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Extraordinary plenary meetings
of the United Nations Council for Namibia, held
at Luanda, People's Republic of Angola,
from 18 to 22 May 1987

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I. INTRODUCTION

1. In accordance with General Assembly resolution 41/39 C of 20 November 1986, the United Nations Council for Namibia held extraordinary plenary meetings at Luanda, from 18 to 22 May 1987.
2. The Council was created in 1967 to serve as the legal Administering Authority for Namibia until the Territory attains independence. Over the past 20 years it has sought to bring an end to South Africa's illegal occupation of Namibia and create conditions for the orderly transfer of all powers to the people of the Territory.
3. The objectives of the extraordinary plenary meetings at Luanda were to review and analyse in depth the situation prevailing in Namibia and the surrounding region; to examine the obstacles still impeding the independence of the Territory and devise means of overcoming them; to promote increased international support for the struggle of the Namibian people for self-determination and independence; and to consider means of strengthening the activities of the United Nations Council for Namibia with a view to securing Namibia's immediate independence.
4. The meetings were held against the background of a continuing impasse over the implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978) of 29 September 1978 which contains a universally accepted plan for Namibia's peaceful transition to independence. For several years South Africa has thwarted all efforts to put the plan into effect by its insistence on linking Namibia's independence to the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola. The United Nations has rejected this "linkage" as invalid and unacceptable.
5. The United Nations Council for Namibia considered that the meetings were an expression of its deep concern over South Africa's arrogant conduct in Namibia and the foreign complicity in such conduct. The meetings were also intended as a manifestation of the Council's unwavering solidarity with the people of Namibia in their struggle for national independence under the leadership of the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO), their sole and authentic representative.
6. The holding of the meetings at Luanda afforded the Council an opportunity to pay tribute to the Government and people of Angola for the unstinting support they provided to the Namibian people, despite the constant attacks on their national sovereignty and territorial integrity perpetrated by the Pretoria régime and its proxies from illegally occupied Namibia. The session also served to highlight the solidarity of the international community with the front-line States in their struggle to defend themselves against South Africa's aggressive actions, which were being carried out in flagrant violation of international law.

7. On Tuesday, 19 May 1987, the Council held a commemorative meeting to mark the twentieth anniversary of its establishment under General Assembly resolution 2248 (S-V) of 19 May 1967, and issued an appeal to the international community for action in support of the Namibian cause. At the conclusion of the Luanda meetings, the Council adopted the Luanda Declaration and Programme of Action stating its position on the question of Namibia and describing measures to be taken by the international community to expedite Namibia's accession to independence. These developments are outlined in sections III and IV below.

8. On 21 May, at the invitation of SWAPO, a group of delegates, journalists and United Nations staff members paid a visit to a SWAPO settlement in Kwanza Sul province to obtain first-hand information on the living conditions of Namibian refugees. The visitors attended a rally organized by SWAPO, which was addressed by the President of the Council. Namibian students gave a cultural presentation, including a number of songs and dances.

II. OPENING OF THE SESSION

9. On 18 May, Mr. Carlos Fernandes, Minister for Transport and Communications of Angola, as representative of the host Government, delivered the inaugural address to the extraordinary session. Statements were also made by Mr. Humayun R. Choudhury, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Bangladesh and President of the General Assembly at its forty-first session; Mr. Abdulrahim A. Farah, Under-Secretary-General for Special Political Questions, Regional Co-operation, Decolonization and Trusteeship and the representative of the Secretary-General of the United Nations; Mr. Andimba Toivo ya Toivo, Secretary-General of SWAPO; Mr. 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; Mr. Dawit Gebre, representative of the Secretary-General of the Organization of African Unity (OAU); Mr. Michael Ononaiye, representative of the Chairman of the Special Committee against Apartheid; and Lt. Gen. Peter D. Zuze, President of the United Nations Council for Namibia.

10. In his inaugural statement, the Minister for Transport and Communications 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. It was regrettable 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 military attacks and invasions, which had already taken thousands of human lives and inflicted \$US 10 billion worth of material damage.

11. The Minister further stated 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 of America, however, had shown a lack of will to reach a just solution. The Pretoria régime 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 just peace to the region.

12. 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 African 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.

13. The Secretary-General of the United Nations, in a message delivered by his representative, 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 regretted that after nine years of painstaking negotiations it had still 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 assured the United Nations Council for Namibia that he would continue all efforts within his competence to help attain the goal of independence for Namibia.

14. In his statement, the President of the United Nations Council for Namibia said, among other things, that "while South Africa is in the main responsible for lack of progress on Namibia's independence, the United States must take a share of the blame for insisting on the extraneous "linkage" issue. We believe that the Security Council can and should, without delay, adopt an enabling resolution so that

the freedom of Namibia can come soon". He called upon the Security Council to demand South Africa's immediate and unconditional withdrawal from Namibia; 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; and pledged the resolve of the United Nations Council for Namibia to bring about the immediate independence of Namibia.

III. MEETING TO COMMEMORATE THE TWENTIETH ANNIVERSARY OF THE COUNCIL

15. At the commemorative meeting, Mr. José Eduardo dos Santos, President of Angola, addressed the Council and 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, which were in Angola prior to the adoption of Security Council resolution 435 (1978).

16. Mr. Kenneth D. Kaunda, President of Zambia, in a statement in his capacity as Chairman of the front-line States, 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, SWAPO. He observed that the United Nations Council for Namibia had accomplished a great deal during very trying times, including the establishment of the United Nations Institute for Namibia at Lusaka.

17. A message was delivered on behalf of Mr. Denis Sassou-Nguesso, President of the Congo, in his capacity as current Chairman of OAU. The Chairman 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 (AFRICA) Fund.

18. Mr. Robert Mugabe, Prime Minister of Zimbabwe, speaking in his capacity as current Chairman of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, stated in a message delivered on his behalf 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.

19. Mr. Sam Nujoma, President of SWAPO, 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.

20. Messages were also received from the Secretary-General of the United Nations and the President of the Security Council.

21. On the occasion of the commemorative meeting, the United Nations Council for Namibia adopted a special appeal in which it stated that South Africa, as long as it maintained its illegal occupation of Namibia, would continue to murder and persecute Namibians, to plunder their resources and use the Territory as a staging ground for acts of aggression against the neighbouring States. 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 its solemn obligation to the people of Namibia. (For the full text, see annex I to the present bulletin).

IV. ADOPTION OF THE FINAL DOCUMENT

22. The Council concluded its extraordinary meetings by adopting by acclamation the Luanda Declaration and Programme of Action. By its Declaration, the Council reaffirmed, among other things, that Security Council resolutions 385 (1976) of 30 January 1976 and 435 (1978), in which the United Nations plan for the independence of Namibia was endorsed, constituted the sole internationally accepted basis for a peaceful settlement of the Namibian problem and called for their immediate and unconditional implementation. The United Nations Council for Namibia firmly rejected the constant attempts made by South Africa and the United States to establish a "linkage" between the implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978) and extraneous issues, particularly the presence of Cuban forces in Angola, which was a matter to be decided solely by that independent and sovereign State. The United Nations Council for Namibia declared that the attempt at "linkage" made by South Africa and the external support accorded to it were ploys intended to delay the independence of Namibia and to jeopardize the responsibility of the United Nations for the Territory and the authority of the Security Council, which had decided on the universally supported plan for its independence, and constituted interference in the internal affairs of Angola.

23. As the legal Administering Authority for Namibia until its independence, the United Nations Council for Namibia solemnly reaffirmed its full support for and solidarity with SWAPO, the sole and authentic representative of the Namibian people. The Council declared that it was determined to strengthen further the close co-operation that it already maintained with SWAPO in order to make the joint effort for achieving the immediate independence of Namibia more effective.

24. The Council condemned 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 Namibia, which it continued to occupy illegally. It also condemned the repeated acts of aggression by the Pretoria régime against independent countries of southern Africa, particularly Angola, Botswana, Mozambique, Zambia and Zimbabwe. It declared that those acts constituted a policy of State terrorism in violation of international law and various resolutions of the Security Council.

25. The United Nations Council for Namibia paid tribute to the Government of Angola for its courageous efforts to defend and preserve Angola's national independence, its inalienable sovereignty and its territorial integrity. It expressed its deep gratitude for the unflinching support that that country extended to the Namibian people under the leadership of SWAPO, in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations and resolutions of the United Nations, particularly General Assembly resolution 2625 (XXV) of 24 October 1970.

26. The Council expressed 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 called upon the international community to step up its assistance to the front-line States and to the Namibian and South African refugees. In that connection, the Council welcomed the establishment by the non-aligned countries of the AFRICA Fund and called upon all States to make generous contributions.

27. In its Programme of Action, the Council stated that it would 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) would continue to be accorded top priority by the General Assembly. For that purpose, the United Nations Council for Namibia mandated 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.

28. The Council also set out measures it intended to take in order (a) to secure intensified international action in support of the prompt implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978); (b) to strengthen international support for the Namibian people in their struggle for self-determination and independence under the leadership of SWAPO; (c) to fulfil its mandate in relation to the protection of the natural resources of Namibia, the representation of Namibia in international forums, the promotion of the rights and interests of the Namibian people and the establishment of its administration in Namibia in accordance with the relevant General Assembly resolutions; and (d) to strengthen its co-operation and consultation with SWAPO. (The Declaration and Programme of Action are reproduced in extenso in annex II to the present bulletin).

Annex I

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 decolonization 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 Organization (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.
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.

Annex II

LUANDA DECLARATION AND PROGRAMME OF ACTION

I. 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 African 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.
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 Sassou-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 (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.

II. 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 25 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 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 rights 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.

III. 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.

IV. 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.
