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INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE FOR THE  
IMMEDIATE INDEPENDENCE OF NAMIBIA

VIENNA, 7 - 11 JULY 1986

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## I. INTRODUCTION

In accordance with General Assembly resolution 40/97 C of 13 December 1985, the International Conference for the Immediate Independence of Namibia was held at the Hofburg Palace at Vienna from 7 to 11 July 1986. The purpose of the Conference was to consider concrete proposals for overcoming the obstacles to Namibia's independence, and to strengthen international support for the Namibian people's struggle for self-determination and independence under the leadership of the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO).

The Conference was organized by the Secretary-General of the United Nations in co-operation with the United Nations Council for Namibia. Representatives of 121 countries and 62 non-governmental organizations (NGOs), as well as a number of United Nations bodies, specialized agencies, other intergovernmental organizations and national liberation movements attended the Conference. In addition, seven invited eminent persons participated in their personal capacity.

The Conference adopted a Declaration calling for an immediate end to South Africa's illegal occupation of Namibia and unconditional implementation of the United Nations plan for Namibia's independence contained in Security Council resolution 435 (1978) of 29 September 1978 (see annex I). The Conference also adopted a Programme of Action in which were outlined means by which States, intergovernmental bodies and non-governmental organizations could help bring Namibia rapidly to independence (see also annex I). The eminent persons issued a special appeal calling for stronger pressure to be exerted on the South Africa régime so as to assist effectively the Namibian people in securing the freedom and independence for which they have been struggling for over a century (see annex II).

Prior to the opening of the Conference, the United Nations Council for Namibia conducted a journalists' encounter to familiarize media representatives with the topics to be considered at the Conference and examine means of improving media coverage of Namibia. The Council also sponsored a workshop after the Conference providing an opportunity for the participating non-governmental organizations to exchange views on the most effective strategies for international action in support of the Namibian cause.

## II. OPENING MEETING

At the opening meeting on 7 July, the Conference adopted the following agenda:

1. Solemn opening of the Conference.
2. Adoption of the agenda.
3. Election of officers.
4. Establishment of a main committee.

5. Launching of the comprehensive study on, and the economic map of, Namibia.
6. Consideration of the situation in and relating to Namibia.
7. Review of progress and problems encountered, during two decades, by the international community in its effort to implement General Assembly resolution 2145 (XXI) of 27 October 1966, terminating South Africa's Mandate over Namibia.
8. Concrete proposals for new initiatives aimed at the implementation of General Assembly resolution 2145 (XXI), and recommendations to accelerate the achievement of independence for Namibia.
9. Measures for securing the early implementation of the United Nations plan for Namibia, as provided for in Security Council resolutions 385 (1976) of 30 January 1976 and 435 (1978) of 29 September 1978, as well as of other resolutions and decisions of the United Nations, with a view to ensuring the speedy exercise by the people of Namibia of their inalienable right to self-determination, freedom and independence.
10. Solidarity with, and assistance to, the people of Namibia in their struggle for self-determination and national independence in a united Namibia under the leadership of the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO), their sole and authentic representative.
11. Adoption of a final document containing recommendations to be placed before the General Assembly at its forty-first session.

Mr. Benjamin Mkapa, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the United Republic of Tanzania, was elected President of the Conference by acclamation. A Committee of the Whole was established under the chairmanship of Mr. Serge Eli Charles (Haiti) to consider agenda items 8 to 10.

The Secretary-General of the United Nations, Mr. Javier Pérez de Cuéllar, made an opening statement in which he reviewed the history of United Nations efforts to achieve a peaceful settlement of the Namibian question. He recalled that in 1966 the General Assembly, in view of South Africa's failure to fulfil its obligations under the Mandate entrusted to it by the League of Nations, had terminated the Mandate and placed Namibia under the direct responsibility of the United Nations. South Africa, however, had refused to co-operate with the United Nations despite a 1971 ruling by the International Court of Justice <sup>1/</sup> that its presence in Namibia was illegal and must be terminated immediately.

The Secretary-General recalled that prospects for a solution had begun to emerge in 1978 with the adoption of Security Council resolution 435 (1978), setting out means by which the people of Namibia would be able to determine their future through free and fair elections under the supervision and control of the United Nations. In recent years, however, South Africa had insisted on linking implementation of the independence plan to the withdrawal of Cuban

troops from Angola. As the Security Council had explicitly rejected the "linkage" policy as incompatible with resolution 435 (1978), South Africa's continued adherence to that policy was totally contrary to the early and peaceful achievement of Namibia's independence.

The President of the Conference observed in his opening statement that despite the compelling examples of Angola, Mozambique and Zimbabwe in the 1970s, the liberation of Namibia had still not been attained. The expectations of an impending breakthrough following the adoption of Security Council resolution 435 (1978) had faded as South Africa, with the support of the United States of America, had frustrated initiative after initiative for implementation of the negotiated settlement plan.

The President called upon the Conference to reject categorically the "linkage" policy, which not only impeded Namibia's independence but provided an excuse for South Africa to invade and occupy large parts of southern Angola. The President also urged the Conference to support the application of effective and mandatory sanctions against South Africa so as to bring pressure to bear on the apartheid régime to co-operate in the implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978).

The Minister for Foreign Affairs of Austria, Mr. Peter Jankowitsch, speaking on behalf of the host country, reiterated his Government's support for the just claim for the immediate independence of Namibia, a claim by the people of Namibia who had been victims for over 100 years of the "politics of postponement". He further observed that the denial of the right to self-determination for Namibia constituted one of the major sources of tension and confrontation in southern Africa. There was no doubt that peace in that crucial region would remain an elusive goal as long as Namibia had not joined the ranks of the sovereign and independent nations of Africa.

Mr. Jaime de Piniés (Spain), President of the General Assembly at its fortieth session, recalled that the Assembly had rejected unambiguously the "linkage" pre-condition and had urged the international community to extend moral and material support to the people of Namibia in the struggle for their rights. The international community must now exert maximum pressure on South Africa so that the people of Namibia could exercise their right to self-determination in a free and united Namibia without further delay.

Mr. Paul J. F. Lusaka (Zambia), President of the United Nations Council for Namibia, deplored the pernicious consequences of South Africa's illegal occupation of Namibia: repression and exploitation of the Territory's people; plunder of Namibia's resources; aggression against neighbouring independent States; and undermining of the authority of the United Nations. He stressed the importance of public pressure as a means of overcoming the remaining obstacles to the Territory's independence, particularly the reluctance of certain Western countries to approve comprehensive and mandatory sanctions against South Africa.

The President of SWAPO, Mr. Sam Nujoma, stated that he trusted the Conference would encourage the Namibian people and further strengthen the continuing international campaign to end South Africa's illegal occupation of Namibia. He reiterated the readiness of SWAPO to sign a cease-fire with Pretoria in order to trigger the implementation of the United Nations plan for the independence of Namibia. Recalling that the "linkage" policy and the abuse of the veto power by Pretoria's friends in the Security Council were the main obstacles to Namibia's independence, he urged the Conference to adopt a concrete plan concentrating on the imperative need to enable the Secretary-General to start forthwith the implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978).

The representative of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) stated in his address that the South African régime had persisted in putting the problem of Namibia's decolonization in the framework of the East-West conflict, to which it was totally extraneous, and in linking independence to the withdrawal of Cuban troops whose help had been sought legally by the Angolan Government under a bilateral treaty. He called for the complete isolation of the South African régime and the strengthening of international assistance to SWAPO and the front-line States (Angola, Botswana, Mozambique, United Republic of Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe).

The representative of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries stated that the tacit encouragement given to South Africa by some countries was deeply disappointing. A régime that subscribed to racism and was afraid of the people must not be sustained by outside Powers. The United Nations plan for the independence of Namibia could not be held hostage to the global political and economic designs of some Powers and the convenience of a universally condemned régime. The only way open to the international community was to put pressure on South Africa through the application of comprehensive and mandatory sanctions against South Africa under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations.

A message from Mr. Birabhongse Kasemsri (Thailand), President of the Security Council for the month of July 1986, was read out to the Conference. The President stated that the Council, by its resolutions and decisions dating from 1968, had recognized the unique responsibility of the United Nations in furthering the interests of the Namibian people. By approving the United Nations plan for the independence of Namibia in its resolution 435 (1978), the Council had sought to attain an internationally acceptable solution to the problem of Namibia. In May 1985, in response to the decision of the South African Government to install a so-called transitional government in Namibia, the Council had condemned and rejected any unilateral action by South Africa leading towards an internal settlement outside the framework of its resolution 435 (1978). In June 1985, it had condemned the installation in Namibia of the so-called interim government and had reiterated that its resolution 435 (1978) was the only internationally acceptable basis for a peaceful settlement. The President assured the Conference that the Security Council would do all in its power, consistent with the Charter, to bring about a peaceful settlement of the Namibian question.

### III. GENERAL DEBATE

#### A. States Members of the United Nations and non-Member States

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 enforce minority rule. Many speakers, convinced that South Africa could not continue to dominate Namibia without the diplomatic, economic, military and other co-operation that it received from certain countries, called for an immediate end to all such collaboration.

Speakers called for the immediate and unconditional implementation of the United Nations plan for the independence of Namibia. Many speakers observed that the plan, as endorsed by the Security Council in resolution 435 (1978), was the only basis for a peaceful settlement of the Namibian conflict in conformity with the Charter. They deplored in the strongest terms South Africa's continued refusal to co-operate in its implementation.

Several speakers recalled that SWAPO had affirmed repeatedly its willingness to sign a cease-fire with South Africa and proceed with the United Nations plan. It was therefore clear that South Africa alone was standing in the way of a peaceful solution.

Speakers invariably condemned South Africa's installation of a "transitional government" in Namibia in contravention of the decisions of the Security Council and of the General Assembly. They reaffirmed that all such attempts to impose an "internal settlement" outside the framework of the United Nations plan were illegal, null and void and impeded implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978).

All speakers rejected South Africa's "linkage" of Namibia's independence to the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola. Several condemned the "linkage" policy as a pretext for hindering implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978) and recalled that the Council had declared it extraneous and irrelevant to the question of Namibia. Others observed that Angola required the assistance of foreign troops precisely in order to protect itself from aggression by South Africa and by the rebel group União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola (UNITA), which received support from South Africa.

Many speakers reaffirmed that the Namibian question was strictly a matter of decolonization and rejected attempts to treat it in the context of an East-West ideological confrontation. Many speakers declared that the United States' policy of "constructive engagement" with South Africa had not only failed to elicit progress towards a peaceful settlement of the Namibian question, but in fact had encouraged South Africa's intransigence. They called for the abandonment of that policy and for increased pressure on the Pretoria régime.

A few speakers described measures taken by their Governments to reduce their diplomatic and economic relations with South Africa. A great many speakers, while welcoming any move to isolate Pretoria, remained convinced

that comprehensive and mandatory sanctions were the only measure sufficiently strong to ensure South Africa's withdrawal from Namibia. They regretted the use of the 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 Council resolution 435 (1978). Pending the imposition of comprehensive sanctions, several speakers called for strict adherence to the existing arms and oil embargo imposed on South Africa.

Several speakers rejected as hypocritical the argument that sanctions should not be imposed because they would hurt the black people of South Africa and Namibia. The people themselves had affirmed their willingness to endure economic hardship if that was the price that had to be paid for liberation from enslavement and oppression. It was not humanitarian concern but economic and strategic interest that motivated some Governments' opposition to sanctions against South Africa, because those same Governments did not hesitate to impose unilateral sanctions on other countries in pursuance of their own political objectives.

One speaker, while voicing approval for increased pressure on South Africa, questioned the efficiency of global sanctions. He said that nothing had shown that sanctions would lead South Africa to recant.

A large number of speakers deplored the plunder of Namibia's natural resources by South African and other foreign interests in violation of Decree No. 1 for the Protection of the Natural Resources of Namibia, <sup>2/</sup> enacted by the United Nations Council for Namibia on 27 September 1974.\* Many of them maintained that the reluctance of certain powerful countries to exert stronger pressure for South Africa's withdrawal from Namibia could be explained in large part by the economic gains derived from such activities.

Many speakers declared that South Africa's illegal occupation of Namibia and its use of the Territory as a springboard for attacks on the neighbouring States had destabilized the entire region of southern Africa. They expressed particular concern over South Africa's acquisition of nuclear-weapon capability and called for immediate cessation of military and nuclear collaboration with the Pretoria régime.

Several speakers affirmed that a peaceful settlement of the Namibian question on the basis of Security Council resolution 435 (1978) would do much to restore peace and security to southern Africa. Many called upon the international community to render increased assistance to the front-line States so that they might better withstand the social and economic damage inflicted by South African aggression.

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\* The Decree prohibits all persons and entities from prospecting for, taking, extracting, mining, using, selling or exporting any natural resource found in Namibia without the consent of the United Nations Council for Namibia.



Speakers urged the provision of maximum support to the people of Namibia in their struggle for freedom and independence. Some speakers, recalling that South Africa had rejected all peaceful attempts to resolve the Namibian question, affirmed the legitimacy of the armed struggle under the leadership of SWAPO. Others emphasized the importance of training, humanitarian aid and other forms of material assistance to Namibians in the period preceding independence.

A number of speakers expressed the hope that the Conference would adopt a concerted strategy for international action in support of Namibia's independence. Several of them stressed the need to mobilize public opinion in the Western countries, which could influence official policy regarding economic sanctions. They endorsed the initiatives taken by legislators and other influential individuals, as well as by NGOs to promote increased public interest and stronger government action.

Speakers reaffirmed their conviction that the Namibian question was one of the most pressing items on the international agenda; that the Namibian people could no longer be denied their inalienable right to self-determination and independence; and that the international community must find the will and the means to bring immediate independence to Namibia.

#### B. United Nations bodies and specialized agencies

Statements were made by representatives 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 Special Committee against Apartheid, the Economic and Social Council and the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People.

The speakers regretted that, 20 years after the termination of its Mandate over Namibia, South Africa continued to occupy Namibia illegally in defiance of the United Nations, to oppress the people and exploit the natural resources of the Territory and to engage in acts of aggression against the neighbouring States. They reaffirmed the responsibility of the United Nations for Namibia and expressed the hope that the Organization, in particular the Security Council, would take effective action leading to implementation of the United Nations plan.

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 urged those permanent members of the Security Council that had blocked the adoption of mandatory sanctions to reverse their position so that effective action could be taken against South Africa under Chapter VII of the Charter.

The Vice-Chairman of the Special Committee against Apartheid stressed the link between Namibia's independence and the total elimination of apartheid, which was reflected in the close co-operation between the Special Committee and the United Nations Council for Namibia.

The President of the Economic and Social Council recalled that a Panel of Eminent Persons had conducted hearings on the activities of transnational corporations in South Africa and Namibia and had submitted recommendations whose full implementation the Council, in concert with other organs of the United Nations, would seek to ensure. The Chairman of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People, observing that the situation in southern Africa and the Middle East posed an ongoing threat to international peace and security, underlined the urgency of finding a peaceful solution to the question of Namibia, as well as to the question of Palestine.

A representative of the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (FAO) made a statement reviewing the organization's assistance to Namibia, which included the training of Namibian refugees in food distribution, nutrition and child care; assessment of the agricultural potential of land in Namibia; and analysis of agricultural and fisheries policy options for the immediate post-independence period. He said that FAO was deeply concerned that the Territory's immense agricultural potential was being exploited without any regard for the benefit or wishes of Namibians.

#### C. Intergovernmental organizations

Statements were made by representatives of the League of Arab States, the Organization of the Islamic Conference, OAU and the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA).

The speakers called for the immediate implementation of the United Nations plan as the only means of ensuring Namibia's peaceful transition to independence. They noted that South Africa's continued refusal to withdraw from the Territory posed a serious threat to the prestige and authority of the United Nations.

The Secretary-General of the League of Arab States, drawing a parallel between South Africa's occupation of Namibia and Israel's occupation of Arab territories, declared the full solidarity of the League with the Namibian people. The Secretary-General of the Organization of the Islamic Conference condemned the Western Governments' support for the Pretoria régime and urged them to join the international community in its support for the Namibian people.

The Assistant Secretary-General for Political Affairs of OAU expressed disappointment that certain Western countries had allowed economic considerations to prevent them from taking decisive action against the murderous South African régime. The representative of CMEA affirmed that the members of his Council did not maintain relations with South Africa, but rather rendered all-round assistance to the front-line States and supported the imposition of comprehensive sanctions under Chapter VII of the Charter.

#### D. Other organizations

Statements were made by representatives of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), the African National Congress of South Africa (ANC) and the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania (PAC).

The speakers regretted the support extended to South Africa by certain countries and the failure of the Security Council to adopt sanctions against South Africa under Chapter VII of the Charter. They requested the Conference to address seriously the problem of overcoming obstacles to the liberation of the Namibian and South African peoples.

The Chairman of the PLO expressed solidarity with the Namibian people in their just struggle against oppression under the leadership of SWAPO, their sole and authentic representative. He stated that the cause of the Namibian people was similar to the cause of the Palestinian and South African peoples. He called for the immediate implementation of the United Nations plan for the independence of Namibia.

The representative of ANC noted that South Africa's quest for economic and political domination had resulted in armed action against all the independent States of southern Africa. The leaders in Pretoria were striving to destabilize the entire region, weaken the front-line States and bring to power régimes that were prepared to co-operate with them. The representative of PAC stressed the importance of the liberation struggle within the Territory, which also served as a catalyst for international action. The international community would react concretely only if the struggle was fought and developed internally.

A number of non-governmental organizations also made statements in the general debate and in the Committee of the Whole.

#### IV. CLOSING MEETING

At the closing meeting on 11 July, the Conference adopted by acclamation its final document, consisting of the Declaration of the International Conference for the Immediate Independence of Namibia and the Programme of Action on Namibia. The Declaration and Programme of Action are reproduced in annex I to this bulletin.

Some delegations expressed reservations concerning certain aspects of the final document. In accordance with a decision of the President of the Conference, the reservations were communicated in writing to the Secretary-General of the United Nations and included in the report of the Conference. 3/

The President of SWAPO made a closing statement in which he vowed that SWAPO would leave no stone unturned and would intensify the armed struggle. He urged all the participants at the Conference to redouble their efforts to persuade the United States Administration to abandon the misguided policy of "linkage", which continued to hold hostage the freedom and independence of Namibia.

The President of the United Nations Council for Namibia stated that the international community could not tolerate a situation in which the Namibian people were deprived of their fundamental rights and the threat of a wider and even more destructive conflict hung over southern Africa. He stressed that the Council would do all in its power to translate the ideas expressed in the final document of the Conference into decisive and forceful action. If all members of the international community joined in that common endeavour, Namibia would soon take its place among the free and sovereign nations of the world.

The President of the Conference affirmed that the international community could not countenance any attempts to undermine the authority of the United Nations over Namibia or the provisions of Security Council resolution 435 (1978). Yet the United States policy of "constructive engagement" with South Africa, the "linkage" policy, the installation of an "interim government" at Windhoek and the initiatives being mooted in Pretoria and Washington to modify resolution 435 (1978) pointed unmistakably in that direction. The Conference had seized the opportunity to affirm the central role of the United Nations in the efforts to bring independence to Namibia. The Declaration and Programme of Action afforded an appropriate occasion for all to dedicate themselves anew to the cause of Namibia and to ensure that 1986 would mark a new beginning for a free, united and independent Namibia.

A message received from Mr. Kurt Waldheim, Federal President of the Republic of Austria, was read out to the Conference. He stated that by holding the Conference, the community of States had given expression to its serious concern about recent developments in southern Africa and its anxiety to see those dangerous trends reversed. He expressed his earnest hope that on the question of Namibia and apartheid alike, no more time would be lost and that both would be resolved in conformity with the Charter and the fundamental principles of human rights.

After the adoption of a resolution of thanks to the host Government, the Conference was declared closed.

## V. SPECIAL ACTIVITIES

### A. Journalists' encounter

Immediately preceding the Conference, on 3 and 4 July, a delegation of the United Nations Council for Namibia conducted a journalists' encounter for some 30 media representatives invited by the Council from all parts of the world, as well as local and foreign journalists stationed at Vienna. A SWAPO delegation participated in the encounter at the invitation of the Council.

The purpose of the encounter was to brief the media on the topics to be discussed at the Conference, and also to encourage a three-way dialogue on means of improving media coverage of Namibia, particularly in Western Europe and North America. In a series of panel discussions, substantive agenda items of the Conference were introduced by representatives of the Council and of SWAPO. The discussions were moderated by media representatives chosen from among the participants.

There was a frank and open exchange of views between the delegation of the United Nations Council for Namibia, representatives of SWAPO and the participating journalists. Useful information was exchanged regarding the situation in and relating to Namibia, the impediments to Namibia's transition to independence in accordance with Security Council resolution 435 (1978) and the threat to international peace and security arising from South Africa's continued illegal occupation of Namibia and its repeated acts of aggression against, and destabilization of, the independent African States in the region.

On the question of media coverage of Namibia, several participants suggested means by which the United Nations, particularly the United Nations Council for Namibia, could improve the dissemination and the impact of information relating to Namibia. The delegations of the Council and SWAPO explained in greater detail the position of the United Nations on Namibia, particularly the responsibility assumed by the United Nations for Namibia 20 years ago, and the important role that journalists could play in ensuring that that position was adequately reflected in the mass media. The two delegations also appealed to the participants, as well as to the international media at large, to ensure that the threat to international peace and security posed by South Africa's defiance of the will of the international community and the need for the imposition of mandatory sanctions against South Africa were emphasized. They stated that it was essential for media representatives who supported the position of the United Nations with respect to Namibia to do their utmost individually and collectively to counter Pretoria's massive propaganda and disinformation campaigns.

Several journalists observed that the encounter had greatly increased their knowledge of the question of Namibia and of the position of the United Nations on the issue. As a result, they believed that they would be in a better position to follow and report on the proceedings of the Conference.

B. Launching of the comprehensive study on Namibia and the economic map of Namibia

At its fourth meeting, on 8 July 1986, the Conference launched a comprehensive study on Namibia and the official United Nations economic map of Namibia. The comprehensive study, entitled "Namibia: Perspectives for National Reconstruction and Development", had been prepared at the request of the United Nations Council for Namibia by the United Nations Institute for Namibia, with the support of SWAPO, the Office of the United Nations Commissioner for Namibia and the United Nations Development Programme. The official United Nations economic map of Namibia had been prepared by the Cartographic Unit of the United Nations under the direction of the United Nations Council for Namibia.

The President of the Council, in introducing the study, said that it would be of immense practical value both in the current phase of the struggle for national liberation and in the nation-building period following Namibia's accession to independence. He added that the study contained a detailed account of the existing resources and the potential for development in every major sector of the Namibian economy. It also illustrated the deplorable contrast between the rich benefits that Namibia's resources could yield to its people and the actual state of poverty and deprivation imposed on them by South African domination.

Mr. Jacob Mwanza, Vice-Chairman of the Senate of the Institute, stated that the 1,008-page study contained the contribution of more than 30 experts on all aspects of economic development. He pointed out that the study would be useful in helping donors to identify areas of future collaboration.

Speaking on behalf of the Nordic countries, the representative of Finland noted that the study had been prepared by the Institute under the Nationhood Programme for Namibia, which was a comprehensive programme of assistance to Namibians. The Nordic countries were proud of their support for the Institute and were pleased by the successful completion of the study which set out guidelines for policies before and after independence.

The President of SWAPO emphasized that the study focused on the future independent and self-sustained economy of Namibia. It called for State intervention in the economy, including State control and ownership of the commanding sectors of the economy. The study's recommendations were moderate, conciliatory and progressive. There was now a need for follow-up programmes to the study. Financial and technical assistance would be required to carry out the projects envisaged in the study after independence. The President of SWAPO also welcomed the publication of the official United Nations economic map of Namibia, which was being disseminated throughout the world.

Mr. Hage G. Geingob, Director of the Institute, said that he believed the study would contribute significantly to the body of knowledge for use by the policy-makers of Namibia both prior to and after attainment of independence.

The President of the Conference offered his congratulations to the Council and the Institute for the completion of the study and the map, both of which were valuable contributions to the cause of Namibia's independence.

### C. Contribution of the eminent persons

The following eminent persons participated in the Conference at the invitation of the United Nations Council for Namibia:  
Mr. Issoufou S. Djermakoye, former Vice-President of the Council of Ministers of the Niger and former Under-Secretary-General for Political Affairs, Trusteeship and Decolonization at the United Nations; Mr. Luis Echeverria, former President of Mexico; Bishop Trevor Huddleston, President of the Anti-Apartheid Movement of the United Kingdom; Mr. Abdul Halim Khaddam, Vice-President of the Syrian Arab Republic; Mr. Bruno Kreisky, former Chancellor of Austria; Ms. Milka Planinc, former Prime Minister of Yugoslavia; and Mr. Sardar Swaran Singh, member of the Executive Board of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) and former Minister for External Affairs of India.

Mr. Khaddam, Mr. Djermakoye, Bishop Huddleston and Mr. Singh made statements in the general debate. These speakers deplored the perpetuation of a colonial situation in Namibia that threatened peace and security in southern Africa. They strongly urged the Western countries lending support to South Africa, especially those that had vetoed sanctions in the Security Council, to join the international community in exerting effective pressure on South Africa.

Mr. Khaddam stated that the oppression of the Namibian people was a result of the strategic and economic designs of world imperialism. He added that Western protection of colonialism and racism was an act of hostility not only against the people of Africa but also against the United Nations and the cause of international peace and security.

Mr. Djermakoye rejected the claim that sanctions would be more harmful to blacks than whites, and urged those who had opposed sanctions to abandon their short-sighted policy. He saluted those Governments that had broken off all relations with South Africa and the NGOs that were mobilizing international public opinion in support of Namibia.

In unveiling a work of art commemorating the liberation struggle of the people of Namibia, Bishop Trevor Huddleston stated that he had been involved for over 40 years in the struggle to bring independence to Namibia and to end apartheid. He underlined that the question of independence for Namibia and its people was one which had absolute moral and spiritual force, second to no other issue. It was a vital necessity that independence be achieved within as short a time as possible because Namibia had been denied its freedom for so many years. The moral strength and greatness of its cause should be enough to persuade all nations of the world to act immediately.

Mr. Singh, one of a group of eminent persons charged by the Commonwealth with facilitating a negotiated solution to the problems of South Africa, described the group's activities. The members of the group had concluded that the Pretoria régime, bereft of support at home or of an indigenous base, had sought its crutches abroad. That had spurred the need to keep Namibia in bondage, to intimidate the front-line States with acts of aggression and to curry political favour with powerful nations outside Africa. The challenge now was to ensure the triumph of the right to self-determination over greed and self-interest.

At the fifth meeting of the Conference, on 9 July 1986, Mr. Echeverría introduced, on behalf of the seven eminent persons, an Appeal for the Immediate Independence of Namibia, the text of which is reproduced in annex II to this bulletin.

#### D. Workshop for non-governmental organizations

Immediately following the Conference, on 12 July 1986, a delegation of the United Nations Council for Namibia conducted a workshop for NGOs, parliamentarians, trade unionists, scholars and media representatives concerned with the question of Namibia. A delegation of SWAPO officials also participated in the discussions, which are summarized below.

##### 1. Increasing political, diplomatic, moral, material, financial and other support for SWAPO

Speakers were of the view that not only should NGOs intensify their campaigns in support of SWAPO, but they should also work for better co-ordination of their activities. SWAPO should be regularly consulted regarding the types of assistance that it required.

Several speakers stated that scholarships for SWAPO students and other educational support should be increased, so that young Namibians would be prepared to assume responsibilities in their country after independence. The need for further trade-union training of Namibian workers was also emphasized.

Several speakers pointed out that successful material-aid campaigns had been carried out in the field of health. Visual materials depicting life in the refugee camps had proven useful for mobilization and fund-raising. Speakers stressed the importance of assisting Namibian women in becoming self-sufficient. Transport and farming equipment was needed, as well as materials with which to build more permanent shelters and structures.

Many speakers emphasized that art and religion could be used to mobilize support for SWAPO. Some organizations had managed to have artists donate records to raise funds for the cause of liberation. More spectacular actions, such as the proposed peace march into Namibia, could also attract attention and support. Some participants suggested that campaigns in Western countries be launched with the aim of obtaining full diplomatic recognition of SWAPO by Governments.

The representative of SWAPO expressed appreciation for the work of NGOs and called for intensified dissemination of information on Namibia through the mass media. He called for more material aid in the form of food, educational equipment and clothing. In response to questions regarding appropriate dates for special activities in support of Namibia, the SWAPO representative stated that the following dates had special significance for Namibia: 18 April, anniversary of the foundation of SWAPO; 26 August, Namibia Day (beginning of the armed struggle); 27 October, Week of Solidarity with the People of Namibia and Their Liberation Movement, SWAPO (termination of South Africa's Mandate over Namibia by the General Assembly); and 10 December, Namibian Women's Day.

## 2. Imposition of sanctions against South Africa

Since the failure to implement global sanctions against South Africa was due to the inaction of several key States, speakers believed that NGOs must co-ordinate the pressure that they applied and build parliamentary support in strategic areas of the world. NGOs should also seek to gain support for sanctions through organization at the local level. The Association of West European Parliamentarians for Action against Apartheid (AWEPA), which had extensive experience in such matters, could provide guidance and advice.

Recognizing that oil was a key factor in the régime's continued occupation of Namibia, and that South Africa was particularly vulnerable to an oil embargo, some speakers urged NGOs to press for an effective oil boycott, focusing specifically on the Royal Dutch Shell group and Total Compagnie Minière et Nucléaire of France. Other speakers recommended the launching of boycotts of South African fruit and wine, especially through women's organizations which had proven extremely effective in such efforts.



### 3. Military and nuclear co-operation with South Africa

Participants suggested that NGOs should urge anti-nuclear movements to protest the illegal removal of Namibian uranium in violation of Decree No. 1 for the Protection of the Natural Resources of Namibia. <sup>2/</sup> Efforts to educate the public on this issue should place it in the context of the overall political and economic situation in Namibia.

Speakers emphasized that NGOs must expose covert and overt military aid to South Africa, as well as United States aid to UNITA, which most probably was routed through South Africa in violation of the arms embargo. They also must expose the counter-liberation movement currently being organized in Namibia.

NGOs should link Namibia's independence with the resistance movements of the black patriots in South Africa, while working to prevent the destabilization of the front-line States. They must continually expose South Africa's military occupation, highlight the Namibian people's resistance to military occupation and raise support for the struggle within.

### 4. Impediments to the independence of Namibia by South African and other foreign interests, with particular reference to the Decree of the United Nations Council for Namibia

Participants called for research by NGOs, particularly in Western countries, on the possibility of legal enforcement of the Decree. They urged NGOs to examine State violations of the Decree and then mobilize opposition and legal action against transgressions. They also applauded the decision of the United Nations Council for Namibia to consider legal action in the domestic courts of States to enforce its Decree. NGOs were encouraged to pressure trade unions to refuse to handle South African goods.

### 5. Solidarity with the front-line States

Participants considered means of assisting the front-line States in dealing with the consequences of South African military aggression, which had already cost the members of the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC) more than \$US 10 billion between 1980 and 1985, and in decreasing their vulnerability to economic coercion by the Pretoria régime.

Several speakers suggested efforts to mobilize financial support for the rehabilitation of the railways, roads, harbours and other infrastructure of SADCC States. Others recommended campaigns calling for special emergency aid to States particularly dependent on the South African economy. It was noted that AWEPA was already preparing a programme to mobilize increased support for SADCC projects, and the Women's International Democratic Federation was organizing a conference in 1987 in solidarity with the women of southern Africa, who had to bear most directly the brunt of South Africa's military and economic aggression.

On the question of international military support for the liberation struggle of the peoples of Namibia and South Africa, the representative of ANC stated that his organization and SWAPO appreciated assistance, but the struggle remained theirs. South Africa was attempting to regionalize the struggle by attacking and destabilizing the front-line States, and perhaps even to globalize the conflict in the mould of the cold war. To that end, it had already persuaded the United States Administration to furnish arms to UNITA. It was not in the interests of the liberation movements to regionalize their war also.

#### 6. Co-ordination of campaigning and dissemination of information

Speakers expressed the view that NGO action could be usefully co-ordinated through AWEPA, which monitored and reported on political actions in each country; produced model anti-apartheid legislation; organized seminars, especially around SADCC; and had links to Canada, the United States and solidarity movements. The United Nations Council for Namibia, the Namibia Communications Centre and the Namibia Support Committee should also be informed of the planned activities of NGOs. The Namibia Support Committee was about to begin publishing a four-page monthly newsletter called International News Briefing on Namibia which would be helpful in publicizing the activities of NGOs and mobilizing public opinion.

Speakers emphasized that pressure must be brought on the South African Government to release the names of political prisoners, and letters of support should be sent to newspapers inside Namibia. Active support should be given to parliamentarians who worked for anti-apartheid legislation. All actions should stress the need for immediate implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978).

### VI. POSTSCRIPT AND SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER READING

The report of the International Conference for the Immediate Independence of Namibia was issued in August 1985 (see footnote 3).

The General Assembly held a special session on the question of Namibia between 17 and 20 September 1986. At the last meeting of the session, the Assembly adopted a resolution in which, among other things, it 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 (resolution S/14-1).

The Security Council considered the situation in Namibia at eight meetings held between 6 and 9 April 1987 (verbatim records S/PV.2740-2747). The Council had before it a report of the Secretary-General indicating that South Africa continued to link the independence of Namibia to the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola. The Secretary-General stated that the "linkage" condition was invalid and could not be accepted as a pretext to delay any further the independence of Namibia. South Africa should therefore urgently reconsider its position in order to enable the United Nations to proceed with the implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978). For the text of the report see S/18767.

On 9 April, the Security Council considered a draft resolution by which it would have decided, inter alia, to impose comprehensive and mandatory sanctions against South Africa. The vote on the draft resolution was nine in favour, three against (Federal Republic of Germany, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and United States of America) and three abstaining (France, Italy and Japan). The draft was not adopted because of the negative votes cast by the United States and the United Kingdom which, as permanent members of the Council, have the power to veto any draft resolution. For the text of the draft see S/18785.

The United Nations Council for Namibia held a series of extraordinary plenary meetings at Luanda between 18 and 22 April 1987, including a special meeting on 19 April to mark the twentieth anniversary of its establishment. On this occasion, the Council adopted an Appeal in which it urged the United States Administration to withdraw its support for South Africa's policy of "linkage" and called for increased international assistance to the Namibian people through SWAPO. See A/42/324-S/18900.

The Council also adopted the Luanda Declaration and Programme of Action in which, inter alia, it spelled out means by which it would seek to strengthen international support for the struggle of the Namibian people and to secure prompt implementation of the United Nations plan for the independence of Namibia. The Council warned that "recent actions of the puppet administration in Windhoek point to the possibility of its declaring a unilateral action of independence" outside the framework of the United Nations plan. The Council declared that such an action would be bereft of legitimacy and popular will and would not be recognized. See A/42/325-S/18901.

In recent months, the United Nations Council for Namibia has published a series of detailed reports on various aspects of the question of Namibia. These reports have been issued under the symbols A/AC.131/240 (political developments), A/AC.131/241 (military situation), A/AC.131/242 (social conditions), A/AC.131/243 (activities of foreign economic interests) and A/AC.131/226 and Corr. 1 (contacts between Member States of the United Nations and South Africa in violation of General Assembly resolutions).

On the occasion of the commemoration on 26 August 1987 of Namibia Day, a number of speakers observed that there had been no perceptible progress towards a peaceful settlement of the Namibian question since the holding of the International Conference in July 1986. South Africa had clung tenaciously to its linkage policy, even though the United Nations had declared that policy invalid and unacceptable. Although some countries had adopted limited sanctions against the Pretoria régime, or tightened existing sanctions, those measures had not been sufficiently strong to alter South Africa's position of defiance of the United Nations and refusal to co-operate in the implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978). The United Nations Council for Namibia and the General Assembly, together with numerous intergovernmental bodies, such as OAU and the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, had renewed their appeal to the Security Council to act decisively against South Africa under Chapter VII of the Charter. However, the Security Council had not heeded that call because some of its permanent members remained opposed to comprehensive and mandatory sanctions.

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/ Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-fifth Session, Supplement No. 24 (A/35/24), vol. I, annex I.

3/ 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), annex II.

Annex I

DECLARATION OF THE INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE FOR THE  
IMMEDIATE INDEPENDENCE OF NAMIBIA AND PROGRAMME OF ACTION ON NAMIBIA

A. Declaration of the International Conference for the  
Immediate Independence of Namibia

1. Introduction

1. In pursuance of General Assembly resolution 40/97 C of 13 December 1985, the International Conference for the Immediate Independence of Namibia was held at the Conference Centre "Hofburg" in Vienna, from 7 to 11 July 1986. The purpose of the Conference was to mobilize and strengthen further international support for the struggle of the Namibian people for self-determination and genuine independence under the leadership of the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO), their sole and authentic representative. The Conference was also intended to consider concrete proposals to eliminate the obstacles to the independence of Namibia and to formulate a co-ordinated international programme of action aimed at securing the immediate implementation of the United Nations plan for the independence of Namibia, as provided for in Security Council resolutions 385 (1976) of 30 January 1976 and 435 (1978) of 29 September 1978. In addition, it was intended to consider new initiatives to implement General Assembly resolution 2145 (XXI) of 27 October 1966, by which the Assembly terminated South Africa's Mandate over Namibia.

2. The Conference was attended by 121 Governments (6 as observers), several of them represented at the ministerial level, United Nations organs, the Organization of African Unity (OAU), the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, specialized agencies of the United Nations and other intergovernmental organizations, SWAPO, the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), the African National Congress of South Africa (ANC) and the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania (PAC), as well as international and national non-governmental organizations.

3. Also participating in the Conference were the following eminent persons: Mr. Issoufou S. Djermakoye, former Vice-President of the Council of Ministers of the Niger and former Under-Secretary-General for Political Affairs, Trusteeship and Decolonization (United Nations); Mr. Luis Echeverría, former President of Mexico; Bishop Trevor Huddleston, President of the Anti-Apartheid Movement (United Kingdom); Mr. Abdul Halim Khaddam, Vice-President, Syrian Arab Republic; Mr. Bruno Kreisky, former Chancellor of Austria; Ms. Milka Planinc, former Prime Minister of Yugoslavia; and Mr. Sardar Swaran Singh, member of the Executive Board of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) and former Minister for External Affairs of India.

4. The Conference was opened by His Excellency Mr. Javier Pérez de Cuéllar, Secretary-General of the United Nations, and was presided over by His Excellency Mr. Benjamin Mkapa, Minister for Foreign Affairs of the United Republic of Tanzania.

5. The Conference thoroughly considered the Namibian question in all its aspects and reviewed extensively the situation in and relating to Namibia in the context of the situation in southern Africa as a whole and its implications for international peace and security. In so doing, the Conference took special account of the relevant resolutions on the question of Namibia adopted by the Security Council and by the United Nations General Assembly at its fortieth session, and, inter alia, the Final Document of the Extraordinary Ministerial Meeting of the Co-ordinating Bureau of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries on the Question of Namibia, held at New Delhi from 19 to 21 April 1985, a/ the Political Declaration on the situation in southern Africa and on the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples adopted by 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, b/ and the resolution on the Namibian question adopted by the Council of Ministers of OAU at its forty-third ordinary session, held at Addis Ababa from 25 February to 4 March 1986.

6. Having reviewed and analysed in depth the prevailing situation in and relating to Namibia, the obstacles that continue to impede Namibia's transition to genuine independence 20 years after the United Nations terminated South Africa's Mandate over Namibia and assumed direct responsibility for the Territory and the threat to regional and international peace and security posed by South Africa's continued illegal occupation of Namibia, the continuation of its policy of apartheid and its political and economic destabilization of, and aggression against, neighbouring independent African States, the Conference adopts the following declaration, which it commends for the urgent and effective action by all Governments, organizations and peoples in order to secure the immediate and unconditional independence of Namibia in accordance with the relevant resolutions and decisions of the United Nations, particularly Security Council resolutions 385 (1976) and 435 (1978).

## 2. Declaration

7. The Conference solemnly affirms the inalienable right of the Namibian people to self-determination and national independence in a united Namibia. It notes with deep concern that, 20 years after the United Nations assumed direct responsibility over the Territory, South Africa continues its illegal occupation of Namibia in flagrant violation of the relevant resolutions of the United Nations on the question of Namibia. It affirms that the continued illegal occupation of Namibia by South Africa constitutes an act of aggression against the people of Namibia and demands that South Africa withdraw immediately and unconditionally from the entire territory of Namibia, including Walvis Bay and the Penguin and other offshore islands.

8. The Conference emphasizes that, in accordance with General Assembly resolutions 2145 (XXI) of 27 October 1966 and 2248 (S-V) of 19 May 1967, Namibia is the direct responsibility of the United Nations, which the Organization exercises through the United Nations Council for Namibia, the legal Administering Authority for the Territory until its independence, and expresses its support for the efforts of the United Nations Council for Namibia in fulfilment of the mandate entrusted to it.
9. The Conference affirms the legitimacy of the struggle of the Namibian people by every means at its disposal, including armed struggle, to repel South Africa's aggression and to achieve self-determination, freedom and independence in a united Namibia. It expresses its firm solidarity with the people of Namibia in their liberation struggle under the leadership of SWAPO and calls upon the international community to render increased all-round assistance to the Namibian people and to its liberation movement, SWAPO.
10. The Conference pays tribute to 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. It salutes SWAPO for its flexibility and statesmanship and for the co-operation that it continues to display in the political and diplomatic arena in the context of the efforts to promote a peaceful, negotiated settlement of the Namibian question.
11. The Conference condemns 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 demands an immediate end to those policies. It condemns the detention and imprisonment of Namibians by the racist régime and demands the unconditional release of all political prisoners in Namibia. It further denounces South Africa's massive militarization of the Territory, its introduction of compulsory military service for Namibians, its forced recruitment and training of Namibians for tribal armies and its recruitment of mercenaries and other foreign agents in order to carry out its policies of internal repression and external aggression.
12. The Conference condemns the use of the territory of Namibia by the Pretoria régime as a launching pad for its aggression and subversion against the neighbouring African States. In this context, it denounces South Africa's latest acts of aggression against Angola, Botswana, Zambia and Zimbabwe and declares that Pretoria's policy of aggression and destabilization not only undermines the peace and stability of the southern African region, but also constitutes a threat to international peace and security. The Conference is convinced that South Africa's acts of aggression call for the adoption of measures against that régime under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations. It further underscores the special position and role of the front-line States in the struggle against apartheid South Africa and salutes them for their steadfast support for the Namibian cause.

13. The Conference expresses its conviction that the United Nations plan for the independence of Namibia, embodied in Security Council resolutions 385 (1976) and 435 (1978), constitutes the only internationally accepted basis for a peaceful settlement of the Namibian question and calls for its immediate implementation without pre-condition or modification. In this connection, the Conference strongly condemns and rejects the persistent attempts by the United States of America and 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 and that they constitute a gross and unwarranted interference in the internal affairs 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. c/

14. The Conference strongly denounces South Africa for its imposition of a so-called interim government in Namibia on 17 June 1985. It recalls with satisfaction the universal and categorical rejection by the international community, including in particular the Security Council, which by its resolution 566 (1985) of 19 June 1985 declared that South Africa's action constituted a direct affront and a clear defiance of the resolutions of the Council, particularly resolutions 435 (1978) and 439 (1978). The Conference declares these measures taken by South Africa with regard to Namibia to be null and void, and affirms that this new manoeuvre is solely intended to consolidate Pretoria's stranglehold over the Territory by creating puppet institutions subservient to its interests. It further denounces all other fraudulent constitutional and political schemes by which the racist régime of South Africa attempts to perpetuate its colonial domination of Namibia.

15. The Conference affirms that the natural resources of Namibia are the inviolable heritage of its people. It expresses 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 for the Protection of the Natural Resources of Namibia. d/ It condemns the activities of all foreign economic and other interests in Namibia, which constitute one of the major obstacles to the independence of Namibia.

16. The Conference condemns the continuing collaboration of certain Western States, Israel and other States with the racist régime of South Africa in the political, economic, military and nuclear fields in violation of United Nations resolutions and decisions. It expresses its conviction that such collaboration undermines the effort of the international community against the apartheid régime and helps to perpetuate that régime's illegal occupation of Namibia.

17. The Conference stresses that since the adoption of the so-called policy of constructive engagement by the current United States Administration, the racist régime of South Africa has become more intransigent with regard to Namibia and the continuation of its apartheid policy, and has escalated its acts of aggression against, and economic and political destabilization of, the neighbouring independent African States.



18. The Conference notes with satisfaction the intensified and well-co-ordinated public campaign, especially in certain Western countries, against the racist régime of South Africa. The legislative and other measures that are being advocated and those which have already been undertaken for disinvestment and for economic sanctions have lent impetus not only to the struggle against apartheid but also to the efforts to liberate Namibia.
19. It is the deep conviction of the Conference that the Security Council should act in a decisive manner in fulfilment of the direct responsibility of the United Nations with regard to Namibia and take urgent measures in order to ensure that the United Nations plan is implemented without modification, pre-condition or delay. In this regard, it notes with grave concern that the Security Council has been prevented by vetoes exercised by one or more of the Western countries that are permanent members of that body from taking effective measures against South Africa under Chapter VII of the Charter.
20. The Conference expresses its support for the Declaration of the World Conference on Sanctions against Racist South Africa, held at UNESCO House in Paris from 16 to 20 June 1986. <sup>e/</sup> It strongly supports the call made by the Conference for the immediate imposition of comprehensive mandatory sanctions against South Africa under Chapter VII of the Charter.
21. The Conference expresses its appreciation to those Governments which, pending the imposition of mandatory sanctions against South Africa, have taken appropriate legislative, administrative and other measures against South Africa, in order to isolate it effectively in the political, economic, military and cultural fields according to the relevant resolutions of the United Nations. It stresses the imperative need for all States that have not yet done so to take resolute unilateral action to isolate the Pretoria régime completely.
22. The Conference notes with satisfaction the positive role played by non-governmental organizations, parliamentarians and individuals in support of the Namibian cause. It believes that such efforts are of crucial importance for the Namibian cause and expresses its support and encouragement for these efforts.
23. The Conference expresses its appreciation to the Secretary-General of the United Nations for his personal commitment to the Namibian cause 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). It encourages the Secretary-General to continue his efforts and expresses to him the support and confidence of the Conference.
24. The Conference emphasizes the imperative need for all States, United Nations organs and agencies, intergovernmental organizations, as well as individuals, to intensify their political, diplomatic, military and material assistance to the Namibian people and their liberation movement, SWAPO, with a view to facilitating the struggle for self-determination and independence of the Namibian people at this crucial stage of its progress.