global mandatory sanctions against South Africa and by making voluntary contributions to the Action for Resisting Invasion, Colonialism and Apartheid Fund (AFRICA Fund).

"10. In a message delivered at the meeting, His Excellency Prime Minister Robert Mugabe of Zimbabwe, current Chairman of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, stated that the Pretoria régime, emboldened by linkage in Namibia, had adopted other obstructionist tactics aimed at prolonging its colonial occupation of Namibia, while proceeding to perpetrate massacres and the complete militarization of Namibia. The imposition of sanctions would be most

effective if they were mandatory and comprehensive. Insistence on vetoes and 'linkage' amounted to pretending to be part of the solution, whereas in reality the parties concerned were becoming an essential part of the problem and an obstruction to the use of peaceful means to resolve the problems of southern Africa.

"11. The participants also heard an important statement by His Excellency Dr. Sam Nujoma, President of SWAPO, in which he stressed that SWAPO had always considered the United Nations Council for Namibia as a valuable partner in the efforts to bring independence to the Territory. The Council should intensify pressure on the Reagan Administration to abandon its discredited linkage policy. The Council should also take immediate action to convince the Federal Republic of Germany to discontinue its so-called development aid to illegally occupied Namibia and not to proceed with its evil scheme to dump nuclear waste in the Territory. It should also launch a vigorous campaign to counter the black-out of news and information imposed in Namibia by the illegal colonialist régime and to intensify the mobilization of assistance to the struggling Namibian people through SWAPO, their sole and authentic representative.

"12. Important statements were also made by the President of the General Assembly and by the President of the United Nations Council for Namibia. In addition, messages were received from the President of the Security Council and the Secretary-General of the United Nations.

"13. On the occasion of the commemorative meeting, the Council adopted a special appeal (see A/42/324-S/18900) in which it stated that South Africa, so long as it maintained its illegal occupation of Namibia, would continue to murder and persecute Namibians, to plunder their resources and to use the Territory as a staging ground for acts of aggression against the neighbouring States. Therefore, the Council called urgently upon the international community to act decisively to bring an end to the illegal occupation of Namibia and to assist as a matter of priority, the victims of racist South Africa's repression. In reaffirming its full solidarity with the people of Namibia and SWAPO, their sole and authentic representative, the Council appealed to the international community to fulfil actively and conscientiously the solemn responsibility that it had assumed in the international Territory of Namibia.

"14. The extraordinary plenary meetings of the Council were held against the background of South Africa's intensified attempts to obstruct the efforts of the United Nations and the entire international community for the achievement of independence in Namibia.

"15. The extraordinary plenary meetings were an expression of deep concern over South Africa's arrogant conduct in Namibia and the foreign complicity in such conduct. They were also a manifestation of the Council's unwavering solidarity with the heroic people of Namibia in their struggle against illegal occupation and for national independence, under the leadership of SWAPO, their sole and legitimate representative.

"16. The extraordinary plenary meetings of the Council also highlighted the solidarity of the international community with the front-line States confronting Pretoria's adventurist policy of aggression and destabilization,

which was in flagrant violation of international law, particularly the relevant resolutions and decisions of the Security Council and the General Assembly.

"17. The Council paid a stirring tribute to the Angolan people for their steadfast commitment to their duty of maintaining solidarity with the Namibian people. It also saluted the martyrs of the Angolan people, who since independence had been forced to engage in a heroic struggle of self-defence, which had the total support of the international community.

"18. After reviewing and analysing in depth the situation prevailing in Namibia and in the region, the obstacles still impeding the independence of the Territory and the serious implications of South Africa's intransigence for regional and international peace and security, and after considering the various means of expediting Namibia's accession to independence, the Council adopted the declaration below.

"Declaration

"19. Recalling the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, contained in General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) of 14 December 1960, the United Nations Council for Namibia solemnly reaffirms the inalienable right of the Namibian people to self-determination and independence in a united Namibia, preserving its full territorial integrity, including Walvis Bay, the Penguin Islands and other offshore islands of Namibia. The Council also stresses the legitimacy of the national liberation struggle which is being waged on all fronts by the Namibian people under the leadership of SWAPO, their sole and authentic representative.

"20. The Council reaffirms that Namibia is the direct responsibility of the United Nations until independence in accordance with General Assembly resolution 2145 (XXI) of 27 October 1966, in which the Assembly declared that the South African presence in the Territory was illegal. The Council recalls that, in accordance with General Assembly resolution 2248 (S-V), which has the steadfast support of the entire international community, it is the only legal Administering Authority for Namibia until independence.

"21. Having witnessed the intensive mobilization of the international community in support of the immediate independence of Namibia, which acquired particular vigour in 1986, proclaimed by the United Nations as the International Year of Peace, the Council expressed its deep satisfaction at the success of the fourteenth special session of the General Assembly, which was devoted to the question of Namibia, and the firm position of the United Nations on the question, set forth in Assembly resolution S-14/1 of 20 September 1986 and reaffirmed in Assembly resolution 41/39 A of 20 November 1986. The Council also welcomes the firm commitment to the independence of Namibia expressed at the International Conference for the Immediate Independence of Namibia, held at Vienna from 7 to 11 July 1986, the Eighth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Harare from 1 to 6 September 1986, and the twenty-second ordinary session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity, held at Addis Ababa from 28 to 30 July 1986. The Council further notes with satisfaction the positions on the question of Namibia

adopted by the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the Association of South-East Asian Nations at their annual ministerial meeting in June 1986, by the Council of the League of Arab States at its eighty-fifth regular session in March 1986, by the Organization of the Islamic Conference at the Fifth Islamic Summit Conference held at Kuwait in January 1987, by the Council of Ministers of the Organization of African Unity at its forty-fifth ordinary session, held at Addis Ababa in February 1987, and by the Seminar on Support for the Immediate Independence of Namibia and the Effective Application of Sanctions against South Africa, held at Buenos Aires from 20 to 24 April 1987.

"22. The Council strongly condemns the racist régime of South Africa for its continued illegal occupation of Namibia and its persistent refusal to comply with the resolutions and decisions of the General Assembly and the Security Council, in violation of the principles of the Charter and in defiance of the authority of the United Nations.

"23. The Council solemnly reaffirms that Security Council resolutions 385 (1976) and 435 (1978), in which the United Nations plan for the independence of Namibia was endorsed, constitute the sole internationally accepted basis for a peaceful settlement of the Namibian problem and calls for their immediate and unconditional implementation.

"24. The Council firmly rejects the constant attempts made by South Africa and the United States of America to establish a "linkage" between the implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978) and extraneous issues, particularly the presence of Cuban forces in Angola, which is a matter to be decided solely by that independent and sovereign State. The Council declares that this attempt at linkage made by South Africa and the external support accorded to it are ploys intended to delay the independence of Namibia and to jeopardize the responsibility of the United Nations for this Territory and the authority of the Security Council, which decided on the universally supported plan for its independence, and constitute interference in the internal affairs of the People's Republic of Angola. It rejects all attempts to distort the question of Namibia by portraying it as part of a global East-West confrontation rather than one of decolonization that must be resolved in accordance with the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations and the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

"25. Denouncing once again the so-called interim government that South Africa installed in Namibia on 17 June 1985, the Council firmly condemns all the fraudulent constitutional and political manoeuvres by which the Pretoria régime is attempting to perpetuate its illegal occupation of the Territory in violation of Security Council resolutions 385 (1976), 435 (1978), 439 (1978), 539 (1983) and 566 (1985), in which these manoeuvres are condemned and declared null and void. Noting with concern that South Africa is persisting in its attempts to substitute a neo-colonial solution for the plan contained in Security Council resolutions 385 (1976) and 435 (1978) and in its efforts to obtain foreign recognition for the puppet institutions established in Namibia, the Council condemns Pretoria's conduct and insists that all States should refrain from lending support to these fraudulent schemes. In this regard, the Council urges the international community to strengthen its unanimous opposition to all these illegal manoeuvres of South Africa, since they are null and void by internationally recognized standards.

"26. The Council condemns the South African régime for its brutal repression of the Namibian people, its policy of apartheid and other flagrant and massive violations of human rights perpetrated in this Territory, which it continues to occupy illegally. It also denounces the oppressive measures employed to conscript Namibians so as to bring about civil war in Namibia. The Council also condemns the recruitment of mercenaries and other foreign agents to carry out South Africa's policy of oppression in Namibia and of aggression against the front-line States, particularly the People's Republic of Angola.

"27. The Council reaffirms that the struggle for the liberation of Namibia is an international conflict within the meaning of article 1, paragraph 4, of Additional Protocol I to the Geneva Conventions of 12 August 1949, and in this connection, it demands in particular that the prisoner-of-war status provided for in the Geneva Convention relative to the Treatment of Prisoners of War and in the Additional Protocol thereto be accorded to all captured freedom fighters.

"28. The Council declares that the illegal occupation of Namibia constitutes an act of aggression against the Namibian people according to the definition of aggression set forth in General Assembly resolution 3314 (XXIX) of 14 December 1974, and supports the legitimate armed struggle of the Namibian people under the leadership of SWAPO to repel South Africa's aggression and to achieve self-determination, freedom and national independence in a united Namibia.

"29. Recognizing the effectiveness of the proclamation by SWAPO of the year 1986 as the 'Year of General Mobilization and Decisive Action for Final Victory', the Council welcomes with satisfaction the increasing mobilization of the Namibian people and the intensification of their struggle for national liberation, as demonstrated by their stepped-up resistance and the large popular assemblies organized in Namibia by workers, youth, students and women, resulting in strikes that have been highly successful there. The Council congratulates SWAPO on the remarkable way in which it has been leading the Namibian people since its establishment. The Council pays tribute to SWAPO for its exemplary co-operation with the United Nations, for the constructive way in which it has always responded to diplomatic initiatives and for its expressed readiness to sign a cease-fire in order to facilitate the implementation of the United Nations plan for the independence of Namibia. This positive attitude stands in stark contrast to the intransigence and duplicity of the racist Pretoria régime.

"30. As the legal Administering Authority for Namibia until its independence, the Council solemnly reaffirms its full support for and solidarity with SWAPO, the sole and authentic representative of the Namibian people. The Council declares that it is determined to strengthen further the close co-operation that it already maintains with SWAPO in order to make the joint effort for achieving the immediate independence of Namibia more effective.

"31. The Council condemns the unremitting intensification of the militarization of Namibia by the racist régime of South Africa. It draws the attention of the international community to the dangerous conversion of the Caprivi Strip into a base for aggression against neighbouring independent countries, such as the raid on Livingstone, Zambia, on 21 April 1987.

"32. The Council condemns the repeated acts of aggression by the Pretoria régime against Namibia and independent countries of southern Africa, particularly Angola, Botswana, Mozambique, Zambia and Zimbabwe. It declares that these acts constitute a policy of State terrorism in violation of international law and various resolutions of the Security Council.

"33. The Council condemns in particular the repeated acts of aggression carried out by racist South Africa against the People's Republic of Angola. It emphasizes the particular gravity of this violation of the Charter of the United Nations, carried out from illegally occupied Namibia. It declares the destabilization of Angola and the occupation of part of its Territory to be an extension of the hegemonistic scheme of apartheid on which the continuing illegal occupation of Namibia is based. It also stresses that the support accorded by Pretoria and by the Reagan Administration to the mercenaries of the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola (UNITA) is an attempt to destabilize a sovereign Government and to intensify repression of the Namibian people, including those in exile.

"34. The Council unequivocally condemns the provision of financial support and weapons, including Stinger missiles, to the UNITA bandits with a view to destabilizing Angola, which is making a supreme sacrifice, in terms of lives and destruction of property, in support of the struggle of the Namibian people for self-determination, freedom and national independence. These weapons are transported through the International Territory of Namibia in direct violation of the pertinent resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council.

"35. The Council pays a rousing tribute to the Government of the People's Republic of Angola for its courageous efforts to defend and preserve Angola's national independence, its inalienable sovereignty and its territorial integrity. It expresses its deep gratitude for the unflagging support that that country extends to the Namibian people under the leadership of SWAPO, in accordance with the Charter and United Nations resolutions, particularly General Assembly resolution 2625 (XXV) of 24 October 1970.

"36. The Council also expresses its solidarity with the front-line and other independent States of southern Africa for their support of the Namibian and South African peoples suffering from the practices of the apartheid régime. It calls upon the international community to step up its assistance to the front-line States and to the Namibian and South African refugees. In this connection, the Council welcomes the establishment by the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries of the AFRICA Fund and calls upon all States to make generous contributions.

"37. The Council once again reaffirms that the resources of Namibia are the inviolable heritage of its people. It strongly condemns the reckless plundering of the Territory's natural resources, including its mineral and sea resources, by South Africa and other foreign economic interests in violation of the resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council, the advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice of 21 June 1971 and Decree No. 1 for the Protection of the Natural Resources of Namibia, adopted by the United Nations Council for Namibia on 27 September 1974.

"38. The Council requests all Governments to take appropriate legislative and other action to ensure that Decree No. 1 is enforced and that the corporations

under their jurisdiction terminate all activities and all investment in Namibia. To this end, the Council again calls upon the Governments of the Federal Republic of Germany, the Netherlands and the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, which use the Urenco uranium enrichment plant, to exclude illegally extracted Namibian uranium from the activities governed by the Treaty of Almelo.

"39. The Council strongly condemns the political, military, diplomatic, economic, financial, cultural and other collaboration between certain Western countries and the racist régime of South Africa and declares that this collaboration helps to prolong the illegal occupation of Namibia.

"40. The Council firmly condemns and rejects the policy of 'constructive engagement', which encourages the racist régime of South Africa to maintain its opposition to the decisions of the international community on Namibia and to continue its apartheid policy, which is a crime against humanity.

"41. The Council condemns in particular the military and nuclear collaboration maintained by certain Western countries with South Africa. It denounces Israel's co-operation with the racist Pretoria régime, which enables it to develop its military and nuclear industry. The Council demands that an immediate stop be put to the collaboration of these countries, which is in violation of Security Council resolution 418 (1977) and furthers the policy of repression, illegal occupation and aggression of the Pretoria régime.

"42. The Council declares that the persistent illegal occupation of Namibia by South Africa, its intensive militarization of the Territory and its use of Namibia as a base for launching acts of aggression, destabilization and subversion against the independent African States pose a serious threat to international peace and security and necessitate implementation of the Charter of the United Nations, especially Chapter VII thereof.

"43. The Council reaffirms that the adoption of comprehensive and mandatory sanctions, as provided for in Chapter VII of the Charter, is the most effective, peaceful way of making racist South Africa comply with the resolutions and decisions of the United Nations on the question of Namibia.

"44. The Council stresses that all the conditions pertaining to implementation of Security Council resolutions 385 (1976) and 435 (1978) are already met, and that the racist régime of Pretoria must be made to end its arrogant and intransigent defiance of the international community.

"45. The Council expresses its deep concern at the fact that the Security Council continues to be prevented, owing to the negative votes of some of its Western members, particularly two permanent members, namely the United Kingdom and the United States, from reacting effectively, in fulfilment of its responsibilities under the Charter of the United Nations. The Council further expresses its deep concern at the fact that the illegal presence of South Africa in Namibia, which constitutes a serious challenge to the United Nations, continues more than 20 years after the placement of the Territory under the direct responsibility of the United Nations and two decades after the establishment of the Council as the legal Administering Authority for Namibia until independence.

"46. The Council declares that the independence of Namibia must suffer no further delay and must be achieved in accordance with Security Council resolutions 385 (1976) and 435 (1978) and with no conditions attached. Namibia's independence cannot be subordinated to the designs of certain Western Powers and to the convenience of a universally condemned régime. The determination and courage of the Namibian people must be reinforced by additional international action in favour of liberty, independence and human dignity.

"47. The Council thanks those Governments which, pending the imposition of comprehensive and mandatory sanctions, have taken appropriate legislative, administrative and other measures to isolate South Africa in political, economic, financial, military, cultural and other fields in accordance with the relevant United Nations resolutions. The Council appeals for these sanctions to relate explicitly to the illegal occupation of Namibia and calls upon all States that have not yet done so to join this movement. In this regard, the Council commends the Governments of the Nordic countries and of Australia for having recently done so.

"48. The Council welcomes the establishment of the Intergovernmental Group to Monitor the Supply and Shipping of Oil and Petroleum Products to South Africa, the establishment by the Organization of the Islamic Conference of a ministerial committee on Namibia and the positive role that they will play for the immediate independence of Namibia.

"49. The Council welcomes the positive role played by non-governmental organizations, parliamentarians, trade unions and individuals in supporting the cause of Namibia.

"50. The Council pays tribute to the Secretary-General of the United Nations for his personal attachment to the Namibian cause and for his efforts to ensure implementation of United Nations resolutions and decisions on the question of Namibia, particularly Security Council resolutions 385 (1976) and 435 (1978). The Council encourages the Secretary-General to pursue his efforts and expresses to him its full support and confidence.

"51. The Council pays tribute to Mr. B. C. Mishra for the dedicated service that he has rendered to the Namibian people for several years in the performance of his duties as United Nations Commissioner for Namibia, and for his personal commitment to the cause of Namibia.

"52. The Council congratulates Mr. Bernt Carlsson on his unanimous appointment to the post of United Nations Commissioner for Namibia by the General Assembly at its forty-first session. The Council expresses to him its full confidence and assures him of its full support in his work.

"53. The Council emphasizes the urgent need for all States, organs and bodies of the United Nations and intergovernmental and non-governmental organizations to intensify their political, diplomatic and material assistance to the Namibian people and their liberation movement, SWAPO, with a view to facilitating the triumph of the struggle that the Namibian people are waging for self-determination and national independence.

"54. The Council, having evaluated its action in advancing the cause of immediate independence for Namibia despite the intransigence of the South African racist régime, is determined to intensify that action; to keep the question of Namibia in the forefront of international concern; to intensify its activities for ensuring implementation of its mandate; and to strengthen its co-operation with SWAPO for the benefit of the Namibian people and for the exercise of their inalienable right to self-determination and national independence.

"55. The Council emphasizes the importance of the recommendations adopted by the International Conference for the Immediate Independence of Namibia held at Vienna from 7 to 11 July 1986 and by the seminars on Namibia held at Brussels in March 1986, at Valletta in May 1986 and at Buenos Aires in April 1987, as well as by previous international seminars and symposia.

"56. The Council stresses the necessity of taking further action to expedite the implementation of Security Council resolutions 385 (1976) and 435 (1978); to intensify effective support for the struggle of the Namibian people under the leadership of SWAPO for self-determination and national independence; to strengthen its co-operation with SWAPO; and to ensure full implementation of the mandate that it holds, on behalf of the United Nations, to administer Namibia until independence.

"57. To that end, the Council adopts the following programme of action, which shall constitute the guidelines for its future work.

"Programme of Action

"A. Action to ensure the implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978)

"58. The Council will pursue and intensify its efforts to ensure that the question of Namibia and the goal of implementing Security Council resolutions 385 (1976) and 435 (1978) continue to be accorded top priority by the General Assembly.

"59. For that purpose, the Council mandates its President to undertake consultations on convening a meeting of the Council in New York at the level of ministers for foreign affairs at the beginning of the forty-second session of the General Assembly.

"60. The Council will continue its efforts with the Security Council to have the latter take the requisite strong measures towards the prompt and unconditional implementation of its resolutions 385 (1976) and 435 (1978), which contain the United Nations plan for the independence of Namibia, including the imposition of comprehensive and mandatory sanctions against racist South Africa's occupation of Namibia.

"61. The Council will spare no effort in supporting action by the Secretary-General of the United Nations to ensure the swift, full and unconditional implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978).

"62. Bearing in mind the importance of having the broadest possible support of the international community for the implementation of United Nations resolutions on Namibia, the Council will endeavour to commit the international community:

"(a) To work for the immediate and unconditional termination of South Africa's illegal occupation in Namibia;

"(b) Unanimously to denounce and reject all the manoeuvres whereby racist South Africa seeks to perpetuate its illegal presence in Namibia;

"(c) To undertake a common effort to oppose attempts by the racist régime of South Africa and its external support to establish a 'linkage' or 'parallelism' between the independence of Namibia and any extraneous issues, such as the withdrawal of Cuban forces from Angola;

"(d) To prevent any recognition of any administration or entity created by South Africa in Namibia, in accordance with Security Council resolutions 385 (1976), 435 (1978), 439 (1978), 539 (1983) and 566 (1985);

"(e) To recognize officially SWAPO as the sole and authentic representative of the Namibian people;

"(f) To work for the speedy adoption by the Security Council of comprehensive and mandatory sanctions against South Africa because of its illegal occupation of Namibia and for the immediate implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978);

"(g) Pending the imposition of such sanctions by the Security Council, to adopt individual and collective sanctions against racist South Africa by:

"(i) Breaking off all relations with Pretoria in the diplomatic, military, economic and cultural fields;

"(ii) Demanding the total and immediate withdrawal of all foreign enterprises established or active in Namibia and in South Africa;

"(iii) Imposing a total trade embargo against South Africa;

"(iv) Prohibiting bank loans to the public and private sectors in South Africa.

"63. For that purpose, the Council, as the legal Administering Authority for Namibia, will strengthen its presence at international meetings and its contacts with Governments, parliamentarians and non-governmental organizations, particularly those of certain Western States.

"64. Noting with satisfaction the important role played by parliamentary representatives, non-governmental organizations, trade unions and individuals in taking action and exerting pressure for the achievement of Namibian independence, the Council will intensify its efforts to mobilize them further to ensure the speedy application of Security Council resolutions 385 (1976) and 435 (1978) and to oppose South African manoeuvres.

"65. In this connection, the Council will increase its contacts with parliamentarians and representatives of the media and non-governmental organizations, particularly in the Western countries, will support their work and will organize meetings in which they will participate with a view to:

"(a) Pressuring the Governments of certain Western countries to stop co-operating with South Africa and stop encouraging its illegal occupation of Namibia;

"(b) Working for the adoption of legislative measures to penalize Pretoria for its illegal occupation of Namibia;

"(c) Expanding the process of foreign disinvestment in South Africa and extending it to Namibia;

"(d) Organizing a boycott of companies operating in Namibia and of products originating in Namibia;

"(e) Opposing South Africa's efforts to mislead public opinion about its illegal occupation of Namibia and to discredit the legitimate national liberation struggle waged by the Namibian people under the leadership of SWAPO;

"(f) Firmly opposing all manoeuvres aimed at according legitimacy to the puppet institutions and associations established by South Africa in illegally occupied Namibia;

"(g) Forbidding entry into their countries of representatives of the puppets installed in Namibia and closing the offices maintained by South Africa in certain Western capitals on behalf of illegally occupied Namibia.

"66. The Council expresses its deep concern about the reported plan by the Federal Republic of Germany and South Africa to create a depository for nuclear waste in the Namib Desert on the west coast of Namibia. It calls on the two countries not to proceed with any plans of such a nature, which would endanger the health and well-being of the Namibian people and of those of the neighbouring States.

"67. The Council will continue to stress the importance of the media in promoting the settlement of the question of Namibia in accordance with United Nations resolutions and decisions. Noting with concern the low level of interest aroused by this serious problem in certain branches of the media, as well as the difficulties imposed on the media by South Africa's attempt to prevent news of developments inside Namibia from reaching the outside world, the Council appeals to the organs of the press, particularly those of the Western countries, to give greater coverage to the illegal occupation of Namibia by South Africa, to the brutal oppression that that régime inflicts on the Namibian people and to South Africa's persistent defiance of the authority of the United Nations and of the international community as a whole.

"68. To this end, the Council will continue its efforts to make exhaustive and varied information on the question of Namibia available to States, public opinion and the media. It will, in particular:

"(a) Undertake or support the production, reproduction and dissemination of written, filmed and sound material on Namibia;

"(b) Organize a data bank on Namibia;

"(c) Encourage and support Namibia information days and press conferences and information exercises on Namibia by public associations, including academic bodies.

"69. The Council requests the information services of the United Nations to maintain the priority granted to Namibia and to increase their efforts in this domain.

"B. Action to strengthen international support
for the Namibian people

"70. Reaffirming the legitimacy of the national liberation struggle waged by the Namibian people under the leadership of SWAPO, their sole and authentic representative, and welcoming the international support that it enjoys, the Council considers that, in view of the continuation of the illegal occupation of Namibia and the constantly increasing repression and oppression of the Namibian people by the South Africa racist régime, this struggle should receive further support for the realization in Namibia of the inalienable and sacred right to self-determination and national independence of the Namibian people.

"71. For that purpose, the Council will intensify its efforts:

"(a) To maintain and increase the political, diplomatic and material aid provided to SWAPO by the United Nations, States, international organizations and public opinion;

"(b) Consistently to mobilize international public opinion to help the Namibian people to accede to independence and, in particular, to intensify the dissemination of information about the armed struggle waged by the Namibian people for its national liberation under the leadership of SWAPO;

"(c) To counteract the slanderous campaign conducted by the Pretoria racist régime and its agents from so-called information centres established in certain Western countries against the United Nations position on Namibia and the liberation struggle led by SWAPO.

"72. The Council again draws the attention of the international community to the difficult living conditions of Namibians whom illegal occupation of their country and South African repression have forced into exile. It also underlines the international community's duty to help the people of this Territory, placed under the direct responsibility of the United Nations, to prepare for the forthcoming emergence of an independent Namibia. In this connection, the Council will continue to send visiting missions to Namibian health and education centres in Angola and Zambia.

"73. While noting with satisfaction the generous contributions made by Governments to the different United Nations funds and programmes for Namibia, as well as the valuable support from organizations and specialized agencies for those efforts, the Council stresses the need to increase this assistance in order to meet the needs of the Namibian people and of SWAPO in the food, health, training, housing and other areas.

"74. For this purpose, the Council, in close co-operation with SWAPO and in association with the United Nations Commissioner for Namibia, will:

"(a) Further mobilize international public opinion to assist the Namibian people;

"(b) Increase missions to solicit governmental assistance for the Namibians;

"(c) Continue to submit requests to the organizations and specialized agencies of the United Nations and encourage them to increase their contributions, particularly to the activities of the Namibian health and education centres in Angola and Zambia. In this context, a special effort will be made with regard to the United Nations Development Programme, the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, the World Health Organization, the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations, the World Food Programme, the International Labour Organisation and the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization.

"75. Aware of the heavy burden that support for the struggle in southern Africa in general and Namibia in particular imposes on the front-line States, the Council calls upon the international community as a whole to implement the resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council concerning the strengthening of the defensive capabilities of the front-line States, whose security and sovereignty are threatened by South Africa.

"76. The Council appeals to the international community to combat the use of the territory of illegally occupied Namibia as a launching pad for aggression against the independent States of southern Africa, in particular the People's Republic of Angola. It also calls for unanimous international action to oppose Pretoria's support as well as other external support for the UNITA bandits used to destabilize the sovereign Government of Angola and to extend to its territory the military aggression against the Namibian people. It requests for that purpose an immediate end to the external support extended to those mercenaries in flagrant violation of international law and the Charter of the United Nations. It also demands a halt to attempts to link Namibian independence to issues that are irrelevant and rejected by the entire international community, including the Security Council.

"77. The Council renews its solidarity with the objectives underlying the establishment of the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC), which reflects the need felt by the front-line States and other independent States of southern Africa to decrease their economic dependence on South Africa and to ensure their development and their collective autonomy.

"78. The Council appeals to the international community as a whole to contribute generously to the AFRICA Fund established by the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries for the benefit of the peoples and national liberation movements of southern Africa. It stresses that the AFRICA Fund is a particularly appropriate instrument for channelling international support to the resistance in southern Africa against the South African policies of apartheid, illegal occupation of Namibia, aggression and destabilization of independent and sovereign States of the region. The Council affirms its support for the efforts of the AFRICA Fund, particularly in connection with the Namibian people and their national liberation movement and sole and authentic representative, SWAPO.

"C. Action to implement the Council's mandate in Namibia

"79. Recalling that the full implementation of its mandate as the legal Administering Authority for Namibia until independence has been prevented solely by the intransigence of racist South Africa, which continues its illegal occupation of the Territory, the Council decides to take specific measures immediately to establish its administration in Namibia in accordance with General Assembly resolutions 2248 (S-V) of 19 May 1967, 40/97 A of 13 December 1985, S-14/1 of 20 September 1986 and 41/39 C of 20 November 1986.

"80. The Council will also take all appropriate measures to ensure the full implementation of Decree No. 1 for the Protection of the Natural Resources of Namibia of 27 September 1974.

"81. To that end, the Council will continue the legal proceedings in the Netherlands against the use by the Urenco company of Namibian uranium in violation of Decree No. 1, the advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice of 1971 and the resolutions and decisions of the General Assembly and the Security Council.

"82. Recalling General Assembly resolution 41/39 A, the Council reaffirms its decision to proclaim, by virtue of its rights under the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea, an exclusive economic zone for Namibia, whose external limit shall be 200 sea miles, and declares that any measure to give effect to this decision will be taken in consultation with SWAPO, the sole and authentic representative of the Namibian people.

"83. The Council decides to increase its participation in the activities of United Nations conferences and of intergovernmental and non-governmental bodies, conferences and other organizations in order to represent Namibia and ensure that its rights and interests are properly protected.

"84. The Council requests all the committees and other organs of the General Assembly and Security Council, as well as all intergovernmental and non-governmental bodies, conferences and organizations, to continue to invite it to participate in their meetings whenever their discussions relate to Namibia and to develop further their consultations with the Council in connection with all decisions and recommendations that may affect the rights and interests of the Namibians.

"85. The Council asks all States to co-operate fully with it in order to enable it to discharge its responsibilities under resolution 2248 (S-V) and subsequent resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council.

"D. Action to strengthen co-operation and consultation with SWAPO

"86. The Council is greatly pleased with the permanent consultations that it maintains with SWAPO, the sole and authentic representative of the Namibian people. In that regard, it expresses its satisfaction with the fruitful dialogue that it had with the SWAPO leadership at the Council's extraordinary plenary meetings at Luanda. It stresses that this close relationship enables both SWAPO and the Council to give greater impact to their efforts towards their common goals: the rapid independence of Namibia, the promotion of the Namibian cause and the protection of the rights of the Namibian people.

"87. To that end, the Council will develop initiatives to strengthen this co-operation through:

"(a) The organization on a more regular basis of consultations between high-level delegations from the Council and from other United Nations bodies and the SWAPO leadership;

"(b) The invitation on a regular basis of high-level delegations from SWAPO to the United Nations to brief the Council about developments in Namibia;

"(c) The continuation of co-ordination between the Council and SWAPO in their efforts at the level of international organizations and bodies, with a view to ensuring the effective participation of Namibia;

"(d) The continuation of consultations with SWAPO in preparing the programmes, decisions and actions of the Council.

"Conclusion

"88. Stressing again the gravity of the situation in illegally occupied Namibia and the dangerous threats that it presents to international peace and security, despite the heroic struggle waged by the Namibian people over more than 100 years, despite the revocation more than 20 years ago of South Africa's mandate over Namibia, 20 years after the establishment of the United Nations Council for Namibia as the legal Administering Authority for Namibia until independence and almost a decade since the adoption of Security Council resolution 435 (1978), the Council urges all international organizations and bodies, all States and the international community as a whole to contribute actively and effectively to the implementation of the present declaration and programme of action.

"89. Many recent developments relating to Namibia have been sinister. South Africa has made it clear that it will not hesitate to seek what it calls a solution to the Namibian question outside the framework of the United Nations plan. Recent actions of the puppet administration at Windhoek point to the possibility of its unilaterally declaring independence. The Council declares that such an action would be bereft of legitimacy and popular will. Such an action cannot command credibility. It will not be recognized."

Special commemorative meeting to mark the twentieth year of the establishment of the United Nations Council for Namibia

204. In the course of its extraordinary plenary meetings at Luanda, the Council, at its 488th meeting on 19 May 1987, held a special commemorative meeting to mark the twentieth year of the establishment of the United Nations Council for Namibia and adopted an appeal. The Council was honoured by the presence of Mr. José Eduardo dos Santos, President of Angola, Mr. Kenneth Kaunda, President of Zambia and Chairman of the front-line States and Mr. Ange Edouard Pongui, Prime Minister of the Congo and representative of the Chairman of C.U., who made important opening statements. Statements were also made by Mr. Choudhury, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Bangladesh and President of the General Assembly at its forty-first session; Mr. Farah, Under-Secretary-General for the Department of Special Political Questions, Regional Co-operation, Decolonization and Trusteeship and representative of the Secretary-General; Mr. Sam Nujoma, President of SWAPO; Mr. Andrew Mutetwa, representative of the Chairman of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries; and Lt. Gen. Zuze, President of the United Nations Council for Namibia. A message from the President of the Security Council was read out by Mr. Kabia, Secretary of the United Nations Council for Namibia. In addition, the commemorative meeting received messages of solidarity from the President of Peru, and from the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of Indonesia and Colombia.

Statements and messages

1. Statement by the President of Angola

205. Mr. dos Santos, President of Angola, stated that the moral, political and material support given to the people of Namibia should be a question of principle and an expression of solidarity by the international community. South Africa's intransigence in maintaining the inhuman system of apartheid in flagrant violation of resolutions of the United Nations placed that régime outside the pale of international law.

206. He emphasized that the support given by Angola to Namibia was non-negotiable, and would not be bargained away to appease the racist aggressors who continuously violated Angolan territory. Despite enormous human and material losses, the Angolan people had not given up their struggle. The United States and its main allies were placing impediments in the path of the attainment of international peace, while South African troops or armed bandits in their pay regularly attacked Mozambique, Zambia and Angola. South Africa's strategy had a dual objective of promoting insecurity in the region and destroying strategic targets and infrastructures of neighbouring States, thereby making those States more vulnerable to blackmail.

207. The possible collapse of the racist régime of Pretoria had led some Western Powers to condemn rhetorically the apartheid system and at the same time to strengthen their economic ties with that régime. The international community must unequivocally condemn such duplicity and call for mandatory economic sanctions against South Africa, which was the only way of finding a just solution to the Namibian problem.

208. Mr. dos Santos continued by stating that it was only after repeated aggressions by South Africa against its territory that Angola had appealed to

international forces for help, and Cuba had responded to that appeal. Namibia's independence could not be contingent upon their withdrawal.

209. Armed bands and puppets in Angola and Mozambique were being supported and strengthened, he stated. It was in such a climate of exacerbation of tension that the United States had suggested another pretext, which had been accepted by South Africa, to further slow down the process of decolonization of Namibia.

210. It was clear that there was no "linkage" whatsoever between the presence of Cuban troops in Angola and the independence of Namibia. That pre-condition was only one more attempt to grab a pretext to justify the illegal occupation of Namibia. It was therefore imperative to implement Security Council resolution 435 (1978), which was the only secure base capable of leading Namibia to independence. The international community must denounce those Western Powers that had benefited materially and strategically in South Africa and had impeded the Council, through the use of the veto, from taking stronger action against that régime.

2. Statement by the President of Zambia

211. Mr. Kaunda, President of Zambia, speaking in his capacity as the Chairman of the front-line States, said it was rather depressing that the establishment of the United Nations Council for Namibia was being celebrated. In actual fact, there was nothing to celebrate. "We should in fact have been celebrating the twentieth anniversary of the independence of Namibia", he said.

212. Namibia and apartheid, he stated, were fast proving to be worrisome thorns in the political flesh of the Reagan Administration. The two issues might also prove, depending on how the Reagan Administration handled them, to be the final dividing line in the political relations between the United States and free Africa and the international standing of the United States as regards its belief in the right to self-determination of nations.

213. President Kaunda stated that, having been a key member of the Western contact group, the Reagan Administration had a political and moral responsibility to ensure that Security Council resolution 435 (1978) was implemented in letter and spirit without the imposition of extraneous issues such as "linkage" and without the imposition of irrelevant ideological considerations. He said "This is no time and place for jack-boot diplomacy", and asked "where is the much avowed American belief in fair play and justice?".

214. He stated that Zambia totally rejected "linkage" as an irrelevant and extraneous issue and as a gross interference in the internal affairs of Angola. He further declared that the continuing destabilization and acts of aggression perpetrated by the racist Pretoria régime against front-line States, as well as the continued illegal occupation of Namibia, were intended to protect the loathsome system of apartheid.

215. "We will not be intimidated", he said. "We will not be blackmailed. We prefer to bring change by a peaceful solution to the Namibian independence question. Similarly, we prefer to bring change to South Africa by peaceful means". The imposition of comprehensive and mandatory sanctions against South Africa was the only right thing to do given the intransigence of the apartheid

régime, he observed. He appealed to all those countries and peoples that were genuinely committed to the eradication of apartheid to join in the campaign, and added that those in the region "shall remain indebted to all those countries which have already unilaterally imposed sanctions against apartheid South Africa".

216. He further appealed to the international community to increase its support for the people of Namibia and their legitimate national liberation movement, SWAPO, and to press for implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978).

3. Message from the President of the Congo and Chairman of the Organization of African Unity

217. Mr. Pongui, Prime Minister of the Congo, spoke on behalf of Mr. Denis Sassou-Nguesso, President of the Congo and current Chairman of OAU. He also read out a message in which the President said that the celebration of the twentieth anniversary of the United Nations Council for Namibia was a time to reflect on the "absurdity of the century" that was slowing down the process of decolonization of Namibia. Although the United Nations has established the basis for Namibian independence, much remained to be done. Action should be taken on three fronts: the economic development of Africa, its pan-Africanism and decolonization.

218. He stated that the tension in southern Africa was a consequence of the arrogance of the apartheid régime, which continued to defy the international community with impunity. States neighbouring South Africa had to be prepared night and day to face aggression and acts of sabotage. The recent raid conducted on Livingstone, Zambia, was a clear example of the will of South Africa to maintain a climate of terror with its neighbours. Apartheid was a genuine crime against humanity that was causing the destabilization of front-line States and was the main cause of the suffering of the people of southern Africa. Any attitude that aimed at establishing a link between the presence of Cuban troops in Angola and the independence of Namibia constituted a dilatory manoeuvre by South Africa and its allies to keep Namibia in its clutches.

219. The Prime Minister stressed that racist South Africa was still benefiting from the active support it received from international imperialism and zionism, which explained its lack of concern for international opinion. It was therefore vital to take concrete action to guarantee civil rights for the people of South Africa and power for the black majority, peace in the front-line States, and the unconditional independence of Namibia. It was incumbent upon the international community to support the struggle of the Namibian people by imposing global mandatory sanctions against South Africa and by making voluntary contributions to the AFRICA Fund.

4. Statement by the President of the General Assembly

220. Mr. Choudhury, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Bangladesh and President of the General Assembly at its forty-first session, said that the Council was a visible and concrete manifestation of the United Nations efforts in realizing the objectives of its Charter. The Council, while affirming the legitimacy of the struggle of the Namibian people by every means at its disposal, had shown that peaceful transition to Namibia's independence was possible and was within reach,

provided the international community could put an end to South Africa's defiance and intransigence.

221. He stated that the Council, in its effort to mobilize support for the termination of South Africa's illegal occupation of Namibia, deserved full support in all its activities.

222. The President of the General Assembly stressed that the peace and security of independent African States in the region had been greatly threatened by South Africa's acts of aggression, launched from Namibia. It was an important responsibility of the United Nations, he said, to devise appropriate measures to alleviate the problems of the front-line States, which were subjected to South Africa's armed attacks. All States must take legislative, administrative and other measures against South Africa in order to isolate it politically, economically, militarily and culturally, in accordance with resolutions of the United Nations.

223. He further stated that although the United Nations Council for Namibia had doubted the seriousness of the racist régime in the negotiating process, it had not stood in the way of negotiations which the contact group had begun in 1977 on the basis of Security Council resolution 385 (1976), and which had produced Security Council resolution 435 (1978). It had become apparent, however, that through sinister manoeuvres South Africa was trying to perpetrate its illegal occupation and plunder of Namibia.

5. Message from the Secretary-General of the United Nations

224. In a message read out by Mr. Farah, Under-Secretary-General for Special Political Questions, Regional Co-operation, Decolonization and Trusteeship, the Secretary-General stated that since its establishment 20 years previously, the United Nations Council for Namibia had discharged its responsibilities with great dedication despite innumerable difficulties. It had demonstrated a consistency of purpose, and had given practical expression to the obligations assumed by the international community to the people of Namibia. While South Africa's opposition had prevented the Council from discharging specific powers and functions in the Territory, as entrusted to it by the General Assembly, the Council had not allowed that hindrance to affect its overall political action programme, which had been pursued with great determination over the years in support of the Namibian people.

225. The Secretary-General stated that in addition to its political programmes, the Council had given priority to activities designed to ensure the well-being of the inhabitants of the Territory. Notable among those were the establishment of special accounts of the United Nations Fund for Namibia, particularly the Nationhood Programme and the United Nations Institute for Namibia, which had allowed many Namibians to be prepared for responsible positions, through specially designed programmes of education and training, when the Territory achieved independence.

6. Statement by the President of the South West Africa People's Organization

226. Mr. Nujoma, President of the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO), said that the reason Namibia was not yet free was that racist South Africa and its

imperialist allies, especially the United States, the United Kingdom and the Federal Republic of Germany, were bent on holding Namibia's independence to ransom in pursuit of their own selfish ideological, economic and strategic interests. Despite those impediments to Namibia's independence, created by the forces of imperialism and racism, SWAPO had been fortified in its struggle by the support given by the international community, in particular that of the front-line States, especially Angola and Zambia.

227. Mr. Nujoma emphasized that the puppet institutions created by South Africa not only served as an instrument for delaying Namibia's independence but also as convenient tools for its future destabilization. He appealed for increased political and concrete material support from the international community, and condemnation of the criminal policy of linking Namibia's independence to the extraneous issue of the presence of Cuban internationalists in Angola.

228. The President of SWAPO stated that the Reagan Administration was notorious not only for holding Namibia's independence hostage by insisting on the unjust "linkage" pre-condition, but also for spearheading the smear campaign against SWAPO in the United States, abroad and within the United Nations system. He said that it was manipulating certain United Nations agencies, such as UNDP, to undermine liberation support programmes.

229. He stressed that the United Nations Council for Namibia should step up the campaign for the imposition of comprehensive and mandatory sanctions against apartheid South Africa to compel it to implement Security Council resolution 435 (1978). It should therefore intensify pressure on the Reagan Administration to convince it to abandon its discredited "linkage" policy. The Council must take immediate action to ensure that the Federal Republic of Germany desisted from its reprehensible policy of so-called development aid before the independence of Namibia, and from its evil scheme to dump nuclear waste in Namibia. The Council should launch a vigorous campaign to counter the black-out of news and information imposed in Namibia, with a view to exposing the atrocities being committed by the Pretoria régime against the Namibian people.

7. Message from the Chairman of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries

230. In a message to the meetings, Mr. Robert Mugabe, Prime Minister of Zimbabwe and current Chairman of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, stated that the insidious situation prevailing in southern Africa today was not because the United Nations plan for the independence of Namibia was ill-conceived, but because the present United States Administration had introduced extraneous issues to the Namibian question and, in the process, had contributed to the perpetuation of South Africa's illegal occupation of Namibia. The Reagan Administration's insistence on "linkage" was part and parcel of its policy of so-called constructive engagement, which in reality was a policy of destructive engagement. Emboldened by "linkage" in Namibia, the Pretoria régime had also adopted other obstructionist tactics aimed at prolonging its illegal colonial occupation of Namibia, while proceeding to perpetrate massacres and the complete militarization of Namibia.

231. The Chairman of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries stated that in the region as a whole, the policy of destabilization had wreaked havoc in all independent States. Angola, Mozambique, Lesotho, Botswana, Zambia and Zimbabwe had

not escaped racist South Africa's diabolical acts of unprovoked aggression. Namibians and South Africans had a legitimate right to use all means at their disposal, including armed struggle, in resisting the monstrosity that was apartheid and its colonialism in Namibia.

232. The Prime Minister stated that the imposition of sanctions would be most effective if they were made mandatory and comprehensive. He hoped that those who had vetoed the imposition of such measures would reconsider their positions before the situation became even worse. Insistence on vetoes and "linkage" amounted to pretending to be part of the solution, when in reality the parties concerned were becoming an essential part of the problem, and an obstruction to the use of peaceful means to resolve the problems of southern Africa.

8. Statement by the President of the United Nations Council for Namibia

233. Lt. Gen. Zuse (Zambia), President of the United Nations Council for Namibia, stated that the forces determining Pretoria's actions were not right or wrong, but cost and benefit as conceived in terms of the perpetuation of minority rule. For practical purposes, that meant the international community must raise the cost of illegal occupation in Namibia to a level that was intolerable for the Pretoria régime. If diplomatic initiatives, moral appeals and stern warnings had been sufficient, Namibia would be free and independent today.

234. The Council, he said, must intensify action on two fronts by mobilizing the fullest possible support for the Namibian people in their struggle to overthrow racist colonial rule and using every possible means to isolate the South Africa régime. The voluntary boycott of South Africa, the Council's consultations with Member States, its relations with intergovernmental and non-governmental organizations, and its programme of dissemination of information all had an important role to play in that regard.

235. The President of the Council stressed that the movement to impose sanctions against South Africa under Chapter VII of the Charter must remain the focal point of such efforts. The energy that Pretoria had invested in resisting sanctions merely served to demonstrate how effective and useful such measures would be in the hands of the international community. He appealed to all Member States to continue seeking a unified position and course of action which best served the vital interests of the people of Namibia.

9. Message from the President of the Security Council

236. In a message to the extraordinary plenary meetings, the President of the Security Council stated that the commemoration meeting provided an opportunity to recall the unique responsibility of the United Nations for furthering the interests of the people of Namibia and their aspirations for peace, justice and independence. The Security Council remained steadfast in its commitment to discharge its particular responsibility to the people of Namibia and to bring about a genuine political settlement of the Namibian question.

Adoption of the appeal

237. At the conclusion of its commemorative session, the United Nations Council for Namibia adopted by acclamation the following appeal:

"Appeal issued by the United Nations Council for Namibia on the occasion of the twentieth anniversary of its establishment"

- "1. It is now 20 years since the General Assembly, having terminated South Africa's mandate over Namibia, created the United Nations Council for Namibia to administer the Territory and prepare it for independence. These events marked a decisive new stage in the efforts of the international community to realize in Namibia the principles of self-determination and peaceful resolution of conflict enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations.
- "2. By undertaking a direct and active commitment to the decolonisation of Namibia, the United Nations offered fitting support to the century-old resistance of the Namibian people against foreign domination, which in 1966 took the form of an armed national liberation struggle led by the South West Africa People's Organisation (SWAPO), the sole and authentic representative of the Namibian people.
- "3. On this occasion, the United Nations Council for Namibia pays tribute once again to the Namibian people for the countless sacrifices that they have made and the heroic courage that they have displayed in their struggle against colonial repression by the racist régime of South Africa.
- "4. Just as South Africa has brutally suppressed the Namibian people's struggle for national liberation, so it has used cynical delaying tactics and diplomatic manoeuvres to block implementation of the United Nations plan for the independence of Namibia contained in Security Council resolution 435 (1978). The Security Council, for its part, has been prevented by some of its permanent members from taking effective measures to secure implementation of its own plan.
- "5. So long as South Africa maintains its illegal occupation of Namibia, it will continue to murder, torture and persecute Namibians; to plunder their resources in collaboration with other foreign interests; and to use the Territory as a staging ground for acts of aggression and destabilization against the neighbouring independent States. These acts, in turn, can only serve to perpetuate apartheid rule in South Africa itself and to lead southern Africa to the brink of chaos and destruction.
- "6. In view of the ever-increasing repression of the Namibian people and the explosive situation prevailing in southern Africa, the United Nations Council for Namibia calls urgently upon the international community to act decisively to bring an end to the illegal occupation of Namibia by the racist régime of South Africa and to assist, as a matter of priority, the victims of racist South Africa's repression.

* Previously issued under the symbol A/42/324-S/18900.

"7. To this end, the Council urges the United States Administration to withdraw its support for South Africa's policy of linkage, a policy that the Security Council itself has rejected as incompatible with its resolution 435 (1978) and condemned as an obstruction to the independence of Namibia.

"8. The Council urges the Security Council to impose comprehensive and mandatory sanctions against South Africa under Chapter VII of the Charter, so as to compel it to terminate its illegal occupation of Namibia. The Council stresses that negotiation, persuasion and repeated warnings to South Africa have met only with defiance and delay by the racist Pretoria régime. These developments show conclusively that comprehensive and mandatory sanctions are the only remaining peaceful means of bringing about the genuine independence of Namibia.

"9. The Council appeals to all States to support its activities as the legal Administering Authority for Namibia until independence. It declares that such support strengthens the authority of the United Nations in relation to Namibia and enhances the efforts to ensure full implementation of the relevant decisions and resolutions of the United Nations.

"10. The Council urges all States, institutions and individuals to render increased assistance of every kind to the Namibian people through SWAPO, which is leading the struggle for national liberation in Namibia. Furthermore, the Council calls for generous international support for the front-line States in their efforts to defend their sovereignty and territorial integrity against aggression, destabilization and subversion by the racist régime of South Africa.

"11. The Council reaffirms its unconditional solidarity with SWAPO, the sole and authentic representative of the Namibian people. The Council conveys to the Namibian masses, through SWAPO, its assurance of whole-hearted support for their just struggle. It reaffirms to them its conviction that their inalienable right to self-determination and independence will ultimately prevail and that Namibia will claim its rightful place in the community of nations.

"12. Finally, the Council recalls the solemn obligation of the international community to promote and defend the inalienable rights of the Namibian people. In the final analysis, it is only through the active and conscientious fulfilment of this obligation that the fundamental principles of the United Nations can be upheld in relation to Namibia and that justice can be made to triumph over brute force, lawlessness and oppression."

Visit to the SWAPO Health and Education Centre at Kwanza Sul

238. At the invitation of SWAPO, Council members attending the extraordinary plenary meetings at Luanda paid a visit, on 21 and 22 May 1987, to the SWAPO Health and Education Centre in Angola, located near the town of Calulo in the north-east of Kwanza Sul province.

239. On the evening of 21 May, at a mass rally organized by SWAPO in honour of the Council members, Namibian students offered a cultural show which included a number of dances and songs.

240. At the mass rally, Lt. Gen. Zuze, President of the Council and Permanent Representative of Zambia to the United Nations, expressed, on behalf of other Council members, his satisfaction to be in a SWAPO Health and Education Centre and to obtain first-hand information of how Namibian refugees lived. He noted that the Council had decided to hold its extraordinary plenary meetings in Angola because it had been unable to meet in Namibia. He stated that the situation in Namibia was a "true international scandal" and that the world community should redouble its efforts to obtain the independence of the Territory. For its part, the Council would continue to do its best to disseminate information on the situation in the Territory and to assist the Namibian people. He concluded by saying that Namibia would become independent as a result of the valiant struggle waged by SWAPO and by increasing international pressure for the adoption of comprehensive and mandatory sanctions against the apartheid régime.

241. In his statement at the rally, Mr. Nujoma, President of SWAPO, expressed the gratitude of SWAPO to all countries which had helped the Namibian exiled community. He also thanked the Council for its assistance to the Namibian people. He explained that the settlement camps were scattered through different locations in Kwanza Sul province in order to minimize the possibility of South Africa's attacks, such as the one at Kassinga in May 1978 in which the racist régime massacred hundreds of defenceless Namibian refugees. He noted that the settlements provided health and educational services to Namibians and that many young people, after their secondary education at the camps, went to other countries or to the United Nations Institute for Namibia at Lusaka to pursue further studies.

B. Seminar on Support for the Immediate Independence of Namibia and the Effective Application of Sanctions against South Africa, held at Buenos Aires, from 20 to 24 April 1987

242. The United Nations Council for Namibia held a Seminar on Support for the Immediate Independence of Namibia and the Effective Application of Sanctions against South Africa at Buenos Aires, from 20 to 24 April 1987, in accordance with its mandate to mobilize international public opinion in support of Namibia and to disseminate information on the situation in the Territory and the struggle of the Namibian people for their immediate independence.

243. The agenda for the Seminar included a brief analysis of the current situation in Namibia and related developments, support for the struggle of the Namibian people, and the imposition of comprehensive and mandatory sanctions against South Africa as an effective means of compelling the Pretoria régime to comply with resolutions and decisions of the United Nations on the question of Namibia.

244. The purpose of the Seminar was to recommend concrete measures to end racist South Africa's illegal occupation of Namibia and to bring about Namibia's immediate independence. The Seminar also sought to increase all forms of support for the struggle of the Namibian people for national liberation led by SWAPO, their sole and authentic representative, and to devise ways and means for the effective imposition of comprehensive mandatory sanctions against South Africa.

245. The Seminar was conducted by a Council delegation composed of Lt. Gen. Zuze (Zambia), President of the Council; Mr. Ononaiye (Nigeria), Chairman of the Seminar; Messrs. Valentin Berezovsky (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics),

Ahmed (Pakistan) and Osman Ulukan (Turkey), Vice-Chairmen; and Mr. Carnevali-Villegas (Venezuela), Rapporteur. The delegation was accompanied by Mr. Theo-Ben Gurirab, Secretary for Foreign Affairs of SWAPO. The report of the Council delegation on the activities of the Seminar is contained in document A/AC.131/246.

246. On 20 April, the Council delegation held a journalists' encounter which brought together 17 media representatives from all regions of the world to discuss issues related to the Seminar's agenda and to review the role of the media in the dissemination of information on Namibia. Members of the Council delegation and SWAPO addressed the journalists and answered questions. The journalists also attended the Seminar and followed its proceedings.

247. At the closing meeting on 24 April, the Seminar adopted a final document recommending urgent measures to be taken by non-governmental organizations, parliamentarians and legislators, the media and the United Nations Council for Namibia in support of the immediate independence of Namibia. For the text of the Call for Action, see A/AC.131/245.

CHAPTER IV

WORKSHOPS ORGANIZED BY THE UNITED NATIONS COUNCIL FOR NAMIBIA IN CO-OPERATION WITH NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS

248. By its resolution 41/39 D, the General Assembly requested, *inter alia*, the United Nations Council for Namibia to:

(a) Focus its activities towards greater mobilization of public opinion in Western States, particularly the United States of America, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and the Federal Republic of Germany;

(b) Redouble its efforts to inform international public opinion of developments in Namibia in order to counteract the total news black-out on Namibia imposed by the illegal South African régime, which forbade foreign journalists from entering and reporting from the Territory;

(c) Exert all efforts to counteract the campaign of slander and disinformation against the United Nations and the liberation struggle in Namibia carried out by South African agents from the so-called information centres established in several Western countries;

(d) Organize workshops for non-governmental organizations, parliamentarians, trade unionists, academics and media representatives at which the participants will consider how they can contribute to the implementation of the decisions of the United Nations relating to the dissemination of information on Namibia.

249. The programme of work of the Council for 1987 has duly focused on galvanizing wider support for the Namibian cause. It included the organization of workshops in co-operation with non-governmental organizations. At the request of the Council, non-governmental organizations in the Federal Republic of Germany, the United Kingdom, Japan and the United States organized workshops on different aspects of the situation in and relating to Namibia.

A. Workshop at Bonn (28 to 30 April 1987)

250. During the period under review, and pursuant to General Assembly resolution 41/39 C, the Council organized a workshop in co-operation with the Anti-Apartheid Bewegung of the Federal Republic of Germany. The workshop was held at Bonn, from 28 to 30 April 1987.

251. The purposes of the workshop were: (a) to inform the public of the Federal Republic of Germany about the situation in and concerning Namibia and southern Africa; (b) to plan appropriate strategies for the imposition of comprehensive and mandatory sanctions against South Africa, as well as the implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978); (c) to devise effective ways and means of intensifying material solidarity with the liberation struggle of the Namibian people, led by SWAPO, their sole and authentic representative; and (d) to review ways of intensifying support for the front-line States, furthering the dissemination of information on Namibia and of promoting co-operation between the Council and non-governmental organizations, national support groups and prominent personalities in the Federal Republic of Germany.

252. The workshop examined the situation in and relating to Namibia in detail and discussed what measures should be taken by the international community to assist the people of Namibia in their pursuit of their national goal of independence. In this regard, the workshop discussed the implementation of all possible measures of strengthening and intensifying all types of support to SWAPO, the sole and authentic representative of the Namibian people.

253. The Council delegation was headed by Mr. Ivan S. Kulov (Bulgaria), and included Ms. Yanhua Shi (China). They were accompanied by Mr. Helmut Angula of SWAPO. Mr. Yobert Shamapande represented the Office of the United Nations Commissioner for Namibia. The SWAPO delegation was led by Mr. Moses Garoeb, Administrative Secretary, and included Messrs. Gurirab, Secretary for Foreign Affairs, Nghidimondjila Shoombe, SWAPO representative in the Federal Republic of Germany and Austria, Eddie Amkongo, SWAPO representative in France, and Anton Lubowski of the SWAPO Office in Namibia.

254. At the closing of the meeting, on 30 April, the workshop adopted its Programme of Action, in which the participants rededicated themselves to increased efforts towards greater solidarity actions among themselves in an effort to exert pressure on the Federal Republic of Germany to cease its support of the illegal South African régime in Namibia. In this regard, the Programme of Action called for, *inter alia*, the cessation of all contacts with the occupation régime in Namibia and its puppet administration in the Territory; prevention of the citizens of the Federal Republic of Germany from serving in the South African armed forces; prevention of the importation of uranium from Namibia; institution of legal proceedings against those citizens of the Federal Republic of Germany who violated the provisions of Decree No. 1 for the Protection of the Natural Resources of Namibia; intensification efforts towards the dissemination of information on the achievements of the Namibian people in their legitimate struggle for national independence; an increase of material support for SWAPO; and the achievement of official recognition of SWAPO in the Federal Republic of Germany as the sole and authentic representative of the Namibian people

255. For the report of the Council on the workshop and the text of the Programme of Action, see A/AC.131/264.

B. Workshops in London (11 to 13 May 1987)

256. The Council organized workshops in the United Kingdom in co-operation with the Oxford Famine Relief Organization (OXFAM) and the Namibia Support Committee, from 11 to 13 May 1987.

257. The delegation of the Council was composed of Messrs. Tharcisse Ntakibirora (Burundi), Chairman, and Andrzej W. Kakolecki (Poland). The delegation of SWAPO was led by Mr. Gurirab, Secretary for Foreign Affairs, and included Mr. Pius H. Asheeke. The Council of Churches of Namibia was represented by Mr. Moses Omeb.

258. The workshop organized by OXFAM took the form of a one day "Conference on Namibia". It was held at Regent's College, Regent's Park, in London on 11 May 1987.

259. The objective of the OXFAM Conference was to update members of Parliament, representatives of non-governmental organizations, trade unions, churches,

assistance agencies and the media on recent diplomatic and political developments regarding Namibia. The Conference was designed primarily as a vehicle for open discussion and debate with a view to forwarding political and diplomatic initiatives for the immediate independence of Namibia at the parliamentary level in the United Kingdom.

260. The Chairman of the Conference summarized the consensus of the meeting as follows:

- (a) South Africa's presence in Namibia was illegal;
- (b) Ways and means should be sought to heighten involvement on the question of Namibia;
- (c) The question of Namibia should be separated from the dismantling of apartheid and be reasserted in its own right;
- (d) Non-governmental organizations should acquaint themselves with each other's work and co-operate in joint efforts and share resources;
- (e) Some four weeks prior to national elections, non-governmental organizations and parliamentarians should try to make the Namibian question a priority issue;
- (f) Special efforts must be made to involve the media. For that reason, the Media and Namibia Conference to be convened by the Namibia Support Committee on 12 and 13 May 1987 in London was of the utmost importance;
- (g) A cross-party parliamentary group on Namibia must be kept informed of all developments relating to the question;
- (h) The Select Committee on Foreign Affairs of the Parliament should be urged to publish a report on Namibia;
- (i) The participants should undertake the convening of a direct follow-up at the parliamentary level as soon as possible.

261. On 12 and 13 May, the Namibia Support Committee convened the "Media and Namibia Conference" at Westminster Central Hall in London.

262. The two-day workshop also took the form of a conference and concentrated on ways and means to increase media and press coverage of the struggle of the Namibian people for self-determination and independence, led by SWAPO, the sole and authentic representative of the Namibian people.

263. The participants adopted the following proposals for future action:

- (a) Maximum publicity should be given to the importance of United Nations Security Council resolution 435 (1978) as the only peaceful solution to the Namibian question, and vigilance should be exercised towards all attempts to impose a unilateral neo-colonial settlement on the Namibian people;

(b) The United Nations Council for Namibia or other organizations should fund, or in other ways facilitate, visits by British journalists to Namibia and to SWAPO centres in Angola or Zambia to enable them to obtain first-hand information. Similarly, solidarity organizations in the United Kingdom should organize visits to the United Kingdom and Europe by Namibians, particularly journalists, in co-operation with SWAPO, in order to meet journalists in these countries and conduct interviews;

(c) In view of the alarming scale of violation of human rights in Namibia as a result of the intensification of the war, the media and solidarity organizations should give proper coverage to these atrocities, such as ones reported in The Namibian (Namibia Communications Centre), in statements made by SWAPO at forums in the United Nations, and in the International News Briefing on Namibia (Namibia Support Committee);

(d) Solidarity organizations should use all avenues possible to expose and isolate the "International Society for Human Rights" and other channels in line with South African Government propaganda. This should focus on work in parliament to counter the disinformation being directed at parliamentarians and on an information campaign to ensure that individual journalists are aware of the nature of such sources. This would involve a serious and consistent effort to maintain a flow of information and to explain the inaccuracies in reports from these sources;

(e) The media should strive to distinguish between the apartheid policy and the struggle for majority rule in South Africa on the one hand and the illegal colonial occupation of Namibia on the other, and to recognize the importance of covering the latter in its own right; major newspapers in the United Kingdom should use stringers in Namibia and/or send journalists there more frequently; and the National Union of Journalists (NUJ) and other organizations should be approached to sponsor Namibian students who would be trained in journalism and communications work. NUJ had for the first time in 1987 included the question of Namibia on the agenda of its Committee on Southern Africa and would now endeavour to include it in the deliberations of the International Federation of Journalists at Brussels;

(f) Greater effort should be made to persuade internationally well-known public figures to raise the issue of Namibian independence more forcefully when speaking at news conferences in London. Visits by members of Parliament and other key public figures to Namibia and the SWAPO centres in Angola and Zambia in particular, and to other front-line States, should be undertaken so that they could be apprised of the correct situation on the ground, and convey their findings to the media;

(g) The deep and long-standing involvement of the United States Administration should be fully exposed, in its continued promotion of "linkage", in effect a device for both delaying independence in Namibia and destabilizing Angola, as well as in giving military assistance to the South African-backed UNITA bandits in Angola. Any meetings between representatives of the United Kingdom Government and the "interim government", such as occurred recently in London, should be fully reported.

264. For the report of the delegation of the Council to the workshops, see A/AC.131/259.

C. Workshop at Tokyo (30 May 1987)

265. The United Nations Council for Namibia organized a one-day workshop at Tokyo, in co-operation with the Tokyo Information Centre, on 30 May 1987.
266. A delegation of the Council, led by its President, Lt. Gen. Zuze (Zambia), and including Mr. Claude Heller (Mexico) and Mr. Ramu Damodaran (India) conducted the workshop. The SWAPO delegation was led by Mr. Toivo ya Toivo, Secretary-General of SWAPO. Mr. Mishra, then United Nations Commissioner for Namibia, accompanied the delegation of the Council.
267. The objective of the workshop was to inform the Japanese public about the situation in and relating to Namibia and to mobilize support for the Namibian cause. The workshop was also intended to explore with non-governmental organizations in Japan possibilities for the Council to organize a non-governmental organization activity on the question of Namibia during 1988.
268. The workshop, which was attended by representatives of academic, diplomatic and non-governmental organization communities, as well as journalists specializing in African affairs, provided the Council with an opportunity to inform and arouse the concern of the Japanese public with respect to the question of Namibia.
269. For the report of the Council delegation to the workshop, see A/AC.131/266.

D. Workshop at Chicago (23 to 25 July 1987)

General

270. The United Nations Council for Namibia organized a workshop at Chicago, in co-operation with the American Committee on Africa, from 23 to 25 July 1987.
271. The Council delegation was led by its President, Lt. Gen. Zuze (Zambia), and included Mr. Marin-Bosch (Mexico) and Mr. Ahmed (Pakistan), who were accompanied by Mr. Asheeke of SWAPO. Mr. Carlsson, United Nations Commissioner for Namibia, also participated in the workshop.
272. The SWAPO delegation was led by Mr. Toivo ya Toivo, Secretary-General, and included Messrs. Aaron Shihepo, SWAPO Deputy Secretary for Foreign Affairs, and Kondja Shikongo, as well as Mr. Barnabus Tjizu, General Secretary of the Metal and Allied Namibian Workers' Union.
273. The main aims of the workshop were, inter alia: (a) to mobilize public opinion in the United States in order to secure support for Namibia's independence; (b) to consider ways and means of increasing the dissemination of information relating to Namibia; (c) to intensify the international campaign for the imposition of comprehensive and mandatory sanctions against South Africa under Chapter VII of the Charter; (d) to find ways and means of co-ordinating efforts by non-governmental organizations, towards a boycott of Namibian products; (e) to expose and denounce collaboration with South Africa in all fields; and (f) to campaign against the United States policy of "linkage".

274. The workshop was attended by approximately 140 participants from a variety of organizations, including non-governmental organizations, trade unions, national support groups, the news media and universities.

275. Senator Paul Simon of Illinois, Chairman of the Senate Sub-Committee on Africa, and Congressmen John Conyers of Michigan and Charles Hayes of Illinois also participated in the workshop.

276. Mr. Harold Washington, Mayor of Chicago, attended the workshop and declared Saturday, 25 July 1987, as Namibia Day.

Programme of Action

277. At the close of the workshop, the participants unanimously adopted the following Programme of Action:

"Reaffirming the inalienable right of the Namibian people to freedom and self-determination,

"Denouncing the illegal occupation of Namibia by the racist régime of South Africa,

"Recognizing the unique role of SWAPO as the sole and authentic representative of Namibian people in their struggle for national liberation,

"Affirming the right of the Namibian people to use all appropriate means, including armed force, to achieve the liberation of their country,

"Recognizing that the United States Government has consistently presented a major block to the achievement of freedom by the people of Namibia,

"We demand of the Reagan Administration effective action to bring about the immediate implementation of United Nations Security Council resolution 435 (1978) including:

"(1) The abandonment of the false doctrine of 'linkage';

"(2) An end to all aid to UNITA, direct or indirect, covert or overt; and

"(3) Immediate imposition of comprehensive mandatory sanctions against South Africa.

"We declare our solidarity with SWAPO and pledge ourselves to intensify our work in support of the valiant struggle of the Namibian people. We commit ourselves to increasing our efforts to assist the trade unions, churches and all other progressive organizations of the Namibian people in their struggle for independence.

"We therefore call for support for the following Programme of Action:

"We pledge ourselves

"(1) To present the situation in Namibia as a choice between the apartheid colonial and repressive domination of the Namibian people and their legitimate right to self-determination, in order to situate the struggle in Namibia within a regional context and focus attention on the war of liberation by SWAPO.

"(2) To select appropriate days for national mobilization on Namibia, such as 'Namibia Day', August 26 and May 4, the commemoration of the racist régime's brutal Kassinga massacre.

"(3) To expand and develop material aid campaigns to educate further the people of the United States and provide needed assistance to the liberation movement.

"(4) To strengthen grassroots ecumenical education and advocacy in support of SWAPO and the struggling Namibian people.

"(5) To develop direct union-to-union contact between trade unionists in the United States and their counterparts in the National Union of Namibian Workers and its affiliates. To further this goal, resources should be devoted to enhancing trade union support for Namibian workers through such means as a tour of the United States by Namibian workers.

"(6) To provide materials and information on Namibia to facilitate communication between concerned individuals and organizations and help develop new constituencies with a potential for action around Namibia, particularly in the black community, the religious community, trade unions and among the youth.

"(7) To expand the international and consistent use of current information on the situation in Namibia as a tool to educate and pressure members of Congress and other elected officials to develop and implement a United States policy in support of Namibian independence.

"(8) In this regard, to mobilize immediately support for the Dymally resolution, HR 131, and to pressure our representatives to co-sponsor this legislation.

"(9) To endorse and support the Ai-Gams Declaration and fully to commit ourselves to the spirit of this statement adopted by the Council of Churches of Namibia, SWAPO and a wide variety of patriotic and cultural organizations in Namibia. In a spirit of solidarity the conference adopts the principal points of the Ai-Gams Declaration as a guide to action for United States activists.

"(10) To demand the immediate withdrawal of all foreign, and particularly United States, corporations from Namibia. Recognizing the contribution this seminar has made to the development of support for the implementation of United Nations Security Council resolution 435 (1978) in the United States, this conference calls for the convening of similar regional conferences in the future. Further, the conference urges the United Nations Council for Namibia and the Office of the Commissioner for Namibia to continue and expand the work being done to produce and provide popular materials and resources for public education, thus strengthening the capacity of concerned activists to build a United States movement in support of Namibian liberation."

278. Those participants who were of United States citizenship appended the following separate statement:

"As concerned United States citizens we affirm:

"(1) The inalienable right of the Namibian people to gain their self-determination and independence now;

"(2) The inviolability of the territorial integrity of Namibia and support the Namibian people's commitment to One Namibia, One Nation;

"(3) The international status of Namibia and the obligation of the international community; and

"(4) That United Nations Security Council resolution 435 (1978) is the only peaceful, democratic way of achieving an internationally recognized independence for Namibia.

"Consequently, we commit ourselves to:

"(1) Mobilize and raise the consciousness of the people of the United States so as to support actively the struggle for liberation in Namibia;

"(2) Embark on a campaign of positive action aimed at bringing about the immediate and unconditional implementation of United Nations Security Council resolution 435 (1978);

"(3) Work towards the abolition of the so-called transitional government and its replacement by an internationally recognized and democratically elected Government truly representative of the Namibian people; and

"(4) Encourage congregations of various faiths to provide material aid to the suffering people of Namibia."

CHAPTER V

CONSULTATIONS WITH MEMBER STATES

279. In accordance with General Assembly resolution 41/39 C, the United Nations Council for Namibia dispatched high-level missions of consultations to India, Japan and China from 25 May to 5 June 1987.

280. The purpose of the missions was to consult with the Governments on the Namibian question and on the need for the speedy and effective implementation of resolutions of the United Nations on the question of Namibia.

281. The missions were led by Lt. Gen. Zuze (Zambia), President of the Council, and included Mr. Toivo ya Toivo, Secretary-General of SWAPO. For the report of the delegation to India, Japan and China, see A/AC.131/256.

A. Mission of Consultation to India and to the Action for Resisting Invasion, Colonialism and Apartheid Fund (AFRICA Fund) Committee (25 to 27 May 1987)

282. The Mission visited India from 25 to 27 May 1987 and was received by Mr. Rajiv Gandhi, Prime Minister. The mission also met with Mr. N. D. Tiwari, Minister for External Affairs, and conducted substantive discussions with senior officials of the Ministry of External Affairs led by Mr. N. Krishnan, the Prime Minister's Special Envoy for Africa.

283. The Mission to India included Mr. Damodaran (India) and Mr. Mishra, then United Nations Commissioner for Namibia.

284. The importance of the Mission to India was underlined by the special position the Prime Minister of India occupies as Chairman of the AFRICA Fund of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries.

285. While in India, the delegation of the Council participated in a seminar on Namibia organized by the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries. The President of the Council and the Secretary-General of SWAPO addressed the Seminar.

B. Mission of Consultation to Japan (28 to 30 May 1987)

286. The Mission visited Japan from 28 to 30 May 1987. It was led by Lt. Gen. Zuze (Zambia), President of the Council, and included Mr. Heller (Mexico), Mr. Damodaran (India) and Mr. Mishra, former United Nations Commissioner for Namibia. During its visit, the Mission was received by Mr. Tadashi Kuranari, Minister for Foreign Affairs, with whom it held consultations. It also held substantive discussions with a delegation of senior officials headed by Mr. Noboru Nakahira, Director-General of the United Nations Bureau of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs of Japan. In addition, it met with the Ambassadors of the African front-line States resident in Japan.

287. While in Tokyo, the President of the Council and the Secretary-General of SWAPO gave several press interviews which were reported in the media. The Mission also visited the United Nations University and held discussions with the Rector and senior officials of the University.

C. Mission of Consultation to China (31 May to 5 June 1987)

288. The Mission visited China from 31 May to 5 June 1987. It was received by Mr. Wan Li, Acting Premier. The Mission also held substantive discussions with Mr. Qi Huayuan, Vice Minister for Foreign Affairs and other senior officials of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

289. The Mission to China was led by Lt. Gen. Zuze (Zambia), President of the Council, and included Mr. Pejic (Yugoslavia) and Mr. Insanally (Guyana), Vice-Presidents.

290. During its stay in China, the Mission participated in a symposium on Namibia organized by the United Nations Association of China. The Symposium was addressed by the President of the Council and the Secretary-General of SWAPO, as well as by Mr. Yang Chengwu, Vice-Chairman of the National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, Mr. Cosme Deguenon, Dean of the African Diplomatic Corps and Mr. Bi Jilong, President of the United Nations Association of China. The Symposium was attended by representatives of non-governmental organizations and a cross-section of the media and the African Group of Diplomatic Corps.

CHAPTER VI

CONSULTATIONS WITH THE SOUTH WEST AFRICA PEOPLE'S ORGANIZATION

291. In accordance with General Assembly resolution 41/39 C, the Council continued to consult with the leaders of SWAPO on all aspects of the Namibian question, by inviting leaders of SWAPO to New York and by sending missions of consultation to the provisional headquarters of SWAPO at Luanda. The Council also consults with SWAPO representatives in New York on a continuous basis in the exercise of its mandate as the legal Administering Authority for Namibia until independence.

292. On 17 May 1987, a high-level delegation of the Council led by its President, Lt. Gen. Zuze, and including Messrs. Türkmen (Turkey) and Pejić (Yugoslavia), Vice Presidents, as well as Messrs. Ahmed Ouyahia (Algeria), Damodaran (India), Akyol (Turkey), Godwin Mfula (Zambia) and Miloš Strugar (Yugoslavia), held consultations at Luanda with a delegation of SWAPO. The SWAPO delegation was led by its President, Mr. Nujoma, and included Mr. Toivo ya Toivo, Secretary-General of SWAPO, Mr. Gurirab, Secretary for Foreign Relations, Mr. Hidipo Hamutenya, Secretary for Information and Publicity, Mr. Hage Geingob, Director of the United Nations Institute for Namibia, Mr. Shihepo, Deputy Secretary for Foreign Relations, and Mr. Angula, Permanent Observer of SWAPO to the United Nations.

293. The President of SWAPO briefed the delegation of the Council on the current situation in Namibia. He stressed that in a vain attempt to quell the mounting opposition by the masses in Namibia to its continued illegal occupation of the Territory, the racist régime had intensified its brutal repression of the Namibian people to unprecedented levels. It had escalated its murder, arrest and harassment of innocent Namibians, including children and elderly persons. He called upon the Council to give its most serious and urgent consideration to the matter and to ensure that the racist régime's reign of terror was brought to the attention of the international community so that the régime could be pressured to end its reign of terror in Namibia without further delay.

294. Mr. Nujoma stated that the people of Namibia under the leadership of SWAPO had continued to wage their armed struggle against the colonial régime in Namibia with vigour and determination. They continued to inflict heavy damage on Pretoria's racist troops and war machines in Namibia. He said that the Namibian people would continue to intensify their armed struggle in order to make the cost of the continued illegal occupation of their country by racist South Africa prohibitive.

295. The President of SWAPO emphasized that the Council should do all in its power to fulfil its mandate with respect to Namibia, albeit under difficult circumstances. He stressed the imperative need for increased all-round support for, and assistance to, the struggle of the Namibian people for self-determination and national independence under the leadership of SWAPO.

296. The President of the Council thanked the President of SWAPO for the detailed information on the intensified armed struggle waged by the people of Namibia under the leadership of SWAPO. He reaffirmed the unflinching support of the Council for, and solidarity with, that struggle. He stated that the Council, in pursuance of its mandate, would do its utmost to expedite Namibia's transition to independence.

in accordance with the resolutions and decisions of the United Nations on the question of Namibia.

297. The delegation of the Council to the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of OAU at its twenty-third ordinary session, held at Addis Ababa, from 27 to 29 July 1987, also met with the President of SWAPO. During that meeting, the President of SWAPO expressed satisfaction with the work of the Council and stated that the activities of the Council in support of Namibia were being felt in all regions of the world. He said that it was important for the Council to organize follow-up activities in Western Europe and North America, in particular, but also in the Latin American region, where support for the Namibian cause had been on the increase in recent years. In this regard, he noted that the recent visit of a delegation of SWAPO to Latin America had been very constructive and successful.

298. President Nujoma stressed that the Council and SWAPO should further strengthen their contact and co-operation, especially with regard to new initiatives aimed at securing support in the Federal Republic of Germany and the United States for the position of the United Nations with respect to Namibia. In the United States, efforts should be directed at consolidating the support of members of the Black Caucus and other sympathetic legislators in Congress. The Council should also broaden and strengthen its co-operation with non-governmental organizations in the United States. He suggested that the Council should continue its efforts to meet and consult with key members of the United States Congress and Administration in order to ensure that the so-called policy of linkage, which was the only impediment to the implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978), was abandoned.

299. The President of SWAPO observed that the United Nations Council for Namibia should also take bold initiatives to exert its influence and mandate with respect to Namibia. It should redouble its efforts to neutralize the propaganda and disinformation campaign by the Pretoria régime, particularly in Western Europe and North America. To do so, it should focus its dissemination of information and mobilization of support efforts in the West. The Western media played a crucial role in influencing world public opinion. Racist South Africa must not be allowed to spread its lies about the struggle of the Namibian people for self-determination and national independence. Under the leadership of SWAPO, their sole and authentic representative.

ASSESSMENT OF THE SITUATION IN AND AROUND NAMIBIA

A. Political developments concerning Namibia

300. During the period under review, South Africa maintained its illegal occupation of Namibia in flagrant defiance of the United Nations and against the express will of the international community. The Namibian people, in response to increasingly brutal repression by the occupation régime, intensified their struggle for self-determination, freedom and independence under the leadership of SWAPO, their sole and authentic representative.

301. The international community remained committed to the United Nations plan for the independence of Namibia, incorporated in Security Council resolution 435 (1978), as the universally accepted basis for a peaceful settlement of the Namibian question. Despite the widespread conviction that only comprehensive and mandatory sanctions would compel South Africa to co-operate in the implementation of the plan, two permanent members of the Security Council once again prevented the Council from adopting such measures against the Pretoria régime.

1. Continued illegal occupation of the Territory by South Africa

302. The strategy of the racist Pretoria régime for perpetuating its illegal occupation of Namibia and its abhorrent policy of apartheid consisted of increased militarization of the Territory and the repression and brutalization of Namibians by its occupation army and police forces. It believes that this strategy will entrench the so-called interim administration which it imposed on the Namibian people in June 1985. Recently, there has been increased evidence of the régime's intention to lead the puppet interim administration to unilateral declaration of independence.

303. It will be recalled that, on 17 June 1985, the racist régime of South Africa imposed a so-called transitional government on the Namibian people through the puppet grouping known as the Multi-Party Conference (MPC). The Security Council, by its resolution 566 (1985), declared that action to be illegal, null and void; condemned it as a direct affront to the Council and a clear defiance of its resolutions; and demanded that South Africa immediately rescind its illegal and unilateral action. This declaration was echoed by the General Assembly, the United Nations Council for Namibia, OAU, the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries and numerous other intergovernmental bodies.

304. The Namibian people strongly opposed the so-called "interim government". A broad cross-section of the Namibian people, including representatives of churches, trade unions, student groups and women's organizations, meeting at Windhoek on 30 April 1986, rejected the "transitional government" on the grounds that it had not been elected, had no mandate from the Namibian people and was kept in power only by the sheer brute force of the occupation army. During the period under review, the "interim government" was denounced at the many public rallies and political demonstrations organized by SWAPO as an illegitimate instrument of South African political control and repression in Namibia.

305. In January 1986, a so-called Constitutional Council of the puppet administration began drafting a bogus constitution as the first step towards establishing a neo-colonial structure in the Territory, in violation of the resolutions and decisions of the United Nations.

306. In the Luanda Declaration and Programme of Action, adopted by the United Nations Council for Namibia at its extraordinary plenary meetings held at Luanda from 18 to 22 May 1987 (see para. 203), the Council noted that recent developments pointed to the possibility of a unilateral declaration of independence by the racist régime of South Africa outside the framework of the United Nations plan. The Council declared that such an action would be bereft of legitimacy and popular will, could not command credibility and would not be recognized.

307. In addition to promoting an illegal "internal settlement" of the Namibian question through the puppet MPC administration, the Pretoria régime stepped up its campaign of terror and intimidation designed to suppress the rising tide of popular resistance in Namibia. Not only the more outspoken opponents of racist oppression but also ordinary citizens, especially those living in the "war zone" of northern Namibia, continued to be killed, tortured, and subjected to indiscriminate beatings and arbitrary arrest by the South African police, army and "special forces" (see paras. 462-479).

308. Despite the increased violent repression of Namibians by the racist régime of South Africa during the period under review, the Namibian people intensified their struggle for self-determination and national independence. SWAPO organized a series of mass rallies and political demonstrations attended by tens of thousands of supporters, including increasingly large numbers of whites. The speakers at these events called for comprehensive and mandatory sanctions against South Africa, resignation of the illegal "interim government" and immediate implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978). Riot police, plainclothes security personnel and right-wing "vigilantes" attacked the crowds at several demonstrations, causing numerous injuries and at least two deaths (see A/AC.131/240, paras. 21-34).

309. Large segments of the Namibian population, including churches, trade unions and student and other organizations, have intensified their opposition to Pretoria's continued illegal occupation of their country and the so-called interim administration imposed upon them by the racist régime. They have been unanimous in their demand for the immediate and unconditional implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978). The response of the racist occupationist régime has been to increase its repression and brutalization of the people. In recent months, Pretoria's army of occupation and police forces in Namibia have unleashed a wave of terror against the masses in Namibia. They have continued their cold-blooded murder of Namibians, raided trade union offices, confiscated documents and arbitrarily detained leaders and members of the unions. They have bombed and burned schools and terrorized, tortured and maimed innocent Namibians. The racist régime of South Africa has imposed a "news blackout" on Namibia in an effort to prevent information on these and other events from reaching the outside world.

2. Efforts to implement Security Council resolution 435 (1978)

310. The United Nations plan for the independence of Namibia, endorsed by the Security Council in its resolution 435 (1978), provides a universally accepted

basis for the peaceful settlement of the Namibian question. Although the Pretoria régime nominally accepted the plan at the time of its adoption, it has obdurately refused to co-operate in its implementation. For the past several years, it has insisted on linking Namibia's independence to the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola, a condition which the Security Council itself, in its resolution 539 (1983), declared irrelevant and unacceptable.

311. By its resolution 566 (1985), the Security Council reaffirmed its rejection of "linkage" and its demand that resolution 435 (1978) be implemented immediately and unconditionally. The Council also mandated the Secretary-General to resume immediate contact with South Africa with a view to obtaining its choice of the electoral system to be used for the election, under United Nations supervision and control, for the Constituent Assembly, in terms of resolution 435 (1978), in order to pave the way for the adoption by the Security Council of the enabling resolution for the implementation of the United Nations independence plan.

312. In November 1985, the Secretary-General was able to confirm that agreement had been reached on the choice of the electoral system, and thus all outstanding issues relevant to the United Nations plan had been resolved. On that basis, the Secretary-General proposed that the parties concerned establish the earliest possible date for a cease-fire and for the implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978). 8/ South Africa, however, refused to abandon its "linkage" policy, thus impeding any movement towards a peaceful resolution of the situation in Namibia.

313. In a report to the Security Council dated 31 March 1987, 3/ the Secretary-General recalled that in March 1986 the Government of South Africa had proposed that 1 August 1986 be set as the date to start implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978). Regrettably, South Africa's proposal ran counter to relevant Security Council decisions, since it reaffirmed that prior agreement must be reached on the total withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola before implementation. The proposal could therefore not be sustained as a valid basis for proceeding with the implementation of the United Nations plan.

314. The Secretary-General concluded that the "linkage" pre-condition, which dated back to 1982, now constituted the only obstacle to the implementation of the United Nations plan for Namibia. The "linkage" pre-condition was invalid and could not be accepted as a pretext to delay any further the independence of Namibia. Therefore, the Government of South Africa should urgently reconsider its position in order to enable the United Nations to proceed with the implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978).

315. The international community, convinced that stronger pressure must be exerted on South Africa to compel it to co-operate in the implementation of the United Nations plan, intensified its efforts in 1986 and 1987 to secure the imposition of effective sanctions against the Pretoria régime. In their final documents, the World Conference on Sanctions against Racist South Africa, held in Paris from 16 to 20 June 1986, 12/ and the International Conference for the Immediate Independence of Namibia, held at Vienna from 7 to 11 July 1986, 13/ both identified mandatory sanctions against South Africa, under Chapter VII of the Charter, as the single most effective means to ensure the speedy independence of Namibia. The conferences also appealed to the United States and the United Kingdom, which had thus far prevented the Council from acting effectively, to reconsider their position in the light of the grave situation in southern Africa. At its twenty-second ordinary

session, held at Addis Ababa from 28 to 30 July 1986, the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the OAU established an Ad Hoc Standing Committee of Heads of State on the Question of Southern Africa, which was mandated, *inter alia*, to promote action in support of Namibian independence, including the imposition of mandatory and comprehensive sanctions against South Africa. A ministerial delegation of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, in consultations held with the authorities of certain industrial countries in October and November 1986, encouraged the imposition of mandatory sanctions against the Pretoria régime as a means of furthering the complete implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978) for the independence of Namibia.

316. The General Assembly, by its resolution 41/39 B, once again called upon the Security Council to impose comprehensive and mandatory sanctions against South Africa under Chapter VII of the Charter. Nevertheless, a draft resolution on sanctions 11/ introduced in the Security Council in April 1987 was blocked by vetoes cast by the United Kingdom and the United States (see para. 133).

317. During the period under review, a number of countries, such as Australia, Denmark, Finland, Norway, Sweden and the United States, adopted unilateral trade sanctions against South Africa, of varying degrees of comprehensiveness. In the Luanda Declaration and Programme of Action (para. 203), the United Nations Council for Namibia, while welcoming the adoption of new measures to isolate South Africa, reaffirmed its conviction that comprehensive and mandatory sanctions under Chapter VII of the Charter would be the most effective peaceful means of compelling the racist régime to comply with the resolutions and decisions of the United Nations on the question of Namibia.

3. Struggle of the Namibian people for national liberation

318. The Namibian people's resistance to foreign domination dates from the first days of colonization of the Territory by Imperial Germany in the 1880s. It took an organized form in 1960 with the founding of SWAPO, the vanguard liberation movement whose firm commitment to the total liberation of Namibia has earned it recognition by the international community as the sole and authentic representative of the Namibian people.

319. During the period under review, SWAPO intensified its mobilization of the Namibian people in opposition to racist South Africa's illegal occupation of Namibia, despite the constant harassment of SWAPO activists, members and supporters by the police and the military. Among other activities, SWAPO organized mass rallies and demonstrations at which calls were made for an end to racist South Africa's illegal occupation of Namibia, the removal of the illegal "interim government", the immediate and unconditional implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978) and the imposition of comprehensive and mandatory sanctions against South Africa under Chapter VII of the Charter.

320. SWAPO continues to enjoy the support of the Namibian people in leading their struggle for self-determination and national independence. An article written early in 1986 by Gergard Totemeyer, Professor of Political Science at the University of Cape Town, following a research trip to Namibia, confirmed that SWAPO enjoyed wide popular support within the Territory. The article, appearing in the Natal University publication, Indicator SA, stated that, according to Namibian community leaders, SWAPO would win up to 90 per cent of the votes if free elections

were held in the Territory. The article suggested that one of the main reasons why South Africa refused to co-operate in the implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978) was its fear that an independent Namibia would harm its strategic and economic interests in southern Africa. The Pretoria régime was also aware that Namibia's independence under the terms of the United Nations plan would encourage black resistance within South Africa and provoke opposition among many whites. 14/

321. SWAPO has also broadened its contacts and support among white Namibians. In March 1987, SWAPO held talks in Lusaka, Zambia, with representatives of the organization of German-speaking Namibians [Interessengemeinschaft Deutschsprachiger Südwester (IG)]. SWAPO has also held discussions with other white businessmen, lawyers and academics from Namibia. The talks centred around the future of Namibia, particularly on how to break the stalemate over the implementation of the United Nations plan for the independence of Namibia.

322. SWAPO remains committed to the implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978), the only internationally accepted basis for a peaceful settlement of the Namibian question. During the period under review, it reaffirmed its readiness to sign a cease-fire agreement with the Pretoria régime as the first step in implementing the United Nations plan for the independence of Namibia.

323. The Central Committee of SWAPO held its ninth annual meeting at Luanda from 3 to 7 September 1987. In its declaration, the Central Committee, *inter alia*, reiterated the challenge of SWAPO to the Botha régime to sign a cease-fire with SWAPO, as the first step in triggering the process of implementing Security Council resolution 435 (1978); vehemently condemned the Botha régime for its current manoeuvrings to impose a bogus constitution and to organize so-called regional elections in Namibia; noted with satisfaction that the Namibian labour movement was identifying itself with the patriotic struggle for the liberation of Namibia; denounced the incarceration of trade unionists and top SWAPO leaders; urgently called upon the international community to join the Namibian people in putting pressure on the Botha régime immediately and unconditionally to release all political prisoners; and decided to work towards the convening of a meeting of the United Nations Security Council in order for the Council to resume its full responsibility concerning the implementation of its resolution 435 (1978).

324. In addition to its activities of political mobilization, SWAPO intensified the liberation struggle on the military front. Among the hundreds of operations launched by PLAN, the military wing of SWAPO, were attacks on South African military bases; ambushes of South African convoys and troops in the field; sabotage actions against road, rail and power facilities; and the shooting down of military transport planes and helicopters (see paras. 376-380).

4. Action by the international community

325. The measures taken by the General Assembly, the Security Council, OAU and the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries in support of the independence of Namibia are reviewed in the relevant sections of the present report. The front-line States, the Organization of the Islamic Conference, the League of Arab States, and the Association of South-East Asian Nations, as well as numerous other intergovernmental and non-governmental organizations, have also been active on the

question of Namibia. Their contributions are described in detail in the report of Standing Committee II of the United Nations Council for Namibia on political developments related to Namibia (see A/AC.131/240, chap. III, sect. E).

326. As described in chapters III to V of part two of the present report, the United Nations Council for Namibia conducted or sponsored a wide variety of activities designed to increase government and public support for the immediate independence of Namibia. These included the Seminar on Support for the Immediate Independence of Namibia and the Effective Application of Sanctions against South Africa, held at Buenos Aires in April 1987, and the workshops held at Bonn, in London and Tokyo, and at Chicago between April and July. These events provided non-governmental organizations, support groups, legislators, trade unionists, scholars and others with an opportunity to exchange ideas and information developed in the course of their daily work, and to formulate a common strategy for more effective action in support of the Namibian cause.

327. The Council also held a series of extraordinary plenary meetings at Luanda from 18 to 22 May 1987, including a commemorative meeting on 19 May to mark the twentieth anniversary of its establishment, at which it adopted a special appeal with a view to expediting Namibia's independence (para. 237). In the Luanda Declaration and Programme of Action, adopted at the conclusion of the meetings (see para. 203), the Council, *inter alia*, spelled out means by which it would seek to strengthen international support for the struggle of the Namibian people for self-determination and national independence and to secure prompt implementation of the United Nations plan for the independence of Namibia. The Council also mandated its President to undertake consultations on convening a meeting of the Council in New York, at the level of Ministers of Foreign Affairs, at the beginning of the General Assembly at its forty-second session, with a view to ensuring that the Assembly would continue to accord top priority to the question of Namibia and the goal of implementing Security Council resolutions 385 (1976) and 435 (1978). Following consultations, the United Nations Council for Namibia, at its 495th meeting held in New York on 7 August 1987, agreed to convene the ministerial meeting at the beginning of October 1987.

B. Military situation in Namibia

328. The year 1986 marked the twentieth year since the United Nations terminated South Africa's mandate to administer Namibia and assumed full and direct responsibility over the Territory. The year 1986 also marked 20 years since the people of Namibia decided to resort to armed struggle under the leadership of SWAPO, their sole and authentic representative, in order to free themselves from colonial rule and apartheid.

329. The Namibian people have continued to live under the illegal occupation of the South African army. An estimated 100,000 South African troops supported by a 10,000-strong police force are stationed in a country with a population of approximately 1.6 million. This massive military presence is the instrument of South Africa's efforts to preserve its attempt to control the Territory. It backs up a South African-controlled administration in Namibia. The South African military occupation affects every aspect of the lives of the Namibian civilian population.

330. At its forty-first session, the General Assembly adopted resolution 41/39 A. By that resolution, the Assembly, *inter alia*, reaffirmed its full support for the armed struggle of the Namibian people under the leadership of SWAPO, the sole and authentic representative of the Namibian people, to achieve self-determination, freedom and national independence in a united Namibia, and recognized that 1986 marked the twentieth anniversary of the launching of the armed struggle by SWAPO against South Africa's colonial occupation.

331. By the same resolution, the General Assembly, reiterated its strong condemnation of South Africa for its military build-up in Namibia, its introduction of compulsory military service for Namibians, its recruitment and training of Namibians for tribal armies and its use of mercenaries to suppress the Namibian people and to carry out its military attacks against independent African States and its threats and acts of subversion and aggression against those States, as well as for the forcible displacement of the Namibians from their homes. The Assembly also condemned and called for an immediate end to the continuing military collaboration on the part of certain Western countries with the racist régime of South Africa, and expressed its conviction that such collaboration, in addition to strengthening the aggressive military machinery of the Pretoria régime, thereby constituting a hostile action against the people of Namibia and the front-line States, was also in violation of the arms embargo imposed against South Africa under Security Council resolution 418 (1977) of 4 November 1977. The Assembly 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, and called for the immediate cessation of such collaboration.

332. The Security Council, by its resolution 558 (1984) of 13 December 1984, had requested, *inter alia*, that all States refrain from importing arms, ammunition of all types and military vehicles produced in South Africa. By its resolution 566 (1985), the Council had expressed grave concern at the tension and instability created by the hostile policies of the *apartheid* régime throughout southern Africa and the mounting threat to the security of the region, and its wider implications for international peace and security resulting from that régime's continued utilization of Namibia as a springboard for military attacks against, and destabilization of, African States in the region. Furthermore, the Security Council adopted resolution 591 (1986) on 28 November 1986, by which it urged, *inter alia*, all States to prohibit the export to South Africa of items which they had reason to believe were destined for the military and/or police forces of South Africa, had a military capacity and were intended for military purposes.

333. The racist régime of South Africa has continued to strengthen its illegal military presence in Namibia by increasing its occupation forces inside the Territory, by recruiting mercenaries and forcibly conscripting Namibians into its ranks. Furthermore, it has expanded and fortified its military bases in Namibia, especially along the northern border. South Africa was recently reported to have 76 military bases in Namibia. Major garrison towns in the northern area are based at Ruacana, Oshakati and at the Ondangwa air base, reported to be whites-only enclaves surrounded by machine-gun towers and barbed wire. Smaller bases are reported situated at 30-kilometre intervals along the highways. 15/

334. The number of troops reportedly stationed in the Territory has steadily increased over the years from approximately 17,000 in 1971, 16/ to 53,000 in 1977. 17/ In his address to the Security Council at its 2087th meeting in

September 1978, Mr. Nujoma, President of SWAPO, estimated that the South African military presence in the Territory had increased to 60,000 troops. 18/ Whereas by 1980, South Africa's military presence was estimated at 70,000 troops, 19/ by 1985 between 100,000 and 110,000 troops were reported to be operational inside Namibia. In a paper entitled "South Africa's Military Capacity" presented at the International Seminar on the United Nations Arms Embargo against South Africa, held in London from 28 to 30 May 1986 by the United Nations Special Committee against Apartheid in co-operation with the World Campaign against Military and Nuclear Collaboration with South Africa, experts estimated that some 200,000 South African forces were deployed for day-to-day operations, half of which were stationed in Namibia and Angola.

335. It will be recalled that plans began in 1978 for a so-called Namibian national army that would be trained, selected and controlled by South Africa and be ready to take over as a cover for South Africa's continued occupation of Namibia. The "South West African Territorial Force" (SWATF), which is an extension of racist South Africa's army of occupation, is at present set up as if it were a full-fledged "South West African" army, incorporating a command infrastructure, a permanent force infantry component, a citizen force composed of ex-conscripts, a commando network comprising 26 area force units and a training wing, as well as an administrative and logistics brigade. 20/ SWATF was recently reported to be composed of the following seven full-time units: Battalions 101 and 102, 201 to 203, 701 and 911. There is a military school at Okahandja, 60 kilometres north of Windhoek. In 1985, the SWATF budget for salaries, food and fuel alone was reported to be 142 million rand. 21/ To this amount must be added the cost of ammunition, vehicles and weapons which are provided by the South African Defence Force (SADF) under a lend-lease system. 22/ The "air force" currently consists of a light aircraft commando unit; the privately owned aircraft are flown by their owners on a part-time basis. 20/

336. In addition to SWATF, the Pretoria régime has developed a motley collection of "special" unconventional units, some of which are used specifically in Namibia while others are used more widely, particularly in attacks against Angola. Although they operate in great secrecy, it is known that the same process of making them ostensibly Namibian is in progress. Among the special units deployed are Battalion 32, the Reconnaissance Commandos, the South West Africa Specialist unit, the Parachute Regiment 44 and the "Koevoet" unit, extensively deployed to suppress opposition to South Africa's continued occupation of the Territory and support of SWAPO.

337. The "Koevoet" unit (known as "Crowbar") is the most notorious of these units. This heavily armed murder squad is responsible for many brutal murders and the extensive use of torture. Although it has recently been officially "disbanded", it has ostensibly been transferred from the South Africa police force to the "South West African Police", with a formal change of name to Counter Insurgency Unit. It appears, however, that it will be unable to shake off the name "Koevoet". Its commander is Brigadier Hans Dreyer, of the ex-Rhodesian Special Branch, and it is largely composed of white mercenaries at the officer corps level. 22/

338. The so-called reconnaissance commandos constitute another element of Pretoria's army of occupation in Namibia. There are known to be six such commando units based at secret locations in South Africa. They are highly trained troops and operate in great secrecy, mainly in destabilization operations in neighbouring States. 23/

339. The largest and most active of these special units is reported to be the Battalion 32 or "Buffalo Battalion". This unit, made up largely of mercenaries, has been extensively used in illegal military operations in northern Namibia and against Angola. Backed by South African Mirage jets, it is based in the Caprivi Strip. The unit's reconnaissance section was also incorporated into SWATF. 24/

340. The continued illegal occupation of Namibia remains central to the South African military strategic assessment of the region. The Caprivi Strip has been officially classified as a "security zone", as has much of northern Namibia; travellers to the area are required to have both a police and a military permit. Under the name of the Western Caprivi Game Park, SADF has erected a military zone covering an 8,000-square kilometre area, running from Bagani to Kongola in western Caprivi. The only road connecting Katima Mulilo with the rest of Namibia and the garrison and air base at Rundu runs through this area. Travellers are reportedly warned to stay on the main road only and cover the 200-kilometre dirt road to Kongola in four hours. 25/

341. The South African military and police forces have rigidly imposed a dusk-to-dawn curfew in all of northern Namibia, including the Caprivi Strip, where entire communities are being forced to relocate from their homes and ancestral lands to so-called protected hamlets. 26/

342. During the past two years, reports have increasingly indicated that the South African régime is aiming at laying "special claims" to the Caprivi Strip, which juts out in a 500-kilometre salient towards Angola, Zambia, Botswana and Zimbabwe. It is considered to be of crucial strategic importance in South Africa's strategy of regional hegemony, and is the site of the largest military and air base in the southern hemisphere. 27/

343. It will be recalled that, faced with the possibility of United Nations supervised elections, South Africa attempted to annex Walvis Bay in 1977 in order to exclude it from negotiations over Namibia's transition to independence. The attempt to annex Walvis Bay has been overwhelmingly condemned by Governments, the United Nations and SWAPO. In a statement issued on 7 September 1977, the United Nations Council for Namibia objected in the strongest terms to that unilateral attempt by South Africa to destroy the territorial unity and integrity of Namibia and stated that Walvis Bay had always been an integral part of Namibia and that South Africa had no right to change its status or to appropriate it as part of its own Territory (A/AC.131/PV.263). Endorsing this view, the General Assembly, by its resolution 32/9 D of 4 November 1977 and subsequent resolutions, condemned the South African attempts as "an act of colonial expansion", declaring that "such annexation [was] illegal, null and void". Those decisions were endorsed by the Security Council in its resolution 432 (1978) of 27 July 1978.

344. Militarily, Walvis Bay has been developed over at least two decades as an army, air and naval base and training centre of SADF. By the late 1970s, the concentration of South African military power in the enclave had begun to pose a grave threat to the process of achieving self-determination in Namibia. Such a

threat also extends to neighbouring independent States, notably Angola, which South Africa has repeatedly invaded with troops, some of whom have been trained or based in Walvis Bay.

345. In recent months, the South African régime has stepped up its forced conscription campaign; the first batch of Namibians was recruited in January 1986. The only alternatives to conscription that young Namibian males have are imprisonment or exile. 28/ Resisters are liable to six years' imprisonment. Moreover, the régime refuses to recognize or grant exemption for political or any other form of conscientious objection. 29/

346. The régime is increasingly relying on mercenary components in its occupation forces. Press reports in July 1986 disclosed that 232 troops from the "Venda homeland" had been deployed in northern Namibia. The news broke when one of these soldiers, Corporal N. G. Bhiuhse, died in an action against PLAN forces. The deployment of troops from the "Venda homeland" was confirmed by the Pretoria régime and the so-called president of Venda, Chief Patrick Mphahlele. These artifices are aimed at reducing the casualties among white South African soldiers and relieving the pressure on them. Later in 1986, 1,500 soldiers from the "Venda homeland" alone were reported to be serving in Namibia. 30/

347. During the period under review, the racist occupationist régime of South Africa escalated its reign of terror and repression in Namibia. The notorious murder squad, the "Koevoet" unit, Battalions 32 and 101, and Takkie and Etango squads were given free reign to terrorize and massacre Namibians under cover of Draconian laws and a news black-out. In sworn statements in court, South African police and military personnel have repeatedly testified that the "local people" were negative and refused to lend any assistance or give them evidence regarding SWAPO. 31/ The lack of success in developing a reliable group of black collaborators has led Pretoria to rely more on developing a "Namibian" military force tied to South Africa. The régime's attempts to establish an army in Namibia which could claim to be Namibian and which would be capable of replacing the official South African forces, have run into problems, mainly as a result of large-scale resistance to conscription, the presence of SWAPO sympathizers as a result of corruption within SWATF and the continued domination of all leadership positions by white SADF officers. The establishment of the "cultural" groups (Ezuvu and Etango) within the military has consequently been used as a way of encouraging the emergence of black collaborators. 32/ Racist South Africa has also gone to great lengths to try to force and silence the Namibian masses into accepting its colonial impositions in Namibia, such as the so-called interim government. Recently, there has been increased evidence of the régime's intention to lead the puppet interim administration to a unilateral declaration of independence.

348. In assessing racist South Africa's colonial war against the Namibian people, SWAPO estimates that 18,000 people have died in Namibia as a result of the war, some 380,000 Namibians have been displaced within the country or forced into exile as a result of the pervasive war situation in their country, and over 100,000 exiled Namibians have taken refuge in neighbouring Angola, Botswana and Zambia. Approximately 25,000 farmers from the northern rural areas have been forced to abandon their farms and have become squatters in shantytowns near Oshakati and Ondangwa, while 30,000 others have been forced to seek work at Windhoek, where living conditions and over-crowding in townships like Katutura continue to deteriorate. 33/

349. South Africa's massive military build-up in Namibia is continuing unabated. With its acknowledged nuclear-weapon capability, the Pretoria régime presents a grave threat to international peace and security. It is estimated that South African defence expenditure in and around Namibia and Angola equals 33 per cent of the total expenditure by the South African military and police and security forces. 34/ Namibia is increasingly proving to be a fiscal and military personnel drain on South Africa. The gross cost to racist South Africa of its military occupation of Namibia is already calculated to be 10 per cent of South Africa's State budget, representing about half of its annual external borrowing and over R 500 per white South African. 35/

350. The ever-increasing annual defence budget (recently reported to be R 4.8 billion per annum) 36/ of the South African régime reflects, inter alia, the development of a large internal armaments manufacturing industry as part of its overall plan to make its military-industrial complex "self-sufficient" for its strategic requirements. Even with the financial resources allocated to the production of armaments, however, the régime has not been able to achieve the intended degree of self-sufficiency in the production of arms and ammunition.

351. The International Seminar on the United Nations Arms Embargo against South Africa, organized by the United Nations Special Committee against Apartheid and the World Campaign Against Military and Nuclear Collaboration with South Africa held in London from 28 to 30 May 1986, was provided with a thorough assessment of the apartheid régime's capacity to produce and procure armaments. The Seminar recognized that, while the adoption of Security Council resolution 418 (1977) represented a vital and important first step, South Africa's armed forces were highly dependent on external sources of supply for much of their main armaments. It was estimated that the régime is still dependent on imports for 25 per cent of its weaponry. The air force is particularly dependent on important components for maintenance and modernization. 37/

352. The régime is able to acquire substantial quantities of vital military equipment, components, spare parts and even plants to manufacture arms and ammunition. A large number of subsidiaries and associates of transnational corporations of major Western and other countries operating in South Africa and Namibia play a vital role in undermining the arms embargo, and supply the items required by the South African armed forces and its production and procurement agency, the Armaments Development and Production Corporation (ARMSCOR). 38/

353. In July 1986, the President of racist South Africa unveiled a modernized jet fighter, the "Cheetah", designed to upgrade military aircraft of the régime air force. The Cheetah is an improved French Mirage III that has been used by the South African military since 1963 and was a project of ARMSCOR and its subsidiary, the Atlas Aircraft Corporation. 38/ It is clear that the production of this upgraded jet fighter will make it possible for Pretoria to modernize its present fleet of French-supplied aircraft. 39/

354. Analysts have compared the development of the Cheetah, a jet that is based on the Mirage but which includes updated and locally produced weapons and components, to Israel's development of the Kfir fighter also based on the French Mirage. 39/ Israel and South Africa are widely known to have close military and intelligence ties. The Economist of 21 February 1987 reported that South Africa is also a big buyer of Israeli arms technology, and is licensed to make small arms, missile boats and aircraft based on Israel's Kfir jet fighter, including the more advanced

version called the "Cheetah" by South Africa. The Christian Science Monitor of 12 February 1987 stated that the January 1987 report of the United States Secretary of State's Advisory Committee on South Africa had noted that the development of the Cheetah would not have been possible "without direct or indirect assistance from foreign sources".

355. Moreover, the same press reports indicated that South Africa and Israel contributed to each other's weapons development programmes, and many Israeli scientists were on research contracts with South Africa's Council for Scientific and Industrial Research. The report of the Advisory Committee on South Africa had also noted that Israel was involved in helping South Africa to avoid sanctions and the arms embargo. It indicated that Israel had shipped to South Africa arms from the United States, which were used for internal repression and aggression against the neighbouring States.

356. It was disclosed in mid-November 1986 that Israel had supplied two converted Boeing 707 in-flight refuelling tankers to the South African air force. In so doing, it had enabled the air force to increase the effective range of its aircraft to between 2,000 and 2,600 kilometres, enabling it to strike any African city south of the Sahara. According to technical data, major African cities such as Dar es Salaam, Nairobi, Kampala, Libreville and Yaoundé could now be within range of the South African air force. 40/

357. The New York Times on 29 January 1987 stated that during the past 15 years Israel had sold South Africa a variety of military equipment, including light weapons and communications gear and, more important, technology-data packages containing the designs for several major Israeli weapons systems that were subsequently assembled by South Africa's own military industry. These reportedly included the Saar-class missile boats, the Gabriel sea-to-sea missile and avionics electronic countermeasures for South Africa's new Cheetah fighter-bomber. In addition, Israel recently helped South Africa to develop a KC-135-type surveillance aircraft and air-to-air refuelling abilities for the South African air force. Israel and South Africa are also known to co-operate in developing nuclear weapons technology. Moreover, Mr. Yitzhak Rabin, Minister for Defence of Israel, visited Pretoria a few weeks prior to the above press disclosures.

358. On 4 July 1986, the South African Navy also commissioned its newest strike craft, the P1569. The vessel is the ninth of its type in the "Ministers" class and is known for exceptional speed and halting power. It is specifically designed for local sea conditions. 41/ The Financial Times of London reported on 7 June 1986 that during the South African attack on the Angolan port of Namibe, on 4 June 1986, the South African patrol boats were armed and attacked with Israeli-made Scorpion missiles.

359. There have been consistent reports regarding negotiations for the sale of blueprints for submarines by companies of the Federal Republic of Germany to the South African military. On 30 April 1987, General Magnus Malan, the South African Minister for Defence, unveiled another military helicopter called the "Iron Fist", which was manufactured in South Africa and reported to be a modified version of the French-designed Puma 330. The helicopter is fitted with a computer-controlled 20-millimetre gun system and with pods for 18 88-millimetre rockets. 42/

360. It has been recognized over the past few years that in addition to building its vast military-industrial complex and the most formidable army in Africa, South

Africa also possesses nuclear-weapon capability. Available information and evidence confirm that South Africa's nuclear programme has been initiated, supported and developed to its present level as a direct result of the ready assistance provided by certain Western and other Governments and Israel. 43/

361. The large uranium resources that South Africa possesses are an important component of its nuclear capability. 44/ The control of Namibian uranium resources enhances South Africa's aggregate share of the international uranium market and affords it a potential international leverage that such a market share implies. 45/ South Africa's role as a major producer of uranium, which to a considerable extent comes from Namibia, has not only provided Pretoria with substantial and much needed foreign exchange earnings but has also given it a formidable advantage in securing support from Western countries for its own nuclear programme.

362. South Africa already possesses a variety of suitable delivery systems, mostly high-performance aircraft. Its arsenal of Mirage F-1s, Mirage IIIs, Canberras, Buccaneers, Sheckletons and the recent Cheetah, can all carry a first or early generation fission weapon weighing 450 to 1,100 kilograms, the sort South Africa is capable of manufacturing. 46/ Larger, bulkier and heavier weapons of from 2,500 to 4,500 kilograms can be delivered by commercial aircraft or military transports. South Africa's eventual development of short- and intermediate-range ballistic and cruise missiles for delivering well-packaged sophisticated weapons is an eventuality not to be precluded. In an article on 30 December 1986, The New York Times reported that the South African Government had confirmed plans to build an airstrip on Marion Island between Capetown and Antarctica. The article also stated that British news reports had indicated that the airstrip was part of a joint Israeli-South African plan to test nuclear weapons.

363. Although South Africa has been prevented from participating in the annual General Conference of IAEA since 1979, it still maintains full membership in IAEA and continues to enjoy all the benefits that accrue from such membership. 47/

364. Recently, Mr. Hans Blix, Director-General of IAEA, stated that he had received no response from Pretoria to his request to begin talks on the application of "full-scope" safeguards aimed at preventing the diversion of nuclear capacity to weapons production. 48/

365. At its thirtieth regular session, on 3 October 1986, the General Conference of IAEA adopted a resolution on South Africa's nuclear capabilities 49/, by which, *inter alia*, the Conference stated that South Africa was strengthening its nuclear capabilities partly through the illegal acquisition of Namibian uranium and demanded that South Africa stop immediately the plundering and illegal mining, utilization, exploitation and sale of Namibian uranium.

366. By the same resolution, IAEA called upon all member States which had not yet done so to halt all nuclear co-operation with the racist régime of South Africa and, in particular, to end any assistance concerning the nuclear fuel cycle and the transfer of technology and all purchases of uranium from South Africa, and to terminate forthwith all nuclear research contracts with South Africa; requested member States to take all necessary measures to prevent any nuclear collaboration by all corporations and enterprises within and under their jurisdiction with South Africa; called upon the Agency and member States to refrain from participating in any meetings of experts, panels, conferences or seminars in South Africa; demanded

that South Africa stop immediately the plunder and illegal mining, utilization, exploitation and sale of Namibian uranium; called upon the member States of the Agency, particularly those whose corporations were involved in the mining and processing of Namibian uranium, to take all appropriate measures in compliance with resolutions and decisions of the United Nations and with Decree No. 1 for the Protection of the Natural Resources of Namibia, including the practice of requiring negative certificates of origin, to prohibit State-owned and other corporations, together with their subsidiaries, from dealing in Namibian uranium and from engaging in any uranium-prospecting activities in Namibia; called once again upon all member States which have not yet done so to stop all purchases of Namibian uranium; considered that the continuation of South Africa's policies in disregard and in violation of the purposes and principles of the United Nations, upon which, in accordance with article III.B of the Statute, the Agency's activities were based, constituted a persistent violation of the provisions of the Statute within the meaning of article XIX.B; and requested the Board of Governors to consider recommending the suspension of South Africa from the exercise of the privileges and rights of membership in accordance with article XIX.B of the Statute at the General Conference at its thirty-first session if, by that time, South Africa had not complied with the relevant resolutions of the Conference and conducted itself in accordance with the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations.

367. The racist régime of South Africa has escalated its systematic campaign of destabilizing the neighbouring African States in a vain attempt to force them to cease their support for the liberation struggle in southern Africa. South Africa has also subjected Angola, Botswana, Lesotho, Mozambique, Zambia and Zimbabwe to subversion, military aggression, incursions and other forms of destabilization. As part of its aggression against these African States, South Africa has been recruiting, training, financing and equipping mercenaries to cause instability and has been supplying bandit groups, such as UNITA in Angola and the Mozambique National Resistance in Mozambique with military hardware and funds to carry out attacks against the legitimate Governments of these States.

368. Moreover, large areas in Caprivi Strip in Namibia have been cleared of civilians, and the Strip now provides the main base and headquarters of the Buffalo Battalion 32, which is largely made up of South African officers and mercenaries. In recent years, this particular unit has engaged in joint activities with UNITA bandits, including a tenth anniversary celebration in March 1986, at Buffalo on the Kavango River in the Caprivi Strip, to which "senior officers of UNITA", including its Secretary-General, Brigadier Miguel N'zau Puna, were flown in on South African air force planes. 24/ The main route that UNITA uses to supply equipment and to transport basic war materials to Jamba (150 kilometres from the Namibia-Angola border) runs off the Bagani-Kongola road. 50/ The South African military is reported to be constructing a major new road network in northern Namibia, primarily to be used to supply materials to South Africa and UNITA. 51/

369. It will be recalled that the first instalment of United States financial and military assistance reached UNITA by February 1986, and was reported to amount to \$US 15 million. 52/ Recent reports indicated that the United States Administration had decided to continue to provide weaponry to UNITA, including additional stringer missiles and anti-tank missiles amounting to \$US 15 to 17 million. 53/

370. During the first week of November 1986, units of the South African army invaded Angola, taking their aggression up to 300 kilometres into Angolan territory. The Angolan army was able to repel the South African intervention

southwards around the villages of Onkokua, Namacunde, Ewale and Nehone. The South African air force repeatedly violated Angolan airspace during this time. 54/ Throughout November, South African troops were reported to have continued operations inside Angolan territory in support of UNITA. The Angolan press agency further reported that a captain wearing the insignia of the South African Army was killed, together with 10 UNITA rebels, at Vilinga in the central Huambo province. South African troops continued their aggression inside Angolan territory during December 1986, twice attacking government forces in the Cunene province, with ground troops involving some 100 Casspir military vehicles and air cover provided by military planes and helicopters. The South African and UNITA rebels were repelled by Angolan government forces on the road between Xangongo and Menongue. 55/

371. In a letter dated 27 January 1987 to the President of the Security Council, 56/ the Government of Angola gave a detailed account of South African military attacks and invasions against Angolan territory during January 1987.

372. In his address to the commemorative meeting marking the twentieth anniversary of the United Nations Council for Namibia, held at Luanda on 19 May 1987, the President of Angola stated that at present there were six South African battalions carrying out patrols and combat reconnaissance operations with aerial cover up to 402 kilometres into Angolan territory in the Cunene province. He further confirmed that Battalion 32 or "Buffalo Battalion" maintained a permanent presence in the Angolan province of Cuando Cubango, intervening on a regular basis to help UNITA.

373. On 25 April 1987, the South African army attacked the south-western town of Livingstone in Zambia by helicopter, killing four Zambians. 57/

374. On 29 May 1987, a South African commando team attacked four homes in a suburb of Maputo and killed three Mozambican citizens. 58/

375. In a letter to the Secretary-General dated 10 June 1987, the Government of Botswana confirmed that its investigation into a bomb explosion in Gaborone on 8 April 1987 revealed that the device had been set off by an agent of the South African police. The explosion had killed three Botswanan nationals and destroyed several homes in Gaborone West. 59/

376. During 1986-1987, PLAN, the military wing of SWAPO, has continued to launch attacks against South African military installations and bases, to ambush convoys of military vehicles and cut off vital supply lines to military bases. At a press conference at Luanda on 1 September 1986, a SWAPO spokesman stated that 580 South African soldiers had been killed since the beginning of 1986, and that four South African military transport planes and five helicopters had been shot down. 60/

377. In November 1986, it was reported that PLAN forces launched mortar and machine-gun attacks on South African military bases at Okahau, in the Ongandjera area, and at Elundu in northern Namibia, in which 22 South African soldiers were killed, 40 were wounded and an armory and several military vehicles were destroyed. 61/

378. In an attack on 15 November 1986 on the South African military base at Eenhana, PLAN forces killed 18 South African soldiers, causing extensive damage to the base and captured arms and equipment. The Eenhana base had been recently reconstructed by SANDF following a similar attack by PLAN in June 1986. 62/

379. During December 1986, PLAN combatants shot down three South African helicopter gun-ships, one being shot down at Ogongo on 3 December; while on 29 December, a South African Alouette helicopter gun-ship was shot down at Ondangwa air base, killing all occupants. PLAN also continued to launch mortar and land-mine attacks, which destroyed several military vehicles and vital communications and supply lines to South African military bases. 63/

380. In a war communiqué dated 25 April 1987, SWAPO reported that since the beginning of 1987 more than 205 South African soldiers had been killed and 76 wounded; while 17 military bases and 28 military vehicles had been destroyed in 18 sabotage actions and 49 combat actions. A South African Lt. Gen., Danny Louw, was killed when a French-made Puma helicopter gun-ship was shot down by PLAN forces in the Oshivelo-Tsumeb area on 30 March 1987.

C. Foreign economic interests in Namibia

1. General

381. By its resolution 41/39 C, the General Assembly reiterated its previous decisions and requested the Council to consider the activities of foreign economic interests operating in Namibia with a view to recommending appropriate policies to the Assembly, in order to counter the support which those interests give to the illegal South African administration in Namibia.

382. Namibia is endowed with abundant natural wealth, including uranium, gem diamonds, copper, lead, zinc, manganese and other metals, as well as agricultural and fishery products. These resources, however, are exclusively controlled and illegally exploited by South Africa and other foreign economic, financial and other interests.

383. The basic structure of the Namibian economy is typically colonial. It is almost exclusively tailored to the needs and demands of foreign capital and most of the output of the primary sectors of the economy is exported. The three principal extractive industries are mining, farming and fishing, which together account for more than two thirds of the gross domestic product, generate more than 90 per cent of exports and engage over 80 per cent of all paid employment. In terms of economic ties, Namibia has been kept totally dependent upon South Africa, which has treated the Territory virtually as its fifth province, as well as a repository of physical wealth and a captive annexed market for the South African economy.

384. The foreign exploitation of Namibia's natural resources has taken two fundamental forms. First, South Africa has appropriated 60 per cent of the total land area, comprising the most arable farmland, for the exclusive occupation and utilization of the white minority. The black majority, which comprises approximately 95 per cent of the population of the Territory, has been herded, on a tribal basis, into 10 non-contiguous "homelands" spread over the most barren regions of Namibia. Secondly, mining concessions have been granted to numerous South African and other foreign economic interests, enabling them to exploit the Territory's extensive mineral resources.

385. By forcing Namibians to live in the most unproductive parts of the Territory, the illegal South African régime has created pools of cheap labour for the white-owned farms and mines, as well as for various construction projects in the

white sector. There is a clear-cut division of work between whites and blacks. While the former command, organize and hold most of the skilled posts, the latter mainly perform the lowest grade administrative and semi-skilled manual work. Over 90 per cent of supervisory, professional, technical and scientific jobs, at senior as well as middle levels, are manned by whites. Over 70 per cent of artisans and 40 per cent of clerical staff are also whites. Except for a small percentage of black workers, the only alternative for the black majority is to engage in manual work or in subsistence agriculture.

386. The foreign economic interests involved in the exploitation of Namibian resources include some of the world's largest corporations and financial institutions from South Africa, Western Europe and North America. All of these corporations conduct their operations by means of licences issued by the illegal and colonial South African régime. These foreign economic interests were lured to Namibia by the unusually high profits made possible by Pretoria's extension to the Territory of its apartheid system, which essentially guarantees foreign economic interests an abundance of cheap, enslaved labour.

387. In large part, the involvement of transnational corporations in Namibia is accounted for by the following corporations operating in the mining sector: Consolidated Diamond Mines of South West Africa, Ltd. (CDM), a wholly-owned subsidiary of De Beers Consolidated Mines, Ltd.; the Tsumeb Corporation, Ltd. (TCL), owned by Gold Fields of South Africa (GFS) and the Newmont Mining Corporation of the United States; and Rössing Uranium, Ltd., in which the Rio Tinto Zinc Corporation, Ltd. (RTZ) of the United Kingdom owns the majority of the capital. These corporations also account for about 95 per cent of mineral production and exports, and hold approximately 80 per cent of the Territory's mineral assets.

388. Clear evidence of the plunder of Namibia's mineral resources by foreign economic interests was again provided in March 1986, when the report of the Thirion Commission of Inquiry was published. This Commission, appointed in 1982 to investigate allegations of widespread corruption and mismanagement in the mining industry, found that corporations, particularly CDM and TCL, had systematically engaged in overmining Namibia's resources and in stockpiling vast quantities of minerals outside the Territory. The Commission also found that most foreign corporations in Namibia evaded paying taxes and were involved in the illicit practice of transfer-pricing. 64/

389. With regard to the transport and communications sector, the railways, the road transport services and the harbours in Namibia are administered as integral parts of the South African network. South African Airways operates almost all international flights out of the Territory. The only direct overseas service is a twice-weekly flight to Frankfurt, Federal Republic of Germany, via Madrid. Namibia's links with its neighbouring independent States have been deliberately restricted by South Africa.

390. Among the South African-based corporations engaged in the plunder of Namibia's resources, the largest is the Anglo-American Corporation whose affiliate, De Beers Consolidated Mines, Ltd., controls CDM. Other major South African companies include two South African parastatals: the Iron and Steel Corporation of South Africa, Ltd. and the Industrial Development Corporation of South Africa, Ltd. (IDC). The operations of the South African corporations are interwoven through a complicated network of intermediate companies, minority or reciprocal shareholdings and overlapping directorates.

391. The Western European corporations which operate or invest in Namibia include Barclays Bank, the British Petroleum Company (BP), Consolidated Gold Fields, Ltd., and RTZ, all based in the United Kingdom; Dresdner Bank, of the Federal Republic of Germany; and the Shell Transport and Trading Company, Ltd., a part of the Royal Dutch/Shell Group. These corporations are involved in the mining, banking and petroleum sectors, which represent three of the most important areas of economic activity in Namibia.

392. The United States corporation that is most involved in Namibia is the Newmont Mining Corporation. Another United States corporation, AMAX Inc. (American Metal Climax, Inc.) also held significant interest in TCL until the end of 1982, when it sold its interest in that corporation to GFSA, a subsidiary of Consolidated Gold Fields, Ltd. of the United Kingdom. Rio Algom, Ltd., of Canada, is also involved in Namibia through its interest in Rössing Uranium, Ltd.

393. Transnational corporations extract huge profits from their illegal operations in Namibia which they generally hold abroad without any part thereof being spent for development purposes in the Territory. Nor have foreign economic interests taken any measures to integrate the different sectors of the Namibian economy. As a result, the Territory has an unbalanced and distorted economy that is totally dependent upon foreign imports.

394. Decades of foreign economic exploitation in Namibia and the magnitude of profits derived therefrom have encouraged the persistence of South Africa in its intransigence with regard to the liberation of Namibia. By their operations in the Territory, transnational corporations directly support the apartheid régime, thus reinforcing and perpetuating its illegal occupation of Namibia.

395. The present commercial structures and international economic relations of Namibia epitomize the traditional dual colonial philosophy of extracting raw materials from the colony while exploiting cheap labour services from the colonized, and limiting investments only to those activities that will accelerate the extraction of raw materials. The structure reserves the colony as a captive market for the goods manufactured and the surplus population from the metropolitan country. This structure of commercial and international economic relations, supported by the system of apartheid imposed in the Territory, has greatly contributed to the underdevelopment of Namibia. 65/

2. Mining

396. Mining remains by far the largest sector of the Namibian economy, accounting for almost half of its gross domestic product and about 85 per cent of its exports. 66/ Almost all of the minerals produced in the Territory are exported to South Africa, the United Kingdom, the United States, the Federal Republic of Germany, Japan, Belgium, Italy, France, the Netherlands and Israel. Internal trade in minerals is limited to intra-company transactions. Although the prices of minerals tend to fluctuate considerably on the world markets, since 1985 South Africa has benefited from the depreciation of the rand against the major trading currencies, particularly the United States dollar and the pound sterling.

397. As the Thirion Commission of Inquiry extensively documented, the South African régime has accelerated the exploitation of Namibia's mineral resources by various means. Among other things, it has taxed the mining companies which operate in

Namibia at a lower rate than those in South Africa, allowed tax write-offs of capital expenditure from gross profits, permitted the unrestricted exploitation of Namibian minerals and exerted no pressure on mining companies to compel them to process minerals locally. Foreign interests that operate in Namibia concentrate on the unrestricted exploitation of minerals for quick profit, which is usurped by transnational corporations without benefit to the Namibian people. As a result, other sectors of the economy are neglected to the extent that the Territory has become highly dependent upon imports for the most basic requirements, including food.

398. The exploitation of Namibia's diamonds is monopolized by CDM, one of the world's largest gem diamond producers, and the oldest and largest of the mining companies operating in the Territory. CDM is a wholly-owned subsidiary of De Beers Consolidated Mines, Ltd. of South Africa, which itself is 30 per cent owned by the Anglo-American Corporation of South Africa, Ltd.

399. Namibia is endowed with about 5 per cent of the world's proven reserves of diamonds. Approximately 98 per cent of the diamond production is of gem quality, 67/ averaging slightly less than a carat, and is sought after by cutting industries and jewellery traders of Amsterdam, Antwerp, Tel Aviv and New York. Namibian diamonds have high average per-carat value and are noted for their good shape, fine colour and lack of impurities and faults.

400. Diamond production and exports are controlled by South Africa through the Diamond Board of Namibia. The diamonds are marketed and sold through the De Beers Central Selling Organization (CSO), an institution based in London which, by handling over 80 per cent of the total world sales of diamonds, effectively buffers market fluctuations through stockpiling and selective sales.

401. The procedures governing the exportation of diamonds from Namibia and the pricing and marketing policies agreed upon by the racist occupation régime have facilitated the plunder of the Territory's diamonds. The Thirion Commission of Inquiry has revealed that, as a result of such collusion of interests between South Africa and CDM, consignments of diamonds routinely left Namibia without export duty being paid. While testifying before the Commission, a former senior employee of CDM asserted that the Territory had lost \$US 1.34 billion in diamond ore reserves as a result of the systematic depletion of Namibia's diamond resources by this corporation. 68/ The same executive also provided the Commission with documents showing that since the early 1970s CDM, while attempting to meet the excessive production targets set up by De Beers Consolidated Mines, Ltd. and CSO, had consistently followed a policy of maximizing profits by engaging in overmining in both stone size (carats per stone) and grade (carats per cubic metre). 69/

402. Only CDM and De Beers Consolidated Mines, Ltd. know the ultimate value of the Namibian diamonds that CSO markets to the retail and cutting trade in London. A long-established swapping arrangement between CDM and De Beers allows packages of up to 300,000 carats of Namibian stones to be exchanged regularly for equal weights of diamonds from South Africa, with no record of the comparative quality or value of the stones. Also, while surplus diamonds from all other producers are kept in their country of origin, large quantities of Namibian diamonds are regularly stockpiled in London and at Kimberley, South Africa. According to the report of the Thirion Commission of Inquiry, only half of the stones mined in Namibia are sold at once, the other half is stockpiled at Kimberley. 64/

403. Namibia is endowed with a wide range of base metals and other precious minerals which make up 20 per cent of the total output of the mining sector in value. These products are of strategic importance to South Africa and a number of Western countries. Almost all of the zinc, tin, lead, vanadium and tungsten extracted from the Territory goes to South Africa and its Western allies.

404. Nearly 90 per cent of base metal production in Namibia comes from TCL, which produces cadmium, copper, lead and zinc. 70/ Since 1983, 42.3 per cent of TCL has been owned by GFSa; 33.5 per cent by the Newmont Mining Corporation of the United States; 14.2 per cent by Selection Trust, Ltd., of the United Kingdom; 4.87 per cent by the O'okiep Copper Company of South Africa; and 4 per cent by the General Mining Union Corporation, Ltd. of South Africa. The Newmont Mining Corporation still has the largest number of directors on the board of TCL, and its Chairman, who is also the chief executive officer, remains the Chairman of TCL.

405. The Thirion Commission of Inquiry disclosed that TCL had consistently failed to report the gold content of the blister copper that the corporation exported for refining. 71/ The Commission also found that TCL had often engaged in transfer pricing, and that despite its substantial mineral sales, it had not paid taxes since 1979. According to the Commission, TCL had managed to receive tax exemption as a result of the practice of the illegal occupation régime of allowing corporations operating in the Territory to channel what would have been taxable income into expansion projects for tax-saving purposes, which in most cases would not result in any economic benefit to the people of Namibia.

406. The only active uranium mine in Namibia is operated by Rössing Uranium, Ltd., the major producer of uranium in the world. The Rössing mine is the largest open-cast mine in the world and contains most of Namibia's known uranium reserves. Rössing Uranium, Ltd. is a consortium of Western and South African firms incorporated in 1970. The British Corporation, RTZ, holds 46.5 per cent of the equity capital, of which 10 per cent is held through its Canadian subsidiary, Rio Algom, Ltd. IDC and the General Mining and Finance Corporation, both South African corporations, hold 13.2 per cent and 6.3 per cent, respectively. Other owners include Total-Compagnie Minière et Nucléaire of France, a subsidiary of Compagnie française des pétroles, which holds 10 per cent of the equity capital, and Urangesellschaft, mbH, of the Federal Republic of Germany, which holds 5 per cent. Although RTZ controls 46.5 per cent of the ordinary equity, it only owns 26 per cent of the voting capital. South Africa controls the voting equity through its State-owned IDC, whose weighted voting power enables it to veto any major decisions that affect Rössing Uranium, Ltd.

407. Namibia is endowed with approximately 5 per cent of all the exploitable uranium reserves of the world. 72/ Rössing Uranium, Ltd., processes 50,000 to 60,000 metric tons of ore per day and has a production capacity of 5,250 metric tons of uranium oxide per year. Production in 1982 was 4,454 metric tons. Since then, at the request of the Rössing management, RTZ has not disclosed any production figures, but output is believed to have fallen to around 4,000 metric tons per year. 73/ Although the disclosure of export data is prohibited by the racist South African régime's Nuclear Energy Act, it has been estimated that uranium accounted for 34 per cent of all Namibia's exports between 1981 and 1985. 74/

408. Rössing Uranium, Ltd., is a highly profitable operation for RTZ. Since 1982, it has been the largest profit generator for its parent multinational. Uranium

from Namibia is cheaper than that mined in other countries because of prevalent racial discrimination in wages, low taxation rates and the relative freedom from social, political, environmental and other legal restraints facing foreign corporations operating in the Territory. In 1985, despite the current low world-market prices of uranium the net attributable profit of RTZ from Rössing amounted to £26.5 million. 73/

409. As a result of South African legislation allowing foreign companies operating in the Territory to defer taxes against initial capital expenditure, Rössing Uranium, Ltd., was able to avoid paying any taxes until the 1982/83 fiscal year. 75/

410. Since its mine started production in June 1976, the identity of buyers from Rössing Uranium, Ltd., has remained a closely guarded secret. The United Kingdom is the only country which openly admits to importing Namibian uranium. Like most uranium-consuming countries, however, the United Kingdom does not disclose the actual quantities of uranium oxide that it imports. The sanctions package that the members of the European Communities adopted against the racist régime of South Africa in September 1986 did not include uranium. 76/

411. Despite the veil of secrecy over the identity of Rössing's customers, it is known that RTZ has over the years managed to enter into a number of contracts. According to a technical report prepared for the United States Department of Energy by the Massachusetts Institute of Technology in 1982, Rössing Uranium has long-term delivery contracts for uranium with France, the Federal Republic of Germany, Japan, and the United Kingdom. 77/

412. All of the uranium produced in Namibia is exported from the Territory. Given the illegal nature of the production and exportation of Namibian uranium, most transport companies and processing plants involved in such clear violation of international law have sought to conceal that they have anything to do with the plunder of Namibia's uranium resources. It is known, however, that throughout 1978 and 1979 the French-based airline Union des Transports Aériens (UTA) and South African Airways were regular carriers of Namibian uranium into France. 78/ It is also known that firms such as Chargeurs Réunis, a French shipping company which is part of the UTA group, and Deutsche Afrika Linien, a shipping company based in the Federal Republic of Germany, have been involved in the regular transportation by sea, in containers, of Namibian uranium to several ports in Western Europe. Recently, the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions has published the names of the vessels that in 1986 had transported Namibian uranium to the Belgian port of Zeebrugge. During that year, seven ships were involved in this illegal trade: the "Sederberg", "Helderberg", "Waterberg", "Winterberg", the "Transvaal", the "Ortelius" (of the Belgian shipping company CMB), and the "Hoorn" (of the Dutch shipping company Nedlloyd). 79/

413. With regard to the actual processing and enrichment of the Namibian uranium, it is difficult to ascertain which companies engage in those illegal activities since they often claim that they process uranium from a variety of countries of origin. It was reported in 1985 that substantial quantities of Namibia's uranium were being imported into Canada for processing prior to their eventual re-exportation to Japan. Processing of Namibian uranium in Canada is done by Eldorado Nuclear, a State-controlled corporation. In France, Comurhex, the State-controlled nuclear processing and enrichment company, has a contract for a "substantial amount" of Namibian uranium. 80/ Also, in the United Kingdom the Capenhurst enrichment plant and the Springfield plant in the north-west United

Kingdom, both owned and operated by British Nuclear Fuels, Ltd., have engaged in the processing of Namibian uranium.

414. Since uranium oxide from Rössing Uranium, Ltd., and other mines must be enriched and fabricated into fuel rods before it can be used for energy production, it often passes through several hands before reaching its end-user. One of the major processing companies in Europe is Urenco, a joint venture of Uranisotopentrennungsgesellschaft of the Federal Republic of Germany, Ultra-Centrifuge Nederland of the Netherlands and British Nuclear Fuels. Urenco does not purchase uranium for resale but is paid to enrich uranium owned by various clients. 81/

415. Namibia has considerable potential resources of oil, gas and coal, none of which have yet been developed, as well as a major source of hydroelectric power in the Kunene River. Under the illegal South African administration, the energy policy has been geared towards the development of oil and coal-fired power stations feeding the mining industry and the main towns. Currently, Namibia is completely dependent upon imported supplies of oil and coal shipped by sea through Walvis Bay or by rail from South Africa. 82/

416. Foreign economic interests have been prospecting for oil and gas in Namibia for a number of years. The Kudu gas field, located approximately 120 kilometres off the mouth of the Orange River in the south-western part of Namibia, has long been known to contain substantial gas reserves. Gas was first discovered in this region by the United States oil company, Chevron, under a sub-lease from the Southern Oil Exploration Corporation (Pty.), Ltd., (SOEKOR), the South African State agency responsible for conducting offshore oil and gas exploration. Chevron and other international gas companies conducted considerable offshore drilling along the Namibian coast in the early 1970s, but most of the concessions were relinquished by 1975 owing to unsatisfactory results

417. No further attempts to exploit the Kudu gas field were made until 1983, when SOEKOR disclosed that it was seeking a foreign partner to complete appraisal of the field. Renewed interest in the potential of the area then led to further drilling and the discovery of a gas deposit rated to be among the largest in the world. Experts have estimated the Kudu reserves to be worth around \$US 4 billion and capable of supplying up to 65 per cent of South Africa's fuel needs for 30 years. 83/ The Kudu reserves are also believed to be five to ten times greater than the size of those of the main offshore gas discovery in South African waters at Mossel Bay, east of Cape Town, where production is expected to start in 1991.

418. Pretoria has authorized SOEKOR, as the concessionaire of the area around the Orange River mouth, to develop the Kudu gas field. It has also decided to route the gas directly to Cape Town rather than to refine it in Namibia. Recently, there have been reports that an international consortium of petroleum companies has expressed an interest in participating in the development of the Kudu gas field. 84/

419. The racist South African régime is thus manoeuvring, in collaboration with other foreign economic interests, to exploit Namibia's potentially rich oil and gas resources, which are the birthright of the Namibian people. Such exploitation is not only in violation of the pertinent resolutions of the General Assembly and of the Security Council, the advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice of 21 July 1971 and of Decree No. 1 for the Protection of the Natural Resources of Namibia, but also constitutes a major obstacle to Namibia's independence.

3. Banking and finance

420. South African and other foreign economic interests completely dominate Namibia's banking and financial system. The Territory has no central bank of its own. The Reserve Bank of South Africa extends its jurisdiction and functions to illegally occupied Namibia, where the rand is the currency in use. The monetary policy of the Territory is therefore totally reliant upon decisions taken in Pretoria, which has absolute control, inter alia, over exchange rates, interest rates and liquidity. As the Territory is part of the Rand Monetary Area, there is a free flow of capital between Namibia and South Africa. As a result, most South African-controlled corporations and many individuals repatriate their profits or earnings for investment in South African companies and financial institutions, with no stipulation that a proportion is retained within Namibia. 85/

421. The major banks involved in the Territory are Barclays National Bank and the Standard Bank of South West Africa, both subsidiaries of international banking groups operating from the United Kingdom. Another, the South West Africa Bank, has the majority of its shares registered in the name of Compagnie Luxembourgeoise de la Dresden Bank, A.G., a company incorporated in Luxembourg and belonging to the Dresden Bank group of the Federal Republic of Germany.

422. In the insurance field, South African companies predominate over other foreign firms. Companies operate according to the provisions of the Insurance Act of South Africa and are supervised and controlled by the South African Registrar of Insurance. 86/ Almost all the assets of these companies are held in South Africa and it is known that they regularly remove large sums of money from the Territory in the form of premium income.

423. The operations of banks in Namibia are exclusively directed towards the needs of expatriates and of South African and other foreign economic interests. Banks in the Territory continue to be instrumental in integrating the financial and customs systems of Namibia and South Africa. They provide money for the occupying illegal administration and for foreign economic interests operating in Namibia, and channel the funds of their clients, as well as their own profits, into accounts in South Africa and Western Europe.

4. Manufacturing and commerce

424. Namibia's commercial and manufacturing sectors produce 10 to 15 per cent of the gross domestic product and, like the service sector, are completely dominated by South Africa and by other foreign economic interests. The manufacturing sector comprises fewer than 300 enterprises, accounts for slightly over 5 per cent of the gross domestic product and employs nearly 10 per cent of the work-force. 87/ Meat processing, the supply of some specialized equipment to the mining industry and the local assembly of imported materials from South Africa comprise the main manufacturing activities.

425. The presence of large South African corporations in the commercial and manufacturing sectors is very strong. De Beers Consolidated Mines, Ltd., and the Anglo-American Corporation of South Africa, Ltd., for example, hold direct and indirect interests in spheres outside mining, such as property, drilling, freight services, insurance and banking. Moreover, South African chains, such as Barlows and OK Bazaars, are also very active in the wholesale and retail trade.

426. South African and other foreign economic interests exploit Namibia's raw materials, transfer them elsewhere for processing and use the Territory as a captive market for manufactured goods. Some 80 per cent of these manufactured goods come from South Africa, with the balance originating in third countries and imported into the Territory by South African-owned trading companies. Since South African industries are able to export their goods to Namibia without restrictions, they effectively make local industry uncompetitive and hence non-viable. Ultimately, the intention of the racist South African régime is to limit as much as possible industrial opportunity in Namibia so as to perpetuate the Territory's dependence on Pretoria.

5. Agriculture

427. Namibians have long been exploited as a source of cheap contract labour for mines and white settlements. The impact of such policies can be measured from present land distribution patterns: 80 per cent of all good stock-raising land is owned by the white settlers, while black Namibians share the remaining 20 per cent, of which nearly half is barren and useless semi-desert or desert tracts.

428. The agricultural sector typifies the contradictions inherent in the Territory's colonial economy. Blacks, who make up over 95 per cent of the population engaged in agriculture, are subsistence farmers, and their share of the total marketed agricultural output is only about 2.5 per cent. On the other hand, some 5,000 white farmers own and manage the most important commercially oriented agricultural activities, namely, cattle-raising, dairy-farming and the production of carakul pelts.

429. A substantial portion of the land in the so-called police zone, which is the area set aside for white settlement and exploitation and which comprises approximately two thirds of the total area of Namibia, is owned by South African individuals and corporations, whether absentee owners or South African nationals living in Namibia. South African marketing boards or agencies control virtually all the marketing of cattle, carakul pelts and wool, and South African citizens and companies control a major share of the meat-processing plants.

430. Water is one of the most precious resources in any society. In Namibia, the policies and practices of water development have been a powerful tool used by the illegal South African administration in the exploitation of the human and natural resources of the Territory. For example, more than 90 per cent of the dams and boreholes in the country serve white-owned ranches and settlements. All agricultural support services, including technical expertise, research and loan credit, training, agricultural extension and veterinary services, agricultural inputs, transportation facilities and marketing organizations are geared to the benefit of white farmers and ranchers. 28/

6. Cattle-raising

431. Commercial agriculture is overwhelmingly dominated by stock farming, and effectively restricted to white areas. Crop production has been generally neglected. Only a small number of large maize farms can be found in the whole Territory. The main market for beef exports is South Africa which absorbs most of the cattle reared in Namibia.

432. The Namibian carakul industry is one of the largest in the world. The carakul pelts, which are also marketed under the names Persian lamb and Swakara, are used for manufacturing expensive, high-fashion fur coats. The entire production is exported by way of South Africa to Western Europe, Japan and the United States.

7. Fisheries

433. The illegal occupation of Namibia by the racist apartheid régime has led to the unbridled exploitation of the Territory's fishing grounds by South African companies and other foreign economic interests, leading to the large-scale devastation of this important source of Namibia's natural wealth.

434. The coastal waters of Namibia, fed by the large quantities of nutrients carried by the Benguela sea current, have long been known to be a rich fishing area. They contain several species of pelagic fish, including pilchards, anchovies, hake and maasbanker/mackerel (used for fishmeal). Considerable stocks of rock lobster can also be found off Namibia's southern coast, particularly around Lüderitz.

435. The organization of the fishing industry is controlled by South Africa, and the companies engaged in it are almost entirely of South African origin. South African interests hold 11 of the 12 pelagic licences and the entire lobster concession. 89/ They are also always given the highest percentage of fishing quotas. For 1987, 80 per cent of the fishing quotas were awarded to South African concerns. 90/ Six South African companies, based principally at Walvis Bay, are involved in the canning of pilchards and in the processing of fishmeal and fish oil. In past years, these companies have removed over half of their machinery from Walvis Bay factories to new ventures located in Chile. 91/

436. Like its mineral sector, Namibia's marine wealth continues to be depleted for quick profit by the heedless overfishing of South African and other foreign economic interests, which have ignored warnings on the need to protect this vital national resource. The future of the fishing industry is further aggravated by the apartheid régime's illegal attempts to maintain control over the Territory's marine wealth and fishing industry and to continue, even after Namibia's independence, its colonial occupation of Walvis Bay. It will be recalled that South Africa purported to annex Walvis Bay in 1977. The Security Council, by its resolution 432 (1978), declared that the territorial integrity and unity of Namibia must be assured through the reintegration of Walvis Bay within the Territory. By its resolution 32/9 D, the General Assembly declared, inter alia, that South Africa's decision to annex Walvis Bay was an act of colonial expansion in violation of the purposes and principles of the Charter and of Assembly resolution 1514 (XV); that such annexation was illegal, null and void; and that Walvis Bay was an integral part of Namibia.

D. Social conditions in Namibia

1. General

437. In the exercise of its mandate as the legal Administering Authority for Namibia until independence, the United Nations Council for Namibia maintains under constant review the current social conditions in Namibia, as well as progress in

the social sphere of the struggle of the Namibian people for self-determination, freedom and national independence in a united Namibia. On several occasions it has expressed its profound indignation at the scale and variety of violations of the fundamental rights of the Namibian people by the illegal colonial régime of South Africa.

438. As indicated in the report on social conditions in Namibia (A/AC.131/242), the racist régime of South Africa, in its efforts to perpetuate its illegal occupation and exploitation of Namibia, has extended its abhorrent apartheid system to Namibia in defiance of the United Nations, which has assumed special and direct responsibility over the Territory. Pretoria continues to impose in Namibia many inhuman measures, such as the arbitrary imprisonment and detention of leaders, members and supporters of SWAPO, the killing of Namibian patriots and other acts of brutality, including the wanton beating and torture of innocent Namibians, designed to intimidate the Namibian people and destroy their determination to fulfil their legitimate aspirations for self-determination, freedom and national independence.

439. In accordance with its resolution 40/97 F of 13 December 1985, the General Assembly held a special session on the question of Namibia from 17 to 20 September 1986 and, on 20 September, adopted resolution S-14/1. By that resolution, inter alia, the Assembly strongly condemned the racist régime of South Africa for its continued illegal occupation of Namibia and its persistent refusal to comply with the resolutions and decisions of the General Assembly and of the Security Council, and demanded once again that the apartheid régime of South Africa immediately and unconditionally withdraw its illegal administration, occupation army and police force from Namibia.

440. At its forty-first session, the General Assembly, by its resolution 41/39 A, demanded once again that South Africa immediately release all Namibian prisoners, including all those imprisoned or detained under the so-called internal security laws, martial law or any other arbitrary measures, whether such Namibians have been charged or tried, or are being held without charge in Namibia or South Africa. The Assembly further demanded that South Africa account for all "disappeared" Namibians and release any who were still alive, and declared that South Africa would be liable to compensate the victims, their families and the future lawful Government of an independent Namibia for the losses sustained.

441. In accordance with General Assembly resolution 41/39 C, the United Nations Council for Namibia, the legal Administering Authority for Namibia until independence, held extraordinary plenary meetings at Luanda, from 18 to 22 May 1987. The Council reviewed extensively the situation in and around Namibia and adopted the Luanda Declaration and Programme of Action (see para. 203).

442. By its Declaration, the Council, inter alia, condemned the South African régime for its continued illegal occupation of Namibia, its ruthless repression of the Namibian people, its policy and practice of apartheid and other gross violations of human rights perpetrated against the people of Namibia, and demanded an immediate end to those policies. The Council condemned the detention and imprisonment of Namibians by the racist régime and demanded the unconditional release of all political prisoners in Namibia.

443. In the Programme of Action, the Council drew the attention of the international community to the difficult living conditions of Namibians whom illegal occupation of their country and South African repression have forced into

exile. And, while noting with satisfaction the generous contributions made by Governments to the different United Nations funds and programmes for Namibia, as well as valuable support from organizations and specialized agencies for those efforts, the Council stressed the need to increase that assistance in order to meet the needs of the Namibian people and of SWAPO in the fields of food, health, training, housing and other areas.

2. Apartheid in Namibia

444. Contrary to the claims by the illegal South African administration to the effect that there is no longer racial discrimination in Namibia, and despite the universal condemnation of apartheid as a grave threat to international peace and security and as a crime against humanity, discriminatory practices against the black population not only endure but indeed have increased in number and intensity. Through its policy of racial fragmentation or "bantustanization", the racist Pretoria régime has segregated schools, hospitals and other amenities and enforced gross discrimination against the masses in Namibia in education, health, employment and all other aspects of their daily life.

3. Education

445. The racist policy of the illegal régime is also evident in the educational system, which is blatantly discriminatory against the majority black population and designed to further the interests of the white minority. The resulting inequitable allocation of resources together with the style and content of the curriculum available to blacks are major obstacles to development. The poor state of black education is a direct result of colonial policies designed to keep black people as second-class citizens.

446. Education in Namibia is compulsory for whites, but not for black or "coloured" children, who are not only racially separated from services for whites, but also assigned to different schools on an ethnic basis. Thus, each "representative authority" is nominally responsible for administering the educational service in its respective "homeland". This arrangement reflects the "divide and rule" policy which forms the basis of South Africa's political control of Namibia's black population.

447. Racial discrimination is also evident in the amount of money spent on education for the different races. As previously reported, 92% of the illegal South African régime ensures that a far larger proportion of the available money is spent on the education of white children. Available information indicates that some \$US 1,500 per year is spent on each white child, which is seven times more than the allocation for each black or "coloured" child.

448. Growing dissatisfaction with the Namibian education system is reflected in continuous conflicts in schools and other educational institutions. The Namibia National Students Organisation is leading a campaign against what it terms "colonial and racist education", and its members are facing increased victimization.

449. The language used in schools is an important issue for Namibians. After Afrikaans, English and German also rank as official languages in Namibia, but Afrikaans is the main language of instruction in primary and secondary schools.

Afrikaans has cultural and political connotations which offend the black majority; it is seen by most as the language of their oppressors and has contributed to the relatively poor progress of many pupils.

450. The educational services for blacks in Namibia are designed to equip children with only the minimum skills necessary for the existing economic and political structures. As a result, only 22 per cent of black children go on to the higher primary school, and only 1 per cent of black adults complete secondary education. In the words of one Namibian educationalist, "education in the fullest sense, in the sense of broadening the mind and realizing a child's potential, cannot possibly be achieved under the present system". 93/

451. The puppet régime imposed on the Namibian people in 1985 by the racist South African régime continues to use education as a means of strengthening apartheid in the Territory. Consequently, black schools remain separate and unequal, and receive minimal educational expenditures in line with the apartheid policies. This situation continues to be supported by the white members of the so-called MPC and others, as clearly demonstrated by the reaction to a recent decision which sought to make all schools open to all, irrespective of race or colour. 94/ Both the National Party's representative in the "cabinet" and the Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Administration for Whites, strongly rejected the decision, 95/ thus demonstrating once more the racist régime's intention to maintain the status quo.

452. According to recent SWAPO sources, the South African forces of occupation in Namibia have adopted a scorched-earth policy aga'nst primary schools close to the Angolan border. During April 1987, at least 14 schools were bombed or set on fire by men who came at night from nearby bases. Other educational institutions in the area are reported to be in danger. In reference to the racist South African connection, Bishop Klopas Dumeni of the Evangelical Lutheran Church was reported to have stated that "whoever is responsible is an enemy of our people and is not a friend of our community".

4. Health

453. The health sector in Namibia is inextricably linked to the apartheid system imposed by South Africa, and is consequently characterized by gross inequalities. Health services for the black majority are rudimentary at best, and in many areas virtually non-existent. As in the case of education, the administration of health services for blacks in the rural areas has been given over to the separate "representative authorities".

454. Racial discrimination is particularly evident in the amount of money spent on health for different races. While whites receive the benefits of expensive medical technology, blacks do not. The wide disparity in expenditure between white and black hospital facilities was highlighted by a report in the Windhoek Observer in April 1985 which claimed that the most expensive hospital in the world had been built in southern Namibia at a cost of R1 million per bed. The paper reported that the Keetmanshoop State Hospital for whites, administered by the white Department of Health, had never had more than 23 patients. By contrast, Onandjokwe Hospital for blacks at Ovambo, administered by the Department of National Health and Welfare, was desperately over-crowded, with 250 beds officially but, according to one staff member, "always a minimum of 400 in-patients". 96/

455. The imposition of martial law and curfew has restricted the ability of health workers to give treatment, and patients have stayed away from hospitals for fear of harassment by the police or army. As a result of South Africa's military operations, particularly in the north, services have deteriorated, some health centres have been forced by the racist régime to close, and others, suspected of harbouring and assisting PLAN combatants or sympathizers, have been bombed or burned down by the military. Many of the available centres are run by Namibian nurses or by missionaries and health workers who, in a number of instances, have been suspected of providing medical help to PLAN forces.

5. Repression and violation of human rights

Repressive legislation

456. The illegal occupation régime in Namibia has used a series of statutes, administrative regulations and proclamations to give the police and military forces sweeping powers to arrest, detain without charge or trial, interrogate and torture the Namibian population. As stated in a previous report of the Council (A/CONF.138/3-A/AC.131/187/Add.1, para. 8), these proclamations provide for preventive detention, the banning of meetings, the imposition of martial law and the establishment of "security districts" in order to stifle the political struggle of the Namibian people under the leadership of SWAPO, their sole and authentic representative.

457. In an attempt to end the dusk-to-dawn curfew which has been in force in northern Namibia for the past eight years, three Namibian bishops of the Anglican, Catholic and Evangelical Lutheran churches took legal action against the "cabinet" of the so-called interim government in Namibia.

458. The Notice of Motion asked the court for an order declaring Proclamation AG 26 of 1978 invalid and of no force and effect. In asking for the order, the bishops put it to the court that, in promulgating the curfew regulations in 1978, the South African-appointed "Administrator-General" had exceeded his powers and, in so doing, caused serious harm to the lives of more than half of the population in Namibia.

459. The bishops further submitted that the curfew was in direct conflict with freedom of movement and residence, freedom of religion, freedom of association and freedom of peaceful assembly, all ostensibly guaranteed in the "Bill of Rights". 97/

460. In an action which Namibian church leaders called "shocking" and "disappointing", the racist régime of South Africa which is responsible for the crimes in occupied Namibia, dismissed the bishops' plea to end the curfew in northern Namibia. On 16 January 1987, the so-called Windhoek Supreme Court rejected the bishops' contention that the dusk-to-dawn curfew was a "threat to life" and conflicted with freedom of religion, movement and assembly. The Court stated that the curfew was necessary "to protect the local population" during the hours of darkness. 98/ Even before the rejection by the Court, racist South Africa, through its puppet institutions in Namibia, had given notice of its intention to strike down the application to have the curfew lifted in northern Namibia. The dismissal of the plea to end the curfew demonstrates once more the racist régime's determination to subject the Namibian people to acts of brutality by its illegal administration in Namibia.

461. According to a Church report, the dusk-to-dawn curfew imposed in northern Namibia has caused serious problems, including the disruption of social life and a marked rise in mental illness. Death among the sick has resulted from the inability to use hospital services because of curfew restrictions. Sick people or pregnant women who suddenly develop complications during the night must stay where they are until morning. In addition, many Namibians have no telephones and so cannot call for medical help. Others, forced to move at night, have been shot, as the policy of SADF is to shoot anything that moves after sunset. 99/

Terrorization of the general population

462. Despite the repressive legislation and the presence in the Territory of an estimated 100,000 South African troops, the war of national liberation waged by the Namibian people under the leadership of SWAPO has intensified. In its vain attempt to suppress this ever-intensifying struggle for national liberation, the forces of occupation have increasingly resorted to a variety of ruthless measures, which include the outright murder of innocent civilians, as well as the widespread rise of torture, mass arrests, banning orders, forced removals and "disappearances".

463. Considerable evidence has accrued over the years, much of it in the form of sworn affidavits and detailed factual descriptions compiled by lawyers, church bodies and humanitarian organizations, regarding the systematic use of torture and brutality by the South African army and police during interrogation. The most common forms of torture include electric shocks to all parts of the body. Psychological torture is also commonly practised, as from the point of view of the occupation régime it has the advantage of leaving no physical traces. Detainees are also reportedly threatened with death unless they renounce their membership or their support of SWAPO and agree to collaborate with the racist régime, often by signing prepared statements. Church sources have warned that the level of apartheid violence in Namibia has risen to new heights, and that ordinary Namibians are in greater danger than ever before.

464. One Namibian reported that "even during the night nowadays, we are sleeping fully dressed simply because SADF keeps on roaming around our dwelling houses and sleeping places with sticks, clubs, weapons and flashlights, forcing people to join them in the open fields. We are then being beaten up ...". 100/ According to Namibia's leading churchman, Bishop Kleopas Dumeni, "killing of people in cold blood, beatings, throwing people in jail, destruction of property, torturing with electric shocks, bomb blasts on roads, and other cruel oppressive measures have made the situation far worse and more dangerous than ever before". 101/

465. In the case of women, they not only have to endure the same physical violence and prison conditions as men, but are also exposed to the additional risk of rape and assault by members of the South African army and police. There are numerous instances in which Namibian women have been sexually abused by the military and the police.

466. Every year, new first-hand accounts of systematic torture and other inhuman practices of the South African occupation forces come to light. In November 1985, Frans Uapota, a black Namibian worker, was reportedly killed by four South African soldiers in northern Namibia. The four white soldiers appeared in a Windhoek court in June 1986. The trial was stopped, however, at the order of Mr. Pieter Botha, President of racist South Africa, on the grounds that it was not in the "interest of national security" to proceed with the trial. 102/

467. In June, residents of Ondangua in the north complained that members of the "Koevoet" murder squad unloaded the bodies of two men and ordered people in the vicinity to bury them. Further reports indicate that a 15-year-old boy, Portus Blasius, from Onhemba near Ombalantu in northern Namibia, suffered severe facial burns after about 12 SADF members held his face against the exhaust system of a truck. The soldiers forced him into a truck and took him to an undisclosed place where they accused him of being a SWAPO supporter. They beat him before holding his face against the exhaust pipe. 103/

468. On 28 June 1986, South African soldiers held Titus Paulus, a 13-year-old Namibian boy of Amuteya, northern Namibia, by his arms and legs over fire, badly burning his back. The reason for inflicting the severe burns was that he did not know the whereabouts of SWAPO freedom fighters. 104/

469. In a statement to the General Assembly in September 1986, Mr. Gurirab, Secretary for Foreign Affairs of SWAPO, reported that a group of South African soldiers raped two women, one 9 months pregnant, and the other 7 months pregnant, in the north of the country (A/41/PV.67). According to reports, on 8 October 1986, members of SADF, who had painted themselves black, arrived at the village of Okathitu and went on the rampage, stealing money and vehicles, destroying crops and homesteads and assaulting villagers. The soldiers rounded up people for interrogation and some, including eight children between the ages of 14 and 16, as well as a priest, were tortured and given electric shocks. 105/

470. Church leaders have called for an immediate inquiry into South African police conduct during a raid on the migrant workers compound in Walvis Bay in September 1986. According to reports, armed South African and municipal police sealed off the compound and searched the premises. Following a search lasting about nine hours in which police harassed and assaulted residents, between 300 and 500 people were arrested. 105/

471. Information from church members in Namibia has revealed that Mrs. Helvi Kondombolo Nujoma, mother of Sam Nujoma, President of SWAPO, has been violently harassed by members of the racist South African forces in occupied Namibia. On several occasions, members of the notorious "Koevoet" murder squads and Battalion 101 of the South African army are reported to have threatened and harassed the 80-year-old Mrs. Nujoma and other inhabitants of the village of Etunda in northern Namibia. The acts of intimidation included verbal abuse, death threats with hand grenades and guns, physical assaults on Mrs. Nujoma and demands for information about SWAPO. 106/

472. According to SWAPO sources, a group of the so-called right-wing vigilantes, believed to be members of "Koevoet" murder squads, attacked part of a 3,000 strong crowd during a meeting called by SWAPO on 30 November 1986 to mark the International Year of Peace. A large number of armed "Koevoet" units and police then arrived and began shooting rubber bullets and tear gas into the crowd. Police chased and assaulted people as they tried to escape the terror. Two people were killed and seven seriously injured, with a further 14 hospitalized. One of the dead was a two-year-old baby girl. The other was a veteran activist of the SWAPO liberation movement, Immanuel Shifidi, who had served up to 1985 an 18-year prison sentence on the notorious Robben Island. 107/

473. At the trial in February 1987 of eight Namibians charged for alleged contraventions of sections of the "Terrorism Act", a police officer told the

so-called Windhoek Supreme Court that it was normal practice for members of the racist police to apply maximum violence on detainees in order to get "satisfactory information". The accused members of SWAPO are: Andreas Johny Heita, Salomo Paulus, Adreas Gideon Tangeni, Johannes Nangolo, Martin Akweenda, Petrus Kakede Nangombe, Sagarias Balakius Namwandi Shipanga and Mateus Gabriel.

474. While giving detailed evidence about the serious assaults on the accused, a police officer told the Court that he had personally witnessed a senior "Koevoet" member repeatedly assault some of the accused with a piece of hosepipe, while others were knocked to the ground and struck again when they attempted to get up. He further related an incident in which an intravenous drip was pulled out of the veins of the accused before assaulting him. In another instance, one of the accused was ordered to exhibit his badly scarred back and welts all over the body and neck, as well as over his bald head, all of which the eyewitness confirmed as injuries sustained during the man's detention. 108/

475. During 1986, as in previous years, newspapers and institutions opposed to the South African illegal occupation of Namibia and its puppet administration in the Territory suffered constant harassment and attacks by agents of the racist régime. The offices of The Namibian newspaper were attacked on at least three occasions. Reporters working for the newspaper were systematically harassed, and vehicles used by staff have had their windscreens smashed and tyres slashed. 109/

476. SWAPO sources indicate that on 12 June 1987 the offices and homes of officials of the National Union of Namibian Workers (NUNW) were raided by the so-called security forces, who removed important documents, including minutes of meetings, membership lists, information regarding union officials, union constitutions and progress reports. The raid came in the wake of a brutal and unjustified raid on the hostel at Katatura earlier in the month, during which more than 70 workers were injured and 46 detained. The raid on trade union offices and personal homes demonstrates once more the attitude of South Africa and its illegally installed government in Namibia towards the organization of Namibian workers. SWAPO severely condemned the raids, since they constituted an attack on the Namibian working class at a time when Namibian workers were organizing themselves to demand and struggle for their rights by forming trade unions and engaging in labour disputes. 110/

477. On 3 July 1987, police and military forces of the racist régime raided a compound that housed some 1,600 workers in the seaport town of Luderitz in southern Namibia. The racist forces used clubs, whips, rubber bullets and tear gas to drive the workers from their lodgings and arrested over 200 people, including the Secretary of the Workers Committee at Luderitz. A further incident of violent harassment occurred on 5 July, when members of the racist South African police force attacked hundreds of young SWAPO members making their way to a political rally at Katatura, the black township in Windhoek. More than 20 youths were arrested in the attacks and eight were hospitalized, two with gunshot wounds.

478. More than 3,000 black workers of the Tsumeb Corporation, a foreign-owned mining concern which operates in Namibia, were dismissed on 31 July 1987 and threatened with eviction from company housing. The workers were on strike seeking a pay increase, improved safety regulations and an end to discriminatory practices in the mines. They had also demanded that Tsumeb make an "unequivocal statement" on its position on the illegal occupation of Namibia by the racist régime of South Africa.

479. The racist régime also continued its harassment and arbitrary arrest of prominent Namibians. On 18 August 1987, key leaders of SWAPO, as well as prominent trade union and church officials, were arrested in raids conducted by South African security police throughout illegally occupied Namibia. Those arrested included the Vice-President and the National Chairman of SWAPO, the Treasurer of the Mine-workers Union of Namibia and the Secretary-General of the Food and Allied Workers Union of Namibia. All were held under the so-called Terrorism Act, which provides for indefinite detention without access to legal counsel.

Political mobilization

480. Despite the aforementioned atrocities against the Namibian people, during 1986, declared by the Central Committee of SWAPO as the Year of General Mobilization and Decisive Action for Final Victory, trade unions, student and youth groups and church, professional and women's organizations inside Namibia were all active in organizing boycotts, demonstrations and mass displays of defiance of the Pretoria régime and its puppet administration at Windhoek.

481. Meetings and rallies marked the eighth anniversary of the infamous Kassinga massacre on 4 May and Namibian Heroes Day on 18 May 1986. Student and youth militancy also increased, as shown by a prolonged wave of student strikes, boycotts and demonstrations at schools and teacher training colleges, particularly the Academy of Tertiary Education at Windhoek.

482. The above efforts culminated in a mass political rally organized by SWAPO at Windhoek on 27 July 1986, in which over 25,000 people took part. This rally was not only the largest seen in Namibia in recent years but was also supported by a large number of whites. To prevent the news from getting out, all telephone, telex and telegraphic links between Windhoek and the outside world were severed prior to and during the rally. 111/

483. In the most recent significant demonstration of the people's determination to win their freedom, up to 25,000 people, nearly all of them under the banner of the SWAPO-affiliated NUNW, attended rallies and prayer meetings throughout the country to mark Worker's Day (May 1). Windhoek, Tsumeb, Swakopmund and other cities and towns witnessed the largest gathering of workers ever, in spite of the fact that puppet media avoided giving publicity to SWAPO-affiliated unions responsible for organizing the Day's observance. 112/

484. The fact that these events have taken place, despite the enforcement of a state of emergency over more than half of the Territory and a reign of crude racist violence rivalled only by that in South Africa itself, is testimony to the courage and determination of the Namibian people to win their freedom and independence, regardless of the cost.

6. Exploitation of labour

485. The conditions under which the vast majority of Namibia's black workers are forced to live, and the web of restrictions and controls which binds them to their employers and prevents them from moving freely around the country, have often been described as akin to slavery. Up to two thirds of the labour force are migrants, permitted to remain in the country's "white" industrial and farming areas only so long as they are needed by the apartheid economy. In other words, the main purpose of the migrant labour system is to ensure a continuous supply of cheap black labour.

486. The migrant labour system has a devastating and far-reaching effect in the social realm. It forces workers to leave their families for up to 30 months at a time. Living conditions are squalid and police raids on the compounds are the rule rather than the exception. The racist régime also uses the system as a tool to inhibit political and trade union activities.

487. Black workers who seek to organize themselves to negotiate for improved wages and working conditions face a vast array of discriminatory laws and practices. Some employers, the mining companies in particular, possess their own private police forces to suppress "agitation". White employees enjoy permanent jobs, good career prospects, subsidized housing and valuable fringe benefits, such as life and health insurance, school fees and generous leave allowances. Black contract workers, on the other hand, are afforded no guarantee of employment beyond the duration of their present contracts, which are not always respected by employers.

488. While by law white employees have access to recognized negotiating machinery and trade union representation, blacks do not. The Wages and Industrial Conciliation Amendment Act of 1985 makes it illegal for registered trade unions to assist or affiliate with any political party. It is widely held that this legislation was intended to curtail the activities of NUNW, the main union for blacks, which was founded in 1978 and is affiliated with SWAPO. 113/

489. In the absence of any legal framework protecting them, black workers in Namibia made remarkable efforts during 1986 to organize themselves and co-ordinate their collective actions. The largest boost to unionization was undoubtedly the launching of potentially the most powerful trade union, the Mine-workers Union of Namibia (MUN). This union brings together representatives from five Namibian mines: De Beers, Rössing Uranium, Rio Tinto Zinc, Tsumeb Corporation, and CDM. 114/

490. The founding of MUN also marked part of a concerted bid in 1986 to reinforce the umbrella NUNW, which has a long-standing affiliation with SWAPO and is a member of the International Labour Organisation (ILO). The aims of MUN include immediate and unconditional independence for Namibia in terms of Security Council resolution 435 (1978), as well as a national minimum wage and the upgrading of living standards.

491. Also under NUNW is the 6,000 strong Namibian Food and Allied Union (NAFAU), formed in September 1986 after 38 workers' committees were established at food and food-related industries around Windhoek. The union intends to press at the national level for the implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978), to seek better working conditions and benefits, including pension funds and medical aid, and to act as a combined force against management. 115/

492. Although strict regulations prohibit blacks from striking in Namibia, during the period under consideration, as in previous years, a number of strikes took place. For example, since its formation, NAFAU has scored a series of remarkable victories against labour exploitation and oppression. When 16 workers were unfairly sacked, the entire 160-strong work-force at Taurus Chemicals plant at Luderitz, which processes seaweed for export, went on strike. Initial attempts to employ prisoners from the local gaol aroused more hostility, and as the strike involving all divisions of the company entered its second week, the management backed down and reinstated the 16 workers. In another instance, black workers at CDM boycotted celebrations of the fiftieth anniversary of the founding of the town of Oranjemund. They pointed out that CDM had founded the town and the occasion

marked "more than 50 years of plundering one of our most valuable resources". They also pointed out that the company was engaging in unchecked overmining in a rush to strip out diamonds before independence, and that wage and employment discrimination along racial lines continued, with two different pay scales for black and white employees. 107/

The refugee situation

493. The state of war and repression brought about by the illegal South African occupation régime continues to force thousands of Namibians to flee their native land in order to seek refuge in neighbouring countries, particularly Angola and Zambia. The Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) estimates that there are approximately 70,000 to 80,000 Namibian refugees in Angola, Zambia and other neighbouring countries.

494. The constant flow of Namibian refugees into neighbouring countries has created additional needs in the fields of agriculture, health, education and vocational training and in the supply and distribution of tents, food and household goods.

495. With the assistance of UNHCR and other international organizations, as well as friendly countries, SWAPO has set up Namibian health and educational centres in Angola and Zambia in order to meet the needs of refugees. These centres include medical establishments equipped to deal with communicable and parasitic diseases, as well as malnutrition. The education of children and adults alike is high on the list of priorities. In contrast to the South African "bantu" education system inside Namibia, every effort is made by SWAPO to prepare school children for life in post-independence Namibia.

496. In addition to the education and training activities organized by SWAPO, Namibian refugees also benefit from the United Nations Nationhood Programme for Namibia, which was established to provide assistance to Namibians who have suffered from persecution and to finance a comprehensive educational and training programme with particular regard to their future administrative responsibilities.

497. Important as these external services for Namibians are, South Africa's continued illegal occupation means that, for the most part, Namibians must leave their country if they are to benefit from the educational opportunities offered by SWAPO, the United Nations and bilateral aid donors.

498. The refugee camps in neighbouring Angola are a principal target of the racist South African forces of occupation based in Namibia. From time to time, these forces cross the border into Angola to harass the refugee population. Operating on the pretext that the refugee camps are SWAPO bases, the racist military forces do not hesitate to violate the sovereignty of Angola, destroying its infrastructure and killing innocent civilians, as they did during the devastating military raid on the Kassinga settlement in 1978. The repeated armed attacks against Namibian refugees in Angola have made organized assistance by the international community extremely difficult.

499. In his intervention at the extraordinary plenary meetings of the Council held at Luanda, from 18 to 22 May 1987, Mr. Antoine Noel, regional representative of UNHCR, stated that his organization had given humanitarian assistance to 69,000 Namibian refugees in Angola, 7,500 in Zambia and 500 in the United Republic of Tanzania and Botswana. This assistance covered health services, agricultural

projects that would make Namibians self-sufficient, and study and training programmes. The 1987 budget of UNHCR for Namibian refugees in Angola amounted to \$US 1.3 million. He further stated that since 1980, UNHCR had spent \$US 10 million for Namibian refugees in Angola, not including contributions made in kind.

E. Legal matters concerning Namibia

500. By its resolution 2145 (XXI), the General Assembly declared that South Africa had failed to fulfil its obligations in respect of the administration of Namibia and to ensure the material well-being and security of the indigenous inhabitants of the Territory and had, in fact, disavowed its mandate over the Territory. Accordingly, the Assembly terminated the mandate and declared further that Namibia was henceforth under the direct responsibility of the United Nations until it achieved independence.

501. In fulfilment of its obligation to administer the Territory, the General Assembly adopted resolution 2248 (S-V), by which, inter alia, it established the United Nations Council for South West Africa (later called Namibia) to administer the Territory until independence. The powers and functions of the Council would be exercised with maximum possible participation of the people of the Territory; they would include the promulgation of appropriate laws, decrees and regulations until a legislative assembly was established and the adoption of appropriate measures, in consultation with the people of the Territory, for the establishment of a constituent assembly to draw up a constitution on the basis of which elections would be held for the establishment of a legislative assembly and a responsible Government in the Territory.

502. Since the date of the termination of South Africa's mandate over Namibia, the United Nations has continued to define, expand and strengthen the legal administrative authority of the Council over Namibia, and the International Court of Justice has given its advisory opinion.

503. In its advisory opinion of 21 June 1971, the International Court of Justice stated, inter alia, "(1) that the continued presence of South Africa in Namibia being illegal, South Africa is under obligation to withdraw its administration from Namibia immediately and thus put an end to its occupation of the Territory; and (2) that States Members of the United Nations are under obligation to recognize the illegality of South Africa's presence in Namibia and the invalidity of its acts on behalf of or concerning Namibia, and to refrain from any acts and in particular any dealings with the Government of South Africa implying recognition of the legality of, or lending support or assistance to, such presence and administration". The advisory opinion was followed four months later by Security Council resolution 301 (1971), by which the Council agreed with the Court's opinion.

504. In pursuance of the mandate given to it by the General Assembly, and in accordance with subsequent resolutions of the General Assembly defining the responsibilities of the United Nations Council for Namibia, the Council continued during the period under review to undertake various activities, including those falling within the legal sphere, in an effort to bring about the immediate independence of Namibia and to protect the Territory's human and natural resources. In this connection, the Council, as the legal Administering Authority for Namibia until independence, continued to send missions of consultation to various Governments in order to galvanize international support for the Namibian

cause and to consider the most effective measures of terminating the illegal occupation of Namibia by racist South Africa and the implementation of resolutions of the United Nations on the question of Namibia, in particular Security Council resolutions 385 (1976), 435 (1978), 532 (1983), 539 (1983) and 566 (1985). In addition, the United Nations Council for Namibia organized a seminar in Latin America in April 1987, workshops in the Federal Republic of Germany in April and in London and Japan in May 1987, and in the United States in July 1987, as well as its extraordinary plenary meetings in Angola in May 1987.

505. The Council also sent high-level missions to consult with the Governments of India (May 1987), Japan (May 1987) and China (June 1987), as well as to the Ministerial Meeting of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries in the People's Democratic Republic of North Korea (June 1987). These missions also exchanged views with the Governments of those countries on ways of securing the implementation of Decree No. 1 for the Protection of the Natural Resources of Namibia, enacted by the United Nations Council for Namibia on 27 September 1974, including action to terminate the continued plunder and the exploitation of Namibia's human and natural resources by Western economic interests, in particular transnational corporations and the racist South African régime, in defiance of the resolutions and decisions of the United Nations. The Decree expressly stipulates that "no person or entity, whether a body corporate or unincorporated, may search for, prospect for, explore for, take, extract, mine, process, refine, use, sell, export, or distribute any natural resource, whether animal or mineral, situated or found to be situated within the territorial limits of Namibia without the consent and permission of the United Nations Council for Namibia or any person authorized to act on its behalf for the purpose of giving such permission or such consent".

506. Pursuant to its decision to engage practising lawyers to prepare reports on the feasibility of instituting legal proceedings in domestic courts against firms and individuals engaged in trade in Namibian products in violation of the Decree, in Belgium, France, the Federal Republic of Germany, Japan, the Netherlands, the United Kingdom and the United States, the Council continued, during the period under review, to monitor developments relating to the legal action which it had begun to initiate against the Urenco uranium processing plant in the Netherlands for processing Namibian uranium which that company had obtained from Namibia, in violation of the provisions of the Decree.

507. The Seminar on Support for the Immediate Independence of Namibia and the Effective Application of Sanctions against South Africa, conducted by the Council at Buenos Aires from 20 to 24 April 1987 had, as its main aims, to seek relevant information and an exchange of views on the most effective ways of forcing the withdrawal of South Africa's illegal presence in Namibia and of countering the exploitation of the people and natural resources of the Territory by the racist régime, and the foreign economic interests operating in the Territory. The Seminar provided new insights and strategies for exposing such exploitation and was an incentive for further active support for the people of Namibia in their pursuit of self-determination, freedom and independence.

508. One of the most significant activities of the Council during the period under review was the extraordinary plenary meetings of the Council held at Luanda from 16 to 22 May 1987. These meetings solemnly reaffirmed the inalienable right of the Namibian people to self-determination and national independence in a united Namibia; emphasized that, in accordance with General Assembly resolutions 2145 (XXI) and 2248 (S-V), Namibia was the direct responsibility of the United

Nations, which the Organization exercised through the United Nations Council for Namibia, the legal Administering Authority for the Territory until its independence; and reaffirmed the legitimacy of the struggle of the Namibian people led by SWAPO, their sole and authentic representative, by every means, including armed struggle, to resist South Africa's aggression, and to achieve self-determination, freedom and independence in a united Namibia.

509. In the Declaration, the Council stated that the persistent illegal occupation of Namibia by South Africa, its intensive militarization of the Territory, and its use of Namibia as a base for launching acts of aggression, destabilization and subversion against the independent African States pose a serious threat to international peace and security and necessitate implementation of comprehensive and mandatory sanctions against the Pretoria régime, as provided for in Chapter VII of the Charter. It reaffirmed that the adoption of such sanctions by the Security Council was the most effective peaceful means of making racist South Africa comply with the resolutions and decisions of the United Nations on the question of Namibia.

510. During its extraordinary plenary meetings, the Council held a commemorative meeting on 19 May 1987 marking the passage of two decades since the adoption of General Assembly resolution 2248 (S-V), by which the General Assembly established the Council as the legal Administering Authority for the Territory until independence. On the occasion of the commemorative meeting it adopted a special appeal (see para. 237) stating that South Africa, so long as it maintained its illegal occupation of Namibia, would continue to murder and persecute Namibians, to plunder their resources, and to use the Territory as the staging ground for acts of aggression against the neighbouring independent States. Therefore, the Council called urgently upon the international community to act decisively to bring an end to the illegal occupation of Namibia and to assist, as a matter of priority, the victims of racist South Africa's repression. In reaffirming its full solidarity with the people of Namibia and with SWAPO, their sole and authentic representative, the Council appealed to the international community to fulfil actively and conscientiously the solemn responsibility it had assumed in the international Territory of Namibia.

511. In compliance with paragraph 13 of General Assembly resolution 41/39 C, the Council continued to consider questions relating to the accession of Namibia to international conventions, covenants and agreements which it deemed appropriate for the protection of the interests of the Namibian people.

CHAPTER VIII

CONTACTS BETWEEN MEMBER STATES AND SOUTH AFRICA SINCE THE ADOPTION OF GENERAL ASSEMBLY RESOLUTIONS ES-8/2 AND 41/39 A

512. By its resolution 41/39 A, the General Assembly requested the United Nations Council for Namibia, in its implementation of paragraph 15 of Assembly resolution ES-8/2 of 14 September 1981 and of relevant provisions of Assembly resolutions 36/121 B of 10 December 1981, 37/233 A of 20 December 1982, to continue to monitor the boycott of South Africa and to submit to the Assembly a comprehensive report on all contacts between Member States and South Africa. Pursuant to Assembly resolution 41/39 A, the United Nations Council for Namibia prepared a report that updates the information contained in the report of the Council to the Assembly at its forty-first session. The current report of Standing Committee II on contacts between Member States and South Africa is contained in document A/AC.131/265.

CHAPTER IX

CO-OPERATION BETWEEN THE COUNCIL AND OTHER UNITED NATIONS BODIES

513. During the period under review, the Council continued to work in close co-operation with the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples and the Special Committee against Apartheid on matters pertaining to the question of Namibia and in pursuit of the collective struggle against the remaining vestiges of colonialism, racism and apartheid.

A. Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples

514. The Special Committee continued to keep the question of Namibia under continuous review and to invite the United Nations Council for Namibia to attend its meetings on the subject. For its part, the Council also invited the Special Committee to its solemn meetings and other events that it organized.

515. Mr. Oramas Oliva (Cuba), Acting Chairman of the Special Committee, attended and addressed the special meetings held by the Council to commemorate the Week of Solidarity with the People of Namibia and Their Liberation Movement, SWAPO, held in New York on 27 October 1986.

516. Mr. Ahmad F. Arnouss (Syrian Arab Republic), Rapporteur of the Special Committee, attended and addressed the Seminar on Support for the Immediate Independence of Namibia and the Effective Application of Sanctions against South Africa, held at Buenos Aires from 20 to 24 April 1987.

517. Mr. Tadesse (Ethiopia), Chairman of the Special Committee, attended and addressed the extraordinary plenary meetings of the Council, held at Luanda, from 18 to 22 May 1987.

518. Lt. Gen. Zuze (Zambia), President of the Council, participated and addressed the Special Committee on 5 August 1987, on the question of Namibia.

519. Mr. Tadesse (Ethiopia), Chairman of the Special Committee, attended and addressed the special meetings held by the Council to commemorate Namibia Day, in New York on 26 August 1987.

B. Special Committee against Apartheid

520. Mr. Sinclair (Guyana), then Acting President of the Council, attended and addressed the Special Meeting in Observance of the Day of Solidarity with South African Political Prisoners, held in New York on 10 October 1986.

521. Mr. Jai Pratap Rana (Nepal), Acting Chairman of the Special Committee against Apartheid, attended and addressed the special meetings held by the Council to commemorate the Week of Solidarity with the People of Namibia and Their Liberation Movement (SWAPO), held in New York on 27 October 1986.

522. Mr. Mfula (Zambia) represented the Council at the special meetings held in observance of the International Day for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination, in New York on 20 March 1987.

523. Mr. James V. Gbeho (Ghana) and Mr. O. H. Obaze (Nigeria) represented the Special Committee against Apartheid at the Seminar on Support for the Immediate Independence of Namibia and the Effective Application of Sanctions against South Africa, held at Buenos Aires from 20 to 24 April 1987.

524. Mr. Ononaiye, representative of the Chairman of the Special Committee against Apartheid, addressed the extraordinary plenary meetings of the Council, at Luanda, from 18 to 22 May 1987.

525. Mr. Mfula (Zambia) represented the Council at the special meeting held by the Special Committee against Apartheid in observance of the International Day of Solidarity with the Struggling People of South Africa (Soweto Day), held in New York on 16 June 1987, and read out a statement on behalf of the President of the Council.

526. Mr. Guennadi Oudovenko (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic), Acting Chairman of the Special Committee against Apartheid, attended and addressed the special meetings held by the Council to commemorate Namibia Day, in New York on 26 August 1987.

CHAPTER X

PARTICIPATION OF THE SOUTH WEST AFRICA PEOPLE'S ORGANIZATION, THE SOLE AND AUTHENTIC REPRESENTATIVE OF THE NAMIBIAN PEOPLE, IN THE UNITED NATIONS SYSTEM

527. In accordance with the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly on Namibia, SWAPO, the sole and authentic representative of the Namibian people, participates in the work of the United Nations Council for Namibia. Moreover, the General Assembly, in its resolution 31/152, accorded SWAPO a standing invitation, in its capacity as observer, to participate in the sessions and activities of all international conferences convened under the auspices of the General Assembly. SWAPO also continues to participate in the deliberations of the Security Council on the question of Namibia, under rule 39 of the provisional rules of procedure of the Security Council.

528. For more than two decades, SWAPO has spearheaded the patriotic and heroic struggle of the Namibian people for self-determination and national independence. Through its courageous and persistent struggle, including 21 years of armed resistance against racist South Africa's colonial oppression and illegal occupation, under which the Namibian people have languished for many decades, SWAPO has earned the recognition and respect of the international community.

529. The international community has commended SWAPO for its exemplary leadership, courage and heroism in the battlefield in defence of the inalienable right of the Namibian people to self-determination and national independence, and for the constructive attitude and statesmanship SWAPO has consistently demonstrated during the prolonged period of international negotiations.

530. The General Assembly, in accordance with paragraph 19 of its resolution 41/39 C, again requested the United Nations Council for Namibia to continue to consult with SWAPO in the formulation and implementation of its programme of work, as well as in any matter of interest to the Namibian people.

531. Accordingly, during the period under review, SWAPO continued to participate actively in the work of the United Nations Council for Namibia, as well as in the deliberations of the General Assembly and the Security Council on the question of Namibia (see paras. 25-135 of the present report).

532. A SWAPO delegation, headed by Mr. Gurirab, Secretary for Foreign Affairs, participated in meetings of the Security Council on the question of Namibia from 6 to 9 April 1987. While in New York for the Council meetings, the SWAPO delegation met for consultations with the bureau of the United Nations Council for Namibia.

533. Mr. Nujoma, the President of SWAPO, accompanied by a high-level SWAPO delegation, attended the extraordinary plenary meetings of the Council, held at Luanda from 18 to 22 May 1987. Mr. Nujoma made a statement at the meeting to mark the twentieth year of the establishment of the United Nations Council for Namibia and also delivered a keynote speech at the closing of the debate on 22 May. Mr. Toivo ya Toivo, Secretary-General of SWAPO, addressed the solemn opening of the extraordinary plenary meetings.

534. The SWAPO delegation took an active part in the drafting of the Luanda Declaration and the Programme of Action adopted at the meetings (see para. 203).

535. In keeping with the Council's policy of regular consultations with SWAPO leaders, the bureau of the Council held consultations with the SWAPO delegation during the extraordinary plenary meetings at Luanda.

536. During its stay in Luanda, the Council delegation visited a SWAPO health and education centre for exiled Namibians at Cuanza Sul, in Angola, from 21 to 22 May.

537. SWAPO representatives participated in the preparation, organization and proceedings of the seminar on "Support for the Immediate Independence of Namibia and the Effective Application of Sanctions against South Africa", held at Buenos Aires from 20 to 24 April 1987 (see paras. 242-247), and the workshops organized by the Council in co-operation with non-governmental organizations, held at Bonn, London, Tokyo and Chicago (see paras. 248 to 278).

538. The representatives of SWAPO continued to participate in the Council's missions of consultations with Governments of States Members of the United Nations and to accompany delegations of the Council to meetings and conferences organized by the specialized agencies and other organizations and institutions of the United Nations system, as well as international organizations such as OAU and the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries.

539. SWAPO representatives also held consultations and co-operated with the Office of the United Nations Commissioner for Namibia at Headquarters and at the regional offices in Africa, through which various assistance programmes for Namibians are being implemented.

540. In addition, SWAPO participated in the deliberations 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 and the Special Committee against Apartheid, whenever those organs discussed matters pertaining to the question of Namibia.

541. Representatives of SWAPO continued to provide the Council with information on its activities and the progress of the liberation struggle, as well as on the manoeuvres of the racist South African régime to perpetuate its illegal occupation of Namibia and the apartheid system in the Territory.

542. In accordance with past practice, the Council continued to consult with SWAPO on requests by non-governmental organizations for financial contributions to carry out their activities and programmes aimed at mobilizing international public opinion in support of the Namibian cause.

PART THREE

CO-OPERATION BETWEEN THE UNITED NATIONS COUNCIL FOR NAMIBIA AND INTERGOVERNMENTAL BODIES

CHAPTER I

CO-OPERATION WITH THE ORGANIZATION OF AFRICAN UNITY

543. Pursuant to the relevant provisions of General Assembly resolution 41/39 C of 20 November 1986 and in fulfilment of its mandate as the legal Administering Authority for Namibia, the United Nations Council for Namibia continued to maintain close co-operation with and to participate in the meetings of the OAU.

A. Forty-seventh ordinary session of the OAU Co-ordinating Committee for the Liberation of Africa, held at Arusha from 22 to 24 January 1987

544. Mr. Michael O. Ononaiye (Nigeria) represented the United Nations Council for Namibia at the forty-seventh ordinary session of the OAU Co-ordinating Committee for the Liberation of Africa, held at Arusha from 22 to 24 January 1987.

545. In his address opening the session, Mr. Ali Hassan Mwinyi, President of the United Republic of Tanzania, stated that the OAU Co-ordinating Committee was a symbol of the united will of the people of Africa to wipe out colonialism and apartheid. The Committee was an instrument of the member States of OAU to co-ordinate and channel support for the struggle of the liberation movements in Africa and to mobilize political, moral, financial and material support for that struggle.

546. The representative of the Council called upon the OAU Co-ordinating Committee to consider an exhaustive review and definition of the strategy to compel South Africa to withdraw from Namibia because a disposition of business as in the past would hardly address the imperative requirements of South Africa's deliberate policy of destabilization of independent African States.

547. It had become very urgent for OAU and its members, indeed all States Members of the United Nations and freedom-loving people of the world, to rededicate themselves to the just cause of Namibian independence and to extend increased assistance to SWAPO for effective conduct of its struggle for the liberation of Namibia. The violent defiance and military superiority of the occupation power notwithstanding, the United Nation Council for Namibia was certain, just as SWAPO was, that victory was certain in the end. He reiterated the appeal by the Council to all States, including members of OAU and international organizations, for continued sacrifice and the discharge of voluntarily assumed obligations for the liberation of Namibia.

548. The Council, for its part, would actively carry out its responsibilities during 1987. The region of southern Africa was the obvious focal point of the liberation struggle. The Council was scheduled to return to one of the States in

southern Africa to hold an extraordinary plenary meeting on Namibia to dramatize the urgent need for concerted action in support of the liberation of Namibia.

549. Mr. Ononaiye also informed the OAU Co-ordinating Committee that the Council hoped soon to initiate the long awaited legal action in the Netherlands in support of Decree No. 1 for the Protection of the Natural Resources of Namibia. 4/ The Council was also planning other activities for 1987 in Western Europe, Japan and the United States to sensitize public opinion in those countries where the illegal racist occupation force is known to enjoy some sympathy and support.

550. After considering the report of its Executive Secretary, the OAU Co-ordinating Committee adopted the report, which was scheduled to be presented to the forty-fifth ordinary session of the OAU Council of Ministers (see paras. 551-554). In the report, the Committee, among other things, noted with deep regret, the stalemate in Namibia's progress towards independence and called upon the international community to intensify efforts towards the implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978).

B. Forty-fifth ordinary session of the Council of Ministers of OAU, held at Addis Ababa from 23 to 28 February 1987

551. The forty-fifth ordinary session of the Council of Ministers of OAU was held at Addis Ababa from 23 to 28 February 1987. During the session, the Council of Ministers adopted a statement on southern Africa (CM/St.23 (XLV)) by which the Council, *inter alia*, stressed that racist South Africa continued to occupy Namibia illegally in defiance of United Nations resolutions and decisions, in particular Security Council resolution 435 (1978). SWAPO and the Namibian people had successfully thwarted all attempts by the racist colonial régime to impose a puppet administration on the people of Namibia. The Pretoria régime was currently preparing yet another bogus constitution, with a referendum scheduled for May or June 1987. Africa rejected this diabolical plan of racist South Africa and urged the international community not to recognize such a force, nor to give it any measure of respectability.

552. In the statement, the Council of Ministers pointed out that the continued use of conscripted black soldiers from the so-called South African "bantustans" to fight against the combatants of PLAN in Namibia and to participate in acts of aggression against Angola and the deployment of conscripted Namibians to the so-called South West Africa Territory Force to participate in the violence against the black townships of South Africa was yet another manifestation of the régime's tactics of attempting to weaken the solidarity of the oppressed people of South Africa and Namibia by pitting black people against each other.

553. The Council of Ministers reiterated that the United Nations Council for Namibia remained the only legal Administering Authority for Namibia until independence was achieved. In this regard, the Members of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries and of the United Nations, as well as international and non-governmental organizations and specialized agencies of the United Nations, were called upon to support the activities of the United Nations Council for Namibia and to help strengthen continuing co-operation between the Council and SWAPO, the sole, authentic and legitimate representative of the people of Namibia.

554. The Council of Ministers further stated that Security Council resolution 435 (1978) remained the only acceptable basis for a peaceful solution of the Namibian question. The Security Council should therefore meet forthwith to consider the question of Namibia and to impose comprehensive and mandatory sanctions on racist South Africa, so as to compel the latter to co-operate in the implementation of resolution 435 (1978). Meanwhile, armed struggle, mass mobilization and action by the people must be intensified.

C. Forty-eighth ordinary session of the OAU Co-ordinating Committee for the Liberation of Africa, held at Arusha from 13 to 15 July 1987

555. Mr. Jonathas Niyungeko (Burundi), head of the delegation, and Mr. Ahmed Ouyahia (Algeria), represented the United Nations Council for Namibia at the forty-eighth ordinary session of the OAU Co-ordinating Committee for the Liberation of Africa, held at Arusha from 13 to 15 July 1987.

556. Mr. Salim Ahmed Salim, Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Defence and National Service of the United Republic of Tanzania, formally opened the meeting. Mr. L. Mwananshiku, Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Zambia, was elected Chairman of the session.

557. In his opening statement, Mr. Salim stated that South Africa's colonial occupation of Namibia was in provocative violation of United Nations Security Council resolutions and the ruling of the International Court of Justice. He stressed that the implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978) had been thwarted by the insistence of the United States Administration on linking it with the withdrawal of Cuban internationalist forces from Angola.

558. Mr. Salim emphasized that it was imperative for OAU to continue to oppose the mischievous and illegal manoeuvres of the Pretoria régime and its neo-colonial designs for Namibia. It must not waiver in its campaign to ensure that South Africa's client so-called government in Namibia was denied all recognition and legitimacy. It must increase efforts to mobilize support for SWAPO, the sole and authentic representative of the Namibian people, to carry on its political and armed struggle against the South African occupation régime. Mr. Salim concluded by stating that the Security Council and the international community as a whole must be pressed not to allow their obligation towards the people of Namibia to lapse.

559. Mr. Niyungeko briefed the OAU Co-ordinating Committee on the activities of the United Nations Council for Namibia in support of the Namibian cause, particularly the extraordinary plenary meetings of the Council, held at Luanda in May 1987, the Seminar on Support for the Immediate Independence of Namibia and the Effective Application of Sanctions against South Africa, held at Buenos Aires in April 1987 (see paras. 242-247), as well as the workshops organized by the Council in co-operation with non-governmental organizations in the Federal Republic of Germany, the United Kingdom, Japan and the United States between April and July 1987 (see paras. 248-278).

560. In reviewing the situation in and relating to Namibia, Mr. Niyungeko stated that, despite the untiring efforts of the international community, Namibia remained under the illegal occupation of the racist Pretoria régime. Its heroic people

continued to suffer the agony of apartheid and the brutality of armed repression. The national wealth of Namibia was being subjected to the illegal exploitation and unbridled plunder of foreign interests. The Territory had also been reduced to the status of a base for aggression by the Pretoria régime against neighbouring independent States.

561. The peace and security of southern Africa continued to be shattered by a racist régime striving in vain to justify the tragedy it was trying to perpetuate within South Africa. In the absence of recourse to the stipulations of the Charter of the United Nations, Pretoria was continuing its aggression against Angola and Mozambique and its armed interventions against the other States of southern Africa. The so-called "linkage" pre-condition put forward by the United States since 1982 continued to impede the implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978). The Pretoria régime was also continuing its frantic attempts to install puppet entities in Namibia with a view to perpetuating its colonialist domination of the Territory.

562. In conclusion, Mr. Niyungeko stated that, during 1987, the Security Council was twice seized with the crime against humanity, apartheid being perpetuated in South Africa and the challenge to the will of the international community represented by the illegal occupation of Namibia. In both cases, the call for mandatory and comprehensive sanctions against South Africa had been blocked by the vetoes of two Western permanent members of the Security Council. The tragedy developing in South Africa and Pretoria's continued defiance of the authority of the United Nations with respect to Namibia could not convince those permanent members of the Security Council, who were among the initiators of the United Nations plan for the independence of Namibia, to renounce their support for the condemned policy of "linkage" and to support the repeated calls of the international community for the imposition of comprehensive mandatory sanctions against the racist régime of South Africa.

563. At the conclusion of its deliberations, the OAU Co-ordinating Committee adopted a report containing recommendations for the forty-sixth session of the Council of Ministers (CM/1429 (XLVI)). On the basis of those recommendations, the Council of Ministers adopted resolution CM/Res.1091 (XLVI) on Namibia (see para. 576).

D. Forty-sixth ordinary session of the Council of Ministers of OAU, held at Addis Ababa from 20 to 25 July 1987

564. Mr. Niyungeko (Burundi) and Mr. Ouyahia (Algeria) represented the United Nations Council for Namibia at the forty-sixth ordinary session of the Council of Ministers of OAU, held at Addis Ababa from 20 to 25 July 1987. Mr. Theo-Ben Gurirab, Secretary for Foreign Affairs of SWAPO, accompanied the Council delegation.

565. The meeting was opened by Mr. Berhanu Bayih, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Ethiopia, who read a statement on behalf of the Head of State of Ethiopia. Mr. Benjamin Mkapa, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the United Republic of Tanzania, was elected Chairman of the session.

566. In a statement delivered to the Council of Ministers, Mr. Niyungeko, on behalf of the United Nations Council for Namibia, stated that, by their glorious struggle against racist South Africa's illegal occupation of their country and by their sacrifices, the Namibian people, under the leadership of SWAPO, their sole and authentic representative, had long established the legitimacy of their cause. The nature of the Namibian problem was well known. The obstacles to the resolution of the problem were also well established. The solution to the problem had been agreed upon nearly 10 years ago with the adoption of the United Nations plan for the independence of Namibia, endorsed by Security Council resolution 435 (1978).

567. In Namibia, an armed contingent of more than 100,000 of Pretoria's racist troops was forcibly prolonging the illegal occupation of the Territory. The occupation army had also resorted to the repression, harassment and murder of innocent Namibians in a vain attempt to contain the national liberation struggle of the Namibian people. Although all outstanding issues relevant to the plan contained in Security Council resolution 435 (1978) had been resolved, thanks to the untiring efforts of the Secretary-General of the United Nations and the exemplary flexibility of SWAPO, Pretoria, supported by the United States Administration, continued to insist on the so-called "linkage" pre-condition in the illusory search for a neo-colonial solution to the question of Namibia.

568. Mr. Niyungeko stated that the independent States of southern Africa that had made important contributions to the liberation struggle in the region faced aggression and destabilization by the racist régime of Pretoria. They were paying a heavy price for their assistance to the oppressed peoples in South Africa and Namibia and deserved the support and assistance of all peace-loving people.

569. He emphasized that Pretoria's conduct had helped to mobilize the international community for decisive action to put an end to that régime's colonial domination of Namibia, its policy of apartheid and its acts of aggression and destabilization against the front-line and other States. OAU was leading the struggle against the apartheid régime's colonial occupation of Namibia and enjoyed the support of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries and the overwhelming majority of the States Members of the United Nations in its efforts. However, the Security Council, which had primary responsibility for the implementation of the United Nations plan for Namibia's independence, had been confined, by the use of the veto by two of its Western permanent members, to a troubling paralysis that endangered the maintenance of international peace and security. The inability of the Security Council to live up to its responsibilities had made it possible for racist South Africa to continue its illegal occupation of Namibia with impunity.

570. The head of the Council delegation concluded by stating that the obstacles placed in the path of Namibian independence would not daunt the determination of the Council to fulfil its mandate with respect to the Territory and to continue its efforts to mobilize the broadest possible international support for the struggle of the Namibian people for self-determination and independence.

571. While in Addis Ababa, the Council delegation met with the foreign ministers of Angola, the United Republic of Tanzania and Zambia, as well as with the Secretary-General of OAU and the Executive Secretary of the Economic Commission for Africa (ECA). During the meetings, the Council delegation briefed the foreign ministers and officials about the activities of the Council in support of the immediate and unconditional independence of Namibia. It informed them of recent actions taken by the Council, particularly the submission of a writ of summons in

the district court of The Hague in support of Decree No. 1 for the Protection of the Natural Resources of Namibia. 4/ The delegation also sought the views of the foreign ministers and officials on what further action the Council might take to advance the Namibian cause.

572. The foreign ministers and officials expressed their full support for the work of the United Nations Council for Namibia and its efforts in support of Namibia's independence. They stressed that South Africa's continued illegal occupation of Namibia had brought about untold suffering to and repression of the people of Namibia, and had also resulted in the unbridled exploitation of the human and natural resources of the Territory. Furthermore, the continued use of Namibian territory by the Pretoria régime for its acts of aggression against, and economic and political destabilization of, the front-line States had exacerbated the threat to international peace and security.

573. The foreign ministers and officials emphasized the imperative need to mobilize world public opinion for the cause of Namibia. In this connection, they urged the Council to increase and broaden its efforts aimed at informing international public opinion of the political, economic and social realities of occupied Namibia. They noted that the publicity and mobilization efforts of the Council should, for the most part, be focused on Western Europe and North America - as the regions where support for the United Nations position on the question of Namibia was soft and where the racist régime, cognizant of the support it enjoyed in those regions, had intensified its propaganda and disinformation campaigns against the United Nations and the liberation struggle of the Namibian people led by SWAPO.

574. It was also the view of the foreign ministers and officials that the international community should be urged to apply coercive measures against the Pretoria régime, including mandatory and comprehensive sanctions under Chapter VII of the Charter, to force that régime to end its illegal occupation of Namibia and its policies of apartheid, as well as its acts of aggression against the front-line States.

575. The foreign ministers of Angola and the United Republic of Tanzania observed that the impediments to the implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978) were a matter of public knowledge. The international community should therefore develop clear-cut strategies to remove those obstacles through concerned diplomatic and political efforts. On his part, the Foreign Minister of Zambia stressed that close co-operation and collaboration between the United Nations Council for Namibia and SWAPO was a pre-condition for the successful resolution of the Namibian question.

576. At the end of its meeting, the Council of Ministers adopted resolution CM/Res.1091 (XLVI) on Namibia by which the Council, inter alia, reiterated the legal responsibility of the United Nations over Namibia until its independence in a united Namibia, strongly condemned the continued illegal occupation of Namibia by the racist Pretoria régime in disregard of the pertinent decisions and resolutions of the United Nations and its obstruction of the immediate and unconditional implementation of the United Nations plan, as contained in resolution 435 (1978); categorically rejected the so-called linkage pre-condition which the Reagan Administration continued to insist upon and called, once again, upon that Administration to abandon its widely condemned policy, so as to help pave the way for the achievement of Namibia's long-delayed independence; reaffirmed that the only two parties to the resolution of the conflict in Namibia were, on the one

hand, the oppressed Namibian people as represented by SWAPO, and on the other, the illegal and colonial régime of racist South Africa; demanded the immediate dissolution of the puppet, so-called interim administration in Namibia and rejected the bogus constitution presently being propagated for Namibia by the Botha régime, through its puppets; expressed strong indignation that the Security Council had, once again, been prevented by the vetoes cast, on 9 April 1987, by the Governments of the United Kingdom and the United States and the negative vote by the Federal Republic of Germany from imposing comprehensive and mandatory sanctions, under Chapter VII of the Charter against racist South Africa, in respect of Namibia; commended SWAPO and its labour affiliate, the National Union of Namibian Workers (NUNW), for effectively launching several trade unions in Namibia and thereby strengthening the indispensable role of the labour force in the struggle; urged legislators, activists of the anti-apartheid and solidarity movements, trade unions, churches, youth, students' and women's organizations and individuals in the Western world and elsewhere, to redouble their efforts with a view to continuing to campaign for sanctions against Pretoria and to mobilizing all-round increased assistance to the national liberation movements in southern Africa and to the front-line and neighbouring States, particularly Angola; renewed its appeal to the Security Council to impose comprehensive and mandatory sanctions against South Africa in conformity with Chapter VII of the Charter to oblige that régime to implement Security Council resolution 435 (1978), without any pre-condition; expressed its appreciation to the Secretary-General of the United Nations for his devotion to the Namibian cause and his tireless efforts to see the early realization of the cherished goal of Namibia's independence; and reaffirmed its support for the United Nations Council for Namibia in its efforts to achieve the immediate independence of the Territory.

E. Twenty-third ordinary session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of OAU, held at Addis Ababa from 27 to 29 July 1987

577. The twenty-third ordinary session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of OAU was held at Addis Ababa from 27 to 29 July 1987. The Assembly elected President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia as Chairman.

578. The Council delegation was composed of Mr. Jonathas Niyungeko (Burundi), head of the delegation, and Mr. Ouyahia (Algeria). Mr. Theo-Ben Gurirab and Mr. Helmut Angula of SWAPO accompanied the delegation.

579. Participants in the session expressed their indignation at the continued illegal occupation of Namibia by the racist régime of South Africa. They stressed that the linkage pre-condition insisted upon by the Pretoria régime and the current United States Administration had been strongly condemned and rejected by the international community as an irrelevant and extraneous issue. The speakers reiterated their call for the immediate and unconditional implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978). They also emphasized the need for all countries to take effective measures, individually and collectively, to isolate the racist régime of South Africa. In that regard, they were of the unanimous view that the application of comprehensive mandatory sanctions against the Pretoria régime would contribute positively to the efforts of the international community to pressure that régime to end its illegal occupation of Namibia.

580. The speakers stressed that the international community should increase its comprehensive assistance to the people of Namibia and their liberation movement, SWAPO. They also emphasized that such assistance should be extended to the front-line States, to enable them to continue to safeguard their territorial integrity and sovereignty against racist South Africa's acts of aggression and destabilization against them and to assist the liberation movements in southern Africa.

581. During the session, the delegation of the Council met with Mr. Sam Nujoma, President of SWAPO, to exchange views on the situation in and relating to Namibia and the efforts of the Council to gain independence for the Territory. In the discussions, the President of SWAPO expressed satisfaction with the work of the Council and stated that its activities in support of Namibia were being felt in all regions of the world. He said that it was important for the Council to organize follow-up activities not only in Western Europe and North America but also in the Latin American region, where support for the Namibian cause had been on the increase in recent years. In this regard, he noted that the recent visit of a delegation of SWAPO to Latin America had been constructive and successful.

582. Mr. Nujoma also stressed that the Council and SWAPO should further strengthen their co-operation, especially with regard to new initiatives aimed at securing support in the Federal Republic of Germany and the United States for the United Nations position on Namibia. In the United States, efforts should be directed at consolidating the support of members of the Black Caucus and other sympathetic legislators in the United States Congress. The Council should also broaden and strengthen its co-operation with non-governmental organizations in the United States and should continue its efforts to meet and consult with key members of the United States Congress and the Administration to ensure that the so-called policy of linkage, the only impediment to the implementation of resolution 435 (1978), was abandoned.

583. Mr. Nujoma observed that, in his view, the Council should take bold initiatives to exert its influence and mandate with respect to Namibia. It should redouble its efforts to neutralize the Pretoria régime's propaganda and disinformation campaign, particularly in Western Europe and North America. To do so, it should focus its efforts in the West. The Western media played a crucial role in influencing world public opinion. Racist South Africa must not be allowed to spread its lies about the struggle of the Namibian people for self-determination and national independence.

584. At the conclusion of their consideration of the situation in southern Africa, the Heads of State and Government of OAU adopted a Declaration on Southern Africa (AHG/DECL.2 (XXIII)), by which, inter alia, they condemned the so-called provisional government in Namibia and urged the international community to continue to reject it; reaffirmed once again that Security Council resolution 435 (1978) was the only acceptable basis for the peaceful settlement of the Namibian question; vehemently rejected and condemned the so-called linkage as an attempt designed to perpetuate the illegal rule of South Africa over Namibia; urged the Secretary-General to continue his efforts towards the speedy implementation of resolution 435 (1978); resolved to intensify their diplomatic efforts with a view to breaking the impasse created by the "linkage" policy; and committed themselves to continue their assistance to SWAPO.

CHAPTER II

CO-OPERATION WITH THE MOVEMENT OF NON-ALIGNED COUNTRIES

585. During the period under review, the United Nations Council for Namibia continued to work in close co-operation with the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, in which it has guest status, and to participate in its meetings. Representatives of the Movement were also invited to participate in Council meetings.

A. Meeting of Heads of State or Government of member countries of the Action for Resisting Invasion, Colonialism and Apartheid Fund (AFRICA Fund) Committee, held at New Delhi on 24 and 25 January 1987

586. The Heads of State or Government or their representatives, members of the AFRICA Fund Committee, consisting of India (Chairman), Zambia (Vice-Chairman), Algeria, Argentina, the Congo, Nigeria, Peru, Yugoslavia and Zimbabwe, assembled in New Delhi, on 24 and 25 January 1987 to give concrete effect to the decision taken at the Eighth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Harare in September 1986, 2/ to constitute the AFRICA Fund.

587. In an appeal issued at the conclusion of the meeting, the Heads of State or Government, inter alia, reaffirmed their grave concern at the sharp deterioration of the situation in southern Africa, arising out of the unabated practice of the pernicious system of apartheid by the racist Pretoria régime. They stated that the racist régime had spurned the repeated calls of the international community to dismantle apartheid and had instead stepped up its oppression and subjugation of the disenfranchised and dispossessed people of South Africa. Several thousand innocent people had lost their lives, while thousands had been hurled into jail without trial. In the face of this situation, the tide of popular outrage and uprising had continued to swell.

588. They rejected the Pretoria régime's continued illegal occupation of Namibia in flagrant violation of the decisions of the United Nations and reaffirmed the inalienable right of the Namibian people to freedom and independence.

589. The depredations of apartheid were not confined to South Africa and Namibia. The régime in Pretoria had intensified its campaign of intimidation, blackmail, destabilization, economic disruption and even blatant military aggression against the front-line States, in an effort to subject these independent States to its political and economic domination. The efforts of the front-line States to face this situation and to reduce their dependence on South Africa must receive the fullest support of the international community.

590. The creation of the AFRICA Fund was a concrete step in that direction. The participants appealed to the universal conscience for urgent, concerted and resolute action for the complete dismantling of apartheid. They called upon all nations of the world, international, financial and other organizations, non-governmental organizations and individuals to contribute generously to the Fund, to show their unflinching solidarity with the struggle against apartheid.

591. The Plan of Action for the Fund, adopted at the Eighth Conference of Heads of State or Government held at Harare in September 1986, 2/ provided for specific measures to strengthen the economic capability of the front-line States, to assist them in enforcing sanctions against South Africa and effectively to withstand any retaliatory action by the racist régime; it also set out measures to support the liberation movements in South Africa and Namibia.

592. The racist Pretoria régime had persisted in the illegal occupation of Namibia in flagrant violation of the resolutions of the United Nations, the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries and other international forums. They stressed that no linkages could be acceptable on the issue of the independence of Namibia. The people of Namibia had an inalienable right to freedom and independence and their struggle for self-determination by all available means, under SWAPO, their sole and authentic representative.

593. With regard to the liberation movements in South Africa and Namibia, the members of the AFRICA Fund stressed that the Non-Aligned Countries had an abiding commitment to the complete eradication of the evil system of apartheid and stood firmly behind the heroic people of South Africa and Namibia in their struggle against apartheid and for the establishment of a non-racial and representative government in South Africa.

594. It was imperative that all possible pressure be exerted on the racist régime for the eradication of apartheid. There was an urgent need for publicizing the objectives of the AFRICA Fund and for measures to mobilize international public opinion against the pernicious system of apartheid - the brutal oppression of the people of South Africa, the illegal occupation of Namibia and the victimization of the front-line States by the racist Pretoria régime - as well as to raise resources for the Fund. These efforts were of special relevance in industrialized countries, particularly those where Governments were reluctant to change their present policies.

B. Meeting with the Chairman of the AFRICA Fund of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries at New Delhi on 27 May 1987

595. On 27 May 1987, Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi of India, Chairman of the AFRICA Fund Committee, received the delegation of the United Nations Council for Namibia, headed by its President, Lt. Gen. Peter D. Zuze (Zambia).

596. The delegation also held consultations with senior members of the Ministry of External Affairs, including Mr. N. Krishnan, the Prime Minister's Special Envoy for Africa.

597. The Council delegation noted that the Declaration and Programme of Action adopted at the conclusion of the extraordinary plenary meetings of the Council held at Luanda, in May 1987 (see para. 203) had appealed to the international community to contribute generously to the AFRICA Fund, which was cited as an appropriate instrument for channelling international support to the liberation movements in South Africa and Namibia in their struggle against the racist régime of South Africa. It was agreed that the Council and the Fund would actively co-ordinate their efforts to mobilize increased support for the Namibian cause and would co-operate in the mobilization of public opinion and financial resources for the Fund.

C. Special Ministerial Meeting of the Co-ordinating Bureau of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries on Latin America and the Caribbean, held at Georgetown from 9 to 12 March 1987

598. The United Nations Council for Namibia participated in the work of the Special Ministerial Meeting of the Co-ordinating Bureau of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries on Latin America and the Caribbean, held at Georgetown, from 9 to 12 March 1987. 116/ Lt. Gen. Zuze (Zambia), President of the Council, headed the delegation, which included Mr. Ramu Damodaran (India) and Mr. Miloš Strugar (Yugoslavia).

599. President Hugh Desmond Hoyte of Guyana inaugurated the meeting. In his opening statement, Mr. Hoyte stated that, in the course of the quarter of a century which had elapsed since the Belgrade Summit, the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries had evolved as a weighty factor in the cause of peace and development and a potent force for constructive change in international relations. It was in the vanguard of the struggle against imperialism and colonialism wherever and in whatever guises they manifested themselves. It had waged unrelenting war against apartheid and racism, and it was unequivocally opposed to all forms of aggression, occupation, domination and interference.

600. Mr. Aaron Shihepo, Deputy Secretary for Foreign Affairs of SWAPO and head of the SWAPO delegation, noted that there were parallels between the situation in the Latin American and Caribbean region and that of southern Africa. He stated that the burning issues of the region were part and parcel of the global hotbed of tension which was threatening the very existence of humanity. The imperialist forces menacing the Latin American and Caribbean region were the same as those that were collaborating with racist South Africa. The same forces were also responsible for financing and arming counter-revolutionaries in Nicaragua and bandits in Angola and Mozambique. They were, moreover, the same forces that continued to block the implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978), containing the United Nations plan for the independence of Namibia. These forces were continuing their attempts to impede or destroy the ongoing march to freedom and independence of the peoples of Namibia and South Africa. It was therefore important to bear in mind that the solution of problems in one region had a direct relationship to the solution of similar problems in other regions.

601. In their Final Communiqué, 117/ the Ministers, *inter alia*, stressed that Pretoria's interference in the internal affairs of the countries of Central America once more proved that régime's contempt, not only for the oppressed peoples of South Africa and occupied Namibia, but also for the peoples of Central America. The Ministers strongly condemned the Pretoria racist régime for its collaboration with the United States Administration in providing logistical support and arms for the "contras" fighting against the people of Nicaragua.

602. The Ministers reaffirmed the need to eradicate colonialism in all its forms and manifestations, in conformity with General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) of 14 December 1960.

D. Meeting of senior officials of the AFRICA Fund Committee, held at New Delhi from 4 to 7 August 1987

603. Mr. Chinmaya Rajaninath Gharekhan (India) represented the United Nations Council for Namibia at the meeting of senior officials of the AFRICA Fund Committee, held at New Delhi from 4 to 7 August 1987.

604. The meeting, inter alia, reviewed the progress of the activities of the AFRICA Fund since January 1987, considered additional measures for the mobilization of public opinion and financial resources and outlined the modalities for utilization of contributions already pledged by various donors to the Fund. With respect to the latter, it was felt that the most practical course would be to adopt a project-oriented approach under which donor countries and recipients could establish direct contact, identify the projects and discuss and finalize financing and other arrangements as well as operational guidelines for their implementation. Such a project-oriented approach would also enhance possibilities of attracting greater donor interest and contributions.

605. The representative of the Council took the opportunity to discuss with officials of the AFRICA Fund Committee specific areas of future co-operation in the common struggle against the racist régime of South Africa and for the independence of Namibia. During the discussions, it was noted that one area of co-operation could be mobilization of public opinion and financial resources for the Fund, given the Council's activities in this field and the extensive contacts it had with non-governmental organizations, anti-apartheid movements, individuals and other agencies. It was agreed that the Chairman of the AFRICA Fund Committee would seek the Council's advice in identifying specific areas of co-operation to increase public awareness of the Fund's aims and objectives, and possibly in being a catalyst for further contributions.

E. Meeting of the Extraordinary Ministerial Conference of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries on South-South Co-operation, held at Pyongyang from 9 to 13 June 1987

606. In addition to the above missions, a delegation of the United Nations Council for Namibia headed by its President, Lt. Gen. Zuze (Zambia) and consisting of Mr. Samuel Insanally (Guyana) and Mr. Dragoslav Pejić (Yugoslavia), vice-presidents, also participated in the Extraordinary Ministerial Conference of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries on South-South Co-operation, held at Pyongyang from 9 to 13 June 1987 (see A/AC.131/260).

PART FOUR

ACTIVITIES OF THE UNITED NATIONS COUNCIL FOR NAMIBIA RELATING TO THE REPRESENTATION OF NAMIBIA AND THE PROMOTION OF NAMIBIAN INTERESTS IN THE SPECIALIZED AGENCIES OF THE UNITED NATIONS AND OTHER INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS AND CONFERENCES

CHAPTER I

GENERAL

607. The United Nations Council for Namibia is the legal Administering Authority for Namibia. As such, during the period under review, the Council continued to discharge the responsibilities conferred upon it by the General Assembly by representing Namibia at conferences and meetings of international organizations with a view to protecting and defending the rights and interests of the people of Namibia.
608. The Council has progressively gained greater international recognition since it began to participate actively in the work of numerous agencies, organizations and conferences.
609. General Assembly resolutions 3111 (XXVIII) of 12 December 1973, 3295 (XXIX) of 13 December 1974, 3399 (XXX) of 26 November 1975 and 31/149 of 20 December 1976 emphasized the importance of the Council's participation in the work of specialized agencies and other organizations of the United Nations system. By its resolution 31/149, in particular, the Assembly requested all specialized agencies to consider granting full membership to the Council so that it might participate in that capacity as the Administering Authority for Namibia in the work of those agencies, organizations and conferences.
610. Namibia, represented by the Council, now enjoys membership in UNCTAD, UNIDO, the Executive Committee of the Programme of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), ILO, FAO, UNESCO, ITU and IAEA. Namibia is also an associate member of WHO and is a signatory to the Final Act of the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea and the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea 118/ and has ratified the Convention.
611. In the course of sending missions to the specialized agencies during the period under review, the Council, in accordance with the provisions of General Assembly resolution 41/39 C, raised the question of its participation in the work of all agencies, and obtained information on the ways by which the Council could apply for full membership in the regular or governing bodies of some of the agencies concerned. The Council will continue to seek membership for Namibia in all appropriate specialized agencies and other United Nations bodies, pursuant to Assembly resolution 41/39 C.
612. During the period under review, the Council represented Namibia at international conferences sponsored by the United Nations and specialized agencies and at other international meetings as indicated below.

A. International conferences and meetings

1. Commission on Human Rights

613. Mr. Tharcisse Ntakibirora (Burundi) represented the Council at the meeting of the Ad Hoc Working Group of Experts on Southern Africa, held at Geneva from 5 to 16 January 1987.

614. Ms. Christel Nyman (Finland) represented the Council at the forty-third session of the Commission on Human Rights, held at Geneva from 2 February to 13 March 1987. Mr. Nihat Akyol (Turkey) joined the Council delegation on 16 February. Mr. E. N. Tjiriange of SWAPO accompanied the delegation.

2. Human Rights Committee

615. Ms. Fatiha Bouamrane (Algeria) represented the Council at the twenty-ninth session of the Human Rights Committee, held at Geneva from 23 March to 10 April 1987. She was accompanied by Mr. Axel Johannes of SWAPO.

3. Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women

616. Ms. Adriana Pulido-Santana (Venezuela) represented the Council at the sixth session of the Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women, held at Vienna from 30 March to 10 April 1987.

4. Commission on Human Settlements

617. Mr. Rafiq Ahmed Khan (Bangladesh) represented the Council at the tenth session of the Commission on Human Settlements held at Nairobi from 6 to 16 April 1987.

5. Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination

618. Mr. Gervais Charles (Haiti) represented the Council at the thirty-fourth session of the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination, held at Geneva from 2 to 20 March 1987.

6. Law of the Sea

619. Mr. Moussa Bocar Ly (Senegal) and Mr. Valer Florean (Romania) represented the Council at meetings of the Preparatory Commission for the International Sea-Bed Authority and for the fifth session of the International Tribunal for the Law of the Sea, held at Kingston from 30 March to 16 April 1987. Mr. Tjiriange of SWAPO accompanied the Council delegation.

620. Mr. Ly (Senegal) and Mr. Constantin Radu (Romania) represented the Council at the meetings of the Preparatory Commission for the International Sea-Bed Authority and for the sixth session of the International Tribunal for the Law of the Sea, held in New York from 27 July to 21 August 1987. Mr. Theophilus Angula of SWAPO accompanied the Council delegation.

7. Commission on Transnational Corporations

621. Mr. Gordon H. Bristol (Nigeria) and Ms. Ninón Millan (Colombia) represented the Council at the thirteenth session of the Commission on Transnational Corporations, held in New York from 7 to 16 April 1987.

8. Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People

622. Mr. Ramu Damodaran (India) represented the Council at the "Asian Regional Seminar/NGO symposium on the question of Palestine", held at New Delhi from 8 to 12 June 1987.

623. Mr. Ly (Senegal) represented the Council at the "North American regional seminar on the question of Palestine", held in New York on 22 and 23 June 1987.

9. Special Committee against Apartheid

624. Mr. Lionel Paquin (Haiti) represented the Council at the International Student Conference against Apartheid, held in London from 31 July to 3 August 1987.

625. Lt. Gen. Peter D. Zuze (Zambia), the President of the Council, participated in the solemn meeting in observance of the International Day of Solidarity with the Struggle of Women in South Africa and Namibia, organized by the Special Committee against Apartheid on 10 August 1987.

10. Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples

626. Lt. Gen. Zuze (Zambia), the President of the Council, participated in the Special Committee's consideration of the question of Namibia on 5 August 1987.

11. International Conference on the Relationship between Disarmament and Development

627. Mr. Miloš Strugar (Yugoslavia) represented the Council at the International Conference on the Relationship between Disarmament and Development, held in New York from 24 August to 11 September 1987.

B. Specialized agencies and other organizations and institutions of the United Nations system

1. International Atomic Energy Agency

628. Mr. Hocine Mesloub (Algeria) represented the Council at the General Conference of IAEA, held at Vienna from 29 September to 3 October 1986. He was accompanied by Mr. Aaron Shihepo of SWAPO.

2. United Nations Industrial Development Organization

629. Mr. Yves L. Auguste (Haiti) represented the Council at the second session of the Industrial Development Board of UNIDO, held at Vienna from 13 to 23 October 1986. He was accompanied by Mr. Ben Amadhila of SWAPO.

3. World Food Programme

630. Mr. M. M. Liswaniso (Zambia) represented the Council at the meetings of the Committee on Food Aid Policies and Programmes of the World Food Programme, at its twenty-second session, held in Rome from 20 to 31 October 1986. He was accompanied by Mr. Festus Naholo of SWAPO.

4. United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees

631. Mr. Ertugrul Apakan (Turkey) represented the Council at the thirty-seventh session of the Executive Committee of UNHCR, held at Geneva from 6 to 13 October 1986. He was accompanied by Mr. Hifikepunye Pohamba of SWAPO.

5. Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations

632. Mr. Liswaniso (Zambia) represented the Council at the nineteenth session of the FAO Council, held in Rome from 17 to 28 November 1986. He was accompanied by Mr. Ben Amadhila of SWAPO.

6. United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization

633. Ms. Bouamrane (Algeria) represented the Council at the fortieth session of the International Conference on Education, held at Geneva from 2 to 11 December 1986.

634. Mr. Ntakibirora (Burundi) represented the Council at the eighth session of the Intergovernmental Council of the International Programme for the Development of Communication, held in Paris from 20 to 26 January 1987.

7. World Health Organization

635. Mr. Sandu Dan (Romania) represented the Council at the seventy-ninth session of the WHO Executive Board, held at Geneva from 12 to 30 January 1987.

636. Mr. Luis Alberto Barrero-Stahl (Mexico) represented the Council at the fortieth session of the World Health Assembly, held at Geneva from 4 to 20 May 1987.

8. International Labour Organisation

637. Mr. Nikifor M. Levchenko (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) represented the Council at the seventy-third session of the ILO General Conference, held at Geneva from 3 to 24 June 1987 (see A/AC.131/261). He was accompanied by Mr. John ya Otto and Mr. N. Tjiriange of SWAPO.

9. Economic and Social Council

638. Mr. Akyol (Turkey) represented the Council at the second regular session for 1987 of the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations, held at Geneva from 23 June to 9 July 1987.

10. United Nations Conference on Trade and Development

639. Mr. Akyol (Turkey) represented the Council at the seventh session of UNCTAD, held at Geneva from 9 to 31 July 1987.

C. Meetings and conferences sponsored by non-governmental organizations

640. Mr. Ivan S. Kulov (Bulgaria) represented the Council at the Anti-Apartheid Conference, held at Chapel Hill, North Carolina (United States), from 3 to 5 October 1986. He was accompanied by Mr. Hidipo Hamutenya and Mr. Pius H. Asheke of SWAPO.

641. Mr. Michael Ononaiye (Nigeria) represented the Council at the workshop on Namibia and sanctions against South Africa, held at Stockholm from 15 to 19 October 1986. He was accompanied by Mr. Nilo Taapopi of SWAPO.

642. Lt. Gen. Zuze (Zambia), President of the Council, attended the First All American Congress on Southern Africa, held at Buenos Aires from 24 to 28 November 1986. The President was accompanied by Mr. Toivo ya Toivo, Mr. Hidipo Hamutenya, Mr. Kondja Shikongo and Mr. Peter S. Tcheehama of SWAPO.

643. Mr. Pasi Patokallio (Finland) represented the Council at the twenty-fifth international conference of the International Committee of the Red Cross, held at Geneva from 23 to 31 October 1986.

644. Mr. Ononaiye (Nigeria) represented the Council at the seventeenth African-American Conference, held at Gaborone from 12 to 16 January 1987.

645. Ms. Erato K. Marcoullis (Cyprus) represented the Council at the International Conference on Solidarity with Women and Peoples of South Africa, Namibia, the Front-line States and Neighbouring Countries, held in London from 31 January to 2 February 1987. She was accompanied by Ms. Pashukeni Shoombe of SWAPO.

646. Mr. Damodaran (India) represented the Council at the Symposium on "Children in detention in South Africa", held at Washington from 25 to 26 June 1987.

647. Mr. Ntakibirora (Burundi) represented the Council at the "Briefing on U.S. foreign policy and South Africa's illegal occupation of Namibia", held at Washington on 23 July 1987. Mr. Helmut Angula of SWAPO also attended the briefing.

648. Mr. Roger Ravix (Haiti) represented the Council at the international symposium on "The United Nations at work - peace, development and human rights", organized by the World Federation of United Nations Associations (WFUNA), at Ottawa from 17 to 22 August 1987.

D. Meetings of the Senate of the United Nations Institute for Namibia and other activities under the United Nations Fund for Namibia

649. Mr. Nkwelle Ekaney (Cameroon) attended the inauguration of the Namibia Technical Secondary School at Loudima, Congo, from 10 to 14 December 1986.

650. Lt. Gen. Zuze (Zambia), President of the Council, accompanied by Mr. Alvaro Carnevali-Villegas (Venezuela) and Mr. Hannu Halinen (Finland), attended the following meetings:

(a) The Standing Committee on the Programme and Budget of the United Nations Institute for Namibia, held at Lusaka on 28 and 29 January 1987;

(b) The graduation ceremony of the Institute, held at Lusaka on 31 January 1987;

(c) The 23rd meeting of the Senate of the Institute, held at Lusaka on 2 and 3 February 1987;

(d) The extraordinary meeting of the Senate of the Institute, held at Addis Ababa from 27 to 30 April 1987.

651. Lt. Gen. Zuze, Mr. Yrjö Karinen (Finland), and Mr. Abdel M. Talaat (Egypt) attended the 24th meeting of the Senate of the Institute, held in New York on 27 and 28 August 1987.

CHAPTER II

ACTIVITIES OF THE COUNCIL IN THE DISSEMINATION OF INFORMATION AND PUBLICITY CONCERNING NAMIBIA

A. General

652. By its resolution 41/39 D on the dissemination of information on Namibia, the General Assembly stressed the urgent need to mobilize international public opinion on a continuous basis with a view to assisting the people of Namibia to achieve self-determination, freedom and independence in a united Namibia. It requested the United Nations Council for Namibia to redouble its efforts to inform international public opinion of developments in Namibia in order to counteract the total news black-out on Namibia imposed by the illegal South African régime which forbids foreign journalists from entering and reporting from the Territory. It also requested the Council to exert all efforts to counteract the campaign of slander and disinformation against the United Nations and the liberation struggle in Namibia being carried out by South African agents from the so-called information centres established in several Western countries.

653. By the same resolution the Assembly reiterated the importance of publicity as an instrument for furthering the mandate of the Council and requested the Secretary-General to direct the Department of Public Information of the Secretariat to assist the Council in the implementation of its programme of dissemination of information. The Assembly also requested the Secretary-General to ensure that the Department of Public Information, in all activities of the United Nations on dissemination of information on the question of Namibia, follow the policy guidelines laid down by the Council as the legal Administering Authority for Namibia.

654. The General Assembly further requested the Secretary-General to provide the Council with the work programme of the Department of Public Information for 1987 covering its activities relating to Namibia, followed by periodic progress reports, including details of expenses incurred. It also requested the Secretary-General to group under a single heading the section of the proposed programme budget of the United Nations for the biennium 1986-1987 relating to the Department of Public Information, all the activities of the Department concerning the dissemination of information on Namibia.

655. In recognizing the important role that non-governmental organizations were playing in disseminating information on Namibia and mobilizing international public opinion in favour of the Namibian cause, the Assembly called upon the Council to enlist the co-operation of those organizations in its efforts to activate public support for the liberation struggle of the Namibian people under the leadership of SWAPO. To that end, the Assembly requested the Council to prepare, update and disseminate lists of non-governmental organizations from all over the world, in particular those in the major Western countries, to ensure better co-operation and co-ordination among non-governmental organizations working in support of the Namibian cause and against apartheid.

656. The General Assembly also requested non-governmental organizations and support groups actively engaged in supporting the struggle of the Namibian people under the leadership of SWAPO to continue to intensify, in co-operation with the Council,

international action in support of the liberation struggle of the Namibian people, including assistance to the Council in monitoring the boycott of South Africa called for in Assembly resolution ES-8/2.

657. The General Assembly decided to allocate the sum of \$US 500,000 to be used by the Council for its programme of co-operation with non-governmental organizations, including assistance to organizations arranging conferences in support of Namibia, dissemination of the conclusions of such conferences and support for any other activities that promote the cause of the liberation struggle of the Namibian people, subject to decisions of the Council in each individual case, in consultation with SWAPO.

658. The General Assembly also decided to request the Council, in co-operation with the Department of Public Information and in consultation with SWAPO, to include in its programme for 1987 the preparation and dissemination of the following:

(a) Publications on the political, economic, military and social consequences of the illegal occupation of Namibia by South Africa, as well as on legal matters, on the question of the territorial integrity of Namibia and on contacts between Member States and South Africa;

(b) Radio programmes designed to draw international attention to the current situation in and around Namibia;

(c) Radio programmes in English and the local languages of Namibia, designed to counter the hostile propaganda and disinformation campaign of the racist régime of South Africa;

(d) A thematic atlas on Namibia;

(e) Advertisements in newspapers and magazines;

(f) Posters;

(g) Press releases, press conferences and press briefings of all activities of the United Nations regarding Namibia in order to maintain a constant flow of information to the public on all aspects of the question;

(h) A comprehensive economic map of Namibia;

(i) Booklets on the activities of the Council;

(j) An updated compendium of resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council relating to Namibia and of relevant documents of OAU and the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, as well as decisions, declarations and communiqués of the front-line States;

(k) An indexed reference book on the transnational corporations that plunder the human and natural resources of Namibia, with information on the profits extracted from the Territory;

(l) A monthly bulletin containing analytical and updated information to mobilize maximum support for the Namibian cause;

(m) A weekly information newsletter on developments in and relating to Namibia;

(n) Acquisition of books, pamphlets and other materials relating to Namibia for distribution;

(o) A list of Namibian political prisoners, to be prepared in consultation with SWAPO.

659. During the period under review, the Council continued to disseminate information to Governments, leading opinion makers, media leaders, political and academic institutions, non-governmental organizations, cultural organizations and support groups concerning the objectives and functions of the Council and the struggle of the Namibian people under the leadership of SWAPO. It also held consultations with, and sought the co-operation of, those personalities and institutions by inviting them on special occasions to participate in the deliberations of the Council, as well as seminars, conferences and the media encounters preceding those events.

660. In its efforts to expand the dissemination of information on Namibia, the Council worked closely with the representatives of the Department of Public Information and the Publishing Division of the Department of Conference Services of the Secretariat, to intensify informational activities on Namibia and to provide guidance on specific projects for the dissemination of information to the general public.

661. In this regard, the Council produced and distributed red folders containing the following updated materials:

(a) "A crime against humanity: questions and answers on apartheid in South Africa" (DPI/705);

(b) Constitution of SWAPO;

(c) Decree No. 1 for the Protection of the Natural Resources of Namibia and a booklet on the implementation of the Decree;

(d) List of transnational corporations operating in Namibia (A/CONF.120/8);

(e) Map of Namibia (16" x 16");

(f) A Trust Betrayed: Namibia;

(g) "Namibia: a unique United Nations responsibility" (DPI/752);

(h) Booklet on Walvis Bay (Department of Public Information);

(i) Plunder of Namibian Uranium (DPI/715);

(j) Pamphlet on labour in Namibia;

(k) Pamphlet on scholarships and other activities under the General Account of the United Nations Fund for Namibia (basic facts);

- (l) Political programme of SWAPO;
- (m) Poster: "Stop the plunder of Namibia's natural resources";
- (n) Poster of Sam Nujoma;
- (o) "The United Nations Council for Namibia: What it is, what it does" (DPI/750).

662. In addition, the Council distributed an updated compendium including: major resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council; resolutions adopted by OAU; excerpts from declarations and communiqués adopted by the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries; reports of the Secretary-General of the United Nations on Namibia.

663. The Council also produced and distributed the following publications in various languages:

- (a) The military situation in and relating to Namibia;
- (b) Political developments relating to Namibia;
- (c) Report on contacts between Member States and South Africa since the adoption of General Assembly resolution 37/233 A of 20 December 1982;
- (d) Activities of foreign economic interests operating in Namibia;
- (e) Declaration and Programme of Action adopted at the International Conference for the Immediate Independence of Namibia (Vienna, 7-11 July 1986). 13/

664. The Council acquired and distributed the following material:

- (a) Three posters: "Stop the Plunder of Namibia's Natural Resources", "One Hundred Years of Resistance and Struggle of the Namibian People" and "Namibia in Struggle";
- (b) Women in Namibia;
- (c) Walvis Bay, Namibia's Port (International Defence and Aid Fund for Southern Africa (IDAF));
- (d) This is Namibia (IDAF);
- (e) Namibia. The Facts (IDAF);
- (f) Namibia in Struggle;
- (g) To be Born a Nation;
- (h) Namibia: The Struggle for Liberation;
- (i) Let us Die Fighting (Zed Press/Akademie Verlag);
- (j) Battlefront Namibia;

- (k) Remember Kassinga;
- (l) Nuclear Capability of South Africa;
- (m) Namibia: The Ravages of War (IDAF);
- (n) Mines and Independence (Catholic Institute for International Relations (CIIR));
- (o) "Namibia: The Crisis in United States Policy towards South Africa";
- (p) The Workers of Namibia (IDAF);
- (q) "Apartheid's Army in Namibia" (IDAF);
- (r) The Political Economy of Namibia (bibliography).

665. The Council considered a wide range of issues relating to the improvement of the dissemination of information on the question of Namibia, especially in regard to publicity for meetings, seminars and workshops (see para. 678). The Council also worked closely with non-governmental organizations and also guided them on the activities of the Council relating to the dissemination of information and on specific projects under the sponsorship of the Council.

B. Commemoration of the Week of Solidarity with the People of Namibia and Their Liberation Movement, SWAPO, and of Namibia Day

666. In accordance with General Assembly resolution 31/150 of 20 December 1976, the Council commemorated the Week of Solidarity with the People of Namibia and Their Liberation Movement, SWAPO, at its 477th and 478th meetings, held on 27 October 1986.

667. During the two solemn meetings, statements were made by the Secretary-General, the President of the General Assembly, the President of the Security Council, the Acting 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, the Acting Chairman of the Special Committee against Apartheid, the Chairman of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People, the representative of the Chairman of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, the representative of the Chairman of OAU, the representative of the Chairman of the AFRICA Fund, the President of the United Nations Council for Namibia, the chairmen of the groups of African, Asian, Eastern European, Latin American and Caribbean and Western European and other States, the representative of the Chairman of the Organization of the Islamic Conference, the Deputy Permanent Observer of the League of Arab States (LAS), the alternate Permanent Observer of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), the chief Representative of the African National Congress of South Africa (ANC), the chief Representative of the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania (PAC), the Secretary for Foreign Affairs of SWAPO and the representative of the trade union movement based in New York.

668. Messages were received from the heads of State or Government of Afghanistan, Democratic Yemen, Egypt, Ghana, India, Iraq, Jamaica, Mali, Nicaragua, Pakistan, Peru, the Philippines, the Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Tunisia and Yugoslavia; from the Governments of Brazil, Guyana and the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya; and from the foreign ministers of Indonesia and Panama. Messages were also received from the Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee, the Organization of the Islamic Conference and the World Federation of Trade Unions (see A/AC.131/231).

669. Representatives of District 65 of the United Automobile Workers and the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists also made statements.

670. The Council held its annual commemoration of Namibia Day at its 496th and 497th meetings, on 26 August 1987, in accordance with its decision of August 1973 to observe this day annually as a reminder of the critical time in August 1966 when the people of Namibia, under the leadership of SWAPO, having been left no alternative, took up arms to liberate their country. The General Assembly, in its resolution 31/146 of 20 December 1976, expressed its support for the armed struggle of the Namibian people, led by SWAPO, to achieve self-determination, freedom and national independence in a united Namibia.

671. The President of the Council opened the meetings. A minute of silence was observed in memory of the heroes who had fallen in the struggle for the liberation of Namibia.

672. During the meetings, statements were made by the Secretary-General, the President of the Security Council, the representative of the President of the General Assembly, 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, the Acting Chairman of the Special Committee against Apartheid, the President of the United Nations Council for Namibia, the Chairman of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People, the Secretary for Foreign Affairs of SWAPO, the representative of the Chairman of the AFRICA Fund, the chairmen of the African, Asian, Eastern European, Latin American and Caribbean, Western European and other States groups, the representative of LAS, the Permanent Observer of PLO, the representative of ANC, the representative of PAC and the representative of the American Committee on Africa. A message was read from the Chairman of the Organization of the Islamic Conference.

673. Messages were received from the following heads of State or Government: Afghanistan, Algeria, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Barbados, Brazil, Brunei Darussalam, the Central African Republic, China, Cuba, Cyprus, Egypt, Ethiopia, Ghana, India, Iran (Islamic Republic of), Liberia, Malaysia, Nicaragua, Pakistan, Peru, the Philippines, Senegal, the Seychelles, Sierra Leone, Sri Lanka, Sudan, the Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Tunisia, Turkey, the United Republic of Tanzania, Viet Nam and Yugoslavia. Messages were also received from the Government and people of Mexico and the Governments of Colombia, Cuba, the 12 States members of the European Community, Guyana and the five Nordic countries (see A/AC.131/274).

674. Additional messages were received from the Deputy Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs of Jamaica and the foreign ministers of Barbados, Bolivia, Chile, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, Japan, Madagascar, Poland, the Republic of Korea, Uruguay and Venezuela.

675. Messages were received from the representatives of FAO and of the following organizations: the Organization of the Islamic Conference, the World Federation of Trade Unions, the Lutheran World Federation, the Solidarity Committee of the German Democratic Republic, the Czechoslovak Committee for Solidarity with the Peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America and the Polish Committee for Solidarity with the Peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

C. Press and publications

676. The Council, in co-operation with the Department of Public Information, continued its major international campaign using all means available for the cause of the Namibian people under the leadership of SWAPO. The Council also undertook to expose and denounce the collusion of certain Western States and Israel with the racist régime of South Africa.

677. The activities of the Council were publicized through daily press briefings for the press corps, including delegation press officers. In addition to the wide coverage given to its work, the Council organized an extensive publicity programme, before, during and after the seminars, conferences and missions of consultation (see paras. 692-695).

678. Press releases were distributed to the press, delegations and non-governmental organizations at Headquarters, and to the United Nations information centres throughout the world. In addition, daily press releases in English and French were issued for the International Conference for the Immediate Independence of Namibia, held at Vienna; 13/ daily press releases in English and Spanish were issued for the Seminar on Support for the Immediate Independence of Namibia and the Effective Application of Sanctions against South Africa, held at Buenos Aires, and daily press releases were issued in English and French on the extraordinary plenary meetings of the Council held at Luanda (see paras. 160-241).

679. Press releases were also issued on the Council's missions to India, Japan and China (see paras. 279-290).

680. Material on the question of Namibia was provided regularly to the Pool of Non-Aligned News Agencies.

681. Texts of statements by the President of the General Assembly, the Secretary-General and the President of the Council were issued as press releases.

682. On the occasion of Namibia Day (26 August), coverage was provided in press releases, radio and television, and a special photo exhibit was mounted at Headquarters. Press releases were also issued on the occasion of the Week of Solidarity with the Peoples of Namibia and all Other Colonial Territories, as well as those in South Africa, Fighting for Freedom, Independence and Human Rights and the Week of Solidarity with the People of Namibia and their Liberation Movement, SWAPO.

683. Most United Nations information centres issued press releases and background material and organized activities such as the screening of United Nations films, lectures and round tables on the United Nations role in the liberation of Namibia, essay contests, exhibits of United Nations posters, press conferences and television interviews. Booklets and other United Nations information materials

were also translated into local languages. The information centres undertook similar activities for the Week of Solidarity with the People of Namibia and Their Liberation Movement, SWAPO.

684. In accordance with the Council's guidelines, the Department of Public Information continued to disseminate information on the situation in Namibia and on the work of the Council and other United Nations organs concerned with the question of Namibia through its periodical publications, the UN Chronicle and Objective: Justice. Information on Namibia was also included in such general reference works as the Yearbook of the United Nations, Basic Facts about the United Nations and United Nations Today: Suggestions for Speakers.

685. The following pamphlets were completed by the Department of Public Information during the period under review:

- (a) Military Situation in and relating to Namibia (Arabic, English and Spanish) (DPI/904);
- (b) Social conditions in Namibia (Arabic, English, French and Spanish);
- (c) Political developments related to Namibia (Arabic and English);
- (d) Activities of foreign economic interests operating in Namibia (English) (DPI/871).

686. In addition, the Department is producing the following publications:

- (a) Political, economic, social and military situation in and relating to Namibia (Arabic, Chinese, English, French, Russian and Spanish);
- (b) Seminar on Support for the Immediate Independence of Namibia and the Effective Application of Sanctions against South Africa, held at Buenos Aires from 20 to 24 April 1987 (English);
- (c) Mid-1987 issue of Objective: Justice, which includes an article on Namibia (English);
- (d) Basic Facts about the United Nations, which includes a chapter devoted to the situation in Namibia (English, French and Spanish);
- (e) Seminar on World Action for the Immediate Independence of Namibia, held at Valletta, from 19 to 23 May 1986 (A/AC.131/216) (Arabic, English, French, German and Spanish);
- (f) Contacts between States Members of the United Nations and South Africa (Arabic, English, French, German and Spanish).

D. Audio-visual materials

687. The work of the United Nations Council for Namibia, as well as the General Assembly and other United Nations bodies concerned, was covered in radio, film, television and photographs. Radio and visual coverage was also provided for the Security Council meetings on the question of Namibia and for the international

conference, in Vienna, the seminar in Buenos Aires and the Council meetings in Luanda referred to in paragraph 678. Radio news dispatches of the proceedings of the above events were made available to radio stations worldwide.

688. Two special current affairs feature/documentary radio programmes in the Perspective series were devoted to the question of Namibia. One programme entitled "Namibia: a possible new role for the General Assembly?" featured interviews with Mr. Theo Ben Gurirab, the Secretary for Foreign Affairs of SWAPO, and Ambassador James V. Gbeho of Ghana; the other programme was devoted to the twentieth anniversary of the United Nations Council for Namibia. Perspective is distributed to approximately 345 radio stations worldwide.

689. Six special radio documentary programmes on Namibia (English), started in late 1986, were produced and distributed to approximately 129 radio stations worldwide. Adaptations in German (three programmes) and Herero have also been completed and distributed. Six documentary radio programmes were also produced in Spanish and distributed to 387 radio stations in South America and Spain.

690. A package of four different television spots on Namibia was distributed to United Nations information centres, from which stations could make a choice for occasions such as Namibia Day. During the period under review, the information centres distributed 100 copies of the film "Free Namibia" and 72 copies of "Namibia: A Trust Betrayed", 25,000 copies of publications and over 1,000 wallsheets and posters.

691. Mr. Anees-uddin Ahmed (Pakistan), the Chairman of Standing Committee II of the United Nations Council for Namibia, appeared in the United Nations television programme World Chronicle, which was distributed at the end of June 1987.

E. Journalists' encounters

692. The Council, in its efforts to further expand the dissemination of information, organized journalists' encounters in advance of the seminars, conferences and extraordinary plenary meetings of the Council. A total of three encounters, one each in New York, Buenos Aires and Luanda, focused on the various topics scheduled to be examined at those events (see paras. 160-278; see also paras. 666-675). The encounters took the form of open discussions between a panel of the Council and journalists and broadcasters invited by the Council, as well as some local and foreign-based journalists. Although the discussions focused specifically on certain aspects of the Namibian question, considerable attention was also devoted to other aspects thereof and, in particular, to the role of the media in generating greater public awareness of and support for the Namibian cause and promoting the implementation of United Nations resolutions and decisions on Namibia.

693. In addition to the general publicity provided at the venue of each event, the journalists and broadcasters covered extensively the question of Namibia in all its aspects in their respective press and broadcasting organizations, thus promoting the international campaign in support of the struggle of the Namibian people for self-determination and independence.

694. General publicity, including the distribution of informational material, was provided and large quantities of visual material were made available to the journalists and broadcasters attending events. These included posters and exhibit photos for display, and sets of slides and black and white prints for dissemination to the participants.

695. The encounters organized by the Council during the period under review have had positive and significant results by promoting a better appreciation of the position of the Council and greater support for the struggle of the Namibian people. The encounters have served to encourage the Council to organize more such activities in the future and to strengthen its programme of dissemination of information through direct interaction with the media, as well as to intensify its international campaign in support of the Namibian cause.

F. Co-operation with non-governmental organizations

696. During the period under review, the Council continued to expand its co-operation with non-governmental organizations for the purpose of intensifying the efforts of the international community to bring about the speedy and unconditional implementation of the United Nations resolutions and decisions concerning Namibia, in particular, Security Council resolution 435 (1978).

697. As part of its programme of co-operation with non-governmental organizations, and under the terms of General Assembly resolution 41/39 D, the Council, in consultation with SWAPO, made financial contributions to a number of non-governmental organizations to enable them to advance the cause of freedom of the Namibian people. Specifically, the Council made contributions to the following:

(a) Washington Office on Africa, in co-ordination with SWAPO, for a cultural troupe tour of the United States, for dissemination of an information kit and for 1987 Free Namibia campaign;

(b) World University Service, for the organization of a parliamentary conference;

(c) Africa News Service, for radio coverage on Namibia;

(d) Namibia Awareness Network, for a project to assist universities and non-governmental organizations in the co-ordination of action on Namibian issues;

(e) Black Vanguard Resource Centre, for the organization of the eleventh annual African Feast;

(f) United States Peace Council, for 1986-1987 educational campaign against apartheid;

(g) Argentine Committee for the Independence of Namibia and the Eradication of Apartheid, for a campaign in support of Namibia;

(h) World Federation of United Nations Associations (WFUNA), for the organization of a symposium, "Eradication of apartheid and liberation of Namibia", held at Accra;

(i) Isolate South Africa campaign, for the organization of a People's Assembly, held at Helsinki, on 16 and 17 January 1987;

(j) Patrice Lumumba Coalition, for the organization of a symposium to establish a Namibian North American Network, from 28 to 30 December 1986;

(k) Shipping Research Bureau, for research into enforcement of an oil embargo against South Africa and Namibia;

(l) Anti-Apartheid Movement, for Namibia campaign;

(m) Amandla Foundatio. for a special issue of Amandla magazine for the production of a special collection of articles on Namibia, SWAPO, and the twentieth anniversary of the Council;

(n) University of North Carolina Anti-Apartheid Support Group, to continue publication and distribution of a monthly newsletter;

(o) Namibia Information Service of the National Alliance of Third World Journalists, for a video project, "Namibians in exile".

G. Dissemination of information by the Office of the United Nations Commissioner for Namibia

698. The Office of the Commissioner continued to serve as an additional source of information on the the activities of the Council. It prepares the Namibian Bulletin, a monthly review and analysis of events relating to Namibia published in English, French, German and Spanish. The Office also publishes Namibia in the News, a weekly newsletter. Both publications are widely distributed to Member States, non-governmental organizations and other interested parties and individuals. The Office also gave briefings to support groups, student groups and individuals on the activities of the Council. The Office also issued a number of publications in Dutch for distribution in the Netherlands in connection with the forthcoming legal proceedings initiated by the Council against Urenco, a Dutch company processing Namibian uranium.

699. The Office of the Commissioner also assisted the Council in the undertaking of the following activities:

(a) Publication and dissemination of United Nations booklets, brochures, pamphlets, posters and maps on specific topics relating to Namibia;

(b) Acquisition, translation and distribution of non-United Nations materials on Namibia;

(c) Publication of translated versions of the indexed reference book on transnational corporations operating in Namibia;

(d) Reproduction and dissemination of available films on Namibia;

(e) Production of a half-hour video version of the film entitled: "Namibia Independence Now".

700. The Office of the Commissioner undertook the distribution of some 300,000 copies in English and 140,000 copies in other languages of various United Nations and non-United Nations publications, including an information kit on Namibia.

H. Distribution of materials

701. In accordance with General Assembly resolution 41/39 D, the Council endeavoured to establish a regular and expeditious pattern of distribution of information materials. Materials distributed consisted of documentation, publicity material and films. In this regard, the Council appreciates the co-operation rendered by the Department of Public Information, the Department of Conference Services and the United Nations information centres that assisted the secretariat of the Council in the distribution of materials.

I. Other activities

702. On 28 May 1987, the Department of Public Information organized a briefing for 160 non-governmental organizations in connection with the Week of Solidarity with the Peoples of Namibia and all other Colonial Territories, as well as those in South Africa, Fighting for Freedom, Independence and Human Rights. A Political Affairs Officer from the Office of the Commissioner spoke at the briefing. The film "Winnie and Nelson Mandela" was shown.

703. A briefing on the United Nations and the question of Namibia was given to the participants in the 1986 Department of Public Information Graduate Students Intern Programme, which brought together 68 university graduate students from 35 countries.

704. An explanation of United Nations activities on Namibia was included in the lecture tours given by United Nations guides at Headquarters.

705. Information on the activities of the United Nations Council for Namibia was sent by telegram directly to United Nations Information Centres for dissemination to the local media. In all, a total of 904 information telegrams was sent to information centres during the reporting period. In addition, 22,204 copies of publications and documents on Namibia were distributed to the Centres.

CHAPTER III

UNITED NATIONS FUND FOR NAMIBIA

A. Establishment of the Fund, general developments and sources of financing

1. Establishment of the Fund

706. By its resolutions 2679 (XXV) of 9 December 1970 and 2872 (XXVI) of 20 December 1971, the General Assembly decided to establish a United Nations Fund for Namibia. Its decision was based on the consideration that, having terminated South Africa's mandate to administer the Territory and having itself assumed direct responsibility for Namibia until independence, the United Nations had incurred a solemn obligation to assist the people of the Territory in their struggle for independence and, to that end, should provide them with comprehensive assistance.

707. Since the Fund became operative in 1972, the programmes of assistance have been continuously expanded by the General Assembly on the recommendations of the United Nations Council for Namibia and the Security Council. On 26 November 1975, by virtue of resolution 3400 (XXX), the Fund became the vehicle for financing the United Nations Institute for Namibia and a special account was opened for that purpose. A further account was opened in accordance with Assembly resolution 33/182 C of 21 December 1978 for financing the Nationhood Programme for Namibia, which had been established pursuant to Assembly resolution 31/153 of 20 December 1976. The Fund is thus now composed of three separate accounts: (a) the Nationhood Programme Account; (b) the Institute for Namibia Account; and (c) the General Account for educational, social and relief activities.

708. Until 1973, the Council acted only in an advisory capacity in its relationship to the Secretary-General as regards the administration and supervision of the Fund. On 12 December 1973 the General Assembly, by resolution 3112 (XXVIII), appointed the Council itself trustee of the Fund. The guidelines for the orientation, management and administration of the Fund were approved by the Assembly in its resolution 31/151 of 20 December 1976.

2. Sources of financing

709. It is the task of the Council, the Secretary-General and the United Nations Commissioner for Namibia to mobilize the resources for the financing of the activities of the Fund.

710. Voluntary contributions are the major source of financing of the Fund. The General Assembly has appealed to Governments and their respective national organizations and institutions for voluntary contributions to the three accounts of the Fund. By its resolution 41/39 E of 20 November 1986, the Assembly requested the Secretary-General and the President of the Council to intensify appeals to Governments, intergovernmental and non-governmental organizations and individuals for generous voluntary contributions to the Fund. The Assembly called upon the specialized agencies and other organizations and bodies of the United Nations system to participate in the Nationhood Programme by, *inter alia*, allocating funds from their own financial resources for the implementation of the projects approved

by the Council. The Assembly also expressed its appreciation to those specialized agencies and other organizations of the United Nations system that had waived agency support costs in respect of projects in favour of Namibians, financed from the United Nations Fund for Namibia and other sources, and urged those that had not yet done so to take appropriate steps in this regard.

711. Since the Fund was established in 1970, the General Assembly has each year authorized as an interim measure an allocation from the regular budget of the United Nations to help implement the Fund's programmes. For 1987, the Assembly decided, by resolution 41/39 E, to allocate \$US 1.5 million from the regular budget.

712. The Vice-Chairman and Rapporteur of the Committee on the Fund and the United Nations Commissioner for Namibia carried out fund-raising activities during the period under review to ensure the financing of activities of the Institute, the Nationhood Programme and other programmes financed by the Fund.

713. The pledges and contributions to the Fund for 1986 and the first six months of 1987 are shown in tables 1 and 2.

714. Through its three accounts, the Fund received the following income in 1986 and the first six months of 1987 (see also tables 3 to 9):

| | <u>Income</u> | |
|--|---------------------------|------------------------------------|
| | <u>1986</u> (calendar) | <u>1987</u> <u>January-June</u> |
| | (US dollars) | |
| Nationhood Programme Account | 1 653 559 | 1 750 493 |
| United Nations Institute for Namibia Account | 4 363 969 | 4 085 613 |
| General Account (educational, social and relief assistance) | <u>3 041 228</u> | <u>2 738 471</u> |
| Total | <u>9 058 756</u> | <u>8 574 577</u> |

715. UNDP finances assistance programmes for Namibia and has for that purpose established an indicative planning figure for Namibia. In 1980, the Governing Council of UNDP set a figure of \$US 7,750,000 for Namibia for the 1982-1986 programming cycle, of which \$US 4,262,500, or 55 per cent, has been made available for programming. With an uncommitted balance of \$US 3,637,000 from the 1977-1981 cycle, the total resources available for Namibia amounted to \$US 7.9 million.

716. With regard to the 1987-1991 programming cycle, the Governing Council at its thirty-second session decided to increase the indicative planning figure for Namibia by 50 per cent over and above the figure for the 1982-1986 programming cycle. Accordingly, the indicative planning figure for Namibia was established at the level of \$US 6,395,000. At its thirty-fourth session, held in New York in May and June 1987, the Governing Council decided to allocate an additional \$US 3.0 million, and the indicative planning figure has therefore been increased to a total of \$US 9.3 million for the current programming period.

Table 1

United Nations Fund for Namibia: pledges and contributions
as at 31 December 1986

(US dollars)

| Country | General Account | | Institute for Namibia Account | | Nationhood Programme Account | |
|---------------------------------|------------------|------------------|----------------------------------|------------------|---------------------------------|------------------|
| | Pledges | Collections | Pledges | Collections | Pledges | Collections |
| Afghanistan | - | - | 500 | 500 | - | - |
| Algeria | 10 000 | 10 000 | - | - | - | - |
| Argentina | 400 | 400 | - | - | - | - |
| Australia | 48 276 | 49 798 | - | - | - | - |
| Austria | 16 700 | 16 700 | - | - | - | - |
| Bahamas | 1 000 | 1 000 | - | - | - | - |
| Brazil | 5 000 | 10 000 | 10 000 | 10 000 | 10 000 | 20 000 |
| Cameroon | 2 611 | - | 2 500 | - | - | - |
| Canada | - | - | 144 928 | 144 928 | - | - |
| China | 30 000 | 30 000 | - | - | - | - |
| Denmark | - | - | 878 842 | 878 842 | 200 012 | 200 012 |
| Egypt | 1 704 | - | 2 921 | - | - | - |
| Finland | 180 000 | 170 843 | 560 000 | 531 511 | 700 000 | 664 389 |
| France | 47 586 | 48 592 | 114 074 | 116 420 | - | - |
| Germany, Federal Republic of | - | - | 104 545 | 103 730 | - | - |
| Ghana | - | 2 200 a/ | - | 2 200 a/ | - | 2 000 a/ |
| Greece | 4 500 | 4 500 | 5 500 | 5 500 | - | - |
| Iceland | 4 000 | 4 000 | - | - | - | - |
| India | 1 000 | 1 000 | 2 000 | 2 000 | 1 000 | 1 000 |
| Indonesia | 4 000 | 4 000 | - | - | - | - |
| Iran, Islamic Republic of | 4 400 | 4 400 | - | - | - | - |
| Ireland | 31 335 | 31 257 | - | - | - | - |
| Italy | - | - | 52 526 | 53 900 | - | - |
| Japan | 10 000 | 10 000 | 210 000 | 210 000 | - | - |
| Kuwait | 4 000 | 4 000 | 1 000 | 1 000 | - | - |
| Mexico | 4 000 | 4 000 | - | - | - | - |
| Morocco | - | - | - | - | 3 254 | - |
| Netherlands | 60 000 | 58 824 | 160 000 | 156 863 | - | - |
| New Zealand | 10 030 | 10 030 | - | - | - | - |
| Norway | - | - | 421 429 | 420 370 | 285 714 b/ | 284 900 |
| Pakistan | 3 000 | 3 000 | - | - | - | - |
| Republic of Korea | - | - | 5 000 | 5 000 | - | - |
| Sweden | 489 510 | 486 280 | 559 441 | 555 749 | 279 720 c/ | 277 874 |
| Thailand | - | - | - | - | 1 000 | 1 000 |
| Trinidad and Tobago | 1 493 | 1 493 | - | - | - | - |
| Turkey | 1 500 | - | 1 500 | - | 1 500 | - |
| United Arab Emirates | 20 000 | 20 000 | 20 000 | 20 000 | 20 000 | 20 000 |
| Venezuela | 2 000 | 2 000 | 1 000 | 1 000 | - | - |
| Yugoslavia | - | 5 000 a/ | - | - | - | - |
| Zimbabwe | 58 028 | 56 795 | - | - | - | - |
| | <u>1 056 073</u> | <u>1 050 112</u> | <u>3 257 706</u> | <u>3 219 513</u> | <u>1 502 200</u> | <u>1 471 175</u> |

a/ Collections for pledges made in prior years.

b/ Includes \$40,000 earmarked for the Namibian Extension Unit.

c/ Includes \$138,937 earmarked for the Namibian Extension Unit.

Table 2
United Nations Fund for Namibia: pledges and contributions
as at 30 June 1987 a/

(US dollars)

| Country | General Account | | Institute for Namibia Account | | Nationhood Programme Account | |
|---------------------------------|------------------|----------------|----------------------------------|------------------|---------------------------------|------------------|
| | Pledges | Collections | Pledges | Collections | Pledges | Collections |
| Afghanistan | - | - | 500 | 500 | - | - |
| Algeria | 10 000 | - | - | - | - | - |
| Argentina | 4 600 | 4 600 | - | - | - | - |
| Australia | 47 297 | 47 859 | - | - | - | - |
| Austria | 25 000 | 25 000 | - | - | - | - |
| Barbados | 500 | 500 | - | - | - | - |
| Brazil | 5 000 | - | 10 000 | - | 10 000 | - |
| Canada | - | - | 295 134 | 295 134 | - | - |
| China | 30 000 | 30 000 | - | - | - | - |
| Cyprus | 206 | 206 | 206 | 206 | 206 | 206 |
| Denmark | - | - | 1 159 420 | 1 191 895 | 275 362 | 283 075 |
| Egypt | 1 037 | - | 1 778 | - | - | - |
| Finland | 220 410 | 220 410 | 771 435 | 771 435 | 859 599 | 859 599 |
| France | 56 557 | - | 131 967 | - | - | - |
| Germany, Federal Republic of | - | - | 116 531 | 116 531 | - | - |
| Greece | 4 500 | 4 500 | 5 500 | 5 500 | - | - |
| Grenada | 500 | 500 | - | - | - | - |
| Iceland | 2 000 | 2 000 | - | - | - | - |
| India | 1 500 | - | 1 500 | - | 1 000 | - |
| Indonesia | 4 000 | 4 000 | - | - | - | - |
| Iran, Islamic Republic of | 4 400 | - | - | - | - | - |
| Ireland | 25 330 | 25 330 | - | - | - | - |
| Italy | 154 440 | - | 154 440 | - | - | - |
| Japan | 10 000 | - | 210 000 | - | - | - |
| Liberia | 3 000 | - | - | - | - | - |
| Mexico | 1 000 | 1 000 | - | - | - | - |
| Morocco | 2 361 | - | - | - | 3 542 | - |
| Netherlands | 72 816 | 73 529 | 194 175 b/ | - | - | - |
| Norway | - | - | 400 000 | 412 310 | 285 714 | 294 507 |
| Pakistan | 3 000 | 3 000 | - | - | - | - |
| Philippines | 500 | - | - | - | - | - |
| Republic of Korea | - | - | 5 000 | 5 000 | - | - |
| Senegal | 2 500 | - | 2 500 | - | 2 500 | - |
| Sweden | 540 958 | - | 618 238 b/ | - | 309 119 | - |
| Thailand | - | - | - | - | 1 000 | - |
| Togo | 559 | 559 | 559 | 559 | 559 | 559 |
| Turkey | 1 500 | - | 1 500 | - | 1 500 | - |
| Venezuela | 2 000 | 2 000 | 1 000 | 1 000 | - | - |
| Yugoslavia | 1 000 | 1 000 | - | - | - | - |
| | <u>1 238 471</u> | <u>445 993</u> | <u>4 081 383</u> | <u>2 800 070</u> | <u>1 750 101</u> | <u>1 437 946</u> |

a/ Provisional.

b/ Twenty-five per cent of pledge earmarked for the Namibian Extension Unit.

3. Main areas of assistance

717. Within its overall terms of reference, the Fund's activities were streamlined in 1978 and 1979 and are now concentrated in three main programmes: (a) the Nationhood Programme; (b) the United Nations Institute for Namibia; and (c) educational, social and relief assistance (General Account).

718. The Nationhood Programme was launched by the General Assembly to mobilize the specialized agencies and other organizations and bodies within the United Nations system to provide assistance in support of the nationhood of Namibia in the form of a consolidated and comprehensive assistance programme.

719. The Institute was established by the Council, with the endorsement of the General Assembly, as a specific institution to undertake research, training, planning and related activities with special reference to the struggle for freedom and the establishment of an independent State of Namibia.

720. While the two above-mentioned programmes have been set up with particular reference to the future attainment of independence, the establishment of State machinery and the assumption of administrative responsibilities by Namibians, the third programme, the educational, social and relief assistance, in addition to providing individual scholarships, gives particular emphasis to the immediate, present-day needs and welfare of Namibians in the struggle for independence. Assistance in this area is administered, to the extent possible, through individual projects.

721. Expenditures from the Fund on behalf of the three programmes in 1986 and during the first six months of 1987 were as follows (see also tables 3 to 9):

| | <u>Expenditures</u> | |
|--|---------------------------|------------------------------------|
| | <u>1986</u> (calendar) | <u>1987</u> <u>January-June</u> |
| | (US dollars) | |
| Nationhood Programme Account | 756 164 | 433 177 |
| United Nations Institute for Namibia Account | 3 728 538 | 1 230 892 |
| General Account (educational, social and relief assistance) | <u>2 763 314</u> | <u>1 612 443</u> |
| Total | <u>7 248 016</u> | <u>3 276 512</u> |

B. Nationhood Programme for Namibia

1. Launching of the Programme

722. By its resolution 31/153, the General Assembly decided to launch, in support of the nationhood of Namibia, a comprehensive development-oriented programme of assistance within the United Nations system covering the present period of struggle for independence and the initial years of independence. By the same resolution, the Assembly called upon the Council to elaborate, in consultation with SWAPO, the guidelines and policies for such a programme and to direct and co-ordinate its implementation.

723. The Nationhood Programme consists of two major components: (a) manpower training programmes for Namibians; and (b) surveys and analyses of the Namibian economic and social sectors, including identification of development tasks and policy options under the following sectoral framework:

(a) Productive sectors, including mining, industries, fisheries and agriculture;

(b) Physical infrastructure and services, including trade, transport and communications, energy and water and land resources;

(c) Social infrastructure and administration, including labour, education, information, health, nutrition and social services, housing, building and land-use planning, economic planning, public administration and the judicial system.

724. In designing the projects, careful consideration is given to the special conditions under which the Nationhood Programme is being implemented during the present period of struggle for independence. Assistance to a country for which the United Nations has assumed direct responsibility but which is still under illegal occupation requires an approach somewhat different from that of conventional technical assistance to independent countries. Implementation of the projects is made difficult by the general unavailability of reliable socio-economic data on Namibia. It is further complicated by the lack of access to the Territory, owing to the continuing illegal South African occupation. The training aspects of the projects require special attention because of the scarcity of educational opportunities for Namibians under South African rule.

2. Implementation of the Programme

725. Significant progress has been made with regard to the implementation of the Nationhood Programme for Namibia. Since early 1986, a total of 26 projects and project revisions amounting to more than \$US 3.5 million was approved by the Council.

726. Since the inception of the Programme, hundreds of Namibians have benefited from fellowships and group-training opportunities in a variety of economic and social fields. Many Namibians have also participated in seminars and short courses conducted in Zambia and other African countries. Altogether, education and training account for more than 85 per cent of the financial resources of the Programme. With regard to research, most of the sectoral surveys have been completed and have been incorporated into the Institute's comprehensive study on Namibia (see para. 736).

Education and training

727. As a result of the Programme, training has been conducted in a variety of fields, including industrial development, land use and human settlements development, food distribution, labour administration and legislation, transnational corporations, development planning, radio programme production, management of public enterprises, rural development, soil survey techniques and land evaluation, immigration procedures, agricultural economics, basic statistics, administration of public enterprises, truck mechanics, cartography and map preparation, railways operations, cargo handling and port management, fish

processing technology, basic diplomacy, maritime economics, aeronautical information service, air traffic control, pilot training and journalism. Some of the training programmes have included study tours to various countries, mainly in Africa. The United Nations Institute for Namibia continues as a major source of candidates for training.

728. During 1986 and the first half of 1987, Namibians continued their training at various institutions in a number of countries, and several new training activities were initiated during this period. In May 1986, a group of 50 Namibians in Zambia commenced a one-year remedial course in English, mathematics, basic sciences and social education. Two students in Zimbabwe commenced their training at the Institute for Mass Communications at Harare, while four students started a two-year diploma course in administration at the University of Ghana. In the United Republic of Tanzania, two students began a training course in co-operative management at the Co-operative College at Moshi. Two foreign service officers were accepted for a one-year course in diplomacy at the Centre for Foreign Relations at Dar es Salaam, and five students commenced pilot training in Ethiopia. One student was enrolled in a motor mechanics training course in the United Kingdom, and one student commenced a two-year programme in mining engineering in the United States. Fifty-one Namibians began a nurse's training course in Angola and seven students were placed at the National Social Welfare Institute at Dar es Salaam to pursue studies in labour administration. Finally, a group of nine agricultural workers were enrolled in an upgrading programme in agriculture.

729. The United Nations Vocational Training Centre at Cuacra, Angola, continued to operate at full capacity with an enrolment of about 200 trainees. The first group of about 80 trainees completed their training in August 1986.

730. Training continued for other Namibian students in the fields of co-operative management, nurse's training, journalism, mass communications, mining, teacher education, railway operations, aircraft maintenance, pilot training, shoemaking, leatherwork, tailoring, statistics, marine engineering, public administration, motor mechanics and mining reclamation. Ninety-three handicapped Namibians continued training in various programmes, including carpentry, tailoring, leatherwork, brush-making and basketry.

731. During the period under review, students completed training in fishing gear technology, labour administration, remedial training programmes, mass communications, journalism, avionics, pilot training, aircraft maintenance, port management and French. One student, who had received a bachelor's degree in geology in early 1986, also completed in-service training for two months in the second half of 1986. One Namibian completed training with the Electricity Supply Board of Ireland.

732. During the period under review, 40 trainees under the Field Attachment Programme continued their work as follows: civil aviation in Ethiopia (6) and Kenya (1); telecommunications in the United Republic of Tanzania (13) and Zimbabwe (10); aeronautical training in Egypt (2); fisheries in the United Kingdom (1); water development in Botswana (2); and pilot training (3) and aircraft maintenance (2) in Ethiopia. One French teacher-trainee began training in France, 1 biochemist in Cuba, 12 postal workers in Zambia, 5 fellows for magistrates' training in Kenya, 2 health administrator trainees in Ireland and 2 laboratory

technicians in Gabon. There were approximately 65 new trainees on the waiting list for placement, and it was expected that the majority of these trainees would be placed before the end of 1987.

733. In September 1985, one secretary completed her in-service training with the field office of the United Nations Commissioner for Namibia in Zambia and, in December, one pharmacist completed her one-year attachment to the Zambian Ministry of Health. Finally, five trainees completed their nine-month attachment to the National Development Planning Commission of Zambia.

Sectoral surveys and analyses

734. Most sectoral surveys and analyses under the Nationhood Programme have been completed, and final reports from research projects have been distributed in the following areas: health, transport, land use and human settlements development and labour legislation. Other reports have been completed in such areas as maritime training and harbour survey, civil aviation, telecommunication policies and legislation and on the activities of transnational corporations.

735. Since 1985, draft reports on Namibian fisheries, land-use planning, and water resources have been received. These draft reports will be discussed at seminars organized in collaboration with the United Nations Institute for Namibia and SWAPO. In addition, final reports on public administration systems, criminal justice and the Namibian energy sector have been submitted.

736. The comprehensive study on Namibia 119/ was completed at the end of 1985 and published in May/June 1986. It was officially launched at the International Conference for the Immediate Independence of Namibia, held at Vienna in July 1986. 13/ The study comprises two volumes, viz., a larger version containing the detailed sectoral analysis of the Namibian economy and an abridged version containing the main conclusions and recommendations. The comprehensive study thus consolidates the sectoral surveys undertaken under individual projects implemented since the inception of the Nationhood Programme.

737. The sectoral surveys and analyses, including policy options and training plans, account for less than 15 per cent of the financial resources of the Nationhood Programme. With the completion of the comprehensive study, virtually all socio-economic sectors have been covered, and a sound basis has been provided for programme analysis and for the preparation of project proposals for further assistance to Namibians.

738. A new project providing for a survey of Namibian railways was approved in 1985. It is expected that the draft report will be submitted during 1987, thus completing the analysis of the Namibian transport sector which has been carried out under the Nationhood Programme.

3. Administration and management

739. The Committee on the United Nations Fund for Namibia, within its overall terms of reference, formulates and reviews policies related to the assistance programmes, reviews the reports of the Commissioner and makes appropriate recommendations to the Council on all matters relating to the programmes. The Office of the

Commissioner serves as the co-ordinating authority for the Nationhood Programme under the direction of the Committee on the Fund.

740. At its 369th meeting, on 16 December 1981, the Council decided to streamline the administration of the Programme by authorizing the Committee to approve new projects under the Nationhood Programme and the General Account of the Fund and to approve project revisions, unless the Committee decided to refer the decisions to the Council (see A/AC.131/L.243).

741. The administration of the Nationhood Programme follows the standard model for technical assistance based on the concept of partnership between the recipient Government, UNDP and an executing agency. In most cases, the projects are being executed by the specialized agencies and other organizations and bodies of the United Nations system, which receive remittances for project execution through the Supplementary Trust Fund for the Nationhood Programme of the Fund for Namibia, which is administered by UNDP. The United Nations Institute for Namibia is the implementing agency, on behalf of the Council, for nine projects, thus giving it a role similar to that of a government implementing agency in standard UNDP procedures. The Institute is also involved in the implementation of a number of other projects under the Programme.

742. Apart from its role as the co-ordinating authority for the Nationhood Programme, the Office of the Commissioner has assumed direct responsibility for project execution in the case of projects for which specialized technical backstopping of the United Nations agencies is not considered to be required. At present, the Commissioner's Office is the executing agency for 13 projects, and it is expected that such activity, similar to government execution, will continue to expand in the future.

4. Financing

743. The total cost of the projects currently under way is as follows:

| | <u>Percentage</u> | <u>US dollars</u> |
|----------------------------------|-------------------|-------------------|
| Project costs | 96.9 | 18 592 040 |
| Executing agencies support costs | <u>3.1</u> | <u>593 900</u> |
| | 100.0 | 19 185 940 |

744. The total cost of projects already completed is as follows:

| | <u>Percentage</u> | <u>US dollars</u> |
|--------------------------------|-------------------|-------------------|
| Project costs | 96.7 | 6 394 145 |
| Executing agency support costs | <u>3.3</u> | <u>220 985</u> |
| | 100.0 | 6 615 130 |

745. Of the total cost of the projects in both categories, two thirds is covered by the Fund, more than one fourth by UNDP and the remainder by the executing agencies, as indicated below:

| | Percentage | US dollars |
|---------------------------------|------------|------------------|
| United Nations Fund for Namibia | 66.6 | 17 195 435 |
| UNDP | 28.8 | 7 426 265 |
| Executing agencies | <u>4.6</u> | <u>1 179 370</u> |
| | 100.0 | 25 801 070 |

746. The cost of each project and the corresponding sources of financing are shown in table 3.

747. The total cumulative expenditure to cover the cost of Nationhood Programme projects was \$US 756,164 in 1986 and \$US 433,177 in the first six months of 1987. As indicated in tables 4 and 5, the total income of the Nationhood Programme Account was \$US 1,653,559 in 1986 and \$US 1,750,493 in the first six months of 1987.

| Executing agencies and project title | Costs | | | Sources | | | |
|--------------------------------------|--|--------------------------------|------------------|------------------|-------------------|------------------|------------------|
| | Project budget | Agency support costs <u>a/</u> | Total costs | Agency own funds | UNDP | Fund for Namibia | |
| <u>UNDTCD</u> | | | | | | | |
| NAM/79/001 | Mineral fellowships | 1 047 840 | 136 175 | 1 184 015 | - | - | 1 184 015 |
| NAM/79/012 | Electricity fellowships | 294 410 | 38 275 | 332 685 | - | - | 332 685 |
| NAM/79/013 | Water resources survey | 40 500 | - | 40 500 | 40 500 | - | - |
| NAM/79/015 | Water fellowships | 37 580 | 4 880 | 42 460 | - | - | 42 460 |
| NAM/79/026 | Statistical unit <u>b/</u> | 261 490 | 33 990 | 295 480 | - | - | 295 480 |
| NAM/79/027 | Public administration system plans <u>b/</u> | 116 480 | 15 470 | 131 950 | - | - | 131 950 |
| NAM/79/028 | Public administration fellowships <u>b/</u> | 52 390 | 6 810 | 59 200 | - | - | 59 200 |
| NAM/79/029 | Reform of criminal justice system <u>b/</u> | 112 765 | 14 815 | 127 580 | - | - | 127 580 |
| | | <u>1 963 455</u> | <u>250 415</u> | <u>2 213 870</u> | <u>40 500</u> | <u>-</u> | <u>2 173 370</u> |
| <u>ILO</u> | | | | | | | |
| NAM/78/008 | Vocational training centre | 5 296 200 | 75 600 <u>c/</u> | 5 371 800 | - | 3 033 080 | 2 338 720 |
| NAM/82/003 | Rehabilitation of war victims | 579 060 | 60 910 | 639 970 | 639 970 <u>d/</u> | - | - |
| NAM/86/005 | Assistance to UNVTC, Phase II | 1 974 000 | - | 1 974 000 | - | 1 666 000 | 308 000 |
| NAM/87/004 | Training of labour administrators | 362 525 | 12 690 | 375 215 | - | - | 375 215 |
| | | <u>8 211 785</u> | <u>149 200</u> | <u>8 360 985</u> | <u>639 970</u> | <u>4 699 080</u> | <u>3 021 035</u> |
| <u>FAO</u> | | | | | | | |
| NAM/78/005 | Fisheries policy options | 179 460 | - | 179 460 | - | 179 460 | - |
| NAM/83/002 | Fisheries fellowships (Phase II) | 116 400 | - | 116 400 | - | - | 116 400 |
| NAM/79/003 | Agricultural education <u>b/</u> | 26 210 | - <u>c/</u> | 26 210 | - | - | 26 210 |
| NAM/79/004 | Agrarian reform <u>b/</u> | 122 650 | - <u>c/</u> | 122 650 | - | - | 122 650 |
| NAM/78/004 | Potential land suitability <u>b/</u> | 231 300 | - <u>c/</u> | 231 300 | - | 231 300 | - |
| NAM/79/022 | Protection of food supplies <u>b/</u> | 133 540 | - | 133 540 | - | - | 133 540 |
| NAM/83/003 | Satellite imagery studies | 90 000 <u>e/</u> | - | 90 000 | - | - | 90 000 |
| NAM/86/001 | Food and nutrition education | 130 000 | - | - | - | - | - |
| | | <u>1 029 560</u> | <u>-</u> | <u>899 560</u> | <u>-</u> | <u>410 760</u> | <u>488 800</u> |
| <u>ICAO</u> | | | | | | | |
| NAM/79/009 | Civil aviation fellowships | 1 123 390 | 149 665 | 1 273 055 | - | - | 1 273 055 |
| <u>IMO</u> | | | | | | | |
| NAM/79/007 | Maritime training and harbour survey | 302 890 | - <u>c/</u> | 302 890 | - | - | 302 890 |
| <u>ECA</u> | | | | | | | |
| NAM/79/006 | Transport fellowships | 341 950 | 44 620 | 386 570 | - | - | 386 570 |
| NAM/85/001 | Namibian railways and rail transport survey | 65 000 | - <u>c/</u> | 65 000 | - | - | 65 000 |
| | | <u>406 950</u> | <u>44 620</u> | <u>451 570</u> | <u>-</u> | <u>-</u> | <u>451 570</u> |

Table 3 (continued)

| Executing agencies and project title | Costs | | | Sources | | |
|--------------------------------------|--|-------------------------|-------------|------------------|---------|------------------|
| | Project budget | Agency support costs a/ | Total costs | Agency own funds | UNDP | Fund for Namibia |
| <u>UNCTC</u> | | | | | | |
| NAM/87/002 | Transnational corporations training/research | 90 000 | - | 90 000 | - | 90 000 |
| <u>ICPE</u> | | | | | | |
| NAM/82/007 | Training in development planning b/ | 210 965 | - | 210 965 | - | 210 965 |
| <u>UNDP (OPE)</u> | | | | | | |
| NAM/84/003 | Assistance to the United Nations VTC | 1 608 075 | - | 1 608 075 | - | - |
| NAM/87/001 | Support for VTC Operations | 627 500 | - | 627 500 | 394 980 | 232 520 |
| | | 2 235 575 | - | 2 235 575 | - | 232 520 |
| | Subtotal | 15 574 570 | 593 900 | 16 038 470 | 680 470 | 8 245 105 |
| <u>OCN</u> | | | | | | |
| NAM/83/001 | Continuous remedial training | 372 180 | - | 372 180 | - | 372 180 |
| NAM/83/004 | Comprehensive study on Namibia | 529 665 | - | 529 665 | - | 529 665 |
| NAM/83/005 | Economic map of Namibia | 24 140 | - | 24 140 | - | 24 140 |
| NAM/84/005 | Vocational training in Tanzania | 231 800 | - | 231 800 | - | 231 800 |
| NAM/84/006 | Training for Namibian nurses | 236 340 | - | 236 340 | - | 236 340 |
| NAM/84/009 | Agricultural activities in SWAPO settlements | 9 500 | - | 9 500 | - | 9 500 |
| NAM/84/011 | Curriculum development | 97 000 | - | 97 000 | - | 97 000 |
| NAM/84/013 | Field attachment programme for Namibians | 501 315 | - | 501 315 | - | 501 315 |
| NAM/85/002 | Journalism and communications fellowships | 240 910 | - | 240 910 | - | 240 910 |
| NAM/85/004 | Mining and railways fellowships | 81 870 | - | 81 870 | - | 81 870 |
| NAM/85/005 | Agricultural activities in SWAPO settlements | 439 000 | - | 439 000 | - | 439 000 |
| NAM/86/002 | Training in administration | 156 950 | - | 156 950 | - | 156 950 |
| NAM/87/003 | SWAPO Economic Resource Support | 96 800 | - | 96 800 | - | 96 800 |
| | | 3 017 470 | - | 3 017 470 | - | 3 017 470 |
| | Subtotal | 18 592 040 | 593 900 | 19 055 940 | 680 470 | 7 112 895 |
| <u>Completed projects</u> | | | | | | |
| NAM/78/009 | Mineral survey (UNDTCD) | 4 000 | - | 4 000 | 4 000 | - |
| NAM/79/025 | Training in development planning (UNDTCD) | 45 820 | 6 470 | 52 290 | - | 52 290 |
| NAM/79/034 | Public enterprises management course (Phase I) (UNDTCD) | 177 400 | 24 850 | 202 250 | - | 202 250 |
| NAM/81/002 | Public enterprises management course (Phase II) (UNDTCD) | 166 780 | 23 450 | 190 230 | - | 190 230 |
| NAM/79/033 | Food distribution training (FAO) | 90 000 | - | 90 000 | 90 000 | - |
| SWP/78/004 | Participation of women (UNESCO) | 99 790 | - | 99 790 | - | 99 790 |
| NAM/78/010 | Country health programme (WHO) | 45 600 | - | 45 600 | 45 600 | - |
| NAM/79/023 | Land use and human settlements (Habitat) | 123 110 | 17 240 | 140 350 | - | 140 350 |
| NAM/81/001 | Human settlement development (Habitat) b/ | 127 750 | 17 420 | 145 170 | - | 145 170 |

Table 3 (continued)

| Executing agencies and project title | Costs | | | Sources | | |
|---------------------------------------|---|-------------------------|-------------|------------------|-----------|------------------|
| | Project budget | Agency support costs a/ | Total costs | Agency own funds | UNDP | Fund for Namibia |
| <u>Completed projects (continued)</u> | | | | | | |
| NAM/79/031 | Clerical and transport support (OCN) | 443 300 | - | 443 300 | - | 443 300 |
| NAM/79/032 | Survey and rehabilitation needs (ILO) | 2 500 | - | 2 500 | 2 500 | - |
| NAM/79/002 | Industrial development training (UNIDO) | 101 040 | 5 500 | 106 540 | 57 000 | 49 540 |
| NAM/79/005 | Transport survey (ECA) | 134 460 | 16 430 | 150 890 | - | 150 890 |
| NAM/78/002 | Transnational corporation (UNCTC) | 114 180 | - | 114 180 | 7 500 | 106 680 |
| NAM/82/002 | Public enterprises management course (Phase III) (UNDTCD) | 163 780 | 21 290 | 185 070 | - | 185 070 |
| NAM/82/004 | Evaluation of NAM/79/033 (FAO) | 30 000 | - | 30 000 | 30 000 | - |
| NAM/79/020 | Communications training and equipment (UNESCO) | 1 004 190 | - c/ | 1 004 190 | 50 000 | 954 190 |
| NAM/82/001 | Clerical and transport support (OCN) | 414 000 | - | 414 000 | - | 414 000 |
| NAM/82/008 | Public enterprises management (Phase IV) (ICPE/UNIN/OCN) b/ | 157 620 | - | 157 620 | - | 157 620 |
| NAM/78/007 | Labour legislation (ILO) | 71 860 | - | 71 860 | - | 71 860 |
| NAM/78/003 | Fisheries fellowships (Phase I) (FAO) | 35 040 | - | 35 040 | - | 35 040 |
| NAM/79/008 | Civil aviation adviser (ICAO) | 36 780 | 5 130 | 41 910 | - | 41 910 |
| NAM/79/017 | Training labour administrators (Phase I) (ILO) | 221 820 | 28 840 | 250 660 | - | 250 660 |
| NAM/79/017 | Training labour administrators (Phase II) (ILO) | 363 585 | 40 275 | 403 860 | - | 403 860 |
| NAM/79/010 | Telecommunications plans (ITU) | 46 070 | 5 990 | 52 060 | - | 52 060 |
| NAM/83/006 | Public enterprises management (Phase V) b/ (ICPE) | 176 430 f/ | - | 176 430 | - | 176 430 |
| NAM/84/007 | Basic diplomacy training (OCK) | 209 440 | - | 209 440 | - | 209 440 |
| NAM/84/004 | English language and administrative skills (OCN) | 123 080 | - | 123 080 | - | 123 080 |
| NAM/79/021 | Food and nutrition fellowships (FAO) | 298 910 | - | 298 910 | - | 298 910 |
| NAM/84/012 | Diamond marketing/management training (OCN) | 3 000 | - | 3 000 | - | 3 000 |
| NAM/79/011 | Energy survey (TCD) | 59 420 | 8 100 | 67 520 | - | 67 520 |
| NAM/84/008 | Food and nutrition education (FAO) | 130 000 | - | 130 000 | 130 000 | - |
| NAM/84/009 | Agricultural activities/settlements (OCN) | 9 500 | - | 9 500 | - | 9 500 |
| NAM/82/009 | Teacher education training (UNESCO) b/ | 414 000 | - | 414 000 | 82 300 | 331 700 |
| NAM/84/002 | Seminar for a literacy programme (OCN) | 50 000 | - | 50 000 | - | 50 000 |
| NAM/85/003 | Training in radio broadcasting (OCN) | 220 580 | - | 220 580 | - | 220 580 |
| NAM/82/006 | Transnational corporations (Phase II) | 398 510 | - c/ | 398 510 | - | 398 510 |
| NAM/84/014 | Foreign language training | 80 800 | - | 80 800 | - | 80 800 |
| | Subtotal | 6 394 145 | 220 985 | 6 615 130 | 498 900 | 5 802 860 |
| | GRAND TOTAL | 24 986 185 | 814 885 | 25 671 070 | 1 179 370 | 17 065 435 |

(Footnotes on following page)

a/ In accordance with UNDP procedures, these figures do not show the normal support costs in UNDP-funded projects. Agency support costs shown for projects funded by the United Nations Fund for Namibia are specified in the project budget.

b/ The United Nations Institute for Namibia is the implementing agency.

c/ Agencies have waived support costs for these projects.

d/ Multi-bilateral funding.

e/ This project provides background material in the form of satellite imagery for the preparation of a comprehensive economic map of Namibia, which is a separate project of the Council and is within the programme of work of its Standing Committee III.

f/ The Office of the Commissioner for Namibia is the executing agency for the preparatory training at the United Nations Institute for Namibia.

Table 4

United Nations Fund for Namibia: Nationhood Programme Account

(US dollars)

I. Statement of income and expenditure for 1986

| | |
|--|-----------------------|
| INCOME | |
| Pledged contributions | 1 502 200 |
| Interest income | 150 002 |
| Miscellaneous income | <u>1 357</u> |
| TOTAL INCOME | <u>1 653 559</u> |
| EXPENDITURE | |
| Staff and other personnel costs | 154 507 |
| Travel | 41 543 |
| Contractual services | (15 514) |
| Operating expenses | 154 828 |
| Acquisitions | 28 458 |
| Fellowships, grants, other | 389 809 |
| Over-expenditure on liquidations of prior year's obligations | <u>2 533</u> |
| TOTAL EXPENDITURE | <u>756 164</u> |
| NET EXCESS OF INCOME OVER EXPENDITURE | <u><u>897 395</u></u> |

II. Statement of assets and liabilities as at 31 December 1986

| | |
|--|--------------------|
| ASSETS | |
| Cash | 2 407 702 |
| Pledged contributions unpaid | 9 875 |
| Accounts receivable | 10 141 |
| Operating funds provided to executing agencies | 1 898 392 |
| Deferred charges and other assets | <u>75</u> |
| TOTAL ASSETS | <u>4 330 185</u> |
| LIABILITIES | |
| Unliquidated obligations | 284 788 |
| Reserve for allocations | 2 473 216 |
| Due to United Nations General Fund | <u>537</u> |
| TOTAL LIABILITIES | <u>2 758 541</u> |
| FUND BALANCE | |
| Balance available at 1 January 1986 | 2 278 946 |
| Add: Excess of income over expenditure | 897 395 |
| Less: Transfer to reserves | <u>(1 604 697)</u> |
| Balance available at 31 December 1986 | <u>1 571 644</u> |
| TOTAL LIABILITIES AND FUND BALANCE | <u>4 330 185</u> |

Table 5

United Nations Fund for Namibia: Nationhood Programme Account

(US dollars)

I. Statement of income and expenditure for the period
1 January-30 June 1987 a/

INCOME

| | |
|-----------------------|------------------|
| Pledged contributions | 1 750 101 |
| Miscellaneous income | 392 |
| TOTAL INCOME | 1 750 493 |

EXPENDITURE

| | |
|--|------------------|
| Staff and other personnel costs | 104 336 |
| Travel | 660 |
| Contractual services | 22 975 |
| Operating expenses | (5 205) |
| Acquisitions | 37 635 |
| Fellowships, grants, other | 272 776 |
| TOTAL EXPENDITURE | 433 177 |
| NET EXCESS OF INCOME OVER EXPENDITURE | 1 317 316 |

II. Statement of assets and liabilities as at 30 June 1987 a/

ASSETS

| | |
|--|------------------|
| Cash | 3 199 747 |
| Pledged contributions unpaid | 615 664 |
| Accounts receivable | 3 525 |
| Operating funds provided to executing agencies | 1 866 309 |
| Deferred charges and other assets | (1 508) |
| TOTAL ASSETS | 5 683 737 |

LIABILITIES

| | |
|------------------------------------|------------------|
| Unliquidated obligations | 516 515 |
| Reserve for allocations | 1 782 729 |
| Due to United Nations General Fund | 351 538 |
| TOTAL LIABILITIES | 2 650 782 |

FUND BALANCE

| | |
|---|------------------|
| Balance available at 1 January 1987 | 1 715 639 |
| Add: Excess of income over expenditure | 1 317 316 |
| Balance available at 30 June 1987 | 3 032 955 |
| TOTAL LIABILITIES AND FUND BALANCE | 5 683 737 |

a/ Provisional.

C. United Nations Institute for Namibia

748. The Institute came into operation in 1976. Admission to the Institute is open to all persons of Namibian origin who fulfil the requirements established by the Senate of the Institute. Through its activities, the Institute trains middle-level skilled manpower for an independent Namibia, and it also carries out applied research in the various sectors of the Namibian economy.

749. The Institute is administered by a 16-member Senate, which is its policy-making organ. The Senate submits annual reports to the Council on the activities of the Institute. The Institute operates an average annual budget of \$US 4 million. The budget estimates of the Institute, approved by the Senate, are endorsed annually by the Council subject to the availability of financial resources.

750. In accordance with article 8 of its Charter, 120/ the Institute is financed by the Council through the Fund, with the account of the Institute being maintained separately. Further financial assistance for the Institute is also provided by allocations from the UNDP indicative planning figure for Namibia and by UNHCR.

751. The Commissioner undertakes periodic fund-raising missions for the Institute to ensure adequate financial resources for the implementation of its programme of work. During the period under review, the response of member States and other donors in making voluntary contributions to finance the Institute was encouraging.

752. The programmes and activities of the Institute have continued to expand. The curriculum of the Institute has been expanded to include a teacher-training upgrading programme, a special programme for magistrates, a secretarial programme and special preparatory courses in English, statistics and mathematics, in view of the urgent need to train Namibians in those areas and to upgrade their educational levels in subjects in which they have deficiencies. In 1987, a total of 296 new students was admitted to various programmes of the Institute. This included admission of 203 students to the programme of management and development studies, 40 students to the teacher-training upgrading programme and 53 students to the secretarial programme. The new enrolment, together with the continuing students, brought the total student body of the Institute to almost 600.

753. In 1987, the eighth graduating group, comprising 96 students, was awarded diplomas in management and development studies, thus bringing the total number of Institute graduates in this field to 644. The Institute's diploma is underwritten by the University of Zambia. In addition, 18 students were awarded teaching diplomas in basic education, 17 students received certificates in a special programme for magistrates and 30 students received certificates in the secretarial training programmes.

754. The Institute continues to undertake applied research in various fields. The research programme is intended to make available basic documentation for policy formulation by the future Government of an independent Namibia. A number of studies have been completed and published in the fields of manpower requirements and development implications, constitutional options, agrarian reform, a language policy, a new legal system for an independent Namibia, the agricultural economy, a health survey, educational policy options, economic development strategy options and trade and development policy considerations. Studies are also under way or nearing completion in various fields, including mineral development strategy options, State succession, administrative systems and policy options, vocational

training and technical education strategies, national development planning policy options, wages and incomes policy, the carakul industry and monetary policy options. Other studies under consideration relate to the historical developments of Namibia, mass participation structures in developments and the establishment of welfare services.

755. The preparation of a book on Namibia covering various aspects of the question of Namibia as considered by the United Nations since its inception has been completed and was published in 1987. 121/

756. By resolution 37/233 E of 20 December 1982, the General Assembly requested the Institute to prepare, in co-operation with SWAPO, the Office of the Commissioner for Namibia and UNDP, a comprehensive study on all aspects of economic planning in an independent Namibia. The study was published in 1986. 119/

757. The Namibian Extension Unit, established in 1981, continues to expand its distance education programme for Namibians who have been denied education by the South African colonial régime in Namibia. It currently serves several thousand Namibian adults and youths in Zambia and Angola.

758. The Unit is an autonomous body within the Institute and has its own Board of Project Management, of which the Director of the Institute is Chairman. The Commissioner is also represented on the Board. The Institute administers the Unit's funds in accordance with United Nations financial regulations. The Unit submits an annual report to the Senate of the Institute regarding the activities.

759. The total expenditure of the Institute was \$US 3,728,538 in 1986 and \$US 1,230,892 in the first six months of 1987. At the same time, the total income (from various sources) of the Institute for Namibia Account within the United Nations Fund for Namibia was \$US 4,363,969 in 1986 and \$US 4,085,613 in the first six months of 1987. Detailed information on the Institute for Namibia Account is given in tables 6 and 7.

Table 6

United Nations Fund for Namibia: United Nations Institute
for Namibia Account

(US dollars)

I. Statement of income and expenditure for 1986

INCOME

| | |
|-----------------------|------------------|
| Pledged contributions | 3 257 706 |
| Public donations | 75 155 |
| Subventions | 762 824 |
| Interest income | 88 050 |
| Miscellaneous income | <u>180 234</u> |
| TOTAL INCOME | <u>4 363 969</u> |

EXPENDITURE

| | |
|---------------------------------|------------------|
| Staff and other personnel costs | 2 124 228 |
| Travel | 181 427 |
| Contractual services | 65 555 |
| Operating expenses | 312 680 |
| Acquisitions | 140 293 |
| Fellowships, grants, other | <u>904 355</u> |
| TOTAL EXPENDITURE | <u>3 728 538</u> |

EXCESS OF INCOME OVER EXPENDITURE 635 431

II. Statement of assets and liabilities as at
31 December 1986

ASSETS

| | |
|------------------------------|------------------|
| Cash | 1 611 387 |
| Pledged contributions unpaid | 531 868 |
| Accounts receivable | <u>350 892</u> |
| TOTAL ASSETS | <u>2 494 147</u> |

LIABILITIES

| | |
|--------------------------|----------------|
| Accounts payable | 773 721 |
| Unliquidated obligations | <u>122 363</u> |
| TOTAL LIABILITIES | <u>896 084</u> |

FUND BALANCE

| | |
|--|------------------|
| Balance available at 1 January 1986 | 962 632 |
| Add: Excess of income over expenditure | <u>635 431</u> |
| Balance available at 31 December 1986 | <u>1 598 063</u> |
| TOTAL LIABILITIES AND FUND BALANCE | <u>2 494 147</u> |

Table 7

United Nations Fund for Namibia; United Nations Institute
for Namibia Account

(US dollars)

I. Statement of income and expenditure for the period
1 January-30 June 1987 a/

| INCOME | |
|--|-------------------------|
| Pledged contributions | 4 081 383 |
| Public donations | 1 440 |
| Subventions | <u>2 790</u> |
| TOTAL INCOME | 4 085 613 |
| EXPENDITURE | |
| Staff and other personnel costs | 653 307 |
| Travel | 50 523 |
| Contractual services | 6 851 |
| Operating expenses | 110 946 |
| Acquisitions | 12 314 |
| Fellowships, grants, other | <u>396 951</u> |
| TOTAL EXPENDITURE | 1 230 892 |
| EXCESS OF INCOME OVER EXPENDITURE | <u>2 854 721</u> |

II. Statement of assets and liabilities as at
30 June 1987 a/

| ASSETS | |
|---|------------------|
| Cash | 3 616 438 |
| Pledged contributions unpaid | 1 613 764 |
| Accounts receivable | <u>97 031</u> |
| TOTAL ASSETS | 5 327 233 |
| LIABILITIES | |
| Accounts payable | 756 041 |
| Unliquidated obligations | 257 287 |
| Due to United Nations General Fund | <u>25 032</u> |
| TOTAL LIABILITIES | 1 038 360 |
| FUND BALANCE | |
| Balance available at 1 January 1987 | 1 434 152 |
| Add: Excess of income over expenditure | 2 854 721 |
| Balance available at 30 June 1987 | 4 288 873 |
| TOTAL LIABILITIES AND FUND BALANCE | 5 327 233 |

a/ Provisional.

D. Educational, social and relief assistance

760. Educational, social and relief assistance is administered by the Office of the Commissioner for Namibia. The main activity in this category is the scholarship programme for individual Namibians, which provides educational assistance to Namibians who are denied this opportunity by the illegal South African administration in Namibia. The General Account of the Fund is also used to finance vocational and technical training; to provide assistance in the fields of health and medical care, nutrition and social welfare; to acquire books and periodicals for Namibian refugee camps and SWAPO offices; and to facilitate the attendance of Namibian representatives at international seminars, meetings and conferences.

1. Scholarship programme

761. During the period 1 July 1986 to 30 June 1987, there was an increased demand for scholarships and, as a result, 79 new awards were made and 31 students completed their courses. Taking into account the new awards, as well as those still active from previous periods, 215 awards were being used as at 1 July 1987. The various fields of study in 15 countries were as follows:

| Country | Field of study | No. of students |
|------------------------|--|-----------------|
| Algeria | Primary and secondary school | 2 |
| Australia | Education | 1 |
| Botswana | Agriculture, business administration and commerce, pharmaceuticals, primary school | 6 |
| Canada | Education | 1 |
| Congo | Business administration and secondary education | 1 |
| Egypt | Primary school | 3 |
| Ethiopia | Primary school | 4 |
| Kenya | Accounting, agriculture, business administration, motor mechanics | 10 |
| Libyan Arab Jamahiriya | Primary school | 3 |
| Romania | Business administration and journalism and communications | 6 |
| Senegal | Economics | 1 |
| United Kingdom | Physics | 1 |

| Country | Field of study | No. of students |
|---------------|---|-----------------|
| United States | Accounting, agriculture, architecture, barbering, biology, business administration, chemistry, communications, computers, criminal justice, data processing, economics, education, electrical engineering, human services, industrial education, international development, journalism, liberal arts, management, marketing, media technology, medical sociology, medical technology, mining, nursing, nutrition, occupational therapy, primary school, pharmaceuticals, public health, public policy and administration, pre-medical studies, sociology, urban studies and planning management | 131 |
| Zambia | Animal husbandry, business administration, dressmaking and designing, education, electronics, engineering, metal fabrication, motor mechanics, primary school, radio and television electronics, secondary school, tailoring, textiles | 44 |
| Zimbabwe | Social work | 1 |

It should also be noted that Namibians continued to be eligible for assistance through the United Nations Educational and Training Programme for Southern Africa during the period 1 July 1986 to 30 June 1987.

2. Training projects

762. As requested by the Committee on the Fund, all new training activities under the Fund are constituted as projects. During the period under review, 14 projects were financed by the General Account. A group of new students commenced training at the University of Zimbabwe in economics (2), politics and administration (2) and law (1). In addition, a project was approved that would give administrative support to the assistance programmes of the Council.

763. Training continued for nine students in various degree programmes in Guyana, and one student in Barbados continued to pursue his law degree. Three Institute graduates continued their training at the University of Warwick (United Kingdom) and one continued in a diploma course in agriculture in Zambia. A group of 15 trainees continued training courses in video and cinematography, also in Zambia, and one candidate for a diploma in quality control technology continued training in the United States.

764. One nursing trainee in Guyana completed her training in May 1987, and two trainees in a higher education foundation programme completed training in the United Kingdom. In India, two trainees completed their weaving programme, and in Kenya, two trainees completed their dressmaking programme.

765. Twenty-seven broadcasters continued their in-service training in various African countries.

3. Social and relief assistance

766. The Fund also provides medical care, social assistance and relief aid to Namibians. During the period under review, assistance was provided to 82 individual Namibians in need of emergency medical treatment and other forms of humanitarian assistance.

4. Emergency assistance

767. A sum was made available from the Fund for emergency assistance, to be allocated by the Commissioner. The field offices of the Commissioner's Office were given a small imprest from these emergency funds to be used in accordance with the approved guidelines for the funds.

5. Books and periodicals

768. Subscriptions to various publications on Namibia and southern Africa, as well as books and library materials, were made available to Namibian refugee camps and to SWAPO offices.

6. Representation

769. Funds were provided to facilitate the attendance of Namibians at international seminars and conferences.

7. Financing

770. Expenditures on educational, social and relief assistance (General Account) amounted to \$US 2,763,314 in 1986 and to \$US 1,612,443 during the first six months of 1987. The total income of the General Account of the Fund was \$US 3,041,228 in 1986 and \$US 2,738,471 during the first six months of 1987. Detailed information on the General Account is presented in tables 8 and 9.

Table 8

United Nations Fund for Namibia: General Account

(US dollars)

I. Statement of income and expenditure for 1986

INCOME

| | |
|-----------------------|------------------|
| Pledged contributions | 1 056 073 |
| Subventions | 1 500 000 |
| Interest income | 180 707 |
| Miscellaneous income | <u>304 448</u> |
| TOTAL INCOME | 3 041 228 |

EXPENDITURE

| | |
|---------------------------------|------------------|
| Staff and other personnel costs | 202 521 |
| Travel | 50 882 |
| Contractual services | 54 |
| Operating expenses | 62 603 |
| Acquisitions | 252 560 |
| Fellowships, grants, other | <u>2 194 694</u> |
| TOTAL EXPENDITURE | 2 763 314 |

EXCESS OF INCOME OVER EXPENDITURE

277 914

II. Statement of assets and liabilities as at
31 December 1986

ASSETS

| | |
|--|------------------|
| Cash | 3 223 926 |
| Pledged contributions unpaid | 28 042 |
| Accounts receivable | 71 556 |
| Operating funds provided to executing agencies | 68 543 |
| Due from United Nations General Fund | 127 913 |
| Deferred charges and other assets | <u>841 749</u> |
| TOTAL ASSETS | 4 361 729 |

LIABILITIES

| | |
|--------------------------|------------------|
| Accounts payable | 848 218 |
| Unliquidated obligations | 748 613 |
| Reserve for allocations | 27 693 |
| Deferred income | <u>6 351</u> |
| TOTAL LIABILITIES | 1 630 875 |

FUND BALANCE

| | |
|---|------------------|
| Balance available at 1 January 1986 | 2 728 328 |
| Add: Excess of income over expenditure | 277 914 |
| Add: Transfer from reserves | 52 305 |
| Less: Transfer to reserves | (27 693) |
| Less: Adjustment to 1986 pledges | (300 000) |
| Balance available at 31 December 1986 | 2 730 854 |
| TOTAL LIABILITIES AND FUND BALANCE | 4 361 729 |

Table 9

United Nations Fund for Namibia: General Account

(US dollars)

I. Statement of income and expenditure for the period
1 January-30 June 1987 a/

| INCOME | |
|--|------------------|
| Pledged contributions | 1 238 471 |
| Subventions | 1 500 000 |
| TOTAL INCOME | 2 738 471 |
| EXPENDITURE | |
| Staff and other personnel costs | 76 819 |
| Travel | 12 070 |
| Operating expenses | 19 331 |
| Acquisitions | 79 297 |
| Fellowships, grants, other | 1 424 926 |
| TOTAL EXPENDITURE | 1 612 443 |
| EXCESS OF INCOME OVER EXPENDITURE | 1 126 028 |

II. Statement of assets and liabilities as at
30 June 1987 a/

| ASSETS | |
|--|------------------|
| Cash | 3 415 587 |
| Pledged contributions unpaid | 809 766 |
| Accounts receivable | 810 000 |
| Operating funds provided to executing agencies | 124 687 |
| Deferred charges and other assets | 96 127 |
| TOTAL ASSETS | 5 256 167 |
| LIABILITIES | |
| Accounts payable | 120 391 |
| Unliquidated obligations | 1 192 211 |
| Reserve for allocation | 76 700 |
| Due to United Nations General Fund | 204 497 |
| Deferred income | 6 351 |
| TOTAL LIABILITIES | 1 600 150 |
| FUND BALANCE | |
| Balance available at 1 January 1987 | 2 606 689 |
| Add: Excess of income over expenditure | 1 126 028 |
| Less: Transfer to reserves for allocation | (76 700) |
| Balance available at 30 June 1987 | 3 656 017 |
| TOTAL LIABILITIES AND FUND BALANCE | 5 256 167 |

a/ Provisional.

E. Fund-raising missions

771. The Vice-Chairman and Rapporteur of the Committee on the Fund and the United Nations Commissioner for Namibia undertook fund-raising missions to Western Europe.

772. The missions visited Belgium, the European Community, Norway, Sweden, Finland, the Federal Republic of Germany, the Netherlands, France, Austria and Italy, in that order, between 24 April and 14 July 1986.

773. In all the countries visited, the missions were received at a high political level. This provided a valuable opportunity to remind the Governments concerned of the pressing needs of the Namibian people and to clarify some important technical points.

774. In their discussions with representatives of the various Governments, the missions explained the origin and purposes of the Fund and described the various projects and activities being financed by the three accounts of which it is composed, as well as the financial status of the accounts. It also reviewed the priority projects for which new contributions were being sought. Efforts were made not only to attract more general contributions to the Fund but also to interest donor countries in specific projects.

775. The Governments visited were unanimous in their recognition of the need to prepare the Namibian people for independence, and they expressed their continuing support for the Council's assistance programmes.

776. The fund-raising missions provide a valuable opportunity to maintain regular contacts with donors to the assistance programmes of the Fund. Up-to-date information on the plans for future assistance is given to the donors to help them determine their level of contribution, and the visits offer an opportunity for a thorough exchange of views and information on many aspects of the Namibian situation.

CHAPTER IV

ACTIVITIES OF THE OFFICE OF THE UNITED NATIONS COMMISSIONER FOR NAMIBIA

A. General

777. By resolution 2248 (S-V), the General Assembly decided that the Council should entrust such executive and administrative tasks as it deemed necessary to the United Nations Commissioner for Namibia. The Assembly further decided that, in the performance of his tasks, the Commissioner should be responsible to the Council.

778. The programme of work of the Council, defined by General Assembly resolution 41/39 C, forms the basis and framework for the activities carried out by the Office of the Commissioner under the authority of the Council. The Council's programme of work has been further elaborated in the medium-term plan for the period 1984-1989. 122/

779. During the period under review, the Commissioner, acting through his offices at Headquarters, Gaborone, Luanda and Lusaka, was involved in the protection of Namibian interests principally by means of the travel documents programme and by attempts to implement Decree No. 1 for the Protection of the Natural Resources of Namibia. 4/ The Commissioner was also engaged in the provision of assistance to Namibians by means of the United Nations Fund for Namibia and mobilized international support for the cause of the Namibian people by means of a programme of dissemination of information. During the period 1 July 1986 to 30 June 1987, the offices of the Commissioner also issued 698 new travel documents in Africa, North America and Western Europe, and renewed 1,690 travel documents.

780. The Office of the Commissioner also continued to collect and analyse information relating to Namibia and closely followed internal political, economic and legal developments in South Africa concerning Namibia.

781. The Office continued to provide services to the Committee on the United Nations Fund for Namibia. A staff member of the Office of the Commissioner served as Secretary of the Committee.

B. Assistance to Namibians

782. The Office of the Commissioner administers the assistance programmes under the United Nations Fund for Namibia. The Fund, as described earlier, has three major components: (a) the Nationhood Programme for Namibia; (b) the United Nations Institute for Namibia; and (c) educational, social and relief activities (General Account). The substantive activities of the Fund have been described in the preceding chapter of the present report. The present section describes the arrangements by which the Office of the Commissioner administers the various programmes under the Fund.

1. Nationhood Programme for Namibia

783. In its capacity as the co-ordinating authority for the implementation of the Nationhood Programme, the Commissioner's Office has established and consolidated a framework of close and continuous working relations with SWAPO, the United Nations Institute for Namibia, OAU, UNDP, the specialized agencies and other organizations and institutions of the United Nations system.

784. Review meetings are held on a regular basis between the Office of the Commissioner and SWAPO in order to ensure effective planning, co-ordination and resource utilization. At these meetings, ongoing assistance activities are reviewed and available funds are earmarked for new projects and project revisions. Following review meetings, the Commissioner reports to the Committee on the Fund on the proposed resource allocation, in order to facilitate planning by the Committee, and subsequently prepares project proposals for consideration by the Committee.

785. In accordance with decisions of the Council, the Commissioner has maintained consultations with UNDP concerning the administration of the Nationhood Programme through an arrangement reached in 1979 between UNDP and the Office of the Commissioner on the administration of the projects. According to the agreed guidelines, 123/ the transmission of funds from the United Nations Fund for Namibia to the executing agencies is effected by means of a "UNDP Supplementary Trust Fund for the Nationhood Programme of the Fund for Namibia", established on 20 April 1979 by the Controller of the United Nations and delegated to the Administrator of UNDP. UNDP makes allocations and remittances to the executing agencies from this Fund to meet project expenditures and reports on them to the Office of the Commissioner.

786. The General Assembly has repeatedly requested executing agencies to waive their support costs for projects in favour of Namibia, and thus far, ECA, FAO, the International Maritime Organization (IMO), the United Nations Centre on Transnational Corporations and UNESCO have done so for 11 projects. Moreover, all the executing agencies have adopted a proposal by UNDP to treat certain types of expenditures as government cash counterpart contributions for which overhead costs are only charged at a rate of 3.5 per cent. Finally, ILO has agreed to a general reduction of its overhead charges from 13 per cent to 3.5 per cent, with effect from 1 January 1984, and has also granted a partial waiver in respect of the United Nations Vocational Training Centre for Namibia in Angola.

787. At the present stage of implementation of the Nationhood Programme, one of the major tasks being undertaken in the project cycle is the evaluation of selected projects to ensure that the objectives of the project are being met and that financial resources are being utilized in a cost-effective manner.

788. During the period under review, members of the Office of the Commissioner held consultations on the implementation of the Nationhood Programme with SWAPO, the United Nations Institute for Namibia and specialized agencies of the United Nations system. Further consultations were held with authorities of the institutions where Namibians were undergoing training.

789. The activities of the Nationhood Programme have continued to expand over the years. Most of the sectoral survey projects have been completed or are in their final stages. Emphasis continues to be placed on training activities, and large numbers of trainees continue to be selected to benefit from various training

opportunities under the Programme. During 1986, close to 700 Namibians benefited from training projects being conducted in a variety of fields at different levels.

790. The Commissioner reports semi-annually to the Council, through the Committee on the Fund, on activities financed under the Nationhood Programme.

2. United Nations Institute for Namibia

791. The Commissioner is a member of the Senate of the Institute. The Office of the Commissioner is not directly involved in the administration of the Institute; however, it provides assistance to the Institute through its fund-raising activities and administration of the Institute account at Headquarters, as well as by serving in an advisory capacity as requested.

792. The United Nations Council for Namibia, through its Committee on the United Nations Fund for Namibia, considers and endorses the annual budget of the Institute. The Council also receives an annual report from the Institute (see also paras. 748 to 759).

3. Education, social and relief assistance (General Account)

793. During the period under review, the Office of the Commissioner continued to co-ordinate and manage, in accordance with the approved guidelines for the administration of the United Nations Fund for Namibia, programmes of educational, social and relief assistance for Namibians. At the present time, the Office of the Commissioner is carrying out 14 projects. This includes project identification, preparation, implementation and evaluation. The Office prepares project proposals for consideration by the Committee on the Fund and reports semi-annually to the United Nations Council for Namibia, through the Committee, on the activities financed from the General Account of the Fund. A detailed report on these activities appears in paragraphs 760-770.

794. The Office of the Commissioner also administers the individual scholarship programme under the General Account of the Fund (see para. 761).

4. Fund-raising activities

795. During the period under review, in addition to fund-raising missions (see paras. 771-776), the Commissioner maintained regular contacts with Member States through their permanent missions to the United Nations, as well as with non-governmental organizations and other organizations, to ensure the financing of all the activities under the Fund.

C. Implementation of Decree No. 1 for the Protection of the Natural Resources of Namibia 4/

1. Political and informational activities

796. Pursuant to General Assembly resolution 40/97 C, the United Nations Council for Namibia organized the International Conference for the Immediate Independence of Namibia, held at Vienna from 7 to 11 July 1986. 13/

797. The Conference adopted a Declaration 13/ in which, with specific reference to Decree No. 1, for the Protection of the Natural Resources of Namibia, 4/ it affirmed that the natural resources of Namibia were the inviolable heritage of its people. It expressed grave concern at the rapid depletion of those resources as a result of plunder by South Africa and other foreign economic interests, in contravention of the relevant resolutions of the United Nations and of Decree No. 1. It condemned the activities of all foreign economic and other interests in Namibia which constitute one of the major obstacles to the independence of Namibia. In its Programme of Action, the Conference urged all States to recognize Decree No. 1 and to take effective measures, including legislative and enforcement action, to ensure compliance with the Decree by all corporations and individuals within their jurisdiction.

798. The eminent persons who participated in the Conference issued an appeal 13/ for the immediate independence of Namibia. In their appeal, they expressed the view that those who refused to impose sanctions became parties to South Africa's defiance of the United Nations, to the suppression and repression in Namibia and to the utter disregard of basic human rights.

799. In September 1986, the General Assembly convened a special session on the question of Namibia (see also paras. 25 to 69).

800. On 20 September 1986 the Assembly adopted resolution S-14/1 by which, inter alia, it condemned the plunder by South Africa and other foreign economic interests of the natural resources of Namibia in contravention of the relevant resolutions of the United Nations and of Decree No. 1.

801. At its forty-first session, the General Assembly adopted resolution 41/39 A of 20 November 1986 on the question of Namibia (see also paras. 85 to 90). By that resolution, the Assembly reaffirmed that the natural resources of Namibia, including its marine resources were an inviolable heritage of the Namibian people and expressed its deep concern at the depletion of those resources, particularly the uranium deposits, as a result of their plunder by South Africa and certain Western and other foreign economic interests, in violation of the pertinent resolutions of the General Assembly, of the Security Council and of Decree No. 1, and in disregard of the advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice of 21 June 1971. 1/ In the same resolution, the Assembly declared that all activities of foreign economic interests in Namibia were illegal under international law and that all foreign economic interests operating in Namibia were liable to pay damages to the future legitimate Government of an independent Namibia.

802. The Commissioner's Office has continued to review developments relating to Decree No. 1 and to seek information in this regard. In particular, the office published a Reference Book on Major Transnational Corporations operating in Namibia. 124/

803. The Office of the Commissioner also continued to distribute publicity material on Namibia on a large scale in Arabic, English, French, German and Spanish, including the booklet "Efforts to implement Decree No. 1 for the Protection of the Natural Resources of Namibia", which has been revised and updated.

804. The Commissioner submitted to the Council a report on political and information activities designed to promote the implementation of Decree No. 1 (A/AC.131/268).

805. The Commissioner's Office established, in consultation with non-governmental organizations in the Netherlands, a special programme of information on the Decree for that country. The programme included the distribution of the following:

(a) Booklet on the symposium on the implementation of Decree No. 1 for the Protection of the Natural Resources of Namibia, held at Geneva from 27 to 31 August 1984 (DPI/839);

(b) Economic map of Namibia;

(c) Reference book on Major Transnational Corporations operating in Namibia; 124/

(d) Posters on the plunder of Namibian uranium (in Dutch);

(e) Compendium of United Nations resolutions on Namibia;

(f) Information kits (red folders) (in Dutch);

(g) Material on Namibia and its natural resources for use in schools.

806. The Commissioner and other staff members of his office continued to deliver lectures and talks on Decree No. 1 to non-governmental organizations, support groups, students and others and to participate in various seminars and meetings which included among their goals the implementation of Decree No. 1.

807. During the period under review, the Commissioner consulted Governments of countries in which corporations involved in the exploitation of the natural resources of Namibia were based, in order to urge them to take measures to prevent such exploitation.

808. Decisions tending to diminish the exploitation of the natural resources of Namibia were adopted by the European Economic Community (EEC) and by the Government of the United States.

809. On 2 October 1986, the comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act of 1986 (Public Law 99-440) was enacted in the United States. The Act imposed economic sanctions against South Africa. These sanctions codified most of the provisions of the Executive Orders of 9 September and 1 October 1985 and added several prohibitions. The Act also made all prohibitions applicable to Namibia. On 27 October 1986, the President of the United States issued Executive Order 12571 on the implementation of the Act.

810. The primary measures required by the Act are: (a) a ban on new investments; (b) termination of landing rights; (c) a ban on loans, including loans to entities owned or controlled by the South African Government, and loans to the private sector in South Africa; (d) a ban on imports of iron, steel, Krugerrands and other gold coins minted in South Africa, South African food, sugar and other agricultural products, and items produced by "parastatal" organizations; (e) a ban on exports of crude oil and petroleum products to South Africa, with limitation on the export of computers and related goods and services; and (f) termination of the bilateral tax treaty between the United States and South Africa. The Act establishes criminal and civil penalties for violations of the Act by individuals and corporations.

2. Institution of legal proceedings in the domestic courts of States

811. The Commissioner's office had engaged practising lawyers to prepare reports on the feasibility of instituting legal proceedings in domestic courts against firms and individuals engaged in trade in Namibian products in violation of Decree No. 1 in Belgium, France, the Federal Republic of Germany, Japan, the Netherlands, the United Kingdom and the United States. Upon receipt of these reports, the Commissioner submitted to the Council, in October 1985, a comprehensive report on the possibility of instituting legal proceedings in the domestic courts of States (A/AC.131/194).

812. At its 443rd meeting, on 7 June 1985, at Vienna, in the course of its extraordinary plenary meetings, the Council took the following decision:

"The Council decides to promote actively the implementation of the Decree through legal action in the domestic courts of States and through political action and consultations intended to put an end to the plunder of all Namibia's natural resources; it requests the United Nations Commissioner for Namibia to take necessary steps towards that end after consultations with the President of the Council." 125/

813. Following consultations with the Acting President of the Council, the Commissioner retained the services of lawyers in the Netherlands to institute appropriate legal proceedings.

814. In accordance with General Assembly resolution 40/97 C of 13 December 1985, a mission of consultation of the Council visited Belgium and the Netherlands from 5 to 8 May 1986. The same delegation also represented the Council at the Second Brussels International Conference on Namibia, held from 5 to 7 May 1986.

815. The Mission noted with appreciation the support extended by the Government of the Netherlands to the Namibian cause by its enlightened position on the question of Namibia. The Mission also noted with appreciation the recognition by the Government of the Netherlands of Decree No. 1.

816. During the period under review, the lawyers continued their studies and made preparation for legal action in the domestic courts of the Netherlands. They were assisted and supported in their work by the Commissioner and his staff. On a number of occasions, consultations involving the President of the Council and the lawyers took place.

817. The Commissioner has submitted a report to the Council on the institution of legal proceedings in the domestic courts of States (A/AC.131/267).

D. Studies

818. Pursuant to General Assembly resolution 37/233 D of 20 December 1982, the Office of the Commissioner prepared a report on transnational corporations operating or investing in Namibia. The purpose of the study was to identify the commercial and investment practices of foreign companies in Namibia and the extent of their exploitation of Namibian resources. The study led to the publication of a book on the subject 124/ in December 1985. A revised, updated version of the book is in preparation.

819. Pursuant to General Assembly resolution 37/233 E, the Office of the Commissioner and UNDP, in co-operation with SWAPO, prepared a comprehensive study on all aspects of economic planning in an independent Namibia. 119/

820. In accordance with General Assembly resolution 37/233 E, the Office of the Commissioner carried out a demographic study of the Namibian population. The purpose of the study was to analyse the demographic structure and socio-economic characteristics of the population, and to make size estimates and growth projections to serve as the basis for the Council's assistance to Namibia. The basic work was completed in 1984 and the revised version of the draft report has been finalized. The study is due to be submitted to the Council for its consideration in the first half of 1988.

821. Also in accordance with resolution 37/233 E, the Commissioner's Office has undertaken a study of the scholarship programme under the United Nations Fund for Namibia. In order to implement the recommendations contained in the study, it was necessary to visit and undertake consultations with the educational institutions and African Governments that have offered placements and partial awards for Namibian students in Africa.

822. Pursuant to General Assembly resolution 35/227 H of 6 March 1981, the Office of the Commissioner prepared a comprehensive economic map of Namibia. Feasibility studies are now under way to prepare a thematic atlas of Namibia.

823. In accordance with its continuing mandate, the Office of the Commissioner has been preparing studies dealing with incomes and profits made by the transnational corporations operating in Namibia as well as to determine the shipping lines and countries of destination of Namibian products. It has also collected and analysed data, during 1986 and 1987, on the socio-economic and legal situation prevailing in Namibia as a result of the illegal occupation of the Territory by South Africa.

E. Participation in international conferences and meetings

824. During the period under review, the Commissioner participated in a number of international conferences and meetings. He visited Angola, India, Japan and Zimbabwe and held consultations with the Governments of those countries.

825. The Commissioner participated in the Eighth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Harare from 1 to 6 September 1986, 2/ and held consultations there with representatives of a number of Governments. From 25 to 26 May 1987, at New Delhi, the Commissioner participated in consultations with the Chairman of the AFRICA Fund of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries.

826. The Commissioner attended the twenty-third ordinary session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of OAU, held at Addis Ababa from 27 to 29 July 1987 (see also paras. 577 to 584).

827. The Commissioner is a member of the Senate of the United Nations Institute for Namibia. He participated in the tenth anniversary celebrations of the Institute and the twenty-third meeting of the Senate, held at Lusaka from 19 to 23 August 1986; in the twenty-fourth meeting of the Senate and the eighth graduation ceremony of the Institute, held at Lusaka from 2 to 3 February 1987; in the fourth extraordinary meeting of the Senate, held at Addis Ababa from 28 to

29 April 1987; and in the twenty-fifth meeting of the Senate, held in New York from 24 to 26 August 1987.

828. The Commissioner is also a member of the Governing Board of the United Nations Vocational Training Centre for Namibia in Angola. He participated in the tenth meeting of the Governing Board, held in New York from 18 to 20 November 1986, while his representative participated in the graduation ceremony, held at Cuacra, Angola on 26 August 1986.

829. From 10 to 14 December 1986, the Commissioner participated in the opening ceremonies of the Namibia Technical Secondary School, held at Loudima, the Congo.

830. Representatives of the Commissioner participated in two workshops of the Council in co-operation with non-governmental organizations, one held at Bonn from 28 to 30 April 1987, and one held in London from 11 to 13 May 1987 (see paras. 250 to 264).

831. The Commissioner participated in the Seminar on Support for the Immediate Independence of Namibia and the Effective Application of Sanctions against South Africa, held at Buenos Aires from 20 to 24 April 1987; in the Extraordinary Plenary Meetings of the Council, held at Luanda from 18 to 22 May 1987; and in the workshop on Namibia held at Tokyo on 30 May 1987 (see paras. 160 to 247 and paras. 265 to 269).

832. The Commissioner also participated in the meetings of the Governing Council of UNDP, at its thirty-fourth session, held in New York from 26 May to 19 June 1987; his representatives participated in the special organizational session of the Governing Council, held in New York from 17 to 20 February 1987. A representative of the Commissioner took part in the meetings of the Executive Committee of the Programme of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), at its thirty-seventh session, held from 6 to 13 October 1986 at Geneva.

833. As in the past, the Commissioner and his staff participated in meetings with a number of specialized agencies and other institutions that are executing projects in favour of Namibians, notably the United Nations Children's Fund, ILO, FAO, UNESCO, IMO, the Commonwealth Secretariat and the European Communities.

F. Offices of the Commissioner at Luanda, Gaborone and Lusaka

1. Luanda

834. During the period under review, the overall responsibility of the Luanda Office continued to be its primary function of serving as a focal point between the Commissioner's Office in New York and SWAPO Headquarters, as well as maintaining close and frequent consultations with the Government of Angola on all matters of mutual concern, in line with the policies and decisions of the Council.

835. The Office continued to carry out liaison and co-ordination responsibilities with other agencies of the United Nations system represented in Angola to ensure a well-integrated inter-agency approach with respect to their programmes of assistance to Namibia. In this context, the Office organized inter-agency meetings

on programme activities and in connection with missions to Angola on Namibian matters.

836. A major inter-agency activity during the reporting period was the co-ordination by the Office of Emergency Assistance to over 800 Namibian children who were affected by the severe rain storm which damaged their dwellings in Ndalatando, in the province of Kwanza Norte.

837. The Office, in close co-operation with SWAPO, also co-ordinated an inter-agency effort for assistance to the Namibian Secondary Technical School in Loudima, which is an emerging institution of great significance to Namibians.

838. The bulk of the activities of the Luanda Office involved the management of projects. Luanda being the provisional headquarters for SWAPO, the Luanda Office continued to be a focal point for appraisal of project ideas, project formulation and management of ongoing projects, including project evaluation.

839. There was an increase in placement of Namibian trainees in training institutions, including the Institute, and the Field Attachment Programme. In the case of the latter, the office secured an offer from the Angolan Government for the placement of Namibian aircraft technicians.

840. Placement of trainees in various training institutions continues to be an important aspect of the training programme. Optimal placement requires knowledge of existing institutions and their programmes. The Luanda Office has developed a data bank by keeping records of all trainees placed under the Nationhood Account and the General Account, and has also continued assembling data on various institutions in Africa and abroad that can offer suitable training to Namibians.

841. With the benefit of being directly involved with the growing day-to-day needs of Namibians against limited financial resources, the Luanda Office, through diplomatic contacts with diplomatic missions and organizations represented in Luanda, continued to raise funds specifically for urgently required structures at the United Nations Vocational Training Centre for Namibia and SWAPO settlements. During the period under review, approximately \$US 200,000 was collected by the Office and deposited into the United Nations Account for the Volunteers' Training Committee.

2. Gaborone

842. The Office at Gaborone continued to keep political events in Namibia and South Africa under sharp focus, with a view to providing up-to-date and detailed briefs to the New York office on developments. These briefs are intended to show how such trends are likely to affect the situation in Namibia. The geopolitical location of the Gaborone Office does in fact place it in an excellent position for monitoring political developments, not only in Namibia and South Africa, but also in the entire southern African region.

843. During the period under review, the Gaborone Office continued to maintain close and regular consultations with the Government of Botswana, and with embassies and institutions on matters considered to be vital for the promotion of the interests of the people of Namibia. The prime objective of these consultations is to arouse interest in the work of the United Nations Council for Namibia and

theroby promote a better and deeper appreciation of the role, function and the responsibility of the Council over the territory.

844. It is also the responsibility of the Gaborone Office to maintain effective co-operation with the organizations of the United Nations system in Botswana, as well as with other international bodies, including non-governmental organizations, to ensure that the provision of international assistance to the Namibian refugees in Botswana is properly co-ordinated.

845. As in the past, the Office at Gaborone has continued to enjoy close working relations with SWAPO. The regular contacts established by the Gaborone Office have resulted in close liaison of activities and exchange of information with the SWAPO offices, which has led in turn to improved data collection.

846. The Office at Gaborone continued to participate in the administration and co-ordination of activities in support of an effective implementation of the Nationhood Programme for Namibia, as well as in all other programmes of assistance aimed at benefiting individual Namibian refugees and exiles.

847. The Gaborone Office also continued to participate in the management and co-ordination of the individual scholarship programme under the General Account of the United Nations Fund for Namibia.

848. The Gaborone Office continued to carry out its consular responsibilities. The Office issues United Nations Council for Namibia travel and identity documents to Namibians entering Botswana for the first time and also extends the validity of the expired travel documents. The Office assists in obtaining visas for Namibians wishing to transit through neighbouring countries in search of sanctuary further north. During the period under review, the Gaborone Office issued 93 United Nations Council for Namibia travel documents and arranged for the validity of eight travel documents to be extended.

3. Lusaka

849. During the period under review, political and security events in southern Africa affecting the Namibia question continued to engage the attention of the Lusaka Office. These events included the raids into Zambia by South African armed forces, reportedly based in the Caprivi Strip, cross-border attacks against civilian targets in Botswana, Mozambique and Zimbabwe, destabilization activities in Angola and Mozambique, actions against SWAPO combatants by South African forces and continued occupation of parts of Angola by South African troops. The May 1987 elections in South Africa, the economic situation in the front-line and other bordering States and other developments in the region which bear on Namibia were also closely followed. Visits by various Heads of State and Government enabled the Office to maintain useful contacts with international groups and personalities involved in the search for solutions to the problems of the region, including Namibia.

850. These contacts had concrete results, as evidenced by the offer of financial assistance by EEC to the United Nations Institute for Namibia for the Teachers' Education Training Programme and a similar offer of aid and assistance by EEC to the Field Attachment Programme for Namibians, as well as the programme for the placement of graduates of the Institute. Contacts with delegations of the

Association of West European Parliamentarians also led to an offer of financial assistance in support of the project for preparatory assistance for agricultural activities in SWAPO settlements. Some of these offers have already materialized, while others are pending a resolution of technical questions.

851. The Office also maintained contacts with visiting official delegations from donor countries and organizations, resulting in fruitful exchanges of views and improved co-operation and support between these organizations and the Office of the Commissioner. Other contacts led to increased and enhanced delivery of assistance programmes, to SWAPO in particular, and to Namibian refugees in Zambia in general.

852. As the President of Zambia is the current Chairman of the front-line States, the Lusaka Office has given additional attention to its role as a major listening post with respect to the rapidly evolving situation in southern Africa. Fearing that the economic situation in the region and the increasingly tense security prospects may adversely affect the situation of the refugees, including Namibians, the Lusaka Office has worked closely with UNHCR and agencies of the host Government to safeguard the rights of refugees and to canvass for aid and assistance for them.

853. The Lusaka Office continued to be preoccupied with the main task of providing aid and assistance to Namibians and counselling those in need while managing, monitoring and reporting on various projects under the Nationhood Programme for Namibia and the General Account of the United Nations Fund for Namibia.

854. The Lusaka Office has close relations with regional organizations such as the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC), the Multi-National Programming and Operational Centres, the Preference Trade Area, and the Eastern and Southern Africa Management Institute, as well as non-governmental organizations and private voluntary organizations concerned with regional problems of southern Africa.

855. The consular and related social assistance services of the Lusaka Office continued to increase. As responsibility for issuing the United Nations Council for Namibia travel and identity documents to Namibians to travel abroad constitutes a measure of the Council's authority over the territory, the Lusaka Office has been giving considerable attention to this assignment. Since June 1986, for instance, the Lusaka Office has issued 698 new travel and identity documents, effected 1,582 renewals and 152 cancellations, and answered numerous inquiries about the documents from foreign Governments and United Nations agencies.

856. In the implementation of the Field Attachment Programme, the Lusaka Office continued to be a point of contact with a number of Governments and organizations. It has helped to place Namibian trainee graduates in government services and parastatals.

857. The Office consulted and worked closely with SWAPO and its various bodies to implement relevant United Nations Council for Namibia decisions and resolutions, as well as projects under the Nationhood Programme.

CHAPTER V

RESOLUTIONS AND FORMAL STATEMENTS OF THE COUNCIL

858. The present chapter contains the texts of the resolutions adopted by the Council during the period under review, as well as a summary of the formal statements issued by the Council during the same period.

A. Resolutions

859. During the period covered by the present report, the Council adopted the following resolutions:

Nationhood Programme for Namibia and educational, social and relief activities under the General Account of the United Nations Fund for Namibia

"The United Nations Council for Namibia,

"Acting as trustee of the United Nations Fund for Namibia,

"Having considered the progress report of the United Nations Commissioner for Namibia on the Nationhood Programme for Namibia and educational, social and relief activities under the United Nations Fund for Namibia, covering the period from 1 January to 30 June 1986,

"1. Approves the progress report of the United Nations Commissioner for Namibia;

"2. Commends the significant progress made in providing assistance to Namibians;

"3. Notes with satisfaction that the financial situation of the United Nations Fund for Namibia has improved and that funds are now available to finance new projects;

"4. Further notes that, with the completion of the comprehensive study on Namibia entitled Namibia: Perspective for National Reconstruction and Development, 119/ a sound basis for the further development of the Nationhood Programme for Namibia now exists;

"5. Requests the United Nations Commissioner for Namibia, in close consultation with the South West Africa People's Organization, to submit a report outlining the proposals for a new direction of the Programme."

481st meeting
11 December 1986

Interim budget of the United Nations Institute for Namibia
for the period 1 January to 31 March 1987

"The United Nations Council for Namibia,

"Acting as trustee of the United Nations Fund for Namibia,

"Taking into account General Assembly resolution 34/92 A of 12 December 1979, by which the Assembly approved the charter of the United Nations Institute for Namibia, 120/ article 5 (a) of which provides that the Council shall consider and endorse the annual budget estimates of the Institute,

"Having considered the report of the Committee on the United Nations Fund for Namibia on the proposed interim budget of the Institute for the period 1 January to 31 March 1987,

"Taking note that the programme budget for the entire 1987 fiscal year is expected to be considered at the January 1987 meeting of the Senate of the Institute and will subsequently be submitted to the Council for endorsement,

"Endorses, subject to the availability of funds, the interim budget of the United Nations Institute for Namibia for the period 1 January to 31 March 1987."

481st meeting
11 December 1986

Nationhood Programme for Namibia and educational, social
and relief activities under the General Account of the
United Nations Fund for Namibia

"The United Nations Council for Namibia,

"Acting as trustee of the United Nations Fund for Namibia,

"Having considered the progress report of the United Nations Commissioner for Namibia on the Nationhood Programme for Namibia and educational, social and relief activities under the United Nations Fund for Namibia, covering the period from 1 July to 31 December 1986,

"1. Approves the progress report of the United Nations Commissioner for Namibia;

"2. Commends the significant progress made in providing assistance to Namibians;

"3. Notes that, whereas the financial situation improved during 1986, the annual financial requirements of several large projects such as the Field Attachment Programme and the United Nations Vocational Training Centre for Namibia are considerable; and, against this background;

"4. Appeals to all Governments to make generous contributions to the United Nations Fund for Namibia to ensure that adequate funding will be available for new as well as ongoing projects."

493rd meeting
23 June 1987

Interim budget of the United Nations Institute for
Namibia for 1987

"The United Nations Council for Namibia,

"Acting as trustee of the United Nations Fund for Namibia,

"Taking into account General Assembly resolution 34/92 A of 12 December 1979, by which the Assembly approved the charter of the United Nations Institute for Namibia, 120/ article 5 (a) of which provides that the Council shall consider and endorse the annual budget estimates of the Institute,

"Having considered the report of the Committee on the United Nations Fund for Namibia on the proposed interim budget of the United Nations Institute for Namibia for 1987,

"Taking note that the final budget document for the entire 1987 fiscal year is expected to be considered at the August 1987 meeting of the Senate of the Institute and requesting that in case the financial requirements should exceed the established ceiling of \$US 3,600,000, the budget will be resubmitted to the Council for endorsement,

"Endorses, subject to the availability of funds, the interim budget of the United Nations Institute for Namibia for 1987."

493rd meeting
23 June 1987

Resolution of thanks to the Government and people of the
People's Republic of Angola

"The United Nations Council for Namibia,

"Having met in extraordinary plenary meetings at Luanda from 18 to 22 May 1987, for the purpose of reviewing the situation in and concerning Namibia and mobilizing further international support for the legitimate struggle of the Namibian people for self-determination, freedom and independence in a united Namibia,

"Having held a special commemorative meeting on 19 May 1987 to mark the twentieth year of the establishment of the United Nations Council for Namibia,

"Noting with appreciation the very important and inspiring statement made by President José Eduardo dos Santos, of the People's Republic of Angola, at the commemorative meeting,

"Expresses its profound gratitude to the Government and people of the People's Republic of Angola for the invitation extended to the Council to hold its extraordinary plenary meetings at Luanda and for the facilities provided for that purpose, which have contributed to the success of the meetings, and expresses thanks in particular for the very generous and warm hospitality accorded to the participants, observers and secretariat staff throughout their stay in Angola."

492nd meeting
22 May 1987

B. Formal statements

860. The formal statements issued on behalf of the Council by its President or Acting President during the period under review are summarized below.

On 21 October 1986, the President of the Council issued a statement lamenting the death two days previously of President Samora Machel of Mozambique. The President paid tribute to Mr. Machel for his exceptional contributions to the anti-colonial struggle in southern Africa and extended the Council's sincere condolences to the family of President Machel and the people of Mozambique (press release NAM/937).

On 3 December 1986, the Council condemned the attacks on 30 November by South African police on a SWAPO rally near Windhoek, resulting in one death and many injuries. The Council called for an end to violence and repression in Namibia through the immediate implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978) (NAM/946).

On 30 January 1987, the Council deplored the violent harassment of the 80-year-old mother of Mr. Sam Nujoma, President of SWAPO, and other inhabitants of the village of Etunda in northern Namibia by South African security forces. The Council appealed to the international community to take decisive action to put an end to the atrocities being committed against the Namibian people by the South African occupation régime (NAM/951).

On 27 February 1987, the Council condemned the visit to Washington of two members of the so-called MPC puppet entity in Namibia in an attempt to gain support from the United States Administration. The Council called upon the Administration, in accordance with the relevant resolutions of the United Nations, to refrain from according any recognition to the illegal "interim government" in Namibia (NAM/952).

On 7 May 1987, the Council strongly condemned the bombing and arson of 13 primary schools in northern Namibia and the increased acts of murder, torture, rape and destruction of property perpetrated by the South African occupation régime during the first quarter of 1987. The Council reaffirmed its solidarity with the struggle of the Namibian people and called upon the

international community to exert maximum pressure on Pretoria to co-operate in the implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978) (NAM/963).

On 29 May 1987, the Council drew attention to the conviction and sentencing of six SWAPO members to long prison terms after a trial conducted by the illegal South African administration in Windhoek, noting also that the defendants had been mistreated while in detention. The Council urged all Governments, non-governmental organizations and the media to take action for the release of all Namibian political prisoners (NAM/976).

On 10 July 1987, the Council expressed dismay over a series of brutal attacks by South African police and military forces on workers and students in illegally occupied Namibia, resulting in hundreds of arrests and injuries. The Council appealed to the international community to take immediate measures to put an end to acts of violence and persecution committed by the South African occupation régime in its effort to crush the independent labour movement and the national liberation struggle in Namibia (NAM/979).

On 14 July 1987, the Council commended dockers in Liverpool affiliated with the Transport and General Workers' Union for boycotting the import and re-export of uranium from Namibia and South Africa. The Council called once again upon all States to take appropriate measures to ensure full compliance with Decree No. 1 for the Protection of the Natural Resources of Namibia (NAM/981).

On 4 August 1987, the Council protested the dismissal by the Tsumeb Corporation of more than 3,000 black mineworkers who had been on strike seeking a pay increase, improved working conditions and a statement of the company's position on the illegal occupation of Namibia by South Africa. The Council expressed its unqualified support for the strikers and demanded the immediate withdrawal of the illegal South African administration from Namibia, so that the workers of the Territory could secure full labour rights in conditions of political and economic self-determination (NAM/984).

On 21 August 1987, the Council strongly condemned the arrest of key SWAPO leaders and prominent trade union and church officials in raids conducted by South African security police throughout Namibia. The Council called for the immediate release of those detained in the raids, as well as all political prisoners being held in Namibia, and urged the Security Council to secure immediate implementation of its resolution 435 (1978) so as to end the reign of terror resulting from South Africa's illegal occupation of the Territory (NAM/986).

PART FIVE

DRAFT RESOLUTIONS RECOMMENDED BY THE UNITED NATIONS COUNCIL FOR
NAMIBIA FOR ADOPTION BY THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY AND DESCRIPTION OF
ACTIVITIES REQUIRING PROGRAMME BUDGET CONSIDERATION

CHAPTER I

DRAFT RESOLUTIONS

861. The United Nations Council for Namibia recommends to the General Assembly the adoption of the following draft resolutions on the question of Namibia:

A

SITUATION IN NAMIBIA RESULTING FROM THE ILLEGAL OCCUPATION OF
THE TERRITORY BY SOUTH AFRICA

The General Assembly,

Recalling its resolution 1514 (XV) of 14 December 1960, containing the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples,

Recalling also its resolution 2145 (XXI) of 27 October 1966, by which it terminated the Mandate of South Africa over Namibia and placed the Territory under the direct responsibility of the United Nations,

Recalling further its resolution 2248 (S-V) of 19 May 1967, by which it established the United Nations Council for Namibia as the legal Administering Authority for Namibia until independence,

Having examined the report of the United Nations Council for Namibia, 126/

Having examined also the relevant chapters of the report of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, 127/

Recalling other resolutions and decisions declaring the illegality of the continued occupation of Namibia by South Africa, in particular Security Council resolution 284 (1970) of 29 July 1970 and the advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice of 21 June 1971, 1/ and Security Council resolution 301 (1971) of 20 October 1971,

Bearing in mind that 1987 marks the twentieth anniversary of the establishment of the United Nations Council for Namibia by the General Assembly as the legal Administering Authority over Namibia,

Recalling its resolutions 3111 (XXVIII) of 12 December 1973 and 31/146 and 31/152 of 20 December 1976, by which, inter alia, it recognized the South West Africa People's Organization as the sole and authentic representative of the Namibian people and granted observer status to it,

Recalling also its resolutions ES-8/2 of 14 September 1981 and 36/121 B of 10 December 1981, by which it called upon States to cease forthwith, individually and collectively, all dealings with South Africa in order totally to isolate it politically, economically, militarily and culturally,

Recalling further the debates held at its special session on the question of Namibia and its resolution S-14/1 of 20 September 1986, adopted at that session, by which it strongly urged the States that had not done so to cease forthwith all dealings with South Africa,

Taking note of debates held in the Security Council from 6 to 9 April 1987 on the question of Namibia 128/ calling for the imposition of comprehensive and mandatory sanctions against South Africa under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations,

Welcoming the final documents and communiqués of the Eighth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Harare from 1 to 6 September 1986, 2/ the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity at its twenty-third ordinary session held at Addis Ababa from 27 to 29 July 1987, 129/ the Fifth Islamic Summit Conference, held at Kuwait from 26 to 29 January 1987, 130/ the Meeting of Ministers for Foreign Affairs and Heads of Delegation of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries to the forty-second session of the United Nations General Assembly, held in New York from 5 to 7 October 1987, 131/ the Council of Ministers of the Organization of African Unity at its forty-fifth ordinary session, held at Addis Ababa from 27 to 28 February 1987 132/ and at its forty-sixth ordinary session, held at Addis Ababa from 20 to 25 July 1987, 133/ the ministerial meeting of the United Nations Council for Namibia, held in New York on 2 October 1987, 134/ the Organization of African Unity Co-ordinating Committee for the Liberation of Africa at its forty-eighth session, held at Arusha from 13 to 15 July 1987, and welcoming also the Luanda Declaration and Programme of Action adopted at the extraordinary plenary meetings of the United Nations Council for Namibia, held at Luanda from 18 to 22 May 1987, 135/ and the Call for Action adopted by the Seminar on Support for the Immediate Independence of Namibia and the Effective Application of Sanctions against South Africa, held at Buenos Aires from 20 to 24 April 1987, 136/

Strongly reiterating that the continuing illegal and colonial occupation of Namibia by South Africa, in defiance of repeated resolutions of the General Assembly and of the Security Council, constitutes an act of aggression against the Namibian people and a challenge to the authority of the United Nations, which has direct responsibility for Namibia until independence,

Stressing the solemn responsibility of the international community to take all effective measures in support of the Namibian people in their liberation struggle under the leadership of the South West Africa People's Organization,

Noting that 1987 marks the twenty-seventh anniversary of the formation of the South West Africa People's Organization, the national liberation movement of the Namibian people,

Reaffirming its full support for the armed struggle of the Namibian people, under the leadership of the South West Africa People's Organization,

to achieve self-determination, freedom and national independence in a united Namibia and recognizing that 1987 marks the twenty-first anniversary of the launching of the armed struggle by the South West Africa People's Organization against South Africa's colonial occupation,

Indignant at South Africa's persistent refusal to comply with resolutions of the Security Council, in particular resolutions 385 (1976) of 30 January 1976, 435 (1978) of 29 September 1978, 439 (1978) of 13 November 1978, 512 (1983) of 31 May 1983, 539 (1983) of 28 October 1983 and 566 (1985) of 19 June 1985, and at its manoeuvres aimed at perpetuating its illegal occupation of Namibia and its brutal exploitation of the Namibian people,

Deploring South Africa's continued intransigence and insistence on irrelevant and unacceptable pre-conditions to the independence of Namibia, its attempts to bypass the United Nations and its designs aimed at perpetuating its illegal occupation of the Territory through the establishment of puppet political institutions,

Deeply concerned at racist South Africa's increasing militarization of Namibia, the forced conscription of Namibians, the creation of tribal armies, including the so-called South West Africa Territorial Forces, and the use of the Territory for acts of aggression against neighbouring States,

Strongly condemning the racist régime of South Africa for developing a nuclear capability for military and aggressive purposes,

Expressing its grave concern at the continued occupation of parts of southern Angola by South African troops, which has been facilitated by the support extended to the racist régime and to UNITA bandits to destabilize Angola,

Expressing its strong condemnation of South Africa's use of Namibian territory as a springboard for its continuing acts of aggression against independent African States, particularly Angola, Botswana, Zambia and Zimbabwe, resulting in loss of human life and destruction of economic infrastructures,

Reaffirming that the resources of Namibia are the inviolable heritage of the Namibian people and that the exploitation of those resources by foreign economic interests under the protection of the illegal occupation régime of South Africa, in violation of the Charter of the United Nations, the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly and of the Security Council, and of Decree No. 1 for the Protection of the Natural Resources of Namibia, 4/ enacted by the United Nations Council for Namibia on 27 September 1974, and in disregard of the advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice of 21 June 1971, is illegal and encourages the occupation régime to be even more intransigent and defiant,

Deeply deploring the continued collaboration between certain Western and other States and South Africa in the political, military, economic and nuclear fields, in disregard of the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly and of the Security Council,

Deeply concerned at the continued assistance rendered to the racist Pretoria régime by certain international organizations and institutions, particularly the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank, in disregard of the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly,

Indignant at the continuing arbitrary imprisonment and detention of leaders, members and supporters of the South West Africa People's Organization, and the killing, torture and murder of innocent Namibians, as well as other inhuman measures by the illegal occupation régime designed to intimidate the Namibian people and to destroy their determination to fulfil their legitimate aspirations for self-determination, freedom and national independence in a united Namibia,

Strongly condemning the racist régime of South Africa for its intensified repression, arrest and detention or murder of the Namibian people, including children and elderly people, leaders and supporters of the South West Africa People's Organization,

Noting with grave concern that the Security Council has been prevented, on account of the vetoes cast by two of its Western permanent members, from carrying out its responsibility under Chapter VII of the Charter,

Commending the efforts of the United Nations Council for Namibia as the legal Administering Authority for Namibia until independence in the discharge of the responsibilities entrusted to it under the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly,

1. Approves the report of the United Nations Council for Namibia, 126/
2. Endorses the final communiqué of the ministerial meeting of the United Nations Council for Namibia held in New York on 2 October 1987, 134/ and urges the international community to implement it;
3. Also endorses the Luanda Declaration and Programme of Action, adopted by the United Nations Council for Namibia at its extraordinary plenary meetings held at Luanda from 18 to 22 May 1987, 135/ and urges the international community to implement them;
4. Reaffirms the inalienable right of the people of Namibia to self-determination, freedom and national independence in a united Namibia, in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations and as recognized by the General Assembly in its resolutions 1514 (XV) and 2145 (XXI), and in subsequent resolutions of the Assembly relating to Namibia, as well as the legitimacy of their struggle by all the means at their disposal, including armed struggle, against the illegal occupation of their territory by South Africa;
5. Strongly condemns the South African régime for its continued illegal occupation of Namibia in defiance of the resolutions of the United Nations relating to Namibia;
6. Declares that South Africa's illegal occupation of Namibia constitutes an act of aggression against the Namibian people in terms of the Definition of Aggression contained in General Assembly resolution 3314 (XXIX)

of 14 December 1974, and supports the armed struggle of the Namibian people, under the leadership of the South West Africa People's Organization, to repel South Africa's aggression and to achieve self-determination, freedom and national independence in a united Namibia;

7. Declares also that the liberation struggle in Namibia is a conflict of an international character in terms of article 1, paragraph 4, of Additional Protocol I 137/ to the Geneva Conventions of 12 August 1949, 138/ and, in this regard, demands that the Conventions and Additional Protocol I be applied by South Africa, and in particular that all captured freedom fighters be accorded prisoner-of-war status as called for by the Geneva Convention relative to the Treatment of Prisoners of War 139/ and the Additional Protocol thereto;

8. Reiterates that, in accordance with its resolution 2145 (XXI), Namibia is the direct responsibility of the United Nations until genuine self-determination and national independence are achieved in the Territory and, for this reason, reaffirms the mandate given to the United Nations Council for Namibia as the legal Administering Authority for Namibia until independence under its resolution 2248 (S-V) and subsequent resolutions of the General Assembly;

9. Reaffirms its decision that the United Nations Council for Namibia, in fulfilment of its mandate, and in view of racist South Africa's arrogant refusal to withdraw from the Territory, should proceed to establish its administration in Namibia and calls for the early implementation of this provision, in accordance with General Assembly resolutions 41/39 A of 20 November 1986 and S-14/1 of 20 September 1986;

10. Also reaffirms that the South West Africa People's Organization, the national liberation movement of Namibia, is the sole and authentic representative of the Namibian people;

11. Further reaffirms that the genuine independence of Namibia can be achieved only with the direct and full participation of the South West Africa People's Organization in all efforts to implement the resolutions of the United Nations relating to Namibia;

12. Solemnly reaffirms that Namibia's accession to independence must be with its territorial integrity intact, including Walvis Bay, the Penguin Islands and other offshore islands, and reiterates that, in accordance with the resolutions of the United Nations, in particular Security Council resolution 432 (1978) of 27 July 1978 and General Assembly resolutions S-9/2 of 3 May 1978 and 35/227 A of 6 March 1981, any attempt by South Africa to annex them is, therefore, illegal, null and void;

13. Calls upon the Security Council to declare categorically that Walvis Bay is an integral part of Namibia and that the question should not be left as a matter for negotiation between an independent Namibia and South Africa;

14. Commends the South West Africa People's Organization for its continued intensification of the struggle on all fronts, including the armed struggle, and for its commitment to embrace all Namibian patriots in an effort further to strengthen national unity so as to ensure the territorial integrity

and sovereignty of a united Namibia, and welcomes the consolidation of unity in action by the patriotic forces in Namibia under the leadership of the South West Africa People's Organisation, during the critical phase of their struggle for national and social liberation;

15. Reaffirms its solidarity with, and support for, the South West Africa People's Organization, the sole and authentic representative of the Namibian people, and pays tribute to that organization for the sacrifices that it has made in the field of battle and also for the spirit of statesmanship, co-operation and far-sightedness which it has displayed in the political and diplomatic arena despite the most extreme provocations on the part of the racist Pretoria régime;

16. Further commends the people of Namibia who, under the leadership of the South West Africa People's Organization, have intensified their struggle at all levels, as clearly demonstrated by the combined actions of workers, youth, students and parents, as well as churches and other professional organizations, demanding the immediate and unconditional implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978);

17. Reaffirms that the United Nations plan for the independence of Namibia, embodied in Security Council resolutions 385 (1976) and 435 (1978), is the only internationally accepted basis for a peaceful settlement of the Namibian question and demands its immediate implementation without pre-condition or modification;

18. Strongly condemns South Africa for obstructing the implementation of the resolutions of the United Nations, in particular Security Council resolutions 385 (1976), 435 (1978), 439 (1978), 532 (1983), 539 (1983) and 566 (1985), and for its manoeuvres, in contravention of these resolutions, designed to consolidate its colonial and neo-colonial interests at the expense of the legitimate aspirations of the Namibian people for genuine self-determination, freedom and national independence in a united Namibia;

19. Expresses its dismay at the failure to date of the Security Council to discharge effectively its responsibilities for the maintenance of peace and security in southern Africa, owing to the vetoes of two of its Western permanent members;

20. Urges the Security Council to act decisively in fulfilment of the direct responsibility of the United Nations over Namibia and to take, without further delay, appropriate action to ensure that the United Nations plan, as embodied in Council resolution 435 (1978), is not undermined or modified in any way and that it is fully respected and implemented;

21. Reiterates its conviction that racist South Africa's continued illegal occupation of Namibia, its defiance of the resolutions of the United Nations, its brutal repression of the Namibian people, its acts of destabilization and aggression against independent African States and its policies of apartheid constitute a threat to international peace and security;

22. Strongly condemns the Pretoria régime for the imposition of the so-called interim government in Namibia on 17 June 1985, declares this measure to be null and void and affirms that it constitutes a direct affront and a

clear defiance of the resolutions of the Security Council, particularly resolutions 435 (1978) and 439 (1978), and further affirms that this manoeuvre by South Africa of creating puppet institutions subservient to the interests of the racist régime is intended to consolidate Pretoria's colonial stranglehold over Namibia and to prolong the oppression of the Namibian people;

23. Denounces all fraudulent constitutional and political schemes by which the illegal racist régime of South Africa attempts to perpetuate its colonial domination of Namibia, and, in particular, calls upon the international community to continue to refrain from according any recognition or extending any co-operation to any régime imposed by the illegal South African administration upon the Namibian people in violation of Security Council resolutions 385 (1976), 435 (1978), 439 (1978), 532 (1983), 539 (1983) and 566 (1985) and of other relevant resolutions of the General Assembly and of the Council;

24. Reaffirms that all such manoeuvres are fraudulent and null and void and that they must be rejected categorically by all States as called for in the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly and of the Security Council;

25. Declares that all so-called laws and proclamations issued by the illegal occupation régime in Namibia are illegal, null and void;

26. Strongly urges the Security Council to act decisively against any dilatory manoeuvres and fraudulent schemes of the illegal occupation régime aimed at frustrating the legitimate struggle of the Namibian people for self-determination and national liberation, under the leadership of the South West Africa People's Organization;

27. Reiterates that there are only two parties to the conflict in Namibia, namely, the Namibian people represented by the South West Africa People's Organization, their sole and authentic representative, and the racist régime of South Africa, which illegally occupies Namibia;

28. Further reiterates that Member States must exert all efforts to counter any manoeuvres by racist South Africa and its allies, aimed at circumventing the United Nations and undermining its primary responsibility for the decolonization of Namibia;

29. Strongly rejects and condemns the persistent attempts made by the Pretoria régime and its allies to establish a "linkage" between the implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978) and extraneous and irrelevant issues, particularly the presence of Cuban forces in Angola, which is a matter to be decided solely by that independent and sovereign State;

30. Declares that such "linkage" is a ploy intended to delay the independence of Namibia and to jeopardize the responsibility of the United Nations for this Territory and constitutes interference in the internal affairs of Angola;

31. Rejects all attempts to distort the question of Namibia by portraying it as part of a global East-West confrontation rather than one of decolonization which must be resolved in accordance with the provisions of the Charter and the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples;

32. Firmly condemns and rejects the policy of "constructive engagement", which encourages the racist régime of South Africa to maintain its opposition to the decisions of the international community on Namibia and to continue its apartheid policy, which is a crime against humanity;

33. Strongly condemns the continuing collaboration between South Africa and certain Western countries in the political, economic, diplomatic, military, cultural and financial fields, and expresses its conviction that such collaboration helps to prolong South Africa's domination and control over the people and Territory of Namibia;

34. Deplores, in this context, the establishment and operation by racist South Africa of the so-called Namibia information offices in France, the Federal Republic of Germany, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and the United States of America, aimed at legitimizing its puppet institutions in Namibia, in particular the so-called interim government for which the racist régime has been condemned by the Security Council and the international community, and demands their immediate closure;

35. Strongly condemns also the sinister and slanderous campaign of disinformation by the racist régime of South Africa and its agents, including the so-called International Society for Human Rights, against the just struggle of the Namibian people for self-determination and national independence;

36. Notes with appreciation the measures taken by some States, international organizations, parliamentarians, institutions and non-governmental organizations to exert pressure on the racist régime of South Africa and calls upon them to redouble and intensify their efforts to force the racist régime to comply with the resolutions and decisions of the United Nations relating to Namibia and South Africa;

37. Calls once again upon all Governments, especially those that have close links with South Africa, to support, in co-operation with the United Nations Council for Namibia, the actions of the United Nations to defend the national rights of the Namibian people until independence and to isolate the racist régime of South Africa;

38. Urges Governments which have in the past used their veto or cast negative votes in the Security Council in regard to the question of the imposition of comprehensive and mandatory sanctions against South Africa to support and respond positively to the international call to isolate racist South Africa;

39. Calls upon the members of the European Economic Community to strengthen and extend, as a matter of urgency, the economic sanctions which they have imposed against the Pretoria régime, so as to include their application to illegally occupied Namibia;

40. Calls upon the Government of the Federal Republic of Germany, as a measure of its recognition of the direct responsibility of the United Nations over Namibia and the United Nations Council for Namibia as the sole, legal Administering Authority for the Territory until independence, to discontinue all programmes of development aid and assistance to illegally occupied Namibia, and urges all States to consult the United Nations Council for Namibia regarding any assistance, in order to ensure that such assistance will not help to prolong the illegal occupation of Namibia by the Pretoria régime and the colonial institutions in the Territory;

41. Strongly condemns South Africa for its military buildup in Namibia, its introduction of compulsory military service for Namibians, its proclamation of a so-called security zone in Namibia, its recruitment and training of Namibians for tribal armies, its use of mercenaries to suppress the Namibian people and to carry out its military attacks against independent African States and its threats and acts of subversion and aggression against those States, as well as for the forcible displacement of Namibians from their homes;

42. Strongly condemns South Africa for its imposition of military conscription of all Namibian males between seventeen and fifty-five years of age into the occupying colonial army, in yet further sinister attempts to suppress the national liberation struggle of the Namibian people and to force Namibians to kill one another, and declares that all measures taken by racist South Africa by which the illegal occupation régime attempts to enforce military conscription of Namibians are illegal, null and void;

43. Strongly condemns the illegal occupation régime of South Africa for its massive repression of the people of Namibia and their liberation movement, the South West Africa People's Organization, in an attempt to intimidate and terrorize them into submission;

44. Strongly condemns the recent escalation of violent repression and victimization of Namibian workers by the racist South African régime and by Western transnational corporations operating illegally in Namibia;

45. Strongly condemns the recent arrests and imprisonment of leaders and members of the South West Africa People's Organization and of trade unions by the illegal racist régime of South Africa and calls for the immediate release of those detained or imprisoned;

46. Demands once again that South Africa immediately release all Namibian political prisoners, including all those imprisoned or detained under the so-called internal security laws, martial law or any other arbitrary measures, whether such Namibians have been charged or tried or are being held without charge in Namibia or South Africa;

47. Demands that South Africa account for all "disappeared" Namibians and release any who are still alive, and declares that South Africa shall be liable to compensate the victims, their families and the future lawful Government of an independent Namibia for the losses sustained;

48. Calls upon Member States and the specialized agencies and other organizations of the United Nations system to render sustained and increased support, as well as material, financial, military and other assistance, to the South West Africa People's Organization so as to enable it to intensify its struggle for the liberation of Namibia;

49. Urges all Governments and the specialized agencies and other intergovernmental organizations to provide increased material assistance to the thousands of Namibian refugees who have been forced by the oppressive policies of the apartheid régime to flee Namibia, especially into the neighbouring front-line States;

50. Expresses its appreciation to the front-line States and the South West Africa People's Organization for their statesmanlike and constructive attitude in the efforts aimed at implementing Security Council resolution 435 (1978);

51. Reaffirms its conviction that the solidarity and support of the front-line States for the Namibian cause continue to be factors of paramount importance in the efforts to bring genuine independence to the Territory;

52. Strongly condemns the racist régime of South Africa for its utilization of the illegally occupied international Territory of Namibia as a springboard for perpetrating armed invasions, subversion, destabilization and aggression against neighbouring African States, in particular Angola;

53. Denounces the acts of aggression by the racist régime against Angola, Botswana, Mozambique, Zambia and Zimbabwe, declares that the policy of aggression and destabilization pursued by Pretoria not only undermines the peace and stability of the southern African region but also constitutes a threat to international peace and security, and calls upon South Africa to cease all acts of aggression against the neighbouring African States;

54. Strongly urges the international community to increase, as a matter of urgency, humanitarian assistance, and financial, material, military and political support to the front-line States so as to enable them to resolve their own economic difficulties, which are largely a consequence of Pretoria's policies of aggression and subversion, and to defend themselves better against South Africa's persistent attempts to destabilize them;

55. Requests Member States urgently to extend all necessary assistance to Angola and other front-line States in order to enable them to strengthen their defence capacities against acts of aggression by South Africa;

56. Welcomes the establishment of the Action for Resisting Invasion, Colonialism and Apartheid Fund of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries for the benefit of the peoples and national liberation movements of southern Africa;

57. Expresses its satisfaction at the progress made so far with respect to the Fund and appeals to the international community to contribute generously to it;

58. Expresses its grave concern at the acquisition of nuclear-weapon capability by the racist régime of South Africa and declares that such acquisition constitutes a threat to peace and security in Africa while posing a danger to all mankind;

59. Condemns and calls for an immediate end to the continuing military collaboration on the part of certain Western countries with the racist régime of South Africa, and expresses its conviction that such collaboration, in addition to strengthening the aggressive military machinery of the Pretoria régime, thereby constituting a hostile action against the people of Namibia and the front-line States, is also in violation of the arms embargo imposed against South Africa under Security Council resolution 418 (1977) of 4 November 1977;

60. Declares that such collaboration encourages the Pretoria régime in its defiance of the international community and obstructs efforts to eliminate apartheid and bring South Africa's illegal occupation of Namibia to an end, and calls for the immediate cessation of such collaboration;

61. Calls upon all States to implement fully the arms embargo imposed against South Africa under Security Council resolutions 418 (1977) and 591 (1986) of 28 November 1986;

62. Calls upon the Security Council to adopt the necessary measures to tighten the arms embargo imposed against South Africa under Council resolution 418 (1977) and to ensure strict compliance with the embargo by all States;

63. Further calls upon the Security Council to implement, as a matter of urgency, the recommendations contained in the report of the Security Council Committee established in pursuance of Council resolution 421 (1977) of 9 December 1977; 140/

64. Calls upon all States to comply with Security Council resolution 558 (1984) of 13 December 1984 and to refrain from importing arms, ammunition of all types and military vehicles produced in South Africa;

65. Condemns all collaboration with the Pretoria régime in the nuclear field, and calls upon all States that do so to terminate such collaboration, including refraining from supplying the racist minority régime of South Africa, directly or indirectly, with installations, equipment or material that might enable it to produce uranium, plutonium or other nuclear materials or reactors;

66. Reiterates its call upon all States to take legislative and other appropriate measures to prevent the recruitment, training, financing and transit of mercenaries for service in Namibia;

67. Endorses the decision taken by the United Nations Council for Namibia and contained in paragraph 59 of the final document adopted by the Council at its extraordinary plenary meetings held at Vienna from 3 to 7 June 1985, 141/ that it will, in the exercise of its rights under the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea, 118/ proclaim an exclusive economic zone for Namibia, the outer limit of which shall be 200 miles, and states that any action regarding the implementation of that decision should be taken in

consultation with the South West Africa People's Organization, the representative of the Namibian people;

68. Reaffirms that the natural resources of Namibia, including its marine resources, are the inviolable heritage of the Namibian people, and expresses its deep concern at the depletion of these resources, particularly its uranium deposits, as a result of their plunder by South Africa and certain Western and other foreign economic interests, in violation of the pertinent resolutions of the General Assembly and of the Security Council, of Decree No. 1 for the Protection of the Natural Resources of Namibia and in disregard of the advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice of 21 June 1971;

69. Declares that all activities of foreign economic interests in Namibia are illegal under international law and that all the foreign economic interests operating in Namibia are liable to pay damages to the future legitimate Government of an independent Namibia;

70. Calls upon the United Nations Council for Namibia, in pursuance of the relevant provisions of Decree No. 1 for the Protection of the Natural Resources of Namibia, to continue to take the necessary steps to compile statistical information on the wealth illegally extracted from Namibia with a view to assessing the extent of compensation eventually due to an independent Namibia;

71. Strongly condemns the activities of all foreign economic interests operating in Namibia which are illegally exploiting the resources of the Territory, and demands that these interests comply with all the relevant resolutions and decisions of the United Nations by immediately withdrawing from the Territory and by putting an end to their co-operation with the illegal South African administration;

72. Declares that, by their incessant exploitation of the human and natural resources of the Territory and their continued accumulation and repatriation of huge profits, the foreign economic, financial and other interests operating in Namibia constitute a major obstacle to its independence;

73. Once again requests all Member States, particularly those States whose corporations are engaged in the exploitation of Namibian resources, to take all appropriate measures, including legislative and enforcement action, to ensure the full application of, and compliance by all corporations and individuals within their jurisdiction with, the provisions of Decree No. 1 for the Protection of the Natural Resources of Namibia;

74. Calls upon the Governments of all States, particularly those whose corporations are involved in the mining and processing of Namibian uranium, to take all appropriate measures in compliance with resolutions and decisions of the United Nations and Decree No. 1 for the Protection of the Natural Resources of Namibia, including the practice of requiring negative certificates of origin, to prohibit State-owned and other corporations, together with their subsidiaries, from dealing in Namibian uranium and from engaging in any uranium-prospecting activities in Namibia;

75. Approves the initiation by the United Nations Council for Namibia of legal proceedings in the domestic courts of States against corporations or individuals involved in the exploitation, transport, processing or purchase of Namibia's natural resources, as part of its efforts to give effect to Decree No. 1 for the Protection of the Natural Resources of Namibia;

76. Requests the Governments of the Federal Republic of Germany, the Netherlands and the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, which operate the Urenco uranium-enrichment plant, to have Namibian uranium specifically excluded from the Treaty of Almelo, 142/ which regulates the activities of Urenco;

77. Urges the United Nations Council for Namibia, in its capacity as the legal Administering Authority for Namibia until independence, to consider the promulgation of additional legislation in order to protect and promote the interests of the people of Namibia and to implement effectively such legislation;

78. Calls upon all specialized agencies, in particular the International Monetary Fund, to terminate all collaboration with, and assistance to, the racist régime of South Africa, since such assistance serves to augment the military capability of the Pretoria régime, thus enabling it not only to continue the brutal repression in Namibia and South Africa itself, but also to commit acts of aggression against independent neighbouring States;

79. Requests all States which have not already done so, pending the imposition of comprehensive and mandatory sanctions against South Africa, to take legislative, administrative and other measures individually and collectively, as appropriate, in order effectively to isolate South Africa politically, economically, militarily and culturally, in accordance with General Assembly resolutions ES-8/2 and 36/121 B, and its resolution 37/233 A of 20 December 1982;

80. Requests the United Nations Council for Namibia, in its implementation of paragraph 15 of General Assembly resolution ES-8/2 and of the relevant provisions of Assembly resolutions 36/121 B and 37/233 A, to continue to monitor the boycott of South Africa, and to submit to the Assembly at its forty-third session a comprehensive report on all contacts between Member States and South Africa containing an analysis of the information received from Member States and other sources on the continuing political, economic, financial and other relations of States and their economic and other interest groups with South Africa and of measures taken by States to terminate all dealings with the racist régime of South Africa;

81. Requests all States to co-operate fully with the United Nations Council for Namibia in the fulfilment of its task concerning the implementation of General Assembly resolutions ES-8/2, 36/121 B and 37/233 A and to report to the Secretary-General by the forty-third session of the Assembly on the measures taken by them in the implementation of those resolutions;

82. Declares that South Africa's defiance of the United Nations, its illegal occupation of the international Territory of Namibia, its war of repression against the Namibian people, its persistent acts of aggression

against independent African States, its policies of apartheid and its development of nuclear capability constitute a serious threat to international peace and security;

83. Strongly urges the Security Council, in view of the persistent refusal by the racist régime of South Africa to comply with the resolutions and decisions of the United Nations on the question of Namibia, particularly Council resolutions 385 (1976), 435 (1978), 539 (1983) and 566 (1985), and, in the light of the serious threat to international peace and security posed by South Africa, to impose comprehensive and mandatory sanctions against that régime as provided for in Chapter VII of the Charter;

84. Expresses its appreciation to the Secretary-General for his personal commitment to the struggle for the independence of Namibia and for his efforts aimed at the implementation of resolutions and decisions of the United Nations on the question of Namibia, particularly Security Council resolution 435 (1978), and urges him to continue those efforts;

85. Requests the Secretary-General to report to the General Assembly at its forty-third session on the implementation of the present resolution.

B

IMPLEMENTATION OF SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION 435 (1978)

The General Assembly,

Indignant at South Africa's persistent refusal to comply with Security Council resolutions 365 (1976) of 30 January 1976, 431 (1978) of 27 July 1978, 435 (1978) of 29 September 1978, 439 (1978) of 13 November 1978, 532 (1983) of 31 May 1983, 539 (1983) of 28 October 1983 and 566 (1985) of 19 June 1985 and at its manoeuvres aimed at gaining recognition for the illegitimate groups which it has installed in Namibia and which are subservient to Pretoria's interests, in order to maintain its policies of domination and exploitation of the people and natural resources of Namibia,

Reaffirming the imperative need to proceed, without further delay, with the implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978) which, together with Council resolution 385 (1976), is the only internationally accepted basis for a peaceful settlement of the question of Namibia,

Reaffirming the inalienable right of the Namibian people to self-determination, freedom and national independence in a united Namibia, in accordance with the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples contained in General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) of 14 December 1960,

Reaffirming that the only parties to the conflict in Namibia are, on the one hand, the Namibian people represented by the South West Africa People's Organization, their sole and authentic representative, and, on the other, the racist régime of South Africa, which illegally occupies the Territory,

Strongly condemning racist South Africa for its continued denial to the Namibian people of the exercise of their inalienable right to self-determination and independence,

Strongly condemning racist South Africa for its continued illegal occupation of Namibia and for obstructing the implementation of Security Council resolutions, in particular resolutions 385 (1976) and 435 (1978),

Recalling that the "linkage" of the independence of Namibia with totally irrelevant and extraneous issues, such as the presence of Cuban forces in Angola, has been rejected both by the General Assembly and the Security Council and has been condemned world-wide,

Reaffirming that the Cuban forces are in Angola by a sovereign act of the Government of Angola, in accordance with the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations, and that any attempts to link their presence in that country with the independence of Namibia constitute a gross and unwarranted interference in the internal affairs of Angola,

Expressing its dismay at the fact that the Security Council has been prevented by some of its Western permanent members from adopting effective measures under Chapter VII of the Charter against the racist régime of South Africa in the discharge of its responsibilities for the maintenance of international peace and security,

Recalling its call upon all States, in view of the threat to international peace and security posed by South Africa, to impose comprehensive and mandatory sanctions against South Africa in accordance with the provisions of the Charter, 143/

Commending the South West Africa People's Organization for its preparedness to co-operate fully with the Secretary-General of the United Nations and his Special Representative, including its expressed readiness to sign and observe a cease-fire agreement with South Africa, in the implementation of the United Nations plan for the independence of Namibia, as embodied in Security Council resolution 435 (1978),

Condemning the racist régime of South Africa for its installation and maintenance of a so-called interim government in Namibia, in violation of Security Council resolutions 435 (1978), 439 (1978) and 566 (1985),

Expressing grave concern at the lack of progress in implementing Security Council resolution 435 (1978), as indicated in the further reports of the Secretary-General dated 29 December 1983, 144/ 6 June 1985, 145/ 6 September 1985, 7/ 26 November 1985, 8/ and 31 March 1987 3/ concerning the implementation of Security Council resolutions 435 (1978) and 439 (1978),

Noting that the Secretary-General has reported 8/ that all the necessary conditions for the implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978) have already been fulfilled.

Gravely concerned at the use of the Territory of Namibia by the racist Pretoria régime as a springboard of aggression against, and destabilization of, front-line States, particularly Angola,

Recalling Security Council resolution 566 (1985) by which the Council, inter alia, demanded that South Africa co-operate fully with the Security Council and the Secretary-General in the implementation of that resolution and warned that failure to do so would compel the Council to meet forthwith to consider the adoption of appropriate measures under the Charter,

Recalling its request to the Security Council, in view of the persistent refusal by the racist régime of South Africa to comply with the resolutions and decisions of the United Nations on the question of Namibia, in particular resolutions of the Council, and, in the light of the serious threat to international peace and security posed by South Africa, to impose comprehensive and mandatory sanctions against that régime as provided for in Chapter VII of the Charter, in fulfilment of its responsibilities under the Charter and in response to the overwhelming demand of the international community,

Noting with appreciation the world-wide political and diplomatic campaign against the continued illegal occupation of Namibia by racist South Africa, and the growing international support for the legitimate struggle of the Namibian people for self-determination and national independence, under the leadership of the South West Africa People's Organization,

1. Strongly condemns racist South Africa for obstructing the implementation of Security Council resolutions 385 (1976), 435 (1978), 439 (1978), 532 (1983), 539 (1983) and 566 (1985) and for its manoeuvres, in contravention of those resolutions, designed to prolong its illegal occupation of Namibia and to consolidate its colonial and neo-colonial interests at the expense of the legitimate aspirations of the Namibian people for genuine self-determination, freedom and national independence in a united Namibia;

2. Reaffirms the direct responsibility of the United Nations over Namibia until the exercise by the Namibian people of their inalienable right to self-determination and national independence;

3. Reiterates that Security Council resolutions 385 (1976) and 435 (1978), embodying the United Nations plan for the independence of Namibia, constitute the only internationally accepted basis for a peaceful settlement of the question of Namibia and demands their immediate and unconditional implementation;

4. Strongly condemns the racist régime of South Africa for the installation of a so-called interim government in Namibia on 17 June 1985, in defiance of resolutions and decisions of the United Nations, declares this measure null and void, and reiterates its call upon the international community to continue to refrain from according any recognition or extending any co-operation to any régime imposed by the illegal South African administration upon the Namibian people;

5. Firmly rejects any attempt by racist South Africa to impose an internal settlement in Namibia by means of a unilateral declaration of independence outside the framework of the United Nations plan for the independence of the Territory, embodied in Security Council resolution 435 (1978);

6. Strongly condemns attempts by the illegal occupation régime of South Africa to impose a bogus constitution on the Namibian people and its intention to conduct bantustan-type elections in violation of resolutions and decisions of the United Nations, and once again declares any such actions to be illegal, null and void;

7. Demands that the racist régime of South Africa immediately rescind the aforementioned illegal and unilateral actions;

8. Further demands that South Africa urgently comply fully and unconditionally with the resolutions of the Security Council, in particular resolutions 385 (1976) and 435 (1978) and subsequent resolutions of the Council relating to Namibia;

9. Emphasizes once again that the only parties to the conflict in Namibia are, on the one hand, the Namibian people represented by the South West Africa People's Organization, their sole and authentic representative, and, on the other, the racist régime of South Africa which illegally occupies the Territory;

10. Strongly rejects all manoeuvres by racist South Africa and its allies aimed at diverting attention from the central issue of the decolonization of Namibia by portraying it as part of an East-West confrontation to the detriment of the legitimate aspirations of the Namibian people to self-determination, freedom and national independence;

11. Firmly rejects and condemns the persistent attempts by South Africa to establish a "linkage" or "parallelism" between the independence of Namibia and any extraneous and irrelevant issues, in particular the presence of Cuban forces in Angola, and emphasizes unequivocally that all such attempts are designed to delay further the independence of Namibia, in accordance with Security Council resolution 435 (1978), and that they constitute a gross and unwarranted interference in the internal affairs of Angola;

12. Strongly rejects the policies of "constructive engagement" and "linkage", which have served to encourage the racist régime of South Africa to continue its illegal occupation of Namibia, and calls for their abandonment so that resolutions and decisions of the United Nations on the question of Namibia can be implemented;

13. Strongly condemns the use of the veto in the Security Council on 15 November 1985 and 9 April 1987 by some of its Western permanent members, as a result of which the Council was prevented from taking effective measures under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations against South Africa, and calls upon the Western permanent members of the Security Council to support the imposition of its enforcement measures in order to ensure compliance by South Africa with resolutions of the Council;

14. Urgently calls upon the international community to act resolutely against the intransigent stance of the Pretoria régime, and stresses the responsibility of the Security Council concerning the implementation of its resolutions on the situation in Namibia in view of the threat to regional and international peace and security created by the racist régime of South Africa;

15. Urgently requests the Security Council to set a date not later than 31 December 1987 for the commencement of the implementation of its resolution 435 (1978), bearing in mind that all the necessary conditions have already been met, and to commit itself to applying the relevant provisions of the Charter, including comprehensive and mandatory sanctions under Chapter VII, in the event that South Africa continues to defy the Security Council and, in this connection, urges the Council to undertake forthwith consultations for the composition and emplacement of the United Nations Transition Assistance Group in Namibia;

16. Strongly urges all States which have not already done so, pending such action by the Security Council, to impose individual and collective sanctions against racist South Africa;

17. Requests the Secretary-General of the United Nations to undertake consultations with members of the Security Council, in particular its permanent members, with a view to securing a firm commitment on the unconditional and speedy implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978) and, to this end, urges the three Western permanent members of the Security Council to take into account their particular responsibility, as the initiators of the United Nations plan for the independence of Namibia, to ensure its unimpeded implementation;

18. Decides to consider at its next session necessary action in accordance with the Charter, cognizant of the fact that this is a unique instance in which the United Nations has assumed direct responsibility for promoting self-determination, freedom and national independence for Namibia, in the event of the inability of the Security Council to adopt concrete measures to compel South Africa to co-operate in the implementation of its resolution 435 (1978) by 29 September 1988;

19. Calls upon all States, the specialized agencies and other organizations of the United Nations system and other institutions, as well as corporations, non-governmental organizations and individuals, pending the imposition by the Security Council of comprehensive and mandatory sanctions against the racist régime of South Africa under Chapter VII of the Charter, to cease all co-operation with that régime in the political, economic, diplomatic, military, nuclear, cultural, sports and other fields;

20. Expresses its appreciation to the Secretary-General for his personal commitment to the independence of Namibia and for his efforts aimed at the implementation of resolutions and decisions of the United Nations on the question of Namibia, particularly Security Council resolution 435 (1978), and urges him to continue those efforts;

21. Requests the Secretary-General to report to the General Assembly at its forty-third session on the implementation of the present resolution.

PROGRAMME OF WORK OF THE UNITED NATIONS COUNCIL FOR NAMIBIA

The General Assembly,

Having examined the report of the United Nations Council for Namibia, 126/

Reaffirming that Namibia is the direct responsibility of the United Nations and that the Namibian people must be enabled to attain self-determination and independence in a united Namibia,

Recalling its resolution 2145 (XXI) of 27 October 1966, by which it terminated South Africa's Mandate over Namibia and placed the Territory under the direct responsibility of the United Nations,

Recalling its resolution 2248 (S-V) of 19 May 1967, by which it established the United Nations Council for Namibia as the legal Administering Authority for Namibia until independence,

Recalling its resolutions 41/39 C of 20 November 1986 and S/14-1 of 20 September 1986, by which it called upon the United Nations Council for Namibia to take immediate practical measures to establish its Administration in Namibia in accordance with General Assembly resolution 2248 (S-V),

Taking into consideration the final communiqué adopted at the ministerial meeting of the United Nations Council for Namibia, held in New York on 2 October 1987, 134/

Taking note of the Luanda Declaration and Programme of Action adopted by the United Nations Council for Namibia at its extraordinary plenary meetings, held at Luanda from 18 to 22 May 1987, 135/

Convinced of the need for continued consultations with the South West Africa People's Organization in the formulation and implementation of the programme of work of the United Nations Council for Namibia, as well as in any matter of interest to the Namibian people,

Deeply conscious of the urgent and continuing need to press for the termination of South Africa's illegal occupation of Namibia and to put an end to its repression of the Namibian people and its exploitation of the natural resources of the Territory,

Deeply concerned at the rapid deterioration of the situation in Namibia as a direct result of the increased brutal repression of the Namibian people by the illegal occupation régime of South Africa,

1. Approves the report of the United Nations Council for Namibia, including the recommendations contained therein, and decides to make adequate financial provision for their implementation;

2. Expresses its strong support for the efforts of the United Nations Council for Namibia in the discharge of the responsibilities entrusted to it,

both as the legal Administering Authority for Namibia and as a policy-making organ of the United Nations;

3. Requests all Member States to co-operate fully with the United Nations Council for Namibia in the discharge of the mandate entrusted to it under the provisions of General Assembly resolution 2243 (S-V) and subsequent resolutions of the Assembly;

4. Decides that the United Nations Council for Namibia shall take immediate practical measures to establish its Administration in Namibia in accordance with General Assembly resolutions 2248 (S-V), S-14/1 and 41/39 C;

5. Decides that the United Nations Council for Namibia, in the discharge of its responsibilities as the legal Administering Authority for Namibia until independence, shall:

(a) Continue to mobilize international support in order to press for the speedy withdrawal of the illegal South African administration from Namibia in accordance with the resolutions of the United Nations relating to Namibia;

(b) Counter the policies of South Africa against the Namibian people and the United Nations, as well as against the United Nations Council for Namibia as the legal Administering Authority for Namibia;

(c) Denounce and seek the rejection by all States of any kind of scheme through which South Africa might attempt to perpetuate its illegal presence in Namibia;

(d) Ensure non-recognition of any administration or entity installed in Namibia not ensuing from free elections conducted under the supervision and control of the United Nations, in accordance with the relevant resolutions of the Security Council, in particular resolutions 385 (1976) of 30 January 1976, 435 (1978) of 29 September 1978, 439 (1978) of 13 November 1978, 532 (1983) of 31 May 1983, 539 (1983) of 28 October 1983 and 566 (1985) of 19 June 1985;

(e) Make a concerted effort to counter the attempts to establish a "linkage" or "parallelism" between the independence of Namibia and extraneous issues, such as the withdrawal of Cuban forces from Angola;

6. Decides that the United Nations Council for Namibia shall send missions of consultation to Governments in order to co-ordinate efforts for the implementation of resolutions of the United Nations on the question of Namibia and to mobilize support for the Namibian cause;

7. Decides further that the United Nations Council for Namibia shall represent Namibia in United Nations conferences and intergovernmental and non-governmental organizations, bodies and conferences to ensure that the rights and interests of Namibia shall be adequately protected;

8. Decides that Namibia, represented by the United Nations Council for Namibia, shall participate as a full member in all conferences and meetings organized by the United Nations to which all States or, in the case of regional conferences and meetings, all African States are invited;

9. Requests all committees and other subsidiary bodies of the General Assembly and of the Economic and Social Council to continue to invite the United Nations Council for Namibia to participate whenever the rights and interests of Namibians are discussed, and to consult closely with the United Nations Council for Namibia before submitting any draft resolution that may involve such rights and interests;

10. Reiterates its request to all specialized agencies and other organizations of the United Nations system to grant full membership to Namibia, represented by the United Nations Council for Namibia, so that the Council may participate as the legal Administering Authority for Namibia in the work of those agencies and organizations;

11. Reiterates its request to all specialized agencies and other organizations of the United Nations system that have not yet done so to grant a waiver of the assessment of Namibia during the period in which it is represented by the United Nations Council for Namibia;

12. Again requests all intergovernmental organizations, bodies and conferences to ensure that the rights and interests of Namibia are protected and to invite Namibia, represented by the United Nations Council for Namibia, to participate as a full member, whenever such rights and interests are involved;

13. Requests the United Nations Council for Namibia, in its capacity as the legal Administering Authority for Namibia, to accede to any international conventions, as it may deem appropriate in close consultation with the South West Africa People's Organization;

14. Takes note of the final communiqué adopted at the ministerial meeting of the United Nations Council for Namibia, held in New York on 2 October 1987, 134/ the Luanda Declaration and Programme of Action adopted by the United Nations Council for Namibia at its extraordinary plenary meetings, held at Luanda from 18 to 22 May 1987, 135/ and the Call for Action adopted by the Seminar on Support for the Immediate Independence of Namibia and the Effective Application of Sanctions against South Africa, held at Buenos Aires from 20 to 24 April 1987; 136/

15. Requests the United Nations Council for Namibia to promote and secure the implementation of the final communiqué adopted at its ministerial meeting, the Luanda Declaration and Programme of Action adopted at its extraordinary plenary meetings and Call for Action adopted by the Seminar;

16. Decides that the United Nations Council for Namibia shall:

(a) Consult regularly with the leaders of the South West Africa People's Organization by inviting them to New York and by sending high-level missions to the provisional headquarters of that organization, which will visit Namibian refugee centres whenever necessary;

(b) Review the progress of the liberation struggle in Namibia in its political, military and social aspects and prepare comprehensive and analytical periodic reports related thereto;

(c) Review the compliance of Member States with the relevant resolutions and decisions of the United Nations relating to Namibia and, taking into account the advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice of 21 June 1971, 1/ prepare annual reports on the subject with a view to recommending appropriate policies to the General Assembly, in order to counter the support that some States give to the illegal South African administration in Namibia;

(d) Continue taking measures to ensure the full implementation of Decree No. 1 for the Protection of the Natural Resources of Namibia, 4/ including legal proceedings in the domestic courts of States, in accordance with paragraph 74 of resolution 42/14 A;

(e) Consider the illegal activities of foreign economic interests, particularly the transnational corporations operating in Namibia, including the exploitation of and trade in Namibian uranium, with a view to recommending appropriate policies to the General Assembly, in order to put an end to such activities;

(f) Take measures to ensure the closure of the so-called information offices created by the illegal South African occupation régime in certain Western countries for promoting its puppet institutions in Namibia, in violation of resolutions and decisions of the United Nations on the question of Namibia;

(g) Notify the Governments of States whose corporations, whether public or private, operate in Namibia of the illegality of such operations and urge them to take measures to end such operations;

(h) Consider sending missions of consultation to Governments of States whose corporations have investments in Namibia to persuade them to take all possible measures to terminate such investments;

(i) Contact institutions and municipalities to encourage them to divest themselves of their investments in Namibia and South Africa;

(j) Contact specialized agencies and other international institutions associated with the United Nations, in particular the International Monetary Fund, with a view to protecting Namibia's interests;

(k) Continue to draw the attention of States, the specialized agencies and private corporations to Decree No. 1 for the Protection of the Natural Resources of Namibia, enacted by the United Nations Council for Namibia on 27 September 1974, with a view to ensuring their compliance with the Decree;

(l) Organize international and regional activities, as required, in order to obtain relevant information on all aspects of the situation in and relating to Namibia, in particular the exploitation of the people and resources of Namibia by South African and other foreign economic interests, and to expose such activities, with a view to intensifying active support of the Namibian cause;

(m) Prepare and publish reports on the political, economic, military, legal and social situation in and relating to Namibia;

(n) Secure the territorial integrity of Namibia as a unitary State, including Walvis Bay, the Penguin Islands and other offshore islands of Namibia;

17. Decides to make adequate financial provision in the section of the programme budget of the United Nations relating to the United Nations Council for Namibia for the financing of the office of the South West Africa People's Organization in New York, to ensure appropriate representation of the people of Namibia at the United Nations through the South West Africa People's Organization;

18. Decides to continue to defray the expenses of representatives of the South West Africa People's Organization, whenever the United Nations Council for Namibia so decides;

19. Requests the United Nations Council for Namibia to continue to consult with the South West Africa People's Organization in the formulation and implementation of its programme of work, as well as on all matters of interest to the Namibian people;

20. Requests the United Nations Council for Namibia to facilitate the participation of the liberation movements recognized by the Organization of African Unity in meetings of the Council away from United Nations Headquarters, whenever such participation is deemed necessary;

21. Decides that, in order to expedite the training of personnel required for an independent Namibia, qualified Namibians should be given opportunities to develop further their skills in the work of the United Nations Secretariat and the specialized agencies and other organizations of the United Nations system, and authorizes the United Nations Council for Namibia, in consultation with the South West Africa People's Organization, to take, on an urgent basis, necessary action towards that end;

22. Requests the Secretary-General, in consultation with the President of the United Nations Council for Namibia, to review the personnel requirements and the facilities of all units that service the Council so that it may fully and effectively discharge all tasks and functions arising out of its mandate;

23. Requests the Secretary-General to provide the Office of the United Nations Commissioner for Namibia with the necessary resources to strengthen, under the guidance of the United Nations Council for Namibia, the assistance programmes and services for Namibians, the implementation of Decree No. 1 for the Protection of the Natural Resources of Namibia, the preparation of economic and legal studies and the existing activities of dissemination of information undertaken by the Office.

DISSEMINATION OF INFORMATION AND MOBILIZATION OF
INTERNATIONAL PUBLIC OPINION IN SUPPORT OF THE
IMMEDIATE INDEPENDENCE OF NAMIBIA

The General Assembly,

Having examined the report of the United Nations Council for Namibia 126/ and the relevant chapters of the report of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, 127/

Recalling its resolution 1514 (XV) of 14 December 1960 containing the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples,

Recalling its resolutions 2145 (XXI) of 27 October 1966 and 2248 (S-V) of 19 May 1967, as well as all other resolutions of the General Assembly and of the Security Council relating to Namibia,

Underlining the fact that, twenty-one years after the termination by the General Assembly of the Mandate of South Africa over Namibia and the assumption by the United Nations of direct responsibility for the Territory, the racist régime of South Africa continues illegally to occupy the Territory in violation of the relevant resolutions and decisions of the United Nations,

Taking into consideration the final communiqué adopted at the ministerial meeting of the United Nations Council for Namibia, held in New York on 2 October 1987, 134/

Taking into consideration also the Luanda Declaration and Programme of Action on Namibia adopted by the United Nations Council for Namibia at its extraordinary plenary meetings held at Luanda, from 18 to 22 May 1987, 135/

Taking note of the Call for Action adopted by the Seminar on Support for the Immediate Independence of Namibia and the Effective Application of Sanctions against South Africa, held at Buenos Aires from 20 to 24 April 1987, 136/

Gravely concerned at the total black-out of news on Namibia imposed by the illegal racist régime of South Africa, in particular regarding the increased repression of the Namibian people by that régime,

Gravely concerned at the campaign of slander and disinformation against the United Nations and the liberation struggle of the Namibian people for self-determination and national independence led by the South West Africa People's Organization, their sole and authentic representative,

Stressing the urgent need to mobilize international public opinion on a continuous basis with a view to assisting effectively the people of Namibia in the achievement of self-determination, freedom and independence in a united Namibia and, in particular, to intensify the world-wide and continuous dissemination of information on the struggle for liberation being waged by the people of Namibia under the leadership of the South West Africa People's Organization,

Reiterating the importance of intensifying publicity on all aspects of the question of Namibia as an instrument for furthering the mandate given by the General Assembly to the United Nations Council for Namibia,

Recognizing the important role that non-governmental organizations are playing in the dissemination of information on Namibia and in the mobilization of international public opinion in support of the immediate independence of Namibia,

1. **Requests** the United Nations Council for Namibia, in co-operation with the Department of Public Information of the Secretariat and in consultation with the South West Africa People's Organization, the sole and authentic representative of the Namibian people, in pursuance of its international campaign in support of the struggle of the Namibian people for national independence:

(a) To continue to consider effective ways and means of increasing the dissemination of information relating to Namibia in order to intensify the international campaign in favour of the cause of Namibia;

(b) To focus its activities towards greater mobilization of public opinion in Western countries, particularly the United States of America, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and the Federal Republic of Germany, as well as in Japan;

(c) To intensify the international campaign for the imposition of comprehensive and mandatory sanctions against South Africa under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations;

(d) To organize an international campaign to boycott products from Namibia and South Africa, in co-operation with non-governmental organizations;

(e) To expose and denounce collaboration with the racist régime of South Africa in all fields;

(f) To organize exhibitions on Namibia and the struggle of the Namibian people for independence;

(g) To prepare and disseminate publications on the political, economic, military and social consequences of the illegal occupation of Namibia by South Africa, on legal matters, on the question of the territorial integrity of Namibia and on contacts between Member States and South Africa;

(h) To prepare periodic reports on the brutalities committed by the racist régime of South Africa against the Namibian people and ensure their widest possible distribution;

(i) To produce and disseminate radio and television programmes designed to draw the attention of world public opinion to the current situation in and around Namibia;

(j) To produce and disseminate, in both the English language and the local languages of Namibia, radio programmes designed to counter the hostile propaganda and disinformation campaign of the racist régime of South Africa;

(k) To produce and disseminate posters;

(l) To ensure full coverage through advertisements in newspapers and magazines, press releases, press conferences and press briefings of all activities of the United Nations regarding Namibia in order to maintain a constant flow of information to the public on all aspects of the question of Namibia;

(m) To prepare and disseminate a thematic atlas on Namibia;

(n) To reproduce and disseminate the comprehensive economic map of Namibia;

(o) To produce and disseminate booklets on the activities of the Council;

(p) To update and disseminate widely a compendium of resolutions of the General Assembly and of the Security Council relating to Namibia and of relevant documents of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries and the Organization of African Unity, as well as decisions, declarations and communiqués of the front-line States on the question of Namibia;

(q) To update, publicize and distribute the indexed reference book on transnational corporations that plunder the human and natural resources of Namibia, and on the profits they extract from the Territory;

(r) To produce and disseminate widely, on a monthly basis, a bulletin containing analytical and updated information intended to mobilize maximum support for the Namibian cause;

(s) To produce and disseminate, on a weekly basis, an information newsletter containing updated information on developments in and relating to Namibia, in support of the Namibian cause;

(t) To acquire books, pamphlets and other materials relating to Namibia for dissemination;

(u) To prepare, in consultation with the South West Africa People's Organization, a list of Namibian political prisoners;

(v) To assist the South West Africa People's Organization in the production and distribution of material on Namibia;

2. Requests the United Nations Council for Namibia to continue to organize, in co-operation with the Department of Public Information, media encounters on developments relating to Namibia, particularly prior to activities of the Council during 1988;

3. Requests the United Nations Council for Namibia to redouble its efforts to inform international public opinion of developments in Namibia in order to counteract the total news black-out on Namibia imposed by the illegal South African régime, which forbids foreign journalists from entering and reporting from the Territory;

4. Further requests the United Nations Council for Namibia to exert all efforts to counteract the campaign of slander and disinformation against the United Nations and the liberation struggle in Namibia carried out by South African agents from the so-called Namibia information offices established in several Western countries;

5. Requests the United Nations Council for Namibia to co-operate closely with relevant intergovernmental organizations, in order to increase the awareness of the international community of the direct responsibility of the United Nations over Namibia and the continued illegal occupation of that Territory by the racist régime of South Africa;

6. Calls upon the United Nations Council for Namibia to continue to co-operate with non-governmental organizations in its efforts to mobilize international public opinion in support of the liberation struggle of the Namibian people, under the leadership of the South West Africa People's Organization;

7. Requests the United Nations Council for Namibia to prepare, update and disseminate lists of non-governmental organizations, in particular those in the major Western countries, in order to ensure better co-operation and co-ordination among non-governmental organizations working in support of the Namibian cause and against apartheid;

8. Requests the United Nations Council for Namibia to organize workshops for non-governmental organizations, parliamentarians, trade unionists, academics and media representatives at which the participants will consider how they can contribute to the implementation of the decisions of the United Nations relating to the dissemination of information on Namibia;

9. Decides to allocate the sum of \$500,000 to be used by the United Nations Council for Namibia for its programme of co-operation with non-governmental organizations, including support to conferences and workshops in solidarity with Namibia arranged by those organizations, dissemination of conclusions of such conferences and workshops and support to such other activities as will promote the cause of the liberation struggle of the Namibian people, subject to decisions to be taken by the Council in each individual case taken in consultation with the South West Africa People's Organization;

10. Requests the United Nations Council for Namibia to continue to contact and inform leading opinion makers, media leaders, academic institutions, trade unions, legislators and parliamentarians, cultural organizations, support groups and other concerned persons and non-governmental organizations about the objectives and functions of the United Nations Council for Namibia and the struggle of the Namibian people under the leadership of the South West Africa People's Organization;

11. Requests the United Nations Council for Namibia to co-operate with the specialized agencies and other organizations of the United Nations system in the promotion of a campaign of information on the question of Namibia, in their respective fields;

12. Appeals to non-governmental organizations and associations, institutions, support groups and individuals sympathetic to the Namibian cause:

(a) To increase the awareness of their national communities and legislative bodies concerning South Africa's illegal occupation of Namibia, the liberation struggle being waged by the Namibian people under the leadership of the South West Africa People's Organization, the gross violation of basic human rights by the South African régime in Namibia and the plunder of the Territory's resources by foreign economic interests;

(b) To mobilize in their countries broad public support for the national liberation of Namibia by holding hearings, seminars and public presentations on various aspects of the Namibian question, as well as by producing and distributing pamphlets, films and other information material;

(c) To expose and campaign against the political, economic, financial, military and cultural collaboration of certain Western Governments with the South African régime, as well as diplomatic visits to and from South Africa;

(d) To intensify public pressure for the immediate withdrawal from Namibia of foreign economic interests that are exploiting the human and natural resources of the Territory;

(e) To continue and develop campaign and research work, in order to expose the involvement and operations of Western-based oil companies in the supply of petroleum products to Namibia and South Africa;

(f) To step up their efforts to persuade universities, local governments, trade unions and churches and other institutions to divest themselves of all investments in firms doing business in Namibia and South Africa;

(g) To intensify the campaign for the immediate and unconditional release of all Namibian political prisoners and detainees and the granting of prisoner-of-war status to all Namibian freedom fighters, in accordance with the Geneva Convention relative to the Treatment of Prisoners of War 139 and the Additional Protocol thereto;

13. Requests Member States to broadcast programmes on their national radio and television networks and to publish material in their official news media, informing their populations about the situation in and around Namibia and the obligation of Governments and peoples to assist in every possible way in the struggle of the Namibian people for independence;

14. Requests all Member States to observe Namibia Day in a befitting manner by giving the widest possible publicity to and ensuring the dissemination of information on the struggle of the people of Namibia, including the issuance of special postage stamps for the occasion;

15. Requests the Secretary-General to direct the Department of Public Information to assist the United Nations Council for Namibia in the implementation of its programme of dissemination of information and to ensure that all activities of the United Nations on dissemination of information on the question of Namibia follow the policy guidelines laid down by the United Nations Council for Namibia as the legal Administering Authority for Namibia;

16. Requests the Secretary-General to continue to assist, as a matter of priority, the United Nations Council for Namibia in the implementation of its programme of dissemination of information;

17. Requests the Secretary-General to provide the United Nations Council for Namibia with the work programme of the Department of Public Information for the year 1988 covering the activities of dissemination of information on the question of Namibia, followed by periodic reports on the programme undertaken, including details of expenses incurred;

18. Requests the Secretary-General to group under a single heading in the section of the proposed programme budget of the United Nations for the biennium 1988-1989 relating to the Department of Public Information, all of the activities of the Department relating to the dissemination of information on Namibia and to direct the Department to submit to the United Nations Council for Namibia a detailed report on the utilization of the allocated funds;

19. Requests the Secretary-General to direct the Department of Public Information to disseminate, in 1988, the list of Namibian political prisoners, prepared by the United Nations Council for Namibia in consultation with the South West Africa People's Organization, in order to intensify international pressure for their immediate and unconditional release.

E

UNITED NATIONS FUND FOR NAMIBIA

The General Assembly,

Having examined the parts of the report of the United Nations Council for Namibia relating to the United Nations Fund for Namibia, 146/

Recalling its resolution 2679 (XXV) of 9 December 1970, by which it established the United Nations Fund for Namibia,

Recalling also its resolution 3112 (XXVIII) of 12 December 1973, by which it appointed the United Nations Council for Namibia trustee of the United Nations Fund for Namibia,

Recalling its resolution 31/153 of 20 December 1976, by which it decided to launch the Nationhood Programme for Namibia,

Recalling further its resolution 34/92 A of 12 December 1979, by which it approved the charter of the United Nations Institute for Namibia, and its resolution 37/233 E of 20 December 1982, by which it approved amendments to the charter, 120/

1. Takes note of the relevant parts of the report of the United Nations Council for Namibia;

2. Decides that the United Nations Council for Namibia shall:

(a) Continue to formulate policies of assistance to Namibians and co-ordinate assistance for Namibia provided by the specialized agencies and other organizations and institutions of the United Nations system;

(b) Continue to act as trustee of the United Nations Fund for Namibia and, in this capacity, administer and manage the Fund;

(c) Continue to provide broad guidelines and formulate principles and policies for the United Nations Institute for Namibia;

(d) Continue to co-ordinate, plan and direct the Nationhood Programme for Namibia, in consultation with the South West Africa People's Organization, with the aim of consolidating all measures of assistance by the specialized agencies and other organizations and institutions of the United Nations system into a comprehensive assistance programme;

(e) Continue to consult with the South West Africa People's Organization in the formulation and implementation of assistance programmes for Namibians;

(f) Report to the General Assembly at its forty-third session on the programmes and activities undertaken through the United Nations Fund for Namibia;

3. Decides that the United Nations Fund for Namibia, which comprises the General Account, the United Nations Institute for Namibia Account and the Nationhood Programme Account, shall be the primary source of development assistance to Namibians;

4. Expresses its appreciation to all States, specialized agencies and other organizations of the United Nations system, governmental and non-governmental organizations and individuals that have made contributions to the United Nations Fund for Namibia to support the activities under the General Account, the activities of the United Nations Institute for Namibia and the Nationhood Programme for Namibia, and calls upon them to increase their assistance to Namibians through those channels;

5. Requests the Secretary-General and President of the United Nations Council for Namibia to intensify appeals to Governments, intergovernmental and non-governmental organizations and individuals for more generous voluntary contributions to the General Account, the Nationhood Programme Account and the United Nations Institute for Namibia Account of the United Nations Fund for Namibia in view of the increased activities undertaken through the Fund for Namibia, and, in this connection, emphasizes the need for contributions in order to increase the number of scholarships awarded to Namibians under the United Nations Fund for Namibia;

6. Invites Governments to appeal once more to their national organizations and institutions for voluntary contributions to the United Nations Fund for Namibia;

7. Decides to allocate as a temporary measure to the United Nations Fund for Namibia the sum of \$1.5 million from the regular budget of the United Nations for 1988;

8. Requests the United Nations Commissioner for Namibia, in order to mobilize additional resources, to continue to formulate, in consultation with the South West Africa People's Organization, projects of assistance to the Namibian people to be co-financed by Governments and non-governmental organizations;

9. Requests the specialized agencies and other organizations and institutions of the United Nations system, in the light of the urgent need to strengthen the programmes of assistance to the Namibian people, to make every effort to expedite the execution of the projects of the Nationhood Programme for Namibia and other projects in favour of Namibians on the basis of procedures which will reflect the role of the United Nations Council for Namibia as the legal Administering Authority for Namibia;

10. Expresses its appreciation to those specialized agencies and other organizations and institutions of the United Nations system which have contributed to the Nationhood Programme for Namibia, and calls upon them to continue their participation in the Programme by:

(a) Implementing projects approved by the United Nations Council for Namibia;

(b) Planning and initiating new project proposals in co-operation with, and at the request of, the Council;

(c) Allocating funds from their own financial resources for the implementation of the projects approved by the Council;

11. Requests the United Nations Council for Namibia to continue and to intensify its field attachments programme, enabling Namibians trained under various programmes to gain practical on-the-job experience in Governments and institutions in diverse countries, particularly in Africa;

12. Appeals to all Governments, specialized agencies and other organizations and institutions of the United Nation system, non-governmental organizations and individuals to make generous contributions to the United Nations Fund for Namibia in order to support the field attachment programme and to meet its financial requirements;

13. Expresses its appreciation to the United Nations Development Programme for its contribution to the financing and administration of the Nationhood Programme for Namibia and the financing of the United Nations Institute for Namibia, and calls upon it to continue to allocate, at the request of the United Nations Council for Namibia, funds from the indicative planning figure for Namibia for the projects within the Nationhood Programme and for the United Nations Institute for Namibia;

14. Further expresses its appreciation to the United Nations Development Programme for its decision to increase the indicative planning figure for Namibia by an additional \$3.0 million to the level of \$9.3 million for the 1987-1991 programming cycle, and, taking into consideration that Namibia remains a unique responsibility of the United Nations, calls upon the United

Nations Development Programme to exercise maximum flexibility and understanding in approving projects to be funded from the indicative planning figure;

15. ~~Expresses its appreciation~~ for the assistance provided by the United Nations Children's Fund, the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees and the World Food Programme to Namibian refugees, and requests them to expand their assistance in order to provide for the basic needs of the refugees;

16. ~~Expresses its appreciation~~ to those specialized agencies and other organizations of the United Nations system which have waived agency support costs in respect of projects in favour of Namibians, financed from the United Nations Fund for Namibia and other sources, and urges those that have not yet done so to take appropriate steps in this regard;

17. ~~Decides~~ that Namibians shall continue to be eligible for assistance through the United Nations Educational and Training Programme for Southern Africa and the United Nations Trust Fund for South Africa;

18. ~~Commends~~ the progress made in the implementation of the pre-independence components of the Nationhood Programme for Namibia, and requests the United Nations Council for Namibia to continue to elaborate and consider policies and contingency plans regarding the transitional and post-independence phases of the Programme;

19. ~~Commends~~ the United Nations Institute for Namibia for the effectiveness of its training programmes for Namibians and its research activities on Namibia, which contribute substantially to the struggle for freedom of the Namibian people and to the establishment of an independent State of Namibia, and ~~notes~~ with satisfaction the recent decision of the Institute to expand its training programmes and its facilities in Lusaka;

20. ~~Urges~~ the specialized agencies and other organizations and institutions of the United Nations system to co-operate closely with the United Nations Institute for Namibia in strengthening its programme of activities;

21. ~~Notes with appreciation~~ that the work on a comprehensive reference book on Namibia covering all aspects of the question of Namibia as considered by the United Nations has been completed, and calls upon the United Nations Council for Namibia to publish and disseminate the book at an early date;

22. ~~Requests~~ the United Nations Council for Namibia, in consultation with the United Nations Commissioner for Namibia, to finalize and publish, at an early date, a demographic study of the Namibian population;

23. ~~Requests~~ the Secretary-General to continue to provide the Office of the United Nations Commissioner for Namibia with the necessary resources for the performance of the responsibilities entrusted to it by the United Nations Council for Namibia as the co-ordinating authority for the implementation of the Nationhood Programme for Namibia, as well as other assistance programmes.

CHAPTER II

DESCRIPTION OF ACTIVITIES WHICH WILL REQUIRE THE PREPARATION OF A STATEMENT OF PROGRAMME BUDGET IMPLICATIONS

1988

A. General

862. In the light of the foregoing recommendations and subject to further directives that might be given by the General Assembly at its forty-second session, the United Nations Council for Namibia, established in pursuance of Assembly resolution 2248 (S-V), will continue to carry out its mandate as the legal Administering Authority for Namibia until independence.

863. The Council notes that, in accordance with rule 153 of the rules of procedure of the General Assembly, certain of its recommendations contained in chapter I above will require preparation by the Secretary-General of a statement of programme budget implications. In order to assist with the preparation of this statement, the Council has decided, as in the past, to provide further information regarding some of its recommendations.

B. Activities of the Council regarding compliance by States with General Assembly resolution ES-8/2 and other relevant resolutions relating to Namibia

864. In order to fulfil its responsibilities for the monitoring of the boycott and the preparation of a comprehensive report for the General Assembly at its forty-third session as mentioned in paragraph 80 of draft resolution A, as well as the activities envisaged in paragraph 16 (c) of draft resolution C, regarding the compliance of Member States with resolutions of the United Nations relating to Namibia, the Council would request the Secretary-General to continue to provide the necessary resources.

865. The preparation of the necessary reports would include the compilation of information, preparation of questionnaires to be sent to all States, analysis of replies and follow-up on activities undertaken by States in compliance with resolutions of the United Nations on the question of Namibia.

866. Paragraph 16 (c) of draft resolution C also indicates that the Council would prepare annual reports reviewing the compliance of Member States with the relevant resolutions and decisions of the United Nations relating to Namibia, taking into account the advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice of 21 June 1971, with a view to recommending appropriate policies to the General Assembly and would request the Secretary-General to provide the necessary resources.

C. Missions of consultation with Governments, legislative bodies and non-governmental organizations, and representation of Namibia at international conferences and other forums

867. In pursuance of paragraphs 6 and 16 (h) of draft resolution C, it is expected that during 1988, the Council would undertake two missions to conduct consultations with the Administration and Congress of the United States of America.

868. In pursuance of paragraphs 6 and 16 (h) of draft resolution C and paragraph 10 of draft resolution D, the Council would consider sending up to three missions to consult with Governments, parliamentarians, non-governmental organizations and support groups in Europe, Asia and Latin America to determine ways and means of co-ordinating concerted action for the cause of Namibia.

869. In fulfilment of paragraph 3 of draft resolution C, it is expected that during 1988 the Council would send high-level missions to consult with the current Chairman and officials of OAU and the Chairman of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, as well as the Chairman of the Front-line States. It is expected that these consultations would be held at the time of the participation of the Council's delegation in activities of those organizations.

870. It is anticipated that each mission mentioned in paragraphs 7, 8 and 9 would consist of three Council members and a representative of SWAPO. The missions would be serviced by a principal secretary and a secretary. The duration of each mission would be from one to two weeks.

871. In the implementation of paragraph 16 (a) of draft resolution C, the Council would dispatch a high-level mission to the headquarters of SWAPO for consultations with the leaders of that organization. The mission would also visit the Namibian refugee settlements in the front-line States and would consist of up to three members of the Council and the Commissioner for Namibia. The mission would be serviced by a principal secretary and a secretary. The duration of the mission would be two weeks.

872. The Council would also invite up to three SWAPO leaders to New York for a period of two weeks, in order to review the situation in and relating to Namibia and to consider ways in which the Council could assist further the struggle of the Namibian people.

873. In the implementation of paragraph 7 of draft resolution C, it is expected that the Council would represent Namibia at meetings of OAU, where it has permanent observer status, and at meetings of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, where it has guest status. The Council would also participate in meetings of the specialized agencies and international organizations associated with the United Nations, United Nations conferences and other international conferences and meetings according to the priorities of its programme of work. These missions would include up to three Council members, a representative of SWAPO and not more than two staff members at conferences of those specialized agencies in which the Council is a full member (approximately 10); and at international conferences in which the Council is not a full member (approximately 30), up to two Council members, a representative of SWAPO and one staff member. The composition of the Council delegation, as well as that of the supporting Secretariat staff, would be decided on a case-by-case basis, in accordance with the need of the particular

meeting. It is anticipated that there would be 40 such missions in 1988 with a duration of seven days of meetings where the Council has observer or guest status or participates as an associate member, and up to three weeks for meetings where the Council participates as a full member.

874. In accordance with paragraphs 10 and '1 of draft resolution C, full membership for Namibia in various organizations would be sought. If Namibia, represented by the Council, acquires full membership in new organizations, this could entail payment of the appropriate membership fee or contribution and attendance. In order to fulfil its responsibilities as a member of specialized agencies, the Council would request the Secretary-General to provide the necessary resources.

875. Furthermore, paragraph 13 of draft resolution C requests the Council to accede to international conventions as appropriate. By acceding to the conventions, the Council assumes certain obligations which, in some cases, include the preparation of periodic reports.

D. Studies and reports on the political, economic, military, legal and social situation in and relating to Namibia

876. Paragraphs 16 (b) and (m) of draft resolution C indicate that the Council would require up to five draft reports to be prepared by the secretariat of the Council on the political, economic, military, legal and social situation in and relating to Namibia. In order to carry out these activities, the Council would request the Secretary-General to continue to provide the necessary resources.

E. Implementation of Decree No. 1 for the Protection of the Natural Resources of Namibia and activities in respect of foreign economic interests in Namibia

877. In accordance with paragraph 75 of draft resolution A and paragraph 16 (d) of draft resolution C, the Council would continue to take measures to ensure the full implementation of the Decree, including the institution of legal proceedings in the domestic courts of States against corporations or individuals involved in the exploitation, transport, processing or purchase of Namibia's natural resources, as part of its efforts to give effect to the Decree. In this respect, it is expected that the implementation of the decision of the Council with regard to such legal proceedings would continue to require provision for legal fees and would also include provision for the opinions of high-level experts, for the statements of experts in uranium and other natural resources and for the evidence of experts in international trade, shipping and contracts. It will also be necessary to acquire specialized journals and prepare publications on the Decree, as well as to continue the monitoring of the compliance with the Decree. The Council would request the Secretary-General to provide the necessary resources for this purpose. The Council would also request the Secretary-General to provide contingency funds, if necessary, at the appropriate time.

F. International and regional activities on major issues concerning Namibia

878. As envisaged in paragraph 16 (1) of draft resolution C, during 1988 the Council would organize four international and regional activities in Western Europe, North America and Japan, in order to exchange and disseminate relevant information on all aspects of the situation in and relating to Namibia, with a view to intensifying international action for sanctions against South Africa and support for the Namibian struggle.

879. In this connection, the Council would require budgetary allocations to cover expenditures related to each international or regional five-day activity for the production of transcripts of proceedings, the provision of meeting services and the production of pre-session, in-session and post-session documentation. The budgetary allocations would also cover the cost of inviting at least 30 experts to each activity. In addition, provision would be required for the travel of a delegation of the Council consisting of the President and up to five members, a representative of SWAPO and the Commissioner for Namibia, as well as of the appropriate Secretariat staff (not more than three Professional and three General Service staff and one Administrative/Finance Officer).

880. By paragraph 18 of draft resolution C, the Council would defray the costs of inviting representatives of the liberation movements recognized by OAU to attend international and regional activities organized by the Council.

881. By paragraph 1 (c) and (d) of draft resolution D, the Council is requested to intensify the international campaign for the imposition of comprehensive and mandatory sanctions against South Africa under Chapter VII of the Charter, and to organize an international campaign to boycott products from Namibia and South Africa, in co-operation with non-governmental organizations. In fulfilment of this request, it is envisaged that the Council would include the questions of sanctions and the boycott in its activities with non-governmental organizations, trade unionists and parliamentarians.

882. As envisaged in paragraph 8 of draft resolution D, during 1988, the Council would assist non-governmental organizations in organizing workshops in order to obtain, exchange and disseminate relevant information on all aspects of the situation in and relating to Namibia with a view to intensifying active support for the Namibian cause and for the imposition of sanctions against South Africa, as well as for the boycott of Namibian and South African products. The resources for these activities would come from the Council's special allocation for non-governmental organizations.

883. The Council would require the participation of a delegation consisting of the President of the Council and two members, a representative of SWAPO and the Commissioner for Namibia, as well as an appropriate Secretariat staff (not more than one Professional and one General Service staff). The resources for the Council's participation would come from the special allocation for non-governmental organizations. Therefore, additional resources would not be requested.

G. The establishment of the United Nations Council for Namibia as the Administering Authority in Namibia

884. By paragraph 4 of draft resolution C and of General Assembly resolution S-14/1, the Assembly would decide that during 1988 the Council as the legal Administering Authority for Namibia until independence should take practical measures to establish itself in the Territory.

885. The Council would therefore request the Secretary-General to make funds available for this purpose at the appropriate time.

H. Support for the South West Africa People's Organization

886. In accordance with paragraph 17 of draft resolution C, the General Assembly would decide to continue to defray the expenses of the SWAPO office in New York in order to ensure the proper representation of the people of Namibia through SWAPO at the United Nations. The requirements of SWAPO for 1988 would be for the following items: (a) salaries; (b) rent; (c) telex; (d) telephone; (e) news agency service; (f) utilities (electricity, water, etc); (g) rental of copying equipment; (h) stationery; (i) postage; (j) printing; (k) films, books, newspapers and periodicals (information purposes); (l) supply and delivery of official United Nations documents to the SWAPO offices; and (m) official travel (expenses of the Permanent Observer, his Deputy and an assistant).

887. The General Assembly would also, by paragraph 18 of draft resolution C, decide to continue to defray the cost of travel to New York and subsistence of other SWAPO members, for the purpose of representing Namibia at the United Nations.

888. The Council would continue to invite, whenever necessary, SWAPO officials based outside headquarters to attend meetings dealing with matters of interest to the liberation struggle of the Namibian people, to the extent not otherwise covered by the budget for 1988 and 1989 with regard to the representation of SWAPO in missions of consultations of the Council and missions of the Council to attend conferences and meetings. It is expected that approximately 20 persons would be invited to such meetings, each for an approximate duration of two weeks.

I. Dissemination of information and mobilization of international public opinion in support of the just cause of Namibia

889. By paragraph 15 of draft resolution D, the General Assembly would request the Secretary-General to direct the Department of Public Information to assist the Council in the implementation of its programme of dissemination of information. It is expected that the Department of Public Information would, from its general budget, provide press, radio and television coverage and produce general publications, as appropriate, for regular, commemorative, and international and regional activities of the Council, as well as prepare and publish pamphlets on the results of other activities held by the Council. The Department would also provide press coverage, including a press officer who would accompany the missions of consultation of the Council. The duration of the missions would be from one to two weeks.

890. The Council, in co-operation with the Department of Public Information, would organize encounters for the mass media invited from all regions of the world (15 media representatives) prior to each international or regional activity provided for in paragraph 878 above. Provision should be made for the travel of a delegation of the Council conducting the encounters, consisting of up to three members, a representative of SWAPO and the United Nations Commissioner for Namibia, the media representatives invited to the encounters, as well as the appropriate staff (not more than one Professional and one General Service staff member).

1. Special publications, films and radio programmes

891. In the implementation of paragraph 1 of draft resolution D, it is expected that, in 1988, the following activities relating to the dissemination of information on the question of Namibia would be undertaken under the guidance of the Council:

(a) Preparation and dissemination of booklets, brochures and pamphlets dealing with (i) political matters; (ii) economic matters; (iii) the military situation; (iv) social conditions; (v) legal matters; (vi) the question of the territorial integrity of Namibia; and (vii) contacts between Member States and South Africa;

(b) Production and wide dissemination, on a monthly basis, of a bulletin containing analytical and updated information intended to mobilize maximum support of the Namibian cause, in implementation of paragraph 1 (r) of draft resolution D;

(c) Production and dissemination, on a weekly basis, of an information newsletter containing updated information on developments in and relating to Namibia in support of the Namibian cause, in implementation of paragraph 1 (s) of draft resolution D;

(d) Production and dissemination of four series of radio programmes in the English, French, German and Spanish languages, with each series consisting of six 15-minute programmes;

(e) Production and dissemination of radio programmes in the English language and in the local languages of Namibia;

(f) Production of material for publicity through radio and television broadcasts;

(g) Placement of 16 advertisements in major newspapers in connection with special activities of the Council;

(h) Production and dissemination of four posters and dissemination of existing posters;

(i) Updating and dissemination of a booklet containing resolutions of the Security Council and of the General Assembly on the question of Namibia, relevant documents of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries and OAU, decisions, declarations and communiqués of the front-line States on Namibia, as well as the reprinting of existing United Nations booklets;

(j) Publicity for, and distribution of, a reference book on transnational corporations operating in Namibia;

(k) Preparation and dissemination of a booklet based on a study on the implementation of Decree No. 1 for the Protection of the Natural Resources of Namibia;

(l) Production and dissemination of a booklet on the activities of the Council;

(m) Acquisition, reproduction and distribution of United Nations and non-United Nations materials. The list of materials would include the following:

Materials required

A. Office of the United Nations Commissioner for Namibia

| | | <u>Copies</u> |
|--|------------|---------------|
| 1. <u>Newsletters</u> | | |
| Namibia in the News (weekly) | English | 5 700 |
| Namibia Bulletin (monthly) | English | 5 500 |
| | French | 2 500 |
| | Spanish | ditto |
| 2. <u>Information kit</u> | | |
| Red folders a/ | Arabic | 1 000 |
| | English | 10 000 |
| | French | 2 500 |
| | German | 2 000 |
| | Portuguese | 1 000 |
| | Spanish | 2 000 |
| 3. <u>Individual publications</u> | | |
| United Nations Institute on Namibia publications on Namibia | | |
| (a) Manpower estimates | English | 2 000 |
| (b) Agricultural economics | ditto | |
| (c) Agrarian reform | ditto | |
| (d) New legal system | ditto | |
| (e) Health sector | ditto | |
| (f) Constitutional options | ditto | |
| (g) Economic development | ditto | |
| (h) Trade policies | ditto | |

| | <u>Copies</u> | |
|--|---------------|-----------------------------|
| <u>Individual publications (continued)</u> | | |
| United Nations Institute on Namibia comprehensive study | English | 500 (full text) |
| | English | 5 000 (abridged version) |
| | Dutch | 1 500 |
| | French | 2 000 |
| | Spanish | ditto |
| Study Series 2: Nuclear Capability of South Africa (pamphlet of 40 pp.) | English | 3 000 |
| <u>Women in Namibia</u> | English | 5 000 |
| "This is Namibia" (International Defence and Aid Fund for Southern Africa (IDAF)) | | ditto |
| "Namibia: The Ravages of War" (IDAF) (booklet of 60 pp.) | English | 2 000 |
| <u>The Workers of Namibia</u> (IDAF) (book of 135 pp.) | | ditto |
| "Remember Kassinga" (IDAF) (booklet of 52 pp.) | | ditto |
| "Apartheid's Army in Namibia" (IDAF) (updated booklet of 52 pp.) | | ditto |
| <u>Namibia in Struggle</u> (IDAF) | English | 5 000 |
| | French | 2 000 |
| | German | 1 000 |
| | Spanish | ditto |
| <u>Namibia: The Facts</u> (IDAF) (book of 100 pp.) | English | 3 000 |
| | French | 2 000 |
| | German | 1 000 |
| | Portuguese | ditto |
| | Spanish | 2 000 |
| <u>Namibia: Struggle for Liberation</u> (Moleah) | English | 1 000 |
| <u>Battlefront Namibia</u> (John Ya-Otto) (book of 150 pp.) | English | 2 000 |
| Washington Office on Africa (Information kit) | English | 10 000 |
| 4. <u>Posters</u> | | |
| One United Nations poster | | ditto |

| | <u>Copies</u> |
|---|---------------|
| 5. <u>Buttons</u> | |
| Theme button | 5 000 |
| Reprint previous button | 2 500 |
| 6. <u>Films</u> | |
| Reproduction, translation, editing and purchase of video | |
| 7. <u>Miscellaneous</u> | |
| Thematic atlas on Namibia | |
| "Our Namibia" (school text) | English 5 000 |
| Distribution of SWAPO publicity material | |
| Subscription to news agencies | |
| 8. <u>Dissemination charges</u> | |
| Postage, pouch and shipping costs | |

B. Department of Public Information

| | | |
|--|------------|--------|
| Red folders b/ | Arabic | 1 000 |
| | English | 10 000 |
| | French | 3 000 |
| | German | 2 000 |
| | Portuguese | 1 000 |
| | Spanish | 2 000 |
| A publication on the political, economic, legal, social and military situation in and relating to Namibia (approx. 50 pp.) | Arabic | 1 000 |
| | Chinese | ditto |
| | English | 10 000 |
| | French | 5 000 |
| | Russian | 1 000 |
| | Spanish | 2 000 |
| Pamphlets on international and regional activities organized by the Council (4) | English | 10 000 |
| Namibia student leaflet | English | 10 000 |
| | French | 5 000 |
| | Spanish | ditto |
| Wallsheet | English | 10 000 |
| Poster (1) | | ditto |

Copies

| | | |
|--|---------|--------|
| Booklet on the activities of the Council (approx. 16 pp.) | Arabic | 2 000 |
| | English | 10 000 |
| | French | 2 000 |
| | German | ditto |
| | Spanish | ditto |

a/ Contents prepared and reproduced by the Office of the Commissioner for Namibia:

Constitution of SWAPO (updated version)

Political Programme of SWAPO

List of transnationals operating in Namibia (A/CONF.120/8)

Map 16" x 16"

Basic Facts (published by the Office of the Commissioner)

Poster of Sam Nujoma

Implementation of Decree No. 1 for the Protection of the Natural Resources of Namibia (booklet)

b/ Contents prepared and reproduced by the Department of Public Information:

"A crime against humanity: Questions and answers on apartheid in South Africa" (DPI/705)

"A Trust Betrayed: Namibia"

"Namibia: A Unique United Nations Responsibility" (DPI/752)

Booklet on Walvis Bay

"Plunder of Namibian uranium" (DPI/715)

Poster: "Stop the Plunder of Namibia's Natural Resources"

"United Nations Council for Namibia: What it is, what it does, how it works" (DPI/750)

2. Co-operation with non-governmental organizations

892. By paragraphs 6 and 7 of draft resolution D, the General Assembly would request the Council to intensify, in co-operation with non-governmental organizations, international action in support of the liberation struggle of the people of Namibia. Under the terms of paragraph 9 of draft resolution D, the Assembly would decide to allocate the sum of \$US 500,000 to be used by the Council to undertake a programme of co-operation with non-governmental organizations,

including support to workshops and conferences in solidarity with Namibia arranged by those organizations, dissemination of the conclusions of such conferences and support to such other activities that would promote the cause of the liberation struggle of the Namibian people, subject to decisions of the Council in each case, in consultation with SWAPO.

893. The implementation of paragraph 15 of draft resolution D would require that the Secretary-General provide adequate funds to the United Nations information centres and the Department of Conference Services of the Secretariat in order to distribute information material on the question of Namibia.

J. Strengthening the secretariat of the Council

894. By paragraph 22 of draft resolution C, the General Assembly would request the Secretary-General, in consultation with the President of the United Nations Council for Namibia, to review the personnel requirements and the facilities of all units that service the Council, so that the Council may fully and effectively discharge all tasks and functions arising out of its mandate. In this connection, the Council recalls the decision of the General Assembly at its forty-first session approving the recommendation of the Council to upgrade the post of Secretary of the Council from the Principal Officer level (D-1) to the level of Director (D-2) and requests the Secretary-General to provide the additional resources.

K. United Nations Fund for Namibia

895. In accordance with paragraph 7 of draft resolution E, the General Assembly would decide to allocate to the Fund, as a temporary measure, the sum of \$US 1.5 million from the regular budget of the United Nations for 1988.

896. The implementation of paragraph 6 of draft resolution E, dealing with an appeal for voluntary contributions, implies that the Secretary-General would continue to assume administrative responsibilities in respect of the Fund as a whole and the three accounts of which it is composed (General Account, Nationhood Programme Account and United Nations Institute for Namibia Account).

897. The implementation of paragraph 6 would also require, in addition to the fund-raising activities of the United Nations Commissioner for Namibia, four fund-raising missions conducted by the Council. Such missions would consist of the Vice-Chairman and Rapporteur of the Committee on the United Nations Fund for Namibia, the Commissioner and a staff member of the United Nations Secretariat.

898. Under the terms of paragraph 2 (b) of draft resolution E, the Council would continue to act as trustee of the Fund and, in this capacity, to administer and manage the Fund. The Council would exercise this responsibility through its Committee on the United Nations Fund for Namibia, subject, in the case of certain major decisions, to the approval of its recommendations by the Council as a whole. The Secretary-General retains the fiduciary responsibility which he exercises in respect of all trust funds.

Notes

- 1/ Legal Consequences for States of the Continued Presence of South Africa in Namibia (South-West Africa) notwithstanding Security Council resolution 276 (1970), Advisory Opinion, I.C.J. Reports 1971, p. 16.
- 2/ A/41/697-S/18392.
- 3/ S/18767. To be incorporated in Official Records of the Security Council, Forty-second Year, Supplement for January, February and March 1987.
- 4/ Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-fifth Session, Supplement No. 24 (A/35/24), vol. I, annex II.
- 5/ S/18765. To be incorporated in Official Records of the Security Council, Forty-second Year, Supplement for January, February and March 1987.
- 6/ S/18769. To be incorporated in Official Records of the Security Council, Forty-second Year, Supplement for January, February and March 1987.
- 7/ Official Records of the Security Council, Fortieth Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1985, document S/17442.
- 8/ Official Records of the Security Council, Fortieth Year, Supplement for October, November and December 1985, document S/17658.
- 9/ S/PV.2740. To be incorporated in Official Records of the Security Council, Forty-second Year, Plenary meetings.
- 10/ S/PV.2741. To be incorporated in Official Records of the Security Council, Forty-second Year, Plenary meetings.
- 11/ S/18785. To be incorporated in Official Records of the Security Council, Forty-second Year, Supplement for April, May and June 1987.
- 12/ See Report of the World Conference on Sanctions against Racist South Africa, Paris, 16-20 June 1986 (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.86.I.23).
- 13/ See Report of the International Conference for the Immediate Independence of Namibia, Vienna, 7-11 July 1986 (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.86.I.16 and addendum).
- 14/ Namibia Bulletin, Office of the United Nations Commissioner for Namibia, No. 3/86.
- 15/ SWAPO Information Bulletin (Luanda), July 1986, p. 9; Africa Confidential (London), vol. 27, No. 21, p. 5.
- 16/ Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-sixth Session, Supplement No. 24 (A/8424), para. 108.
- 17/ Ibid., Thirty-fourth Session, Supplement No. 24 (A/34/24), vol. I, para. 320.

Notes (continued)

- 18/ Ibid., Supplement No. 23 (A/34/23/Rev.1), vol. I, chap. VI, annex II, para. 7.
- 19/ Ibid., Thirty-fifth Session, Supplement No. 24 (A/35/24), vol. I, para. 388.
- 20/ Phyllis Johnson and David Martin, eds., Destructive Engagement: Southern Africa at War (Zimbabwe Publishing House for the Southern Africa Research and Documentation Centre, Harare, Zimbabwe, 1986), p. 125.
- 21/ The value of the rand fluctuated from \$1.00 in 1984 to \$0.40 in 1985 and \$0.47 in 1986.
- 22/ Africa Confidential (London), vol. 27, No. 21, p. 4.
- 23/ Johnson and Martin, op. cit., p. 126.
- 24/ The Windhoek Advertiser, 29 March 1986.
- 25/ Financial Mail (South Africa), 26 February 1986; see also Africa Confidential, vol. 27, No. 20, pp. 7-8.
- 26/ The Combatant (SWAPO, Luanda), February 1986, p. 21.
- 27/ Africa Confidential (London), vol. 27, No. 20, p. 7.
- 28/ SWAPO Information Bulletin (Luanda), January 1986, p. 13; see also The Windhoek Advertiser, 12 January 1987.
- 29/ SWAPO Information Bulletin (Luanda), January 1986, p. 17.
- 30/ Namibia Communications Centre (London) press release, 26 September 1986; see also The Namibian (Windhoek), 11 July 1986 and The Windhoek Advertiser, 2 July 1986.
- 31/ The Windhoek Observer, 22 March 1985.
- 32/ The Namibian (Windhoek), 25 July 1986.
- 33/ SWAPO Information Bulletin (Luanda), July 1986.
- 34/ Johnson and Martin, op. cit., p. 129.
- 35/ Ibid., p. 135.
- 36/ A/41/388-S/18121, annex.
- 37/ Ibid.; see also Joseph Hanlon, Apartheid's Second Front: South Africa's War against its Neighbours (London, Penguin, 1986).
- 38/ International Herald Tribune (Paris), 17 July 1986.

Notes (continued)

- 39/ The New York Times, 17 July 1986.
- 40/ The Star, (Johannesburg), 29 November 1986.
- 41/ South Africa Digest (Pretoria), 18 July 1986.
- 42/ The Guardian (London), 1 May 1987.
- 43/ "South Africa's Nuclear Capability: The Apartheid Bomb" by Abdul Minty: paper presented at the International Seminar on the United Nations Arms Embargo against South Africa (United Nations Special Committee against Apartheid), London, 28-30 May 1986, p. 1.
- 44/ "South Africa's Nuclear Weapon Capability", paper presented at the World Conference on Sanctions against Racist South Africa, Paris, 16-20 June 1986, A/CONF.137/CRP.2, p. 27.
- 45/ Ibid., p. 7; see also Uranium Resources, Production and Demand, a joint report of the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development Nuclear Energy Agency and the International Atomic Energy Agency, December 1978, pp. 22-23.
- 46/ The Military Balance 1979-1980 (London, The International Institute for Strategic Studies, 1980), p. 54.
- 47/ Johnson and Martin, op. cit., pp. 211-217.
- 48/ Reuters dispatch, New York, 11 November 1986.
- 49/ International Atomic Energy Agency, Resolutions and other Decisions of the Conference at its Thirtieth Regular Session, 29 September-3 October 1986, GC (XXX)/Resolutions (1986), p. 15.
- 50/ Africa Confidential (London), vol. 27, No. 20, pp. 7-8.
- 51/ Ibid., No. 21, p. 3.
- 52/ The Washington Post and The Windhoek Advertiser of 23 December 1985.
- 53/ The New York Times, 11 June 1987.
- 54/ Angolan press agency dispatch and Tass dispatch, Luanda, 7 November 1986; and The Washington Post, 8 November 1986.
- 55/ The Guardian (London), 15 November 1986; United Press International, Windhoek, 14 November 1986; The New York Times, 15 November 1986; The Windhoek Advertiser, 20 November and 24 December 1986 and 9 January 1987.
- 56/ S/18638. To be incorporated in Official Records of the Security Council, Forty-second Year, Supplement for January, February and March 1987.
- 57/ The New York Times, 26 April 1987; see also A/42/266-S/18840, annex.

Notes (continued)

- 58/ A/42/312-S/18887, annex.
- 59/ A/42/332-S/18908, annex.
- 60/ British Broadcasting Corporation, Summary of World Broadcasts, No. ME/8353 B/5, 2 September 1986.
- 61/ Information and Comment: War communiqué (SWAPO, Luanda), 1 and 3 November 1986.
- 62/ Reuters dispatch, Lisbon, 18 November 1986; Tanjung news agency dispatch, Luanda, 17 November 1986.
- 63/ Information and Comment: War communiqué (SWAPO, Luanda), 7 January 1987.
- 64/ The Windhoek Advertiser, 10 March 1986.
- 65/ Namibia: Perspectives for National Reconstruction and Development (United Nations Institute for Namibia, Lusaka, 1986), p. 455.
- 66/ Ibid., p. 292.
- 67/ Ibid., p. 469.
- 68/ The Windhoek Advertiser, 6 March 1986.
- 69/ Ibid., 11 March 1986.
- 70/ Namibia: Perspectives for National Reconstruction ..., p. 305.
- 71/ Financial Times (London), 18 March 1986.
- 72/ Namibia: Perspectives for National Reconstruction ..., p. 470.
- 73/ Country Profile: Namibia 1986-87 (The Economist Intelligence Unit (EIU), London), p. 22.
- 74/ The Windhoek Advertiser, 27 June 1986.
- 75/ Namibia: Perspectives for National Reconstruction ..., p. 304.
- 76/ Country Report: Namibia, Botswana, Lesotho, Swaziland, (EIU, London), No. 4-1986, p. 19.
- 77/ Michael C. Lurch and Thomas L. Neff, The Political Economy of African Uranium and its Role in International Markets (Energy Laboratory working paper No. MIT-EL 82-006, July 1982), p. 35.
- 78/ Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-fifth Session, Supplement No. 24 (A/35/24), vol. III, chap. IV, paras. 82 and 89.
- 79/ South Scan (London), 18 March 1987.

- 80/ Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-fifth Session, Supplement No. 24 (A/35/24), vol. III, chap. IV, para. 124.
- 81/ Ibid., paras. 92-103.
- 82/ Country Profile: Namibia 1986-87 (EIU, London), p. 23.
- 83/ The Windhoek Observer, 23 February 1985.
- 84/ The Windhoek Advertiser, 11 December 1986.
- 85/ Country Profile: Namibia 1986-87 (EIU, London), p. 37.
- 86/ Namibia: Perspectives for National Reconstruction ..., p. 482.
- 87/ Country Profile: Namibia 1986-87 (EIU, London), p. 25.
- 88/ J. J. Olaya and others, The Agricultural Economy of Namibia: Strategies for Structural Change (Lusaka, United Nations Institute for Namibia, 1982).
- 89/ The Windhoek Advertiser, 13 June 1986.
- 90/ Ibid., 5 December 1986.
- 91/ Country Profile: Namibia 1986-87 (EIU, London), p. 19.
- 92/ Official Records of the General Assembly, Fortieth Session, Supplement No. 24 (A/40/24), para. 381.
- 93/ Susanna Smith, Namibia - A Violation of Trust (Oxford Famine Relief Organisation, 1986), p. 49.
- 94/ Permanent Mission of South Africa to the United Nations, South African News Review, 19 September 1986.
- 95/ The Windhoek Advertiser, 18 September 1986.
- 96/ Smith, op. cit., pp. 57-58.
- 97/ The Namibian (Windhoek), 6 June 1986.
- 98/ Namibia Communications Centre (London) press release, 21 January 1987.
- 99/ Ibid., 12 September 1986.
- 100/ Anti-Apartheid News (London), September 1986, p. 5.
- 101/ The Windhoek Observer, 13 July 1986.
- 102/ The Windhoek Advertiser, 15 August 1986.
- 103/ Ibid., 18 June 1986.

Notes (continued)

- 104/ Official Records of the General Assembly, Forty-first Session, Supplement No. 24 (A/41/24), para. 408.
- 105/ International News Briefing on Namibia, Namibia Support Committee (London), No. 42, December 1986.
- 106/ Namibia Communications Centre (London) press release, 30 January 1987.
- 107/ International News Briefing on Namibia, No. 43, January 1987.
- 108/ The Namibian (Windhoek), 27 February 1987.
- 109/ Focus, The International Defence and Aid Fund (London), No. 67, p. 11.
- 110/ Information and Comment (SWAPO, Luanda), 14 June 1987.
- 111/ International News Briefing on Namibia, No. 38, August 1986; see also Namibia Communications Centre (London) press release, 12 September 1986.
- 112/ International News Briefing on Namibia, No. 48, June 1987.
- 113/ Smith, op. cit., p. 28.
- 114/ Noticias (Maputo), 26 November 1986; see also The Windhoek Advertiser, 9 December 1986.
- 115/ The Namibian (Windhoek), 26 September 1986.
- 116/ A/42/357-S/18935.
- 117/ Ibid., annex I.
- 118/ See Official Records of the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea, vol. XVII (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.84.V.3), document A/CONF.62/122.
- 119/ Namibia: Perspectives for National Reconstruction...
- 120/ For the text of the charter of the United Nations Institute for Namibia, as amended, see Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-seventh Session, Supplement No. 24 (A/37/24), annex IV.
- 121/ Namibia: A Direct United Nations Responsibility (Lusaka, United Nations Institute for Namibia, 1987).
- 122/ Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-seventh Session, Supplement No. 6 (A/37/6), chap. IV, sect. II.
- 123/ Ibid., Thirty-fourth Session, Supplement No. 24 (A/34/24), vol. IV, annex XXVI.
- 124/ United Nations publication, Sales No. E.85.II.A.5).

Notes (continued)

- 125/ Official Records of the General Assembly, Fortieth Session, Supplement No. 24 (A/40/24), para. 513.
- 126/ The present report.
- 127/ A/42/23 (Part I), chap. I; A/42/23 (Part II), chap. II; A/42/23 (Part III), chaps. IV and V; A/42/23 (Part IV), chap. VI; and A/42/23 (Part V), chap. VIII. To be incorporated in Official Records of the General Assembly, Forty-second Session, Supplement No. 23 (A/42/23).
- 128/ See Official Records of the Security Council, Forty-second Year, 2740th to 2747th meetings.
- 129/ A/42/699, annex II.
- 130/ A/42/178-S/18753, annexes I and II.
- 131/ A/42/681, annex.
- 132/ A/42/292, annex.
- 133/ A/42/699, annex I.
- 134/ A/42/631-S/19187, annex.
- 135/ Paragraph 203 of the present report.
- 136/ A/AC.131/245.
- 137/ A/32/144, annex I.
- 138/ United Nations, Treaty Series, vol. 75, Nos. 970-973.
- 139/ Ibid., No. 972, p. 135.
- 140/ Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-fifth Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1980, document S/14179.
- 141/ Official Records of the General Assembly, Fortieth Session, Supplement No. 24 (A/40/24), paras. 454-514.
- 142/ United Nations, Treaty Series, vol. 795, No. 11326.
- 143/ See General Assembly resolution ES-8/2 of 14 September 1981.
- 144/ Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-eighth Year, Supplement for October, November and December 1983, document S/16237.
- 145/ Ibid., Fortieth Year, Supplement for April, May and June 1985, document S/17242.
- 146/ See paras. 706-776 and 782-795 of the present report.

Annex I

ALLOCATION OF RESOURCES TO THE UNITED NATIONS COUNCIL FOR NAMIBIA
FOR 1987 WITHIN THE PROGRAMME BUDGET FOR THE BIENNIUM 1986-1987

1. In its report to the General Assembly at its forty-first session, the Council made a number of recommendations and gave a description of the activities that would require the preparation of a statement of programme budget implications. a/

2. The Council's recommendations took the form of draft resolutions, which were reproduced in its report under the following headings:

(a) Situation in Namibia resulting from the illegal occupation of the Territory by South Africa;

(b) Implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978);

(c) Programme of work of the United Nations Council for Namibia;

(d) Dissemination of information and mobilization of international public opinion in support of the immediate independence of Namibia;

(e) United Nations Fund for Namibia.

The draft resolutions were adopted by the General Assembly at its 79th plenary meeting on 20 November 1986, as resolutions 41/39 A, B, C, D and E, respectively.

3. Prior to consideration of the draft resolutions by the General Assembly, the Secretary-General, in accordance with rule 153 of the rules of procedure of the General Assembly, submitted a statement of their programme budget implications (A/C.5/41/38). The statement analysed the financial implications of all the draft resolutions taken together, as follows:

| Proposed activity | Estimated cost (US dollars) | Section of the programme budget | | | | | |
|--|--------------------------------|---------------------------------|---------|---------|------|-------|----|
| | | 1B | 3B | 3C.1 | 3C.2 | 27 | 29 |
| Monitoring of and reporting on the boycott of South Africa on political, economic, financial and other relations | 147 200 | - | 147 200 | - | - | - | - |
| Missions of consultation with Governments in Western Europe and North America | 68 100 | - | - | 68 100 | - | - | - |
| Representation of Namibia in United Nations conferences, intergovernmental and non-governmental meetings | 729 000 | - | - | 729 000 | - | - | - |
| Membership fees to be paid by the Council to the International Labour Organisation (ILO) and the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (FAO) | 33 000 | - | - | 33 000 | - | - | - |
| High-level mission to the headquarters of the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO) for consultation with SWAPO leaders and visit to Namibian refugee settlements in the front-line States | 43 500 | - | - | 42 100 | - | 1 400 | - |

| Proposed activity | Estimated cost (US dollars) | Section of the programme budget | | | | | |
|--|--------------------------------|---------------------------------|---------|---------|---------|--------|---------|
| | | 1B | 3B | 3C.1 | 3C.2 | 27 | 29 |
| Preparation of reports on the political, economic, military, legal and social situation in and relating to Namibia | 168 200 | - | 168 200 | - | - | - | - |
| Implementation of Decree No. 1 for the Protection of the Natural Resources of Namibia | 193 000 | - | - | - | 193 000 | - | - |
| Conducting a regional seminar away from United Nations Headquarters | 215 100 | - | - | 204 500 | - | 10 600 | - |
| Provision for the conference-servicing requirements for the seminar | 106 900 | - | - | - | - | - | 106 900 |
| Support for the SWAPO office in New York | 401 600 | - | - | 401 600 | - | - | - |
| Travel of SWAPO representatives to be invited to attend meetings at United Nations Headquarters, New York | 61 000 | - | - | 61 000 | - | - | - |
| Travel of SWAPO representatives attending meetings held outside United Nations Headquarters | 77 800 | - | - | 77 800 | - | - | - |

| Proposed activity | Estimated cost (US dollars) | Section of the programme budget | | | | | |
|--|--------------------------------|---------------------------------|----|-----------|---------|---------|---------|
| | | 1B | 3B | 3C.1 | 3C.2 | 27 | 29 |
| Extraordinary plenary meetings in Angola | 470 000 | 21 800 | - | 435 000 | - | 13 200 | - |
| Provision for the conference-servicing requirements for the extraordinary plenary meetings | 495 600 | - | - | - | - | - | 495 600 |
| Dissemination of information to generate publicity and to mobilize public support for the independence of Namibia | 1 006 900 | - | - | - | 394 800 | 412 100 | - |
| Programme of co-operation with non-governmental organizations | 500 000 | - | - | 500 000 | - | - | - |
| Fund-raising missions | 76 100 | - | - | 76 100 | - | - | - |
| Temporary measure to allocate resources from the regular budget of the United Nations to United Nations Fund for Namibia | 1 500 000 | - | - | 1 500 000 | - | - | - |
| Provision for the organization of workshops | 166 300 | - | - | 166 300 | - | - | - |

| Proposed activity | Estimated cost (US dollars) | Section of the programme budget | | | | | |
|--|--------------------------------|---------------------------------|----------------|------------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|
| | | 1B | 3B | 3C.1 | 3C.2 | 27 | 29 |
| Additional staff requirements of the departments and offices arising from the activities of the United Nations Council for Namibia | 49 100 | - | 38 200 | - | - | - | 10 900 |
| Total | 6 508 400 | 21 800 | 353 600 | 4 294 500 | 787 800 | 437 300 | 613 400 |

Key to budget sections:

- 1B - Executive Office of the Secretary-General
- 3B - Department of Political Affairs, Trusteeship and Decolonization
- 3C.1 - United Nations Council for Namibia
- 3C.2 - Office of the United Nations Commissioner for Namibia
- 27 - Department of Public Information
- 29 - Department of Conference Services

Notes

a/ See Official Records of the General Assembly, Forty-first Session, Supplement No. 24 (A/41/24), part two.

Annex II

LIST OF OFFICIAL DOCUMENTS OF THE UNITED NATIONS COUNCIL FOR NAMIBIA

(1 September 1986 to 31 August 1987)

| <u>Document No.</u> | <u>Title</u> | <u>Date</u> |
|---|---|-------------------|
| <u>Documents issued in the general series</u> | | |
| A/AC.131/219 | Report of the Mission of Consultation of the United Nations Council for Namibia to lawyers in the Netherlands and consultations with non-governmental organizations and parliamentarians in the Netherlands, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and Belgium, from 5 to 11 February 1986 | 26 September 1986 |
| A/AC.131/220 | Report of the delegation of the United Nations Council for Namibia to the twenty-third session of the Conference of the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations, held in Rome from 9 to 28 November 1985 | 11 September 1986 |
| A/AC.131/221 | Report of the delegation of the United Nations Council for Namibia to the Trade and Development Board of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development at its thirty-second session, held at Geneva from 10 to 21 March 1986 | 15 September 1986 |
| A/AC.131/222 | Report of the delegation of the United Nations Council for Namibia to the Swedish People's Parliament against Apartheid, held at Stockholm from 21 to 23 February 1986 | 22 September 1986 |
| A/AC.131/223 | Report of the Mission of Consultation of the United Nations Council for Namibia with the leaders of the South West Africa People's Organization and visit to the Health Education Centre at Cuanza Sul, Angola, from 1 to 13 September 1985 | 23 September 1986 |
| A/AC.131/224 | Report of the fund-raising missions of the United Nations Council for Namibia and the Office of the United Nations Commissioner for Namibia to Finland, Sweden, Denmark, Norway, Austria, the Federal Republic of Germany, Belgium, the Commission of the European Communities, the Netherlands, France and Italy from 20 May to 14 June 1985 | 3 October 1986 |

| <u>Document No.</u> | <u>Title</u> | <u>Date</u> |
|----------------------------|---|-------------------------------------|
| A/AC.131/225 | Report of the delegation of the United Nations Council for Namibia to the International Atomic Energy Agency at its twenty-ninth regular session, held at Vienna from 23 to 27 September 1985 | 9 October 1986 |
| A/AC.131/226 and Corr.1 | Report on contacts between Member States and South Africa since the adoption of General Assembly resolution 38/36 A of 1 December 1983: Report of Standing Committee II | 6 November 1986 19 November 1986 |
| A/AC.131/227 | Report of the delegation of the United Nations Council for Namibia to the Ministerial Meeting of the Co-ordinating Bureau of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, held at New Delhi from 16 to 19 April 1986 | 3 December 1986 |
| A/AC.131/228 | Reports of delegations of the United Nations Council for Namibia to meetings of the Organization of African Unity | 5 December 1986 |
| A/AC.131/229 | Observance of the Week of Solidarity with the People of Namibia and Their Liberation Movement, the South West Africa People's Organization, from 28 October to 1 November 1985: messages received by the President of the Council | 8 December 1986 |
| A/AC.131/230 | Report of the Mission of Consultation of the United Nations Council for Namibia to Belgium and the Netherlands from 5 to 8 May 1986 | 11 December 1986 |
| A/AC.131/231 | Observance of the Week of Solidarity with the People of Namibia and Their Liberation Movement, the South West Africa People's Organization, from 27 to 31 October 1986: messages received by the President of the Council | 22 December 1986 |
| A/AC.131/232 | Programme of work of Standing Committee II for 1987 | 2 February 1987 |
| A/AC.131/233 | Programme of work of Standing Committee I for 1987 | 10 February 1987 |
| A/AC.131/234 | Programme of work of Standing Committee III for 1987 | 12 February 1987 |
| A/AC.131/235 and Corr.1 | Guidelines for the Seminar on Support for the Immediate Independence of Namibia and the Effective Application of Sanctions against South Africa, to be held at Buenos Aires from 20 to 24 April 1987 | 25 February 1987 24 March 1987 |

| <u>Document No.</u> | <u>Title</u> | <u>Date</u> |
|----------------------------|---|-------------------------------|
| A/AC.131/236 | Seminar on Support for the Immediate Independence of Namibia and the Effective Application of Sanctions against South Africa, to be held at Buenos Aires from 20 to 24 April 1987: rules of procedure | 24 February 1987 |
| A/AC.131/237 | Report of the delegation of the United Nations Council for Namibia to the forty-seventh ordinary session of the Organization of African Unity Co-ordinating Committee for the Liberation of Africa, held at Arusha, United Republic of Tanzania, from 22 to 24 January 1987 | 23 March 1987 |
| A/AC.131/238 | Report of the delegation of the United Nations Council for Namibia to the Council of the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations at its ninetieth session, held in Rome from 17 to 28 November 1986 | 25 March 1987 |
| A/AC.131/239 | Report of the delegation of the United Nations Council for Namibia to the fortieth session of the International Conference on Education, held at Geneva from 2 to 11 December 1986 | 26 March 1987 |
| A/AC.131/240 | Report on political developments related to Namibia: report of Standing Committee II | 16 April 1987 |
| A/AC.131/241 | Military situation in and relating to Namibia: report of Standing Committee II | 9 April 1987 |
| A/AC.131/242 | Social conditions in Namibia: report of Standing Committee II | 1 April 1987 |
| A/AC.131/243 | Report on the activities of foreign economic interests operating in Namibia: report of Standing Committee II | 29 April 1987 |
| A/AC.131/244 and Corr.1 | Organization of the extraordinary plenary meetings of the United Nations Council for Namibia, to be held at Luanda from 18 to 22 May 1987: report of the President | 7 April 1987 23 April 1987 |
| A/AC.131/245 | Call for Action adopted by the Seminar on Support for the Immediate Independence of Namibia and the Effective Application of Sanctions against South Africa, held at Buenos Aires from 20 to 24 April 1987 | 4 May 1987 |

| Docu ent No. | Title | Date |
|--------------|--|---------------|
| 1. 131/246 | Report of the delegation of the United Nations Council for Namibia on the Seminar on Support for the Immediate Independence of Namibia and the Effective Application of Sanctions against South Africa, held at Buenos Aires from 20 to 24 April 1987 | 7 August 1987 |
| A/AC.131/247 | Report of the delegation of the United Nations Council for Namibia to the twenty-second session of the Committee on Food Aid Policies and Programmes of the World Food Programme, held in Rome from 20 to 31 October 1986 | 13 May 1987 |
| A/AC.131/247 | Report of the delegation of the United Nations Council for Namibia at the inauguration of the Namibia Technical Secondary School at Loudima, People's Republic of the Congo, from 10 to 14 December 1986 | 12 May 1987 |
| A/AC.131/249 | Report of the delegation of the United Nations Council for Namibia to the Intergovernmental Council of the International Programme for the Development of Communication at its eighth session, held in Paris from 20 to 26 January 1987 | 22 May 1987 |
| A/AC.131/250 | Report of the delegation of the United Nations Council for Namibia to the <u>Ad Hoc</u> Working Group of Experts on Southern Africa of the Commission on Human Rights at its forty-third session, held at Geneva from 5 to 15 January 1987 | 22 May 1987 |
| A/AC.131/251 | Report of the delegation of the United Nations Council for Namibia to the Committee on Elimination of Discrimination against Women at its sixth session, held at Vienna from 30 March to 10 April 1987 | 22 May 1987 |
| A/AC.131/252 | Report of the delegation of the United Nations Council for Namibia to the International Conference on Solidarity with the Women and the Peoples of South Africa, Namibia, the Front-line States and Neighbouring Countries: An Important Factor in the Struggle for the Complete Eradication of <u>Apartheid</u> , held in London from 30 January to 1 February 1987 | 5 June 1987 |
| A/AC.131/253 | Report of the delegation of the United Nations Council for Namibia to the fifth session of the Preparatory Commission for the International Sea-Bed Authority and for the International Tribunal for the Law of the Sea, held at Kingston from 30 March to 16 April 1987 | 22 June 1987 |

| Document No. | Title | Date |
|--|--|------------------|
| A/AC.131/254 | Report of the delegation of the United Nations Council for Namibia to the Commission on Transnational Corporations at its thirteenth session, held in New York from 7 to 16 April 1987 | 2 June 1987 |
| A/AC.131/255 | Report of the delegation of the United Nations Council for Namibia to the fortieth session of the World Health Assembly of the World Health Organization, held at Geneva from 4 to 15 May 1987 | 7 August 1987 |
| A/AC.131/256 | Report of the high-level delegation of the United Nations Council for Namibia to India, Japan and China, from 25 May to 5 June 1987 [A/AC.131/257 published after August 1987] | 20 July 1987 |
| A/AC.131/258 | Report of the delegation of the United Nations Council for Namibia to the National Conference on Namibia held at Gustavus Adolphus College, St. Peter, Minnesota, from 20 to 22 March 1987 | 17 August 1987 |
| A/AC.131/INF.16 | List of representatives | 28 July 1987 |
| <u>Document issued in the limited series</u> | | |
| A/AC.131/L.341 | Question of Namibia: note by the Secretariat | 12 November 1986 |

Annex III

RESERVATIONS EXPRESSED BY DELEGATIONS CONCERNING THE LUANDA DECLARATION AND PROGRAMME OF ACTION

Australia

[Original: English]

[17 June 1987]

The Australian Government participated in the extraordinary meetings of the United Nations Council for Namibia held at Luanda from 18 to 22 May because of the renewed focus on the problem of Namibia provided by the meetings. Australia saw the choice of Luanda as the venue for the meetings particularly significant in this regard. The Australian delegation joined in the consensus on the final documents against the background of its support for United Nations efforts to bring the problem of Namibia to an early resolution and on the basis that, as announced by the Chairman of the Committee of the Whole, delegations holding reservations on aspects of the final document were able to lodge those reservations subsequently in New York.

The Australian delegation therefore takes this opportunity to state that while it endorsed the general thrust of the final documents adopted at Luanda and joined in the consensus for their adoption, it wishes to place on record its reservations over a number of aspects of those documents.

The Australian Government understands why the people of Namibia have resorted to armed struggle. It remains the Australian Government's longstanding position that it cannot condone the resort to violence. The Australian Government continues to believe that the peaceful means for the resolution of this situation have not yet been exhausted. The Australian Government is unable to support the designation of [the South West Africa People's Organization] SWAPO as the sole and authentic representative of the Namibian people. The selection of any such representatives is a matter for decision by the Namibian people themselves in a fair and free election as called for in Security Council resolution 435 (1978) [of 29 September 1978].

The Australian delegation also notes several references to States groups or groups of States as being responsible for the situation in southern Africa. Australia does not oppose factual references to particular situations but some of the references to States in the final documents go well beyond that and speculate on the motives or judgements of other States.

The Australian delegation requests that this statement be included in the report of the Luanda meetings.

Belgium

[Original: French]

[16 July 1987]

(a) Belgium subscribes to the positive aspects contained in the document "Luanda Declaration and Programme of Action";

(b) Belgium reiterates its support for the efforts of the Namibian people to exercise their rights to self-determination and independence when the illegal occupation of their territory by South Africa has been ended in accordance with Security Council resolution 435 (1978);

(c) It supports the efforts undertaken to that end, in co-operation with SWAPO, by the Secretary-General of the United Nations, the Organization of African Unity and the front-line States;

(d) The Luanda Declaration and Programme of Action rightfully reiterate the condemnation of the illegal occupation of Namibia and of the dilatory manoeuvres to which South Africa resorted to delay the implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978), the sole internationally accepted basis for a peaceful settlement.

We have the following reservations with regard to several aspects of this document:

1. Belgium has long recognized the leading role of SWAPO. Its final status, however, can only be determined after the holding of free elections.
2. Concerning the status of Walvis Bay, Belgium holds to the position adopted by the Security Council, as reflected in a balanced way in resolution 432 (1978) [of 27 July 1978].
3. Belgium remains convinced that a peaceful solution is the only one that can be recommended in the United Nations. Accordingly, it cannot accept references to armed struggle, or join in calls for military assistance.
4. As a matter of principle, Belgium states its opposition to selective mention, and *a fortiori*, selective condemnation of countries, groups of countries or organizations.
5. Belgium does not accept injunctions concerning the diplomatic relations that it sovereignly maintains with other States, unless such injunctions derive from decisions of the Security Council, the sole competent authority.
6. Belgium also considers that it is not the task of the United Nations Council for Namibia to pass judgement on the way the permanent members of the Security Council vote and that the Security Council is solely responsible for defining situations that might justify the imposing of sanctions provided for under Chapter VII of the Charter.

7. Belgium cannot endorse favourable references to positions and documents adopted at international meetings in which it did not participate.
8. Belgium regrets that substantive elements have been inserted in the introduction of the document without consultation of delegations.
9. Belgium regrets practices that result in a restriction of delegations' freedom of expression, such as the informal request not to voice reservations in public meetings on texts adopted. Belgium stresses that the voicing of reservations is part and parcel of the procedure for adoption by consensus.
10. Belgium considers that the appeal issued in Luanda on the twentieth anniversary of the establishment of the United Nations Council for Namibia should have been the subject of a formal and unhurried discussion among all the members of the Council, for example in the drafting committee. The rushed procedure that led to its adoption was not in keeping with these criteria.

(e) Belgium reaffirms the position it took in Luanda not to join the consensus on the Programme of Action. It considers that the allegations in paragraph 66 of the document with regard to one State Member of the United Nations are unfounded.

Chile

[Original: Spanish]

[12 June 1987]

In accordance with the decision taken at the extraordinary plenary meetings of the United Nations Council for Namibia, held in the city of Luanda from 18 to 22 May 1987, any reservations to the document that may arise as a result of those meetings have to be submitted in writing in New York.

Accordingly, I have the honour to inform you that the Permanent Mission of Chile has decided to enter a general reservation to the document which was issued in draft form under the symbol A/AC.131/1987/CRP.46/Rev.1 and adopted by consensus at the said meetings.

Before citing the reasons for this reservation, I wish to confirm that my Government unconditionally supports the implementation of resolution 435 (1978) and the process of independence for Namibia as set forth in that resolution.

We are, however, convinced that the document adopted, owing to the wording used and the inclusion of political subjects irrelevant to the specific problem of the independence of Namibia, far from advancing the process, actually hinders it.

The general reservation which I am entering is based on the reasons which the Permanent Mission of Chile has always maintained and which lead to its rejection of, among other things, the exaggerated tone of some paragraphs, the singling out of countries, which is inconsistent with a principle that ought to prevail in the United Nations, the use of information that raises serious doubts as to its

veracity and gives grounds for assuming an intention to implicate certain Governments. Similarly, we cannot accept the expression of criticisms or the appeal to assume commitments in matters that are outside the purview of the Council for Namibia and, on the contrary, within the exclusive jurisdiction of each State; nor can we support any armed struggle, seeing that our main objective, as Members of the United Nations, is to safeguard peace.

Colombia

[Original: Spanish]

[22 June 1987]

The Permanent Mission of Colombia to the United Nations presents its compliments to the Secretariat of the United Nations Council for Namibia and informs it of the following general reservation to the document issued under the symbol A/AC.131/1987/CRP.46/Rev.1, adopted by consensus at the extraordinary meeting held by the Council in the city of Luanda, on 22 May 1987:

"Colombia reaffirms its full solidarity with the Namibian people and its firm commitment to co-operate with a view to achieving the prompt and genuine independence of Namibia. It therefore supports the spirit and aims of the Luanda Declaration and Programme of Action and joins the consensus whereby they were adopted. Nevertheless, in accordance with a general principle of its foreign policy, it hereby places on record its disagreement with the selective condemnation of some States and with the references to events not properly substantiated."

Federal Republic of Germany

At the 500th meeting of the Council, on 9 September 1987, Mr. Hans Werner Lautenschlager, Permanent Representative of the Federal Republic of Germany to the United Nations, expressed the following reservation:*

"First of all, I should like to thank the Council for Namibia and its President, Ambassador Zuze, for having given me the opportunity to explain the position of the Federal Republic of Germany on the continued allegations by the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO) concerning plans to establish a nuclear waste depot in Namibia.

"Before referring to this specific point, allow me to make a few general remarks on my Government's attitude on the question of Namibia. The co-operation between the Federal Government and the United Nations Council for Namibia has always been good. The object of our mutual endeavours has been, and will continue to be, to lead Namibia to independence on the basis of the United Nations settlement plan embodied in Security Council resolution 435. My Government also wishes to continue its good co-operation with the Council for the sake of Namibia and the Namibian people.

* Previously issued under the symbol A/42/565-S/19138.

"It is therefore particularly important that SWAPO's campaign against the Federal Government, which is based on false assertions and is not supported by any evidence, should at long last be stopped. My Government regrets that these untrue assertions were also reflected in this Council's discussions and have been incorporated in its documents. With these false assertions, SWAPO, in our view, is enhancing neither its cause nor its credibility.

"The Federal Government has always considered contacts and dialogue with SWAPO and the other parties of Namibia as an important part of its policy aiming at the independence of Namibia based on Security Council resolution 435. It therefore hopes that the SWAPO leaders will return to an argumentation based on facts and reason. This is essential for constructive co-operation designed to give Namibia its long-overdue independence. The Federal Republic of Germany, in full accordance with established United Nations principles and together with all Member States, pursues this goal unerringly.

"As far as SWAPO's continued false assertions to the effect that the Federal Government allegedly plans to establish a nuclear waste depot in Namibia are concerned, the Federal Government would like to note the following:

'These untrue assertions that leading SWAPO politicians have been spreading in international circles since the spring of this year have on several occasions been refuted. As early as March it was made unmistakably clear to SWAPO President Nujoma that the Federal Government has no such plans. In addition, my deputy and myself clarified this point in talks with both the President and one of the Vice-Presidents of this Council as well as with the representative of SWAPO at the United Nations. SWAPO was also informed that no private companies intend to export nuclear waste to Namibia. For them to be able to do so they would first have to obtain a transport permit from the competent authority, the Physikalisch-Technische Bundesanstalt (Federal Institute of Physics and Technology) at Brunswick. No such permit has ever been applied for. The Federal Government would in any case prohibit the export of nuclear waste to Namibia under the provisions of the Foreign Trade and Payments Act. Furthermore, nuclear fuel elements are subject both to International Atomic Energy Agency safeguards and to European Atomic Energy Community controls.

'Apart from the fact that these assertions about the export of nuclear waste to Namibia are untrue, the Federal Government is particularly dismayed by the fact that SWAPO has only invoked statements by, of all bodies, the so-called 'interim government' that has been installed by South Africa and is recognized by no one. Apparently, SWAPO attributes more credibility to statements of a member of the so-called interim government than to the clarifications provided by my Government.'

"Against the background of these clear facts, the Federal Government expects all concerned to cease these untrue allegations and to return to a constructive co-operation in the interest of Namibia and the Namibian people.

"As I stated in my letter of 19 June 1987 to the President of the Council for Namibia, the Federal Government strongly requests that the relevant passages of the Luanda Declaration and Programme of Action should not be

incorporated into the report to be submitted to the United Nations General Assembly.

"Let me add that I have been instructed by my Government to bring my statement of today to the attention of the Secretary-General and to have it circulated as a document of the General Assembly and of the Security Council."

Finland

[Original: English]

[10 August 1987]

Finland supports the main thrust of the Luanda Declaration and Programme of Action. However, we regret that we are not in a position to support all of them without reservations. The reason for this is that some of them contain a number of elements that cause us difficulties of principle.

First, we cannot accept formulations that imply endorsement by the United Nations of the use of armed struggle or call for military assistance to such a struggle. One of the basic principles of this Organization is to promote peaceful solutions of conflicts.

Secondly, we deplore the inappropriate and arbitrary singling out of individual countries or groups of countries as responsible for the policies pursued by South Africa. We believe that this practice makes it even more difficult to maintain the international consensus necessary to bring about effective concerted action against South Africa in this matter.

Thirdly, we share the view that all parties enjoying support in Namibia should be allowed to take part in the political process leading to the independence of Namibia and to the establishment of a Government through free and fair elections. SWAPO in our opinion is to be regarded as such a party and it is fundamental that SWAPO is made part of any solution to the Namibia question. We have, however, reservations concerning formulations which could prejudice the outcome of the political process mentioned above.

Turkey

[Original: French]

[15 June 1987]

The delegation of Turkey joins the consensus on the Luanda Declaration and Programme of Action in keeping with its customary policy of firmly supporting efforts for the immediate independence of Namibia.

As a matter of principle, however, Turkey is against the designation, whether by name or otherwise, of third States or groups of States according to geographical, political or other criteria for the purpose of criticizing or condemning them or holding them exclusively responsible for policies pursued by South Africa.

That being the case, the delegation of Turkey does not subscribe to those formulations contained in the Declaration and Programme of Action that are contrary to the above-mentioned criteria.

Owing to the unfounded accusation levelled against one Member State, the delegation of Turkey also has serious reservations about the wording of paragraph 66 of the Programme of Action. The delegation of Turkey cannot endorse accusations based on allegations that the Council has not verified by its usual procedures.

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