trust and non-self-governing territories

To end the illegal régime and urging it to convene a constitutional conference of all leaders and national liberation movements with a view to the transfer of all powers to the people on the basis of universal suffrage and majority rule. The Special Committee also strongly upheld the sanctions called for by the Security Council and drew the Council's attention to the urgent need to widen the scope of sanctions against the illegal régime and to consider imposing sanctions against Portugal and South Africa.

Later in 1972, at its twenty-seventh session, the General Assembly adopted two resolutions on the question of Southern Rhodesia. By one of these, the Assembly among other things affirmed that there should be no independence before majority rule and urged the United Kingdom to convene a national constitutional conference where the genuine political representatives of the people could work out a settlement for subsequent endorsement through free and democratic processes. The other resolution dealt mainly with the question of sanctions.

(For details of these and other related decisions on Southern Rhodesia, see pp. 111-35.)

Chapter V

The question of Namibia

The question of Namibia was considered during 1972 by the Security Council, the General Assembly and the Assembly's Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

On 4 February 1972, during meetings held in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, the Security Council adopted two resolutions on Namibia. By the first of these, the Council invited the Secretary-General—consultation and co-operation with a group of three Council members—to initiate contacts with all the parties concerned with a view to establishing the necessary conditions for the people of Namibia to exercise their right to self-determination and independence. By the other text, the Council among other things condemned South Africa's refusal to comply with United Nations resolutions relating to Namibia and reaffirmed that continued occupation of the territory by the South African authorities was illegal and detrimental to the interests of the people of Namibia. It called on South Africa to withdraw immediately its police and military forces, as well as its civilian personnel, from the territory.

On 1 August 1972, after considering a report by the Secretary-General on the results of his contacts with the South African Government and other parties concerned—carried out pursuant to the Council's decision of 4 February 1972—the Security Council invited the Secretary-General to continue his contacts and to appoint a representative to assist him. The representative, Ambassador Alfred Martin Escher of Switzerland, visited Namibia and South Africa in October and November. His report to the Secretary-General was before the Council at its meetings held in November and December 1972.

On 6 December 1972, the Security Council noted that the overwhelming majority of those consulted by the Secretary-General's representative favoured abolition of the "homelands" policy, withdrawal of the South African administration from the territory, Namibia's accession to national independence and the preservation of its territorial integrity. The Council expressed regret that there had been no complete and unequivocal clarification by South Africa of its policy regarding self-determination and independence for Namibia. It then invited the Secretary-General—in consultation and co-operation with the Security Council's group of three and with the assistance of representatives as appropriate—to continue his efforts.

Later in 1972, the General Assembly, on 18 December, adopted a resolution by which, among other things, it condemned South Africa for its continued refusal to terminate its illegal occupation of Namibia and for its continued efforts to destroy the unity of the people and the territorial integrity of the territory through the establishment of separate homelands. The Assembly called on South Africa to withdraw from Namibia and asked all States to refrain from any action which might confer a semblance of legitimacy on South Africa's illegal occupation.

By another decision of 18 December, the As-
The Assembly allocated $100,000 to the United Nations Fund for Namibia and authorized the Secretary-General to continue to appeal to Governments for voluntary contributions.

The Assembly’s Special Committee on implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, in a consensus adopted on 27 April, condemned South Africa for its persistent non-compliance with the decisions of the Security Council and the General Assembly and for its ruthless use of armed force to suppress the rights of the Namibian people. Among other things, it called on all States and the specialized agencies to provide the people of Namibia with increased moral and material assistance.

The United Nations Council for Namibia also reported to the Assembly on its activities. Details about these and other matters are described below.

**Political and related developments**

**Decisions of Security Council meeting in Addis Ababa**

The situation in Namibia was among the items considered by the Security Council in the course of 13 meetings held in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, between 28 January and 4 February 1972. On 4 February, the Security Council adopted two resolutions concerning Namibia.

By the preamble to resolution 309(1972), the Council recognized the special responsibility and obligation of the United Nations towards the people and territory of Namibia, and reaffirmed the inalienable and imprescriptible right of the people of Namibia to self-determination and independence, as well as the national unity and territorial integrity of Namibia.

By the operative part of the resolution, the Council invited the Secretary-General, in consultation and in close co-operation with a group of the Security Council-composed of the representatives of Argentina, Somalia and Yugoslavia-to initiate as soon as possible contacts with all parties concerned, with a view to establishing the necessary conditions so as to enable the people of Namibia, freely and with strict regard to the principle of human equality, to exercise their right to self-determination and independence, in accordance with the United Nations Charter. The Council called on the Government of South Africa to co-operate fully with the Secretary-General in the implementation of the resolution, and asked the Secretary-General to report to it on the question not later than 31 July 1972.

Resolution 309(1972) was adopted by a vote of 14 to 0. China did not participate in the vote. The text was sponsored by Argentina. (For further details and debate in the Security Council, see pp. 77-79 and 83-84; for text of resolution, see p. 87.)

By resolution 310(1972), the Council expressed its grave concern at the current situation in Namibia and, among other things, at the repressive measures of the South African Government, following a strike of African contract labourers and the widespread and increasing manifestations of African resistance to the illegal occupation of the territory by South Africa. It also reaffirmed the inalienable right of the people of Namibia to self-determination and independence in accordance with the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

The Council strongly condemned the refusal of South Africa to comply with its resolutions and those of the General Assembly pertaining to Namibia. It reaffirmed that the continued occupation of Namibia by the South African authorities was illegal and detrimental to the interests of the people of Namibia. It declared that the defiant attitude of South Africa towards the Council’s decisions undermined the authority of the United Nations.

The Council strongly condemned the recent repressive measures against the African labourers in Namibia, and called upon South Africa to end them immediately and to abolish any labour system which might be in conflict with the basic provisions of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

It also called upon all States whose nationals and corporations were operating in Namibia, notwithstanding the relevant provisions of the Security Council’s resolution of 29 July 1970 (283(1970)), to use all available means to ensure that such nationals and corporations conformed, in their policies of hiring Namibian workers, to the basic provisions of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

Also, the Council considered that the continued occupation of Namibia by South Africa in defiance

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2 By resolution 283(1970), the Security Council among other things called upon all States to ensure that companies and other commercial and industrial enterprises owned by, or under direct control of, the State cease all dealings with respect to commercial or industrial enterprises or concessions in Namibia. For text of resolution, see Y.U.N., 1970, pp. 753-54.
of the relevant United Nations resolutions and the Charter created conditions detrimental to the maintenance of peace and security in the region.

It called upon South Africa to withdraw immediately its police and military forces as well as its civilian personnel from the territory of Namibia. In the event of South Africa's failure to comply with this resolution, the Security Council decided it would meet immediately to decide upon effective steps or measures, in accordance with the relevant chapters of the Charter, to secure the full and speedy implementation of the resolution.

The Secretary-General was asked to report to the Council on the implementation of the resolution not later than 31 July 1972.

Resolution 310(1972) was adopted by a vote of 13 to 0, with 2 abstentions (France and the United Kingdom). The text was sponsored by Guinea, Somalia, Sudan and Yugoslavia.

(For further details and debate in the Security Council, see pp. 77-79 and 84; for text of resolution, see pp. 87-88.)

Communications and reports to Security Council (January-July 1972)

By a letter of 24 January 1972 addressed to the President of the Security Council, the President of the United Nations Council for Namibia transmitted a statement on the labour strike then going on in Namibia, involving more than 13,000 workers in the mining industry. The Council for Namibia expressed its complete solidarity with the strikers and called for an immediate end to the contract labour system—which the strikers were protesting—as being in violation of the provisions of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

On 21 June 1972, the Secretary-General submitted a report to the Security Council on the implementation of its resolution 301(1971) of 20 October 1971. By that resolution the Council had, among other things, reaffirmed that the territory of Namibia was the direct responsibility of the United Nations and had called upon all States to take certain steps in discharging their responsibilities to the people of Namibia. The Secretary-General had transmitted the text to all States Members of the United Nations and to Governments of States members of the specialized agencies, and asked them to supply information concerning all measures they had taken or might intend to take in order to give effect to the provisions of the resolution. The substantive parts of the replies received from 20 Governments were annexed to the report.

On 13 July 1972, the President of the United Nations Council for Namibia transmitted to the Security Council the statement issued the day before by the Council for Namibia expressing its concern regarding recent political developments in Namibia, in particular the announcement that South Africa had decided to grant self-rule to Ovamboland in Namibia and proposed to impose self-government on the Damara people. The Council for Namibia considered that such actions were calculated to accelerate the process of destroying the unity of the people and fragmenting the territorial integrity of Namibia.

On 19 July 1972, the Executive Secretary of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) sent to the Security Council the texts of resolutions adopted at its session held in Rabat, Morocco, in June 1972. Among those resolutions was one condemning all actions by South Africa to destroy the unity and territorial integrity of Namibia and calling, in accordance with the recommendation of the OAU Liberation Committee, for increased material assistance to the South West Africa People's Organization so as to enable it to wage its armed liberation struggle effectively in Namibia.

On 31 July 1972, the Secretary-General submitted to the Security Council a report on the implementation on the Council's resolution 310(1972) of 4 February 1972 (see above, pp. 603-4). The substantive parts of the replies received from 33 Governments concerning their implementation of the resolution were annexed to the report.

A report by the Secretary-General dated 17 July 1972, concerning implementation of Security Council resolution 309(1972) of 4 February 1972, is described below.

Consideration by Security Council (July-August 1972)

The Security Council considered the situation in Namibia at meetings held on 31 July and 1 August 1972. The President, with the consent of the Council and pursuant to a request from the President of the United Nations Council for Namibia, invited the representatives of Guyana and Nigeria to participate in the discussion on behalf of the Council for Namibia, without the right to vote.

The Security Council had before it a report of the Secretary-General on the implementation of resolution 309(1972) of 4 February 1972. By that resolution, the Council had, among other things, asked the Secretary-General to initiate contacts with the parties concerned with a view to establishing conditions to enable the people of Namibia to exercise their right to self-determination and independence (see above, p. 603).

In his report, the Secretary-General stated that—following an exchange of communications between the Government of South Africa and the
Secretary-General concerning clarifications of his mandate and the purpose of his visit—he, accompanied by members of the United Nations Secretariat, visited South Africa and Namibia, with the co-operation of the Government of South Africa, between 6 and 10 March 1972, and held discussions with the Prime Minister and the Minister for Foreign Affairs of South Africa. In the course of the discussions, the possibility of appointing a representative of the Secretary-General emerged.

The Secretary-General also contacted and consulted with other parties concerned. These included: (i) groups calling for a united independent Namibia; (ii) groups supporting self-government for the homelands and opposing a unitary State; (iii) the European Executive Committee of South West Africa; (iv) Namibian leaders outside the territory, who presented the views of the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO) and the South West Africa National United Front (SWANUF); (v) other United Nations bodies (in addition to the group of three, which the Security Council had designated to assist him), including the Chairman of the Security Council's Ad Hoc Sub-Committee on Namibia, the President of the United Nations Council for Namibia and the Chairman of the General Assembly's Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples; (vi) the Chairman of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of OAU and a number of the heads of State and ministers for foreign affairs who attended the conference of heads of State and Government of OAU, held in Rabat in June 1972.

Upon his return to New York, contacts continued between the Secretary-General and the Minister for Foreign Affairs of South Africa. In the course of these discussions, the following points emerged concerning the terms of reference of a representative of the Secretary-General: (a) the task of the representative would be to assist in achieving the aim of self-determination and independence and to study all questions relevant thereto; (b) in carrying out his task, the representative might make recommendations to the Secretary-General and, in consultation with the latter, to the South African Government; in so doing, he should assist in overcoming any points of difference; (c) the South African Government would provide the representative with the requisite facilities to go to South Africa and to Namibia as necessary and to meet all sections of the population of Namibia. It was understood that the Secretary-General would report to the Security Council on the points that emerged from the contacts with South Africa.

The Secretary-General stated that, despite the many doubts they had expressed with respect to South Africa's true intentions, the other parties concerned did not wish to raise any opposition to his efforts in pursuance of his mandate, if for no other reason than to show their readiness to explore all possible avenues for a peaceful solution to the question of Namibia. In that context, the Secretary-General stated that he had conveyed to South Africa his concern regarding the steps it had taken, or had announced its intention of taking, with respect to the Eastern Caprivi and Ovambo in further application of its homelands policy.

The Secretary-General concluded that, on the basis of his discussions thus far with the Government of South Africa and especially in view of its expressed willingness to co-operate in the discharge of the representative's task, he believed it would be worth while to continue the efforts to implement the mandate, with the assistance of a representative whose task would be to assist in achieving the aim of self-determination and independence. Inasmuch as that involved the continuation of the Secretary-General's responsibilities under the mandate entrusted to him under resolution 309(1972) of 4 February 1972, he proposed to proceed with the appointment of a representative after necessary consultations, unless the Security Council indicated otherwise. It was his intention to continue to discharge his mandate, in consultation and close co-operation with the group of three designated by the Security Council, and to keep the Council informed as appropriate, in any event reporting to it not later than 30 November 1972.

Annexed to the Secretary-General's report was an aide-mémoire by the group of three of the Security Council (Argentina, Somalia and Yugoslavia) stating that the only purpose of the Council's resolution of 4 February 1972 (309(1972)) was to enable the people of Namibia to exercise their right to self-determination and independence; the need to preserve the national unity and territorial integrity should be paramount.

The group of three also declared that it considered that the parties concerned in the question were: the Government of South Africa; the United Nations Council for Namibia; the Security Council's Ad Hoc Sub-Committee on Namibia; the representatives of the political organizations of the people of Namibia; and all those persons and entities which the Secretary-General, in his considered opinion, would like to consult in order to discharge his mandate successfully. It also felt that the President of the Security Council and the Secretary-General of OAU should be among those consulted.

The group of three stated that as an initial step the Government of South Africa should inform the Secretary-General of its acceptance of
resolution 309(1972) so as to enable further efforts to be made on its basis. Any substantive decision to be taken as a result of the implementation of that resolution would need the approval of the Security Council.

During the Council's discussion, many members expressed appreciation to the Secretary-General for his efforts in carrying out the mandate of the Council's resolution of 4 February 1972 (309(1972)).

In the view of some members—including Belgium, France, Japan, the United Kingdom and the United States—the first results of the mission undertaken by the Secretary-General were encouraging. While noting that many difficulties lay ahead, they favoured extension of the Secretary-General's mandate.

African and Asian and other members—while generally also favouring continuation of the contacts—tended to reserve their positions concerning the usefulness of the contacts, noting that many substantive issues were not dealt with in the Secretary-General's report.

Somalia, for example, said there were legitimate grounds for fears about the prospects for a successful outcome to the efforts. For 25 years the South African Government had been completely intransigent and had shown nothing but contempt for the authority of the United Nations and the opinions of the International Court of Justice on the question of Namibia. It would have been a hopeful sign if, during the current period of supposed co-operation with the United Nations, South Africa had refrained from taking any actions to aggravate the situation; instead, it established a so-called homeland in the Eastern Caprivi and had taken steps for the creation of a Bantustan in Ovamboland—developments over which the South African authorities. He fully appreciated the concern of the members and was also aware of the need to ensure that the efforts undertaken pursuant to the Security Council's decisions of 4 February did not in any way prejudice the fundamental position of the United Nations concerning Namibia.

On 1 August 1972, the Security Council adopted resolution 319(1972), by which it noted with appreciation the efforts made by the Secretary-General in the implementation of its resolution 309(1972) of 4 February 1972, reaffirmed the inalienable and imprescriptible right of the people of Namibia to self-determination and independence, and reaffirmed the national unity and territorial integrity of Namibia.

The Council then invited the Secretary-General, in consultation and close co-operation with the group of the Security Council established in accordance with its resolution of 4 February 1972, to continue his contacts with all parties concerned, with a view to establishing the necessary conditions so as to enable the people of Namibia, freely and with strict regard to the principle of human
equality, to exercise their right to self-determination and independence, in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations.

The Council approved the proposal of the Secretary-General to proceed, after necessary consultations, with the appointment of a representative to assist him in the discharge of his mandate as set out above. It asked the Secretary-General to keep the Security Council informed as appropriate and in any case to report to it on the matter by 15 November 1972.

Resolution 319(1972) was adopted by a vote of 14 to 0, with China not participating. The text was sponsored by Argentina and orally amended by Somalia and the sponsor.

(For text of resolution, see DOCUMENTARY REFERENCES below.)

Consideration by Security Council (November-December 1972)

The Security Council resumed its consideration of the question of Namibia at meetings held between 28 November and 6 December 1972.

Invitations to participate in the discussion without the right to vote were extended to the representatives of Burundi, Chad, Ethiopia, Liberia, Mauritius, Morocco, Nigeria, Sierra Leone and Zambia and to the President of the United Nations Council for Namibia. At the request of Somalia and Sudan, an invitation was also extended to Peter Mueshihange of the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO).

The Security Council had before it the report of the Secretary-General on the implementation of its resolution 319(1972) of 1 August 1972 (see above).

The Secretary-General stated that in accordance with the terms of the resolution, he had appointed Ambassador Alfred Martin Escher of Switzerland as his representative to assist in the discharge of his mandate to continue contacts with the parties concerned with a view to establishing the conditions to enable the people of Namibia to exercise their right to self-determination and independence.

Following consultations in New York, the representative, accompanied by members of the Secretariat, visited South Africa and Namibia from 8 October to 3 November 1972. The representative's report to the Secretary-General on the results of his contacts was annexed to the Secretary-General's report (see below).

Subsequently, the Secretary-General, his representative and other members of the mission met with the following parties and informed them of the results of the mission: (i) the group of three members of the Security Council (Argentina, Somalia and Yugoslavia); (ii) the President of the Security Council; (iii) a representative of the Chairman of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of OAU, the organization's Assistant Secretary-General and its Executive Secretary in New York; (iv) the Chairman of the African group for the month of November 1972; (v) the Chairman of the General Assembly's Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples; (vi) the President of the United Nations Council for Namibia; and (vii) the Chairman of the Security Council's Ad Hoc Sub-Committee on Namibia. The Secretary-General noted that the mission had had the opportunity to meet with in private and obtain the views of a wide cross-section of the population concerning the future of their country.

In his report on his mission, the Secretary-General's representative outlined the views expressed by groups and individuals who met with him during and prior to his visit to the territory. These groups included the following: (a) groups calling for an end to South African rule over Namibia and for a united, independent Namibia, including the representatives of political organizations in Namibia, of church leaders, students, youth and workers; (b) groups and individuals supporting self-government for the homelands and opposing a unitary state; (c) other segments of the population, such as representatives of the United Party (the South African opposition party) and of the Voice of the People Party and individuals selected at random; (d) a number of presiding officers and members of various United Nations bodies who met with him prior to his departure for South Africa and Namibia.

The representative noted that the South African Prime Minister was of the opinion that it was not the appropriate stage to go into a detailed discussion of his Government's interpretation of its policy of self-determination and independence with regard to Namibia. That could be done with better results once the necessary conditions were established and the inhabitants had had more administrative and political experience. The representative took the view that the Prime Minister's acceptance of the need to establish necessary conditions appeared to be in conformity with the objective of the Security Council.

The representative noted further that the Prime Minister had said that experience in self-government was an essential element for eventual self-determination and that such experience could best be achieved on a regional basis. The Prime Minister had declared that he would be prepared to establish an advisory council drawn from representatives of the various regions, regional govern-
ments or authorities. Also, he would be prepared to assume overall responsibility for the territory as a whole, i.e. as distinct from the ministries now responsible for different sectors.

In the opinion of the Secretary-General's representative, the Prime Minister's promise, given in the course of the discussions, to examine the possibility of removing restrictions on freedom of movement—although limited by considerations regarding control over large-scale movement of persons in search of employment—and his agreement with regard to legitimate political activity, including freedom of speech and the holding of meetings, were positive elements in the direction of creation of conditions for the exercise of self-determination.

However, the representative stated that many issues still remained to be clarified. Taking into account the readiness of the South African Government to continue the contacts, and in view of the positive elements that had emerged from his discussions with the Prime Minister, he felt that the contacts between the Secretary-General and the South African Government, as well as the other parties concerned, should be continued.

Also annexed to the Secretary-General's report was an aide-mémoire by the group of three of the Security Council, which set forth the following guidelines concerning the contacts: (i) all United Nations resolutions adopted on the question of Namibia remained in effect and should be actively pursued; (ii) the contacts to be carried on with the Government of South Africa and all the parties concerned should always be conducted in accordance with the mandate of the Council's resolutions of 4 February and 1 August 1972 (309(1972) and 319(1972)); (iii) the main task of the Secretary-General's representative should be to obtain a complete and unequivocal clarification from the Government of South Africa with regard to its policy of self-determination and independence for Namibia, so as to enable the Security Council to decide whether the efforts made under the above resolutions should be continued; (iv) the need to maintain the national unity and territorial integrity of Namibia must always be borne in mind; (v) as an indication of its readiness to co-operate with the United Nations, South Africa should discontinue the application of so-called homelands policies and abolish all repressive measures in Namibia.

The Secretary-General addressed the Council and noted that the report of his representative left unanswered or unresolved a number of important issues. The most pressing of these was clarification by South Africa of its policy of self-determination and independence for Namibia. However, the evidence obtained by his representative had removed all doubts concerning the political aspirations of the people of Namibia, namely the establishment, with United Nations assistance, of a united independent Namibia, the Secretary-General said.

The Secretary-General noted that certain proposals put forward by the Prime Minister of South Africa—including those relating to the establishment of a regional advisory council, the assumption by the Prime Minister of overall direct responsibility for the territory, the removal of certain restrictions on freedom of movement and allowing legitimate political activity—did not meet the expectations of the Security Council. Other proposals by the Prime Minister appeared to be in conflict with United Nations principles with respect to Namibia and required clarification.

The Secretary-General emphasized that no agreement had been concluded between his representative and the Prime Minister of South Africa. The representative had no mandate to enter into agreement with any of the parties, and he had not done so. The Secretary-General urged that notwithstanding the gap that remained between the position of South Africa and that of the United Nations, the door should not be closed to further contacts.

During the Council's discussion, a number of speakers said that the report of the Secretary-General's representative had made clear the wishes of the people of Namibia. Argentina, for instance, noted that for the first time a large number of leaders and other individuals had had an opportunity publicly and privately to state to a United Nations emissary their wishes regarding the future of the territory: by an overwhelming majority, they favoured the immediate abolition of the policy and practice of Bantustans, the withdrawal of South African administration, self-determination and independence, and the preservation of the national unity and the territorial integrity of Namibia. Argentina also held that the visit of the representative had been viewed by the inhabitants of the territory as the beginning of a United Nations presence in Namibia.

A number of speakers observed that South Africa, on its part, had failed to provide satisfactory answers to fundamental questions, in particular that of self-determination and independence for Namibia.

Somalia declared that in its view the results of the talks with the South African Prime Minister were totally unsatisfactory. The report contained no indication that South Africa was willing to reconcile with the United Nations its views on the important principle of self-determination.
The representative of Morocco, speaking as Acting President of the Council of Ministers of OAU, said that South Africa's policy, as set forth in the report, was one which respected neither the unity of the territory nor its territorial integrity. It was impossible to go further with the South African Government if those two principles were called into question.

Ethiopia stated that nowhere in the report was there any indication that South Africa accepted any United Nations responsibility or role as to the time or circumstances under which the Namibian people were to exercise their right of self-determination.

The President of the United Nations Council for Namibia said that South Africa did not appear to have taken into account the wishes of the Namibian people, but on the contrary seemed to want to have its own position endorsed by the United Nations. The gap that divided South Africa and the United Nations on the question of self-determination remained as wide as ever; in nine months of discussion South Africa had in no way altered its position.

Ethiopia was one of several States which said that South Africa might be using the contacts simply to confuse the issues.

China said that far from yielding any positive results, the so-called dialogue was being exploited by the South African authorities to gain time for the intensification of their colonialis t rule. China regarded both the report of the Secretary-General's representative and the proposal for continuing the contacts as unacceptable.

Chad and Zambia also felt that it was fruitless to continue the contacts and that the United Nations should take positive steps to create an independent Namibia.

The representative of SWAPO said that the talks initiated by the Secretary-General were not being focused on the central question—the freedom and independence of the Namibian people. He called for termination of the talks and urged the United Nations to exert political, economic and military pressure upon South Africa until it accepted the authority of the United Nations.

A number of members, however, while expressing reservations with regard to South Africa's intentions, favoured continuation of the talks.

Mauritius agreed that the contacts between the United Nations and South Africa had not enabled the United Nations to obtain clarification as to the possibility of making real progress. However, the Secretary-General needed more time to gather all the elements into account before deciding definitely whether it was worth while pursuing the contacts. The Secretary-General's mandate should be extended so as to allow him to provide specific answers to questions that remained.

Nigeria said that for contacts to be meaningful, each side must clearly understand the position of the other; the Security Council should direct the Secretary-General to seek clear and direct answers from South Africa on certain basic questions, including the date on which South Africa would remove its administration from the territory.

Yugoslavia said it should be made very clear to South Africa that it must clarify its position if the current efforts were to be continued. Also, South Africa should be made aware of other measures that could be brought to bear on the situation by the United Nations.

Belgium, France, Italy, the United Kingdom and the United States also favoured continuation of the contacts. The United Kingdom said that in the past nine months two rounds of talks had been completed and much important information had been gained. France noted that it was not by abandoning its efforts that the Security Council would obtain clarification on points that remained unclear. Italy said that the talks should be continued to maintain direct contact with the territory, to ensure that political activity there became a reality and to obtain from South Africa a commitment to allow the people of Namibia to exercise the right to self-determination and independence. The United States said that the process of talking itself could help create an atmosphere in which subsequent agreement could be achieved; constructive possibilities of quiet diplomacy existed so long as the channels of communication remained open. Belgium held that the only alternative to continuation of the negotiations was a return to a trial of strength with South Africa, the results of which were well known.

On 6 December 1972, the Security Council adopted a resolution (323(1972)) by which, after reaffirming the special responsibility of the United Nations towards the people and territory of Namibia and recalling the advisory opinion of 21 June 1971 of the International Court of Justice, it observed with satisfaction that the people of Namibia had again had an opportunity to express their aspirations clearly and unequivocally, in their own territory, to representatives of the United Nations. It noted with interest that the overwhelming majority of the opinions of those consulted by the representative of the Secretary-General categorically stated, among other things, that they favoured the immediate abolition of the homelands policy, the withdrawal of the South African administration from the territory, Namibia.

The Council expressed deep regret that there had been no complete and unequivocal clarification of the policy of the Government of South Africa regarding self-determination and independence for Namibia. It solemnly reaffirmed the inalienable and imprescriptible right of the people of Namibia to self-determination, national independence and the preservation of their territorial integrity, on which any solution for Namibia must be based, and rejected any interpretation, measure or policy to the contrary. It invited the Secretary-General, on that basis, to continue his valuable efforts-in consultation and close co-operation with the Security Council’s group of three established in accordance with its resolution of 4 February 1972 (309(1972)) and, as appropriate, with the assistance of representatives-to ensure that the people of Namibia, freely and with strict regard to the principle of human equality, exercised their right to self-determination and independence, in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations.

The Government of South Africa was again called on to co-operate fully with the Secretary-General in the implementation of the resolution, in order to bring about a peaceful transfer of power in Namibia. The other parties concerned were asked to continue to co-operate with the Secretary-General with a view to assisting him in implementing the resolution.

The Council decided that, immediately following the partial renewal of its membership on 1 January 1973, it would appoint representatives to fill the vacancies that would occur in the group of three established in accordance with its resolution of 4 February 1972.

The Council asked the Secretary-General to report to it on the implementation of this resolution as soon as possible, and no later than 30 April 1973.

Resolution 323(1972) was adopted by a vote of 13 to 0, with 1 abstention. China did not participate in the vote. The text was sponsored by Argentina.

(For text of resolution, see DOCUMENTARY REFERENCES below.)

The USSR explained that it had abstained in the vote because the resolution did not call on South Africa to take measures to implement the right to self-determination and independence and the principle of national unity and territorial integrity of Namibia, and also because the USSR believed the continuation of the Secretary-General's mandate would not yield any positive results. The United Nations should resort to other means to end South Africa's domination of Namibia, the USSR held.

Consideration by Special Committee

The Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples considered the question of Namibia at five meetings held in New York between 21 March and 21 August 1972, and at six meetings held in April during its visit to Africa.

The Special Committee had before it written petitions relating to Namibia from: Mishake Muyongo and Moses M. Garoeb, South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO); William Nelulu, South West Africa National United Front (SWANUF); Werner Mamugwe; and Hiowandu Hembapu J. K. Mbabu, Kanyemba M. Amtenya and Uazapi Katijikondee.

During its meetings in New York, the Special Committee heard the following petitioners: the Reverend L. John Collins, International Defence and Aid Fund; Martin Ennals, Amnesty International (London); Sean Gervasi; Mursi Saad Eldin, Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity Organization; Abdul S. Minty, Anti-Apartheid Movement of the United Kingdom; and Mushake Muyongo, SWAPO and World Peace Council; Abdul S. Minty, Anti-Apartheid Movement of the United Kingdom; and Mushake Muyongo, SWAPO and World Peace Council. During its meetings in Africa, it heard Moses M. Garoeb, SWAPO; Alfred Nzo, African National Congress of South Africa; W. M. Tsotsi, Unity Movement of South Africa; and William Nelulu, SWANUF.

The Executive Secretary of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) also addressed the Special Committee during a meeting held in New York.

The Special Committee had before it a report of the observers of the Special Committee (Bulgaria and Indonesia) who attended the Namibia International Conference, held in Brussels, Belgium, from 26 to 28 May 1972. In their report, the observers stated that the Conference had recognized that, since the future of Namibia could be determined only by its people, all negotiations and dealings with the occupying power must be conducted with the consent of the Namibian people and with their proper participation. The Conference had also, among other things, called for the recognition of SWAPO as the true and legitimate representative of Namibia and demanded that it be accorded formal status in all international forums and institutions concerned with Namibia.

During the Special Committee's debate, a number of speakers stated that the situation in Namibia was changing as a result of the growing political awareness of the people. As an example of this,
several speakers mentioned the strike of the Ovambo workers, who were demanding an end to the system of contract labour. Several members also cited as an important landmark the advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice of 21 June 1971, which affirmed that, South Africa's continued presence in Namibia being illegal, Member States were under the obligation to refrain from any acts and any dealings with the Government of South Africa implying recognition of the legality of, or lending support or assistance to, such presence and administration.

Special Committee members emphasized the responsibility of the United Nations to help the Namibian people exercise their inalienable right to self-determination and independence. Sierra Leone was one of several members which held that the United Nations must provide moral and material assistance to the Namibian people in their struggle for freedom and independence.

A number of members—including Bulgaria, China, the Syrian Arab Republic and the USSR—said that South Africa would not be able to continue its illegal occupation of Namibia without the assistance it received from the Western powers, particularly the United Kingdom and the United States. Those countries should be condemned and pressure should be put on them to end their political, economic and military assistance to South Africa, it was held. China also expressed the view that global sanctions should be imposed on South Africa.

On 27 April 1972, the Special Committee adopted a consensus by which it expressed once again its grave concern at the extremely dangerous situation created by South Africa's persistent defiance of the decisions of the United Nations with respect to Namibia and its increasing use of force as a means of perpetuating its illegal occupation of the territory.

The Special Committee declared that South Africa had continued to violate its obligations under the United Nations Charter and to obstruct the United Nations in the discharge of its special responsibility towards the territory and people of Namibia by its persistent refusal to accept the General Assembly's decision of 27 October 1966 terminating the Mandate and by its refusal to comply with the repeated demands of the Assembly and the Security Council calling for its immediate and unconditional withdrawal from the territory. South Africa's obstruction of United Nations efforts was further demonstrated by its total disregard of the International Court of Justice's advisory opinion of 21 June 1971, the Committee held.

This situation, which seriously undermined the authority of the United Nations, was further aggravated by South Africa's persistent extension to Namibia of its criminal policies of apartheid and by the various illegal measures to which it resorted, including the creation of so-called homelands, aimed at destroying the unity and territorial integrity of Namibia.

On the basis of the testimony presented to the Special Committee by the liberation movement and from other available information, it was evident, the Committee concluded, that the South African authorities in Namibia had further intensified their oppression of the Namibian people and their national liberation movement. In so doing, South Africa had increased its collaboration with Portugal and had continued to extend further assistance to the illegal régime in Southern Rhodesia.

The Special Committee condemned the people of Namibia for their stalwart resistance to South African oppression and, in particular, for the massive and unprecedented strike of Namibian workers which continued to paralyse the economy of the territory.

The Special Committee condemned South Africa both for its persistent non-compliance with the relevant decisions of the Security Council and the General Assembly and for its ruthless use of armed force to suppress the legitimate and inalienable rights of the Namibian people. It also condemned the support South Africa received in pursuing its policies of economic exploitation of the Namibians from some of its supporters in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and, in particular, from its major trading partners and those financial, economic and other interests operating in the territory. The Special Committee called upon the Governments concerned to withdraw forthwith all such support.

The Special Committee expressed the hope that, in the light of South Africa's continued failure to comply with the Security Council's latest demand for its withdrawal from Namibia, contained in the Council's resolution 310(1972) of 4 February 1972 (see above, pp. 603-4), the Security Council would take effective measures in accordance with the Charter to secure South Africa's compliance. Reaffirming its solidarity with the people of Namibia in their legitimate struggle to exercise their right to self-determination and independence, the Special Committee called upon all States and the specialized agencies and other organizations in the United Nations system, in consultation with OAU, to provide the people of Namibia with increased moral and material assistance in their struggle against foreign occupation and oppression.

5 Ibid.
6 See Y.U.N., 1966, pp. 605-6, text of resolution 2145(XXI).
Finally, the Special Committee affirmed that any solution with regard to the question of Namibia must enable the people of the territory to achieve self-determination and independence as a united whole.

On 25 August 1972, the Special Committee decided to invite, in consultation with OAU and through it, the representatives of the liberation movements concerned, including those of Namibia, to participate, whenever necessary and in an observer capacity, in its proceedings relating to their respective countries.


The United Nations Council for Namibia reported to the General Assembly in 1972 on its activities during the period 29 October 1971 to 8 September 1972. Among other subjects, the Council reported on the progress it had made regarding the issuance of travel documents for Namibians, representation of Namibian interests at international conferences, educational and training programmes for Namibians, and participation of the people of Namibia in the Council's work.

In compliance with a General Assembly decision of 20 December 1971, the Council for Namibia decided to send a mission composed of six of its members to Europe and Africa. During May and June 1972, the mission: attended the Namibia International Conference in Brussels; visited Kenya, the Libyan Arab Republic and Turkey; met with Namibian students, refugees and representatives of political organizations; and attended meetings of the Organization of African Unity. Among other things, the mission reported that the Namibia International Conference had contributed greatly in focusing attention on the Namibian problem and in gaining support for the Namibian cause.

In its report, the Council for Namibia concluded that, during the period under review, South Africa had continued to defy the United Nations with regard to Namibia, and that, although South Africa was not totally insensitive to international public opinion, the situation in Namibia had further deteriorated. South Africa had increasingly applied its policy of apartheid to the territory and had continued its political and military repression. It had also pursued policies aimed at the further destruction of national unity, territorial integrity and the spirit of independence of Namibians, at hastening the de facto incorporation of the territory into South Africa and at weakening the resolve of the international community to free Namibia.

The Council recommended that the General Assembly take a number of measures in pursuance of the Assembly's resolution of 19 May 1967, which established the Council for Namibia and entrusted it with the task of administering the territory until independence. The Council recommended, among other things, that the Assembly: (a) strengthen the role and widen the mandate of the Council for Namibia; (b) reiterate its call upon all States to respect strictly the United Nations resolutions on Namibia and the advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice, and to co-operate fully with the Council for Namibia in their implementation; (c) call on the Security Council to take further effective measures, in conformity with the United Nations Charter, to secure withdrawal by South Africa of its illegal administration from Namibia; and (d) ask all States and the specialized agencies to increase their moral and material assistance to the people of Namibia in their liberation struggle.

Consideration by General Assembly

General aspects

At its 1972 session, the General Assembly referred the question of Namibia to its Fourth Committee, which discussed the question at meetings held between 2 October and 14 December 1972. The Committee had before it the report of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples and the report of the United Nations Council for Namibia. (See sections above.)

The Fourth Committee also had before it a letter from the Chairman of the Special Committee in which it was suggested that the Fourth Committee consider inviting, in consultation with the Organization of African Unity (OAU), representatives of the national liberation movements of the colonial territories in Africa to participate in an observer capacity in the Committee's examination of the questions of Namibia, Southern Rhodesia and the territories under Portuguese administration.

In this connexion, the Fourth Committee voted on a proposal by Ireland that it seek the views of the United Nations Legal Counsel on the question; it rejected the proposal by a vote of 62 to 32, with 9 abstentions. The Committee then approved the Special Committee's suggestion by a roll-call vote of 79 to 13, with 16 abstentions, on 27 September 1972.

In accordance with this decision, representatives of the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO) participated in the Committee's consider-
Theo-Ben Gurirab of SWAPO.

The Committee also heard statements by the following petitioners: the Reverend G. Michael Scott, International League for the Rights of Man; Miss Barbara J. Rogers, Friends of Namibia Committee; and Romesh Chandra, Gordon Schaffer, Emilson S. Randriamahasinoro and Canon Raymond Goor, World Peace Council.

During discussion in the Fourth Committee, many speakers referred to the contacts between the United Nations Secretary-General and the Government of South Africa carried out under the mandates of the Security Council's resolutions of 4 February and 1 August 1972 (309(1972) and 319(1972)) (see above, pp. 603 and 606-7).

Many Members commented that although the contacts had clearly established the desire of the people of Namibia for self-determination and independence, they had so far resulted in little or no progress towards that goal. Nevertheless, most Members did not oppose continuation of the contacts, noting among other things that this would give South Africa another opportunity to clarify its position.

Uganda, for instance, noted that the Secretary-General's report on the implementation of the Council's resolution of 1 August 1972 contained very little that reflected a positive attitude on the part of South Africa. However, no matter how little there was, it should be examined carefully and quickly and South Africa's ultimate intention should be put to the test. Uganda therefore endorsed the extension of the mandate, for a specific period of time.

Ireland welcomed the initiatives taken by the Security Council and said the Fourth Committee must take account of the Council's recent proceedings if it wished to arrive at a meaningful outcome of its work. The Netherlands said that in its view the adoption of the Security Council's resolution of 6 December 1972 calling for continuation of the contacts (see above, pp. 609-10) left no room for action by the General Assembly on the question of Namibia at that time. The Netherlands hoped that the Assembly would limit itself to a resolution welcoming the Council's action.

The representative of Cameroon stated that his country had not formally opposed the extremely dubious initiative of the contacts because it had been interested in putting the good faith of certain powers to the test.

Finland stated that it was to the credit of the African members of the Security Council that, although the initial contacts had not elicited a clear-cut response from South Africa on the question of self-determination and independence for Namibia, they had persisted in their efforts to obtain a clarification from that Government. However, it was clear that the Council could not be expected to continue such efforts indefinitely.

Chile stated that it was not opposed to the continuation of contacts, despite the lack of positive results. However, it was the duty of the General Assembly and the Security Council to ensure the full implementation of the principles and resolutions concerning Namibia, without falling into any trap that could promote South Africa's designs. Although the United Nations objective was to ensure that the people of Namibia as a whole exercised self-determination within the context of national unity and territorial integrity. South Africa, as could be seen from its legislation and the public statements of its leaders, intended only to grant self-determination and independence to Bantustans.

China, Ethiopia and the USSR were among Members who felt that there was no point in continuing the contacts between the Secretary-General and South Africa.

Ethiopia stated that the Secretary-General's reports indicated that South Africa would continue its Bantustan policy, balkanizing Namibia into homelands along ethnic and racial lines. So long as South Africa persisted in that attitude, Ethiopia believed there could be no valid basis for any meaningful negotiations.

The USSR held that it had become clear from the Secretary-General's reports and the discussions in the Security Council that South Africa was seeking to use the contacts as a cover for its racist and colonial policy, and was even trying to obtain approval of that policy. The USSR considered it inadvisable to continue the dialogue with South Africa, since such an approach would be not only useless but harmful.

China declared that the so-called dialogue with South Africa had created confusion both within and outside the United Nations and that it had been exploited by the South African authorities to extricate themselves from their political isolation and mollify condemnation by the people of various countries. China also criticized the statement by the Prime Minister of South Africa, made to the Secretary-General's representative, that experience in self-government was an essential element for eventual self-determination and could best be achieved on a regional basis; this could only mean the continuation of the Bantustan policy, China said.

A number of Members—including Algeria, the Byelorussian SSR, Egypt, Ethiopia, Ghana, Kenya, Tunisia and the Ukrainian SSR—held that the Security Council should take effective measures to
secure South Africa's withdrawal from Namibia. Ethiopia, Kenya, the Syrian Arab Republic and Tunisia specifically urged that coercive action should be taken under Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter in order to compel South Africa to comply with United Nations resolutions on Namibia. Economic sanctions were advocated by, among others, Egypt, Indonesia and Kenya.

The USSR said that United Nations pressure should be brought to bear on South Africa from all directions. This should include an end to the assistance provided by Western countries to South Africa.

Algeria, Cameroon, Chile, China, Cuba, Ethiopia, Ghana, Indonesia, Mali, Mongolia, the Syrian Arab Republic, Tunisia, the Ukrainian SSR and Yemen were among those pointing out that South Africa's presence in Namibia was made possible by the economic and military assistance it received from other countries. Ghana, for instance, cited the Cunene River Basin project and the extraction of uranium by the Rio Tinto Zinc Corporation as examples of the imperialist exploitation which reinforced the Western commitment to the preservation of the status quo in Namibia.

Cameroon maintained that the most effective form of pressure continued to be unreserved assistance to the freedom fighters in Namibia; this position was also taken by Albania, Bahrain and the Ukrainian SSR.

Among other measures recommended in this connexion were: strengthening the Council for Namibia; stepping up the publicity campaign for South African withdrawal; and improving the educational programme for Namibians.

Some Members also called for greater support for the United Nations Fund for Namibia (see also below, pp. 616-17).

India commented that in discussing the question of freedom and independence for Namibia, the Assembly should not lose sight of the elementary human rights of the population of Namibia. A number of other States—including Cuba, Ecuador, Ethiopia, Mongolia, Pakistan, the Philippines, Tunisia and Uganda—held that there had been serious violations by South Africa of elementary human rights in Namibia.

On 14 December 1972, the Fourth Committee approved a draft resolution on Namibia, which was adopted by the Assembly on 18 December 1972 as its resolution 3031(XXVII).

By the preambular paragraphs of the resolution, the Assembly among other things noted with satisfaction the courageous and manifest will of the Namibian people to achieve freedom and independence as a single unified entity. The Assembly recorded that it had invited, in consultation with OAU, representatives of the national liberation movement of Namibia—the South West Africa People's Organization—to participate in an observer capacity in the consideration of the territory, and had heard the statement of a representative of the movement.

Bearing in mind the direct responsibilities of the United Nations with regard to Namibia and its people, the Assembly deeply deplored the continued illegal occupation of the international territory of Namibia by South Africa, in defiance of the Assembly's resolution of 27 October 1966 terminating the Mandate and in flagrant violation of its obligations under the United Nations Charter. The Assembly expressed deep concern at the efforts of South Africa to consolidate and perpetuate its occupation of the territory by repressive means, including the extension to Namibia of its policies of apartheid and the further creation of so-called homelands, against the wishes of the majority of the inhabitants. The Assembly also deeply deplored the use of the territory of Namibia by South Africa as a base for taking actions which violated the sovereignty and territorial integrity of independent African States.

Also, the Assembly expressed its awareness of the urgent need for Namibians to participate in the activities of the United Nations Council for Namibia and noted with satisfaction that a large number of States had recognized the identity certificates and travel documents issued to Namibians by that Council.

By the operative paragraphs of the resolution, the General Assembly reaffirmed the inalienable right of the people of Namibia to self-determination and independence, and the legitimacy of their struggle by all means against the illegal occupation of their territory by South Africa. It affirmed that any solution to the question of Namibia must enable the people of the territory to achieve self-determination and independence as a single territorial and political entity.

The Assembly condemned the Government of South Africa for its continued refusal to terminate its illegal occupation and to comply with the pertinent resolutions of the Security Council and the General Assembly, and called upon it to withdraw from the international territory of Namibia. The Assembly also condemned South Africa for its continued efforts to destroy the unity of the people and the territorial integrity of Namibia through the establishment of separate homelands based on racial and tribal distinctions, and for its continued extension to Namibia of the policies of apartheid.

The Assembly deplored and called for the ter-

9 For text of Chapter VII of the Charter, see APPENDIX II.
10 See footnote 6.
The question of Namibia

initiation of any support given to South Africa by any State, and by any financial, economic and other interests operating in Namibia which enabled South Africa to pursue its repressive policies there. All States were called upon: (a) to respect the resolutions of the Assembly and the Security Council concerning Namibia, and to take into account the advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice of 21 June 1971; (b) to refrain from all relations with South Africa when it purported to represent Namibia; (c) not to recognize as legally valid any rights or interests in Namibian property or resources purportedly acquired from South Africa after 27 October 1966; and (d) to take effective economic and other measures designed to ensure the immediate withdrawal of the South African administration from Namibia.

The Assembly commended the report of the United Nations Council for Namibia to all States and organizations of the United Nations system, for appropriate action.

The Council for Namibia was asked to continue to discharge its functions and, in particular: to represent Namibia in international forums; to ensure the participation of the Namibian people in its activities; to continue its consultations with the Namibians and OAU; to continue to assume responsibility for programmes of assistance to Namibia; to expand the scheme for issuing travel documents to Namibians; to continue to promote publicity on the question of Namibia; to undertake a study on the compliance of Member States with the relevant United Nations resolutions; to examine the question of foreign economic interests operating in Namibia; and to continue to examine bilateral and multilateral treaties which explicitly or implicitly included Namibia, and to seek to replace South Africa as the party representing Namibia in all such treaties.

All States and organizations in the United Nations system, as well as the non-governmental organizations concerned, were asked to co-operate fully with the United Nations Council for Namibia in the discharge of its mandate, and in particular: (a) to refrain from any action which might confer a semblance of legitimacy upon South Africa's illegal occupation of Namibia; (b) to render to the Namibian people, in co-operation with OAU, all moral and material assistance necessary to continue their struggle for the restoration of their inalienable right to self-determination and independence, and to work out, in active co-operation with the United Nations Council for Namibia and OAU, concrete programmes of assistance to Namibia; and (c) to take effective steps to assist the Secretary-General in disseminating relevant information on this question.

The Assembly invited the Security Council to take effective measures, in conformity with the relevant provisions of the Charter, to secure the withdrawal by South Africa of its illegal administration from Namibia and the implementation of the resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council designed to enable the people of Namibia to exercise their right to self-determination.

Also, the Assembly decided to enlarge the membership of the United Nations Council for Namibia and asked the President of the Assembly to nominate additional members during the current session. It urged the Secretary-General to undertake the necessary consultations to nominate as soon as possible a full-time United Nations Commissioner for Namibia.

The Secretary-General was also asked to take effective steps, including the publication of a regular bulletin on Namibia and the issue of a series of United Nations commemorative postage stamps, to publicize the work of the United Nations Council for Namibia and of other organs on the question of Namibia; the grave situation in the territory created by the further repressive measures taken by the South African régime; the legitimate struggle of the people of Namibia for self-determination and independence; and the need for increased moral, political and material assistance to the people of Namibia and their liberation movement.

The Assembly asked the Secretary-General to report to it in 1973 on the implementation of this resolution. (For text of resolution, see DOCUMENTARY REFERENCES below.)

Resolution 3031 (XXVII) was adopted by a recorded vote of 112 to 2, with 15 abstentions.

The text was approved by the Fourth Committee by a roll-call vote of 101 to 1, with 15 abstentions. It was sponsored by the following Member States: Afghanistan, Burundi, Cameroon, the Central African Republic, Chad, Chile, Colombia, the Congo, Cuba, Dahomey, Egypt, Ghana, Guinea, Guyana, Indonesia, Kenya, Madagascar, Malaysia, Mali, Mauritania, Morocco, Nepal, Niger, Nigeria, Pakistan, Romania, Rwanda, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Sudan, the Syrian Arab Republic, Uganda, the United Republic of Tanzania, Upper Volta, Yugoslavia, Zaire and Zambia.

In explaining their vote in the Fourth Committee, a number of States expressed regret that the resolution contained no mention of the Security Council's resolution of 6 December 1972 (323(1972)) or of the efforts of the Secretary-General and his representative in carrying out

11 See footnote 4.
12 See footnote 6.
contacts with South Africa and the parties concerned.

The United Kingdom said the resolution did not represent a realistic approach to the problem but was more likely to lead to deadlock and sterile confrontation.

United Nations Fund for Namibia

On 20 December 1971, after considering a report by the Secretary-General proposing a number of measures to aid Namibia, the General Assembly reaffirmed its decision of 9 December 1970 to establish a United Nations Fund for Namibia. The Assembly also, among other things, decided to allocate to the Fund the sum of $50,000 from the 1972 regular budget of the United Nations and to authorize the Secretary-General to appeal for voluntary contributions to the Fund.

At its 1972 session, the General Assembly had before it a report by the Secretary-General in which he noted that, in January 1972, he had appealed to all Governments for voluntary contributions to the Fund. He had also drawn their attention to the Assembly’s suggestion that Governments appeal to their national organizations and institutions for voluntary financial contributions.

The results of the appeal had been disappointing, the Secretary-General reported. As at 30 September 1972, the financial resources of the Fund were about $80,000; this included the allocation of $50,000 from the United Nations regular budget.

The Secretary-General had therefore decided to defer implementation of the long-term measures to aid Namibia that he had proposed in his report to the Assembly in 1971. He had limited the short-term commitments of the Fund mainly to two projects, in Kenya and in Zambia, for the provision of technical and vocational training to Namibians living there.

In his conclusions and recommendations, the Secretary-General noted that the United Nations Fund for Namibia had become operative during 1972 with the initiation of the measures described above. However, owing to the limited financial resources, the scope of the assistance fell far short of the comprehensive programme of assistance in various fields envisaged by the General Assembly. It was to be hoped that, in future, more Governments, organizations and institutions would make voluntary financial contributions to the Fund. In the meantime, the Secretary-General recommended that the Assembly allocate to the Fund an amount of $50,000, or preferably more, from the regular budget of the United Nations, and that it permit Namibians to continue to be eligible for assistance through the United Nations Educational and Training Programme for Southern Africa and the United Nations Trust Fund for South Africa.

On 18 December 1972, the Assembly expressed its appreciation for the report of the Secretary-General on the operation of the United Nations Fund for Namibia during 1972, and endorsed the conclusions and recommendations contained therein.

The Assembly decided, as a transitional measure, to allocate to the Fund the sum of $100,000 from the regular budget of the United Nations for 1973. It authorized the Secretary-General to continue to appeal to Governments for voluntary contributions to the Fund, and invited Governments to appeal once more to their national organizations and institutions for voluntary contributions.

The Assembly urged the Secretary-General to implement the long-term measures outlined in his report to the Assembly in 1971 as soon as the necessary funds became available. It authorized him to implement the arrangements for the administration and supervision of the Fund, with the advice of the United Nations Council for Namibia and the Security Council’s Ad Hoc Sub-Committee on Namibia. Also, it asked the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, the specialized agencies and other organizations within the United Nations system to render all necessary assistance to the Secretary-General in carrying out the tasks assigned him.

Pending the entry into full operation of the comprehensive programme, the Assembly decided that Namibians should continue to be eligible for assistance through the United Nations Educational and Training Programme for Southern Africa and the United Nations Trust Fund for South Africa.

The Secretary-General was asked to report to the Assembly in 1973 on the implementation of the resolution.

These decisions were set forth in resolution 3030(XXVIII), which was adopted by a recorded vote of 124 to 2, on the recommendation of the Fourth Committee. On 13 December 1972, by a recorded vote of 106 to 1, the Fourth Committee approved the text which was sponsored by Burundi, Finland, Ghana, Iran, Nepal, Nigeria, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Sudan, Turkey, Uganda, the United Republic of Tanzania and Zambia.

(For text of resolution, see DOCUMENTARY REFERENCES below.)

Following the vote in the Fourth Committee, the USSR stated that it was opposed to the allocation of resources from the United Nations regular budget to a fund which had been created on the understanding that it would be financed

entirely from voluntary contributions. However, the USSR had voted in favour of the resolution because it reaffirmed the principle of the voluntary nature of contributions to the Fund.

Other decisions of General Assembly

At its 1972 session, the General Assembly took several other decisions bearing on the question of Namibia. These are described briefly below.

DECLARATION ON GRANTING INDEPENDENCE

On 2 November 1972, in adopting resolution 2908(XXVII) on the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, the General Assembly made a number of references to the territories in southern Africa, including Namibia. By the preambular paragraphs of the resolution, the Assembly among other things deeply deplored the continued refusal of the colonial powers, especially Portugal and South Africa, to implement the Declaration and other relevant resolutions on decolonization, particularly those relating to the territories under Portuguese domination, Namibia and Southern Rhodesia. The Assembly also noted with satisfaction the proposed arrangements relating to the implementation of the Declaration of representatives of the national liberation movements and leaders of Angola, Mozambique, Guinea (Bissau) and Cape Verde, Namibia and Southern Rhodesia.

By the operative paragraphs of the resolution, the Assembly among other things reaffirmed that the continuation of colonialism in all its forms and manifestations was incompatible with the United Nations Charter, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the Declaration on granting independence, and posed a threat to international peace and security. The Assembly further reaffirmed its recognition of the legitimacy of the struggle of colonial peoples and peoples under alien domination to exercise their right to self-determination and independence by all the necessary means at their disposal, and noted with satisfaction the progress made by the national liberation movements of the colonial territories, particularly in Africa, towards the national independence of their countries.

Also, the Assembly condemned the policies—pursued by certain colonial powers in the territories under their domination—of imposing non-representative régimes and arbitrary constitutions, strengthening the position of foreign economic and other interests, misleading world public opinion and encouraging the systematic influx of foreign immi-grants while evicting, displacing and transferring the indigenous inhabitants to other areas, and called upon those powers to desist forthwith from such policies.

The Special Committee was asked to continue to examine compliance by Member States with the Declaration and with other relevant resolutions on decolonization, particularly those relating to the territories under Portuguese domination, Namibia and Southern Rhodesia.

(For text of resolution 2908(XXVII), see pp. 550-52.)

Assembly decisions concerning the implementation of the Declaration by the specialized agencies and other international institutions associated with the United Nations were set out in resolution 2980(XXVII), which was adopted on 14 December 1972.

By the preambular section of the resolution, the Assembly among other things noted with growing concern that, while several specialized agencies and other organizations within the United Nations system had provided considerable assistance to refugees from the colonial territories in Africa, many of them had not extended their full co-operation to the United Nations in the implementation of the relevant resolutions relating to assisting national liberation movements and discontinuing all collaboration with Portugal and South Africa and the illegal régime in Southern Rhodesia.

The Assembly also noted with appreciation that some of the organizations had taken or were taking steps to formulate, in consultation with OAU, concrete programmes for providing assistance, within their spheres of competence, to the peoples of the territories in Africa striving to liberate themselves from colonial domination.

By the operative part of the resolution, the Assembly reiterated its urgent appeal to those bodies and to all States to render, as a matter of urgency, all possible moral and material assistance to the colonial peoples in Africa struggling for their liberation, to initiate or broaden contacts and co-operation with them in consultation with OAU and, in particular, to work out and implement—with the active co-operation of OAU, and through it, of the national liberation movements—concrete programmes for such assistance to the peoples of Angola, Guinea (Bissau) and Cape Verde, Mozambique, Southern Rhodesia and Namibia, including in particular the peoples of the liberated areas of those territories and their national liberation movements. The specialized agencies and other organizations within the United Nations system, in consultation with OAU, were
asked to ensure the representation of the colonial territories in Africa by the national liberation movements concerned, in an appropriate capacity, when dealing with matters pertaining to those territories.

Among other things, the Assembly also recommended that all Governments should intensify their efforts in the specialized agencies and other organizations within the United Nations system to ensure the full and effective implementation of the Declaration and other relevant resolutions of the United Nations, and in that connexion should accord priority to the question of providing assistance, on an emergency basis, to peoples in the colonial territories and to their national liberation movements.

(For text of resolution 2980(XXVII), see pp. 559-61.)

INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE OF EXPERTS IN SUPPORT OF VICTIMS OF COLONIALISM

On 2 November 1972, the General Assembly adopted resolution 2910(XXVII), by which it authorized the Secretary-General, in co-operation with OAU, to provide the necessary staff and services for an International Conference of Experts for the Support of Victims of Colonialism and Apartheid in Southern Africa, to be held in Oslo, Norway, in 1973. (For text of resolution 2910(XXVII), see p. 553.)

WEEK OF SOLIDARITY WITH COLONIAL PEOPLES

By a decision taken on 2 November 1972 (resolution 2911(XXVII)), the General Assembly appealed to the Governments and peoples of the world to hold annually a Week of Solidarity with the Colonial Peoples of Southern Africa and Guinea (Bissau) and Cape Verde Fighting for Freedom, Independence and Equal Rights, and proposed that the week should begin on 25 May, Africa Liberation Day. (For text of resolution 2911(XXVII), see p. 553.)

CO-OPERATION BETWEEN UNITED NATIONS AND OAU

On 13 December 1972, the General Assembly adopted a resolution (2962(XXVII)) by which it noted the results of meetings held by the Security Council in Africa in 1972 at the invitation of OAU (see pp. 70-89), and reiterated the firm intention of the United Nations, in co-operation with OAU, to intensify its efforts to find a solution to the situation existing in southern Africa.

The Assembly among other things asked the Secretary-General to continue his efforts to intensify co-operation between the United Nations and OAU, particularly for the provision of assistance to the victims of colonialism and apartheid in southern Africa and for the dissemination of information on the situation in that region. (For text of resolution 2962(XXVII), see p. 142.)

RIGHT TO SELF-DETERMINATION

On 12 December 1972, the General Assembly adopted a resolution (2955(XXVII)) concerning the importance of the universal realization of the right of peoples to self-determination and of the speedy granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples for the effective guarantee and observance of human rights. In so doing, the Assembly among other things expressed its concern at the continued reluctance of the colonial and racist powers, such as Portugal and South Africa, to recognize and apply the right to self-determination and independence for the peoples of the territories under their control.

The Assembly reaffirmed the right of all peoples to self-determination, freedom and independence, as well as the legitimacy of their struggle for liberation from colonial and alien domination and foreign subjugation by all available means consistent with the Charter and the resolutions of the United Nations. The Assembly strongly condemned all those Governments, particularly Portugal and South Africa, which persistently refused to implement the Declaration on granting independence and other pertinent resolutions. It also, among other things, decided to examine concrete ways and means of extending maximum humanitarian and material assistance to the peoples of the liberated areas, colonial territories and territories under alien subjugation. (For text of resolution 2955(XXVII), see pp. 438-39.)

FOREIGN ECONOMIC INTERESTS

On 14 December 1972, the General Assembly adopted a resolution (2979(XXVII)) on the question of the activities of foreign economic and other interests impeding the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples in southern Africa, including Namibia.

Noting that it was deeply disturbed by the increasingly intensified activities of those foreign economic, financial and other interests in the territories which, contrary to the relevant resolutions of the Assembly, assisted the Governments of Portugal and South Africa and the illegal racist minority régime in Southern Rhodesia and impeded the realization by the peoples of the territories of their legitimate aspirations for self-determination and independence, the Assembly took the following decisions, among others.

It reaffirmed the inalienable right of the peoples of dependent territories to self-determination and independence and to the enjoyment of the natural resources of their territories, as well as their right
to dispose of those resources in their best interests. It further reaffirmed that the activities of foreign economic, financial and other interests operating in the colonial territories of Southern Rhodesia and Namibia, as well as in those under Portuguese domination, constituted a major obstacle to political independence and to the enjoyment of the natural resources of those territories by the indigenous inhabitants.

The Assembly condemned the policies of the colonial powers and other States which continued to support those foreign economic and other interests engaged in exploiting the natural and human resources of the territories without regard to the welfare of the indigenous peoples, thus violating the political, economic and social rights and interests of the indigenous peoples and obstructing the full and speedy implementation of the Declaration on granting independence in respect of those territories.

It called upon the colonial powers and States concerned to take legislative, administrative and other measures in respect of their nationals who owned and operated enterprises in colonial territories, particularly in Africa, in order to put an end to such enterprises and to prevent new investments running counter to the interests of the inhabitants. Also, it asked all States to take effective measures to end the supply of funds and other forms of assistance, including military supplies and equipment, to those régimes which used such assistance to repress the peoples of the colonial territories and their national liberation movements. The Assembly, further, called upon the administering powers to abolish every discriminatory and unjust wage system which prevailed in the territories under their administration and to apply in each territory a uniform system of wages to all the inhabitants without any discrimination.

The Secretary-General was asked to give the widest possible publicity to the adverse effects of the activities of foreign economic and other interests in Southern Rhodesia, Namibia, the territories under Portuguese domination and all other colonial territories, as well as to the decisions of the Special Committee on the situation with regard to the implementation of the Declaration and the General Assembly on the question.

(For text of resolution 2979(XXVII), see pp. 567-68.)

United Nations Educational and Training Programme for Southern Africa

Under the consolidated United Nations Educational and Training Programme for Southern Africa, 45 applications from Namibians were received during the period 9 October 1971 to 8 October 1972. A total of 20 new awards were made and 58 were extended; these 78 persons were studying in 10 countries.

On 14 December 1972, the General Assembly took several decisions concerning the United Nations Educational and Training Programme for Southern Africa. Recalling that it had established an integrated educational and training programme for Namibians, South Africans, Southern Rhodesians and persons from territories under Portuguese administration, to be financed from voluntary contributions, the Assembly recognized that additional funds were required if the Programme was to continue in operation.

The Assembly then, among other things, urgently appealed to all States, organizations and individuals to make generous contributions to the Programme and decided that, as a further transitional measure, provision should be made under the United Nations regular budget for an amount of $100,000 to ensure continuation of the Programme in 1973. (For text of resolution 2981 (XXVII), see pp. 140-41.)
Consideration by Security Council  
(July-August 1972)

Security Council, meetings 1656, 1657.


S/10750. Argentina: draft resolution.

Resolution 319(1972), as proposed by Argentina, S/10750, and as orally amended by Somalia and by sponsor, adopted by Council on 15 November 1972, by 14 votes to 0 (China did not participate in voting).

The Security Council,
Recalling its resolution 309(1972) of 4 February 1972, and without prejudice to other resolutions adopted on the question of Namibia,
Having considered the report submitted by the Secretary-General on implementation of Security Council resolution 319(1972) concerning question of Namibia,
1. Notes with appreciation the efforts made by the Secretary-General in the implementation of resolution 309(1972);
2. Reaffirms the inalienable and imprescriptible right of the people of Namibia to self-determination and independence;
3. Reaffirms also the national unity and territorial integrity of Namibia;
4. Invites the Secretary-General, in consultation and close co-operation with the group of the Security Council established in accordance with resolution 309(1972), to continue his contacts with all parties concerned, with a view to establishing the necessary conditions so as to enable the people of Namibia, freely and with strict regard to the principle of human equality, to exercise their right to self-determination and independence, in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations;
5. Approves the proposal of the Secretary-General to proceed, after necessary consultations, with the appointment of a representative to assist him in the discharge of his mandate as set out in paragraph 4 above;
6. Requests the Secretary-General to keep the Security Council informed as appropriate and in any case to report to it on the implementation of resolution 309(1972) and of the present resolution not later than 15 November 1972.

Consideration by Security Council  
(November-December 1972)

Security Council, meetings 1678-1682.


S/10841. Letter of 28 November 1972 from Somalia and by sponsor, adopted by Council on 6 December 1972, meeting 1682, by 13 votes in favour to 0 against, with 1 abstention (USSR) (China did not participate in voting).

Resolution 323(1972), as proposed by Argentina, S/10846, as orally amended by USSR and by sponsor, adopted by Council on 6 December 1972, meeting 1682, by 13 votes in favour to 0 against, with 1 abstention (USSR) (China did not participate in voting).

The Security Council,
Recalling its resolutions 309(1972) of 4 February 1972 and 319(1972) of 1 August 1972, and without prejudice to other resolutions adopted on the question of Namibia,
Reaffirming the special responsibility and obligation of the United Nations towards the people and Territory of Namibia,
Recalling the advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice of 21 June 1971, Reaffirming the inalienable and imprescriptible right of the people of Namibia to self-determination and independence,
Affirming that the principle of the national unity and territorial integrity of Namibia cannot be subject to any conditions,
Having considered the report submitted by the Secretary-General in accordance with resolution 319(1972),
1. Observes with satisfaction that the people of Namibia have again had an opportunity of expressing their aspirations clearly and unequivocally, in their own Territory, to representatives of the United Nations;
2. Notes with interest that the overwhelming majority of the opinions of those consulted by the representative of the Secretary-General categorically stated, inter alia, that they were in favour of the Immediate abolition of the "homelands" policy, withdrawal of the South African administration from the Territory, Namibia's accession to national independence and the preservation of its territorial integrity, thus further confirming the consistently held position of the United Nations on this question;
3. Deeply regrets that there has been no complete and unequivocal clarification of the policy of the Government of South Africa regarding self-determination and independence for Namibia;
4. Solemnly reaffirms the Inalienable and imprescriptible right of the people of Namibia to self-determination, national independence and the preservation of their territorial integrity, on which any solution for Namibia must be based, and rejects any interpretation, measure or policy to the contrary;
5. Invites the Secretary-General, on the basis of paragraph 4 above, to continue his valuable efforts, in consultation and close co-operation with the group of the Security Council established in accordance with resolution 309(1972) and, as appropriate, with the assistance of representatives, to ensure that the people of Namibia, freely and with strict regard to the principle of human equality, exercise their right to self-determination and independence, in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations;
6. Again calls upon the Government of South Africa to co-operate fully with the Secretary-General in the implementation of the present resolution in order to bring about a peaceful transfer of power in Namibia;
7. Requests the other parties concerned to continue to extend their valuable co-operation to the Secretary-General with a view to assisting him in the implementation of the present resolution;
8. Decides that, immediately following the partial renewal of the membership of the Security Council on 1 January 1973, the Council shall appoint representatives to fill the vacancies that will occur in the group established in accordance with resolution 309(1972);
9. Requests the Secretary-General to report to the Security Council on the implementation of the present resolution as soon as possible and not later than 30 April 1973.

Consideration by Special Committee

Special Committee on Situation with regard to Implementation of Declaration on Granting of Independence
The question of Namibia 621

to Colonial Countries and Peoples, meetings 841, 843-
646, 856, 858, 861, 862, 866-869, 871, 875, 887, 889.

A/8723/Rev.1 Report of Special Committee to General
Assembly (covering its work during 1972); Chapter I H
(Decision of Special Committee of 25 August 1972);
Chapters II and III; Chapter IX B (Consensus adopted
by Special Committee on 27 April 1972).

for Namibia.

Consideration by General Assembly

General Assembly—27th session

Fifth Committee, meeting 1556.
Plenary meeting 2114.

A/8701. Report of Secretary-General on work of the
Organization, 16 June 1971-15 June 1972, Part Two,
Chapter I B 2.
A/8701/Add.1. Introduction to report of Secretary-General,
August 1972, Section VII.
1972, Chapter 4.
A/8723/Rev.1. Report of Special Committee (covering Its
work during 1972), Chapters II, III and IX.
for Namibia.
A/8934. Question of enlargement of United Nations
A/C.4/746 and Add.1.2. Requests for hearings.
A/C.4/749. Questions of Namibia, territories under
Portuguese administration and Southern Rhodesia.
Request for hearing.
Request for hearing.

INVITATION TO PARTICIPATE IN DEBATE

A/8723/Rev.1. Report of Special Committee, Chapter I H.
A/C.4/744. Letter of 22 September 1972 from Chairman
of Special Committee to Chairman of Fourth Com-
mittee, containing proposal, as orally amended by
Colombia, approved by Fourth Committee on 27 Sep-
ember 1972, meeting 1975, by roll-call vote of 79 to
13, with 16 abstentions, as follows:

In favour: Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Argentina,
Australia, Bahrain, Barbados, Bhutan, Botswana, Bulgaria, Burma, Byelo-
ussian SSR, Cameroon, Chad, Chile, China, Colombia,
Congo, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Dahomey, Demo-
ocratic Yemen, Egypt, Ethiopia, Gabon, Ghana, Guate-
malia, Guinea, Guyana, Hungary, India, Indonesia,
Iran, Iraq, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Kenya, Khmer
Republic, Kuwait, Lebanon, Liberia, Libyan Arab
Republic, Madagascar, Malaysia, Mauritania, Mongolia,
Morocco, Nepal, Niger, Nigeria, Oman, Pakistan, Peru,
Philippines, Poland, Qatar, Romania, Rwanda, Saudi
Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia,
Sri Lanka, Sudan, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand,
Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Uganda, Ukraine, United
States.

Against: Austria, Belgium, Canada, Denmark, Finland, France, Ireland, Italy, Malawi,
Netherlands, Norway, Swaziland, Sweden, United Kingdom, United States.

implications of 38-power draft resolution, A/C.4/L.1030.
Statements by Secretary-General.
A/8708/Add.28, A/8982. Administrative and financial
implications of draft resolutions I and II recommended
by Fourth Committee in A/8957. Reports of Advisory
Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions
(ACABQ) and Fifth Committee.
A/8957. Report of Fourth Committee, draft resolution II.

Resolution 3031 (XXVII), as recommended by Fourth
Committee, A/8957, adopted by Assembly on 18 De-
ember 1972, meeting 2114, by recorded vote of 112 to
2, with 15 abstentions, as follows:

In favour: Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Argentina,
Australia, Bahrain, Barbados, Bhutan, Botswana, Brazil,
Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian SSR, Cameroon,
Central African Republic, Chad, Chile, China, Colombia,
Congo, Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia,
Dahomey, Democratic Yemen, Dominican Republic,
Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia,
Fiji, Gabon, Ghana, Greece, Guatemala, Guinea, Guyana,
Haiti, Honduras, Hungary, Iceland, India, Indonesia,
Iran, Iraq, Israel, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Kenya, Khmer
Republic, Kuwait, Lebanon, Lesotho, Liberia, Libyan Arab
Republic, Madagascar, Malayasia, Mali, Mauritania,
Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Nepal, New Zealand,
Niger, Nigeria, Oman, Pakistan, Peru, Philippines,
Poland, Romania, Rwanda, Senegal, Sierra Leone,
Singapore, Somalia, Spain, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Syrian
Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago,
Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, Ukrainian SSR, USSR, United
Arab Emirates, United Republic of Tanzania, Upper
Volta, Venezuela, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia.

Against: Portugal.

Abstaining: Austria, Belgium, Canada, Denmark, Finland, France, Ireland, Italy, Malawi,
Netherlands, Norway, Swaziland, Sweden, United Kingdom, United States.

A/8708/Add.28, A/8982. Administrative and financial
implications of draft resolutions I and II recommended
by Fourth Committee in A/8957. Reports of Advisory
Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions
(ACABQ) and Fifth Committee.
A/8957. Report of Fourth Committee, draft resolution II.

Resolution 3031 (XXVII), as recommended by Fourth
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December 1972, meeting 2114, by recorded vote of 112 to
2, with 15 abstentions, as follows:

In favour: Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Argentina,
Australia, Bahrain, Barbados, Bhutan, Botswana, Brazil,
Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian SSR, Cameroon,
Central African Republic, Chad, Chile, China, Colombia,
Congo, Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia,
Dahomey, Democratic Yemen, Dominican Republic,
Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia,
Fiji, Gabon, Ghana, Greece, Guatemala, Guinea, Guyana,
Haiti, Honduras, Hungary, Iceland, India, Indonesia,
Iran, Iraq, Israel, Ivory Coast,
The General Assembly,
Having considered the question of Namibia,
Having examined the report of the United Nations Council for Namibia,
Having examined the chapters of the report of the Special Committee on the situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples relating to the question of Namibia,
Having examined the report of the Secretary-General concerning the enlargement of the United Nations Council for Namibia,
Noting with satisfaction the courageous and manifest will of the Namibian people to achieve freedom and independence as a single unified entity,
Having invited, in consultation with the Organization of African Unity and through it, representatives of the national liberation movement of Namibia, the South West Africa People's Organization, to participate in an observer capacity in its consideration of the Territory, and having heard the statement of the representative of the national liberation movement,
Having heard the statements of the petitioners, Recalling its resolution 1514(XV) of 14 December 1960, containing the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, and its resolution 2621(XXV) of 12 October 1970, containing the programme of action for the full implementation of the Declaration,
Recalling also its resolutions 2145(XXI) of 27 October 1966 and 2248(S-V) of 19 May 1967 and subsequent resolutions relating to the question of Namibia, as well as the relevant resolutions of the Security Council,
Recalling further the advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice of 21 June 1971, delivered in response to the request addressed to it by the Security Council in its resolution 284(1970) of 29 July 1970,
Bearing in mind the direct responsibilities of the United Nations with regard to the Territory of Namibia and its people,
Deeply deploving the continued illegal occupation of the international Territory of Namibia by South Africa, in defiance of resolution 2145(XXI) and in flagrant violation of its obligations under the Charter of the United Nations,
Deeply concerned at the efforts of South Africa to consolidate and perpetuate its occupation of the Territory by repressive means, including the extension to Namibia of its policies of apartheid and the further creation of so-called "homelands" against the wishes of the majority of the inhabitants,
Declaring the use of the Territory of Namibia by South Africa as a base for taking actions which violate the sovereignty and territorial integrity of independent African States,
Affirming that the basic condition for the fulfilment of the responsibility of the United Nations towards Namibia is the removal of South Africa's presence from the Territory,
Mindful of the obligations of all Member States under Article 25 of the Charter,
Expressing its satisfaction at the success of the Namibia International Conference, held under the auspices of the South West Africa People's Organization in May 1972, and commend the declaration and recommendations adopted by that Conference,
Aware of the urgent need for the participation of Namibians in the activities of the United Nations Council for Namibia,
Mindful also that the direct responsibility of the United Nations for the Territory of Namibia includes the solemn obligation to protect and safeguard the rights and interests of the people of the Territory pending their exercise of self-determination and attainment of independence,
Noting with appreciation the recognition by a large number of States of the identity certificates and travel documents issued to Namibians by the United Nations Council for Namibia,
1. Reaffirms the inalienable right of the people of Namibia to self-determination and independence, as recognized in General Assembly resolutions 1514(XV) and 2621(XXV) and subsequent resolutions, and the legitimacy of their struggle by all means against the illegal occupation of their Territory by South Africa;
2. Affirms that any solution with regard to the question of Namibia must enable the people of the Territory to achieve self-determination and independence as a single territorial and political entity;
3. Condemns the Government of South Africa for its continued refusal to terminate its illegal occupation and administration of the Territory of Namibia and to comply with the pertinent resolutions of the Security Council and the General Assembly;
4. Calls once again upon the Government of South Africa to withdraw forthwith from the international Territory of Namibia;
5. Condemns the Government of South Africa for its continued efforts to destroy the unity of the people and the territorial integrity of Namibia through the establishment of separate "homelands" based on racial and tribal distinctions, including the eviction, displacement and transfer of the Namibian people to other areas, and for its continued extension to Namibia of the policies of apartheid;
6. Deeply deplores any support given to South Africa by any State, and by any financial, economic and other interests operating in Namibia, which enables South Africa to pursue its repressive policies in the Territory, and calls for the termination of such support;
7. Calls once again upon all States:
(a) To respect strictly the resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council concerning Namibia, and to take fully into account the advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice of 21 June 1971;
(b) To refrain from all direct or indirect relations, economic or otherwise, with South Africa, when it purports to represent Namibia;
(c) Not to recognize as legally valid any rights or interests in Namibian property or resources purportedly acquired from the Government of South Africa after 27 October 1966;
(d) To take effective economic and other measures designed to ensure the immediate withdrawal of the...
South African administration from Namibia, thereby making possible the implementation of General Assembly resolutions 2145(XXI) and 2248(S-V);

8. Commands the report of the United Nations Council for Namibia to all States and the subsidiary organs of the General Assembly and other competent organs of the United Nations, as well as to the specialized agencies and other organizations within the United Nations system, for appropriate action in conformity with the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council;

9. Requests the United Nations Council for Namibia to continue to discharge its functions and responsibilities in accordance with the provisions of the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly, and in particular:
   (a) To represent Namibia in international organizations, at conferences and on any other occasion as may be required;
   (b) To ensure the participation in an appropriate capacity of the representatives of the Namibian people in its activities;
   (c) To continue its consultations at United Nations Headquarters, in Africa or elsewhere with the representatives of the Namibian people and the Organization of African Unity;
   (d) To continue to assume responsibility for the urgent establishment of short-term and long-term coordinated programmes of technical and financial assistance to Namibia in the light of the relevant provisions of resolution 2248(S-V) and taking into account resolution 2672(XXVI) of 20 December 1971;
   (e) To continue to expand the existing scheme for issuing identity certificates and travel documents to Namibians by concluding appropriate agreements with Governments of Member States;
   (f) To continue to promote publicity with regard to the question of Namibia and to assist the Secretary-General in the discharge of the task entrusted to him under paragraph 14 below;
   (g) To continue to examine the question of the representative of Namibia in the United Nations;
   (h) To examine the question of foreign economic interests operating in Namibia, and to seek effective means to regulate such activities as appropriate;
   (i) To continue to examine the question of bilateral and multilateral treaties which explicitly or implicitly include Namibia, and to seek to replace South Africa as the party representing Namibia in all relevant bilateral and multilateral treaties;
   10. Requests all States, United Nations organs and the specialized agencies and other organizations within the United Nations system, as well as the non-governmental organizations concerned, to co-operate fully with the United Nations Council for Namibia in the discharge of the mandate entrusted to it by the General Assembly, and in particular:
      (a) To refrain from any action which may confer a semblance of legitimacy upon South Africa's illegal occupation of Namibia;
      (b) To render to the Namibian people, in co-operation with the Organization of African Unity, all moral and material assistance necessary to continue their struggle for the restoration of their inalienable right to self-determination and independence, and to work out, in active co-operation with the United Nations Council for Namibia and the Organization of African Unity, concrete programmes of assistance to Namibia;
      (c) To take effective steps to assist the Secretary-General in disseminating relevant information on this question under paragraph 14 below;

11. Invites the Security Council to take effective measures, in conformity with the relevant provisions of the Charter, to secure the withdrawal by South Africa of its illegal administration from Namibia and the implementation of the resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council designed to enable the people of Namibia to exercise their right to self-determination;

12. Decides to enlarge the membership of the United Nations Council for Namibia and requests the President of the General Assembly, in the light of the relevant report of the Secretary-General, to nominate additional members during the current session of the Assembly;

13. Urges the Secretary-General, in conformity with General Assembly resolution 2871 (XXVI) of 20 December 1971 and in view of the recommendations of the United Nations Council for Namibia, to undertake the necessary consultations to nominate as soon as possible a full-time United Nations Commissioner for Namibia;

14. Requests the Secretary-General, having regard to the suggestions of the United Nations Council for Namibia concerning the widespread and continuous publicity on this question, to take effective steps, including the publication of a regular bulletin on Namibia and the issue of a series of United Nations commemorative postage stamps, to publicize as widely as possible, in particular:
   (a) The work of the United Nations Council for Namibia and of other organs on the question of Namibia;
   (b) The grave situation in the Territory created by the further repressive measures taken by the South African regime against the people of Namibia in violation of the relevant decisions of the United Nations;
   (c) The legitimate struggle of the people of Namibia for self-determination and independence;
   (d) The need for increased moral, political and material assistance to the people of Namibia and their liberation movement;

15. Invites the various organs of the United Nations concerned to effect the greatest possible co-ordination of their respective activities relating to Namibia;

16. Requests the Secretary-General to continue to provide the necessary assistance and facilities to the United Nations Council for Namibia and to the United Nations Commissioner for Namibia for the discharge of their respective duties and functions;

17. Requests the Secretary-General to report to the General Assembly at its twenty-eighth session on the implementation of the present resolution.

S/10874. Letter of 30 January 1973 from Secretary-General to President of Security Council (transmitting text from Assembly resolution 3031 (XXVII)).
Trust and non-self-governing territories

Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Japan, Kenya, Khmer Republic, Kuwait, Lesotho, Liberia, Libyan Arab Republic, Madagascar, Mali, Mauritania, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Niger, Nigeria, Norway, Oman, Pakistan, Peru, Philippines, Romania, Rwanda, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Spain, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Swaziland, Sweden, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, Ukrainian SSR, USSR, United Arab Emirates, United Kingdom, United Republic of Tanzania, United States, Upper Volta, Venezuela, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia.

Against: Portugal.

Abstaining: None.


A/6708/Add.28, A/8982. Administrative and financial implications of draft resolutions I and II recommended by Fourth Committee in A/8957. Reports of ACABQ and Fifth Committee.

A/8957. Report of Fourth Committee, draft resolution I.

Resolution 3030(XXVII), as recommended by Fourth Committee, A/6957, adopted by Assembly on 18 December 1972, meeting 2114, by recorded vote of 124 to 2, as follows:

In favour: Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Bahrain, Barbados, Belgium, Bhutan, Botswana, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian SSR, Cameroon, Canada, Central African Republic, Chad, Chile, China, Congo, Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Dahomey, Democratic Yemen, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Fiji, Finland, France, Gabon, Greece, Guatemala, Guinea, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Kenya, Khmer Republic, Kuwait, Laos, Lebanon, Lesotho, Liberia, Libyan Arab Republic, Luxembourg, Madagascar, Malawi, Malaysia, Moldova, Mali, Malta, Mauritius, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Norway, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Qatar, Romania, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Spain, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Sweden, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, Ukrainian SSR, USSR, United Arab Emirates, United Kingdom, United Republic of Tanzania, United States, Upper Volta, Venezuela, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia.

Against: Portugal, South Africa.

The General Assembly,

Recalling its resolution 2145(XXI) of 27 October 1966, by which the United Nations decided to terminate the Mandate of South Africa over Namibia and assume direct responsibility for the Territory until its independence, resolved to discharge that responsibility in regard to the Territory.

Mindful that, by assuming direct responsibility for Namibia, the United Nations incurred a solemn obligation to assist and prepare the people of the Territory for self-determination and independence; recalling further its resolutions 2679(XXV) of 9 December 1970 and 2872(XXVI) of 20 December 1971 concerning the establishment of the United Nations Fund for Namibia for the purpose of putting into effect a comprehensive programme of assistance to Namibians, as outlined in the report of the Secretary-General to the General Assembly at its twenty-sixth session.

Recognizing that South Africa's continued illegal occupation of Namibia at present prevents the United Nations from furnishing needed, large-scale assistance within the Territory.

Having examined the report of the Secretary-General on the operation of the Fund during 1972.

Bear in mind that the scope of the programme, as well as its financing and administrative machinery, will be subject to review by the General Assembly when South Africa's illegal occupation of Namibia is terminated.

Noting that the Secretary-General, owing to lack of funds, has not been able to carry out the programme in all its parts as envisaged in his report submitted to the General Assembly at its twenty-sixth session in accordance with its resolution 2679(XXV)

Noting further that the Secretary-General has, for the above-mentioned reasons, found it necessary, inter alia, to defer implementation of the preparation and investigation of the long-term measures described in paragraph 108 of his report to the General Assembly at its twenty-sixth session.

Recognizing the importance of undertaking a detailed investigation of the human and natural resources of Namibia, with a view to preparing proposals for a co-ordinated plan of international economic and technical assistance, including manpower training, to be implemented in Namibia after the withdrawal of South Africa from the Territory.

1. Expresses its appreciation of the report of the Secretary-General on the operation of the United Nations Fund for Namibia during 1972 and endorses the conclusions and recommendations contained therein;

2. Decides, as a transitional measure, to allocate to the Fund the sum of $100,000 from the regular budget of the United Nations for 1973;

3. Authorizes the Secretary-General to continue to appeal to Governments for voluntary contributions to the Fund;

4. Invites Governments to appeal once more to their national organizations and institutions for voluntary financial contributions to the Fund;

5. Urges the Secretary-General to implement the long-term measures and studies outlined in his report to the General Assembly at its twenty-sixth session as soon as the necessary funds become available;

6. Authorizes the Secretary-General to implement the arrangements for the administration and supervision of the Fund, with the advice of the United Nations Council for Namibia and of the Ad Hoc Sub-Committee on Namibia;

7. Requests the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, the specialized agencies and other organizations within the United Nations system to render all necessary assistance to the Secretary-General in carrying out the tasks assigned to him under the present resolution;

8. Decides, pending the entry into full operation of the comprehensive programme, that Namibians shall continue to be eligible for assistance through the United Nations Educational and Training Programme for Southern Africa and the United Nations Trust Fund for South Africa;

9. Requests the Secretary-General to report to the General Assembly at its twenty-eighth session on the implementation of the present resolution.
Chapter VI

Other questions relating to non-self-governing territories

Transmission of information

Territories on which information was submitted in 1972

In accordance with Chapter XI, Article 73e, of the United Nations Charter, Members responsible for the administration of territories whose peoples have not yet attained a full measure of self-governance have the obligation to send each year to the Secretary-General information on economic, social and educational conditions in the territories for which they have responsibilities, subject to such limitations as security and constitutional considerations may require.1

Australia, France, New Zealand, Spain, the United Kingdom and the United States regularly include information on political and constitutional developments in the territories on which they transmit information. Additional information on political and constitutional developments in the territories under their administration is also given by Australia, New Zealand and the United States when the territories for which they have responsibility are discussed in the General Assembly's Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. Supplementary information is also made available by the United Kingdom concerning territories under its administration.

During 1972, information relating to 1971 was transmitted to the Secretary-General with respect to the following territories:

- Australia: Cocos (Keeling) Islands; Papua New Guinea
- France: New Hebrides (condominium with the United Kingdom)
- New Zealand: Niue; Tokelau Islands
- Spain: Spanish Sahara
- United Kingdom: Bahamas; Bermuda; British Honduras; British Virgin Islands; Cayman Islands; Falkland Islands (Malvinas); Gibraltar; Gilbert and Ellice Islands; Hong Kong; Montserrat; New Hebrides (condominium with France); Pitcairn; St. Helena; Seychelles; Solomon Islands; Southern Rhodesia; Turks and Caicos Islands

United States: American Samoa; Guam; United States Virgin Islands

The Secretary-General reported to the General Assembly at its 1972 session, which opened on 19 September, that he had received no information concerning territories under Portuguese administration, which the Assembly by a decision of 15 December 19602 considered to be non-self-governing territories within the meaning of Chapter XI of the Charter.

Nor had the Secretary-General received any information concerning Antigua, Dominica, Grenada, St. Kitts-Nevis-Anguilla, St. Lucia or St. Vincent. In that connexion, the United Kingdom had declared at previous sessions of the General Assembly that, having achieved the status of Associated States, those territories had attained a full measure of self-government.

On 18 September 1972, the United Kingdom informed the Secretary-General that it was ceasing to transmit information under Article 73e of the Charter on Brunei. The General Assembly on 14 December 1972, in adopting resolution 2978(XXVII), took note of the communication on Brunei and requested the Special Committee to submit appropriate recommendations for a decision by the Assembly. (See below for further details of resolution 2978(XXVII); for text see DOCUMENTARY REFERENCES below.)

With the adoption of resolution 2908(XXVII) on 2 November 1972, the General Assembly among other things approved the report of the Special Committee, which contained a recommendation that Hong Kong and Macao and dependencies be excluded from the list of territories to which the Declaration on the granting of independence was applicable. (See pp. 550-52 for text of resolution 2908(XXVII).)

1 For text of Chapter XI of the Charter, see APPENDIX II.