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President: Mr. Rüdiger von WECHMAR
(Federal Republic of Germany).

AGENDA ITEM 27

Question of Namibia (*continued*):

- (a) 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;
- (b) Report of the United Nations Council for Namibia

1. Mr. NAIK (Pakistan): I should like to begin by expressing on behalf of my delegation our profound appreciation for the outstanding diplomatic skill, wisdom and dedication with which the President of the United Nations Council for Namibia, Mr. Paul Lusaka, has been steering the activities of the Council in pursuance of its mandate as the legal Administering Authority for Namibia until its independence. Mr. Lusaka's dynamic leadership, as well as his courageous and principled conduct of the Council's deliberations and activities, has earned him the enduring respect and admiration of the members of the Council for Namibia.

2. The report of the United Nations Council for Namibia [A/35/24 and Corr.1 and 2] presented to the General Assembly by the President of the Council [103rd meeting] underscores once again the stark realities of the situation in Namibia. It also serves as yet another clarion call to the international community to take concrete measures in the face of that situation and to act decisively to eliminate the final vestiges of racism and minority rule in southern Africa, where the majority of the people continue to be denied their right to freedom and equality. The growing concern of the world community over South Africa's continued defiance of United Nations resolutions and decisions on the question of Namibia was fully reflected in Mr. Lusaka's comprehensive presentation of the current situation in Namibia. The gravity of the situation has indeed acquired alarming proportions with the collapse of the United Nations-sponsored pre-implementation talks at Geneva as result of the

negative and intransigent attitude of South Africa. Since then, the racist Pretoria régime has also intensified its acts of wanton aggression against the neighbouring independent African States, causing a serious threat to international peace and security.

3. When we decided in December last year to postpone the consideration of the question of Namibia in the General Assembly [98th meeting], we were acting in good faith to facilitate the efforts of the Secretary-General towards securing the implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978). Over the past two years, we have been following with great interest the unremitting efforts of the Secretary-General to bring about a political settlement of the Namibian question on the basis of the United Nations plan which envisages free and impartial elections under the auspices of the United Nations, enabling the people of Namibia to determine their own destiny.

4. The Geneva talks were an outcome of those sincere efforts by the Secretary-General. The world noted with great satisfaction and admiration the sense of responsibility and statesmanship and the constructive approach demonstrated by the South Africa People's Organization [SWAPO], the sole and authentic representative of the people of Namibia, in the face of extreme provocation from South Africa during the talks. The role played by the front-line States and Nigeria as observers at the Geneva meeting was also highly commendable. However, the blatant manner in which South Africa responded to that gesture by wrecking the Geneva talks and in effect stalling the process of a political settlement of the Namibian question leaves us with no illusions about the real designs of the racist Pretoria régime.

5. The Islamic world shares the deep concern of the international community over South Africa's continuing illegal occupation of Namibia, its policies of repression and terrorism against the Namibian people and its repeated acts of aggression against neighbouring independent African States. In this connexion, the Third Islamic Conference held at Mecca-Taif, from 25 to 28 January of this year, expressed deep indignation at the continuing evil of racist colonialism and reiterated its total solidarity with the cause of all those oppressed peoples, including the people of Namibia, which are engaged in the struggle against the forces of colonialism, oppression, foreign domination and exploitation wherever and in whatever form those crimes against human dignity and freedom are being committed. Addressing the General Assembly on behalf of the Organization of the Islamic Conference on 1 October 1980 [18th meeting], the President of Pakistan had also voiced the resolute support of the Moslem world for the just cause of the Namibian people and had called upon the interna-

tional community to oblige the Pretoria régime to give up its illegal occupation of Namibia.

6. We cannot but deplore the failure of the Geneva talks brought about by South Africa's continued intransigence and prevarication. We also condemn South Africa's efforts to perpetuate its illegal occupation of Namibia. The flimsy pretexts used by the racist régime to sabotage the Geneva talks were part of its over-all sinister scheme to continue to deny to the people of Namibia their inalienable right to self-determination. We are convinced, more than ever before, that the Pretoria régime remains totally indifferent to the objective realities of the situation and continues to defy the hopes placed by the international community in a negotiated and peaceful settlement of the Namibian question.

7. The question of Namibia has been discussed in the United Nations for more than three decades, and its basic elements are only too well known. Pakistan, as a founding member of the United Nations Council for Namibia, has been closely associated with all the efforts within the framework of the Organization towards the attainment of the inalienable right of the people of Namibia to self-determination and national independence. We continue to believe that the exercise of this inalienable right by the people of Namibia can be possible only through free and impartial elections under the supervision and control of the United Nations.

8. It is most regrettable that, despite sustained efforts by the international community to bring about a peaceful settlement of the Namibian question, the racist Pretoria régime has shown no regard for the basic precepts of international law and morality and continues to resort to all kinds of manoeuvres and tactics aimed at perpetuating its illegal and brutal stranglehold on Namibia. South Africa remains engaged in activities directed at destroying the national and territorial integrity of Namibia, as is evident from its policy of bantustanization, its annexation of Walvis Bay, its claim to sovereignty over several islands which are an integral part of the territory of Namibia and its ruthless plundering of Namibia's natural resources in violation of the relevant United Nations resolutions, the advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice of 21 June 1971,¹ and Decree No. 1 for the Protection of the Natural Resources of Namibia [A/35/24, vol. I, annex II].

9. As part of its "total strategy", the illegal régime of South Africa has continued to strengthen its military build-up by intensifying its indigenous production and importation of arms and military equipment and by expanding its nuclear weapon capability. There has been a constant escalation in its military spending, which represents the largest single component of its budget. South Africa's acquisition of a nuclear weapon capability further aggravates the situation by posing a serious threat to international peace and security.

10. There is no doubt that these policies and actions on the part of the illegal occupation régime are not

only designed to frustrate the legitimate aspirations of the Namibian people to exercise their inalienable right to self-determination and national independence, but also constitute an intolerable affront to the world's conscience. South Africa's refusal to implement United Nations resolutions on Namibia, in particular Security Council resolutions 385 (1976), 435 (1978) and 439 (1978) is a flagrant violation of the purposes and principles of the Charter.

11. The United Nations, which has assumed direct responsibility for securing national independence for the people of Namibia, cannot evade its responsibility any longer. There is a limit to attempts, no matter how well-meaning they may be, to persuade South Africa to relinquish its illegal occupation of Namibia. There is also a limit to the patience of the international community, which cannot now remain silent on the continuing defiance of international law and morality by the racist régime of South Africa and must now take firm and effective measures to ensure South Africa's compliance with the resolutions and decisions of the United Nations. Any further delay in taking such action would only prolong the agony of the people of Namibia over which a reign of terror continues to be exercised by the illegal minority régime. My delegation fully endorses the view that the time has now come for the Security Council to proceed to impose a comprehensive régime of mandatory sanctions against South Africa as provided for under Chapter VII of the Charter. In this connexion, the decisions adopted by the Conference of Ministers for Foreign Affairs of Non-Aligned Countries, held at New Delhi from 9 to 13 February and the meeting of the Co-ordination Committee for the Liberation of Africa, held at Arusha from 19 to 23 January, which reflect the will of an overwhelming majority of States, have fully underscored the urgency of such action.

12. We regret that the racist Pretoria régime has been able to thwart the crusade against colonialism and racial discrimination with the active support and encouragement of vested foreign economic interests. This problem has been greatly highlighted in the reports of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* [A/35/22 and Add.1-3], the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples [A/35/23/Rev.1] and the United Nations Council for Namibia [A/35/24 and Corr.1 and 2]. The role played by transnational corporations in strengthening Pretoria's oppressive rule through their investments and provision of technology is a matter of grave concern to the international community. My delegation fully endorses the view that the withdrawal of South Africa from Namibia could be hastened if its major trading partners were to exert on South Africa effective pressure commensurate with their influence. All foreign economic interests and Powers which are engaged in illegal exploitation of Namibia's human and natural resources must comply with the United Nations resolutions by immediately abstaining from any kind of economic co-operation with the illegal occupation régime.

13. The natural resources of Namibia are the birth-right of the Namibian people, and the exploitation of

¹ *Legal Consequences for States of the Continued Presence of South Africa in Namibia (South West Africa) notwithstanding Security Council Resolution 276 (1970), Advisory Opinion, I.C.J. Reports 1971, p. 16.*

these resources by foreign economic interests and Powers in collaboration with the illegal South African Administration is in violation of the principles of the Charter and of the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly and Security Council. Appropriate measures must be taken to bring this situation to an end without any further delay. The recommendations to this effect contained in the report of the United Nations Council for Namibia therefore need special emphasis and attention in our present deliberations on the Namibian question.

14. It is also our view that no plan or measure can succeed in ensuring genuine independence for the Namibian people unless it preserves the territorial integrity of their country. Walvis Bay and the offshore islands over which South Africa has advanced its spurious claim of sovereignty are an integral part of Namibian territory and cannot be subject to any negotiations.

15. The present critical situation resulting from South Africa's continued illegal occupation of Namibia and its persistent refusal to comply with United Nations resolutions underscore the importance of the armed struggle being waged by the valiant people of Namibia under the leadership of SWAPO. The foredoomed attempts of the Pretoria régime to reverse the stream of history cannot be sustained in face of the undaunted and inexorable resolve of the Namibian people. We are confident that the forces of equality, freedom and independence will eventually triumph over the cruel system based on human bondage and that our brothers in Namibia will soon achieve their cherished objective of national independence.

16. Zimbabwe's victory last year provided a great inspiration and new momentum to the indomitable liberation movement in Namibia, which is going through the crucial and decisive phase. A free Namibia will indeed be the culmination of the process of decolonization and of the struggle against the tyranny of racism.

17. And finally, as the liberation movement of the Namibian people enters a crucial phase, my delegation feels that the international community should extend all possible moral and material support to SWAPO in order to enable it to intensify its struggle for the liberation of Namibia. The front line States, which continue to face repeated acts of subversion and military attacks by South African armed forces, also need international support for the reinforcement of their defence capabilities.

18. For its part, Pakistan will continue its political, material and moral support for the liberation struggle of the Namibian people. My country has been contributing regularly towards relief and assistance for the victims of the policies of racist colonialism through the channels of the United Nations Trust Fund for South Africa and the United Nations Fund for Namibia. As a member of the United Nations Council for Namibia and also as a country deeply committed to the cause of freedom, justice and equality, Pakistan has always supported the struggle of the Namibian people for their national independence. This was reaffirmed by the President of Pakistan in his recent message on the occasion of the week of solidarity with the people of Namibia, when he said:

“Basing their stand on the basic principles of Islam, which upholds human dignity, the people of Pakistan, who have consistently supported the right of all peoples to self-determination, take pride in reaffirming today their pledge of total and unqualified support to the courageous people of Namibia, who are waging a determined struggle under the leadership of SWAPO, against the evils of alien domination, to break the chains of colonialism.”²

19. Mr. FONSEKA (Sri Lanka): Many delegations have spoken in this debate—some with understandable brevity, others at greater length—recounting the history of agenda item 27, entitled “Question of Namibia”, leading up to this point of the debate in this resumed session. The representative of Zambia, who opened the debate, speaking also in his capacity as President of the United Nations Council for Namibia, was the first, followed by others, to recall more than three decades of unfulfilled endeavour in this body to extricate Namibia from the historic-catastrophe of the First World War, in the wake of which that country, then known as South West Africa, was made a Mandated Territory of South Africa.

20. That South Africa's continued occupation of Namibia is illegal is not in question. The advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice, of 21 June 1971, settled that issue. What is at issue are the modalities and pace at which—in fact, the date by which—Namibia will become independent. United Nations resolutions on this matter and the repeated assertions by other representative bodies, such as the Organization of African Unity [OAU] and the non-aligned movement, constitute a sufficient accumulation of world opinion, if that is what is sought. Equally clear is South Africa's undisguised defiance of that opinion. What is not so clear is whether those States that are unquestionably in a position to compel South Africa to abide by these resolutions, to which those States are themselves party, are disposed to exert such compulsion, either through bilateral exchanges available to them or by recourse to the relevant provisions of the Charter.

21. My delegation's remarks are addressed to those who have throughout the debates on Namibia emphasized and perhaps insisted that a peaceful solution to the question of Namibia is not only possible but is also the only approach. Need one recount the years of labour in the Trusteeship Council, the resolutions, year in and year out, of the Assembly, the reference to the International Court of Justice, the work of the United Nations Council for Namibia, whose commendable report was just presented by its President, the representative of Zambia? Are we unmindful of the time given and of the efforts of the five Western Powers on their own initiative? Are all these not evidence enough of the pursuit of peaceful means? The result of this we all know: continued defiance and prevarication by the racist régime in South Africa. In the face of all this, had the people of Namibia a choice other than recourse to arms under the leadership of SWAPO, their only representative organization?

22. To narrate all this at this stage of our debate is, perhaps, a needless waste of time, but let us come to

² See A/AC.131/L.163.

more recent history. I have in mind the 1978 initiative of the five Western Powers then in the Security Council and Security Council resolution 435 (1978). That resolution was the culmination of protracted discussions involving the five Western Powers, South Africa, SWAPO and the front-line States. The Assembly will recall that even in that negotiation South Africa demonstrated its reputed capacity for procrastination, rather than a will for a solution. Thereafter, while accepting the Western Powers' initiative, South Africa raised every conceivable obstacle to the implementation plan of the Secretary-General.

23. What happened at Geneva in January this year is now common knowledge; the Secretary-General's report of 19 January [S/14333]³ tells the whole story. South Africa came not to agree on a date for a cease-fire and implementation of the proposal, but to frustrate even this last initiative of the five Western States. The Geneva meeting turned out to be no more than an exercise in deferment of what the South African régime does recognize as inevitable. It has pinned its hopes on the possibility—and, we trust, the unlikely possibility—that policy reviews elsewhere may enable it to reverse the course of history. The meeting at Geneva showed that the South African régime, which has turned its back on the twentieth century, is not averse to making a shambles of the best efforts of those who no doubt meant well. That meeting at Geneva also should have made it clear that the reservations expressed by SWAPO during the 1978 negotiations were not unfounded. SWAPO was able to demonstrate to those who had hitherto questioned both its representative role and its policies that it was not lacking in reasonableness or in its desire for a peaceful solution.

24. This debate is taking place now, at the resumed session, rather than in December last year as had originally been scheduled, because those who wished to see a peaceful solution in Namibia preferred to avoid a debate in the Assembly that might in any way prejudice the outcome at Geneva. The understanding that was shown had no impact on South Africa or its proxies who came to Geneva. My delegation would nevertheless wish to express its appreciation of the work of the Secretary-General and his officials, who have persisted in their labours in spite of repeated rebuffs.

25. My remarks would be incomplete without a reference to what we witnessed on the first day of our debate, when the South African delegation failed to secure recognition of its credentials. That has been described as beyond the competence of the Assembly, which cannot deny a Member State its right of participation in the work of this body, and the more so a State party to the present dispute. One could ordinarily have accepted that premise. We might even be reconciled to the contempt which South Africa has shown towards the Organization and that not only on the question of Namibia. But are we to allow recourse to a plea of legality to a State that within its own boundaries sees legality only in terms of black and white? One would have thought that the South African delegation appeared here fully alive to the

probable outcome, which was thereby to buttress its argument that, given its bias, the United Nations is not competent to implement Security Council resolution 435 (1978).

26. We have come to this resumed session to complete business left undone in December. Member States are undertaking reviews of their policies, as they must do from time to time. But the facts in Namibia are too evident to necessitate a review. The time left to us for a peaceful solution in Namibia is not indefinite. One can only hope that whatever time is left is devoted to advancing the peaceful process. We believe that a special responsibility lies with the five Western States, whose initiative brought us to where we are today, and that their efforts should be directed to the régime in South Africa, which rests on the vain hope that events will evolve to its advantage. If the response remains defiance or procrastination, the Assembly will have no choice but recourse to Charter provisions which offer other remedies in such a situation.

27. I shall conclude with a reminder of events which took place in southern Africa barely a year ago. The people of Zimbabwe exercised self-determination in a manner which, to say the least, surprised many. The people of Namibia, given that opportunity, will show no less maturity. The Organization owes them that opportunity.

28. Mr. HA VAN LAU (Viet Nam) (*interpretation from French*): After several months of indecision, the General Assembly is finally resuming the work of the thirty-fifth session to take up item 27 of the agenda, the question of Namibia. In the view of my delegation this waiting has not been in vain, since the total failure of the Geneva meeting, which well-informed opinion rightly predicted, should enable those who had harboured certain hopes about the desire of South Africa to implement the settlement of the question of Namibia, as provided for in many United Nations decisions, to reflect on the true nature of the Pretoria régime and to draw the appropriate conclusion in deciding their future position.

29. The Pretoria racists, despite the condemnation of world opinion, have for several decades obstinately refused to implement the relevant resolutions of the United Nations. Instead of totally withdrawing from the Territory of Namibia as of 1966, when the General Assembly decided to put an end to South Africa's Mandate over the Territory, the South African Administration, which had long harboured the wicked desire to subjugate the country, sought by any means to maintain its colonialist domination over an illegally occupied territory by the implementation of its policy of *apartheid*, condemned by the whole international community as a crime against humanity. The South African colonialists annexed Walvis Bay, an integral part of Namibia, in contravention of Security Council resolution 432 (1978); held phoney elections with a view to imposing a so-called internal solution on the people of Namibia, despite the protests of world opinion and in conflict with Security Council resolutions 435 (1978) and 439 (1978). The Fascist South African régime even installed a puppet council of ministers and gave it armed forces to repress the Namibian people's movement of patriotic struggle. It carried out massive repression, arrests and deten-

³ Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-sixth Year, Supplement for January, February and March 1981.

tion of Namibian patriots and decided to impose compulsory military service on young Namibians 16 to 25 years old. All those actions taken by the Pretoria régime run counter to the General Assembly resolution adopted on 27 October 1966 [*resolution 2145 (XXI)*] in which it was declared that South Africa had failed to fulfil its obligations, that its Mandate in Namibia was terminated and that the Territory would be placed under the direct administration of the United Nations.

30. Pursuing their policy of terrorism in southern Africa and of arrogant defiance towards the international community, not so long ago the South African racists were still launching criminal armed attacks against the front-line States, the most recent of which were those against the People's Republic of Mozambique in January and against the People's Republic of Angola in February, causing serious loss of life and property to the people of those fraternal African countries and giving rise to indignation in all the non-aligned countries as well as on the part of progressive world opinion.

31. Peace and security in southern Africa and throughout the world are seriously threatened as a result of this policy of destabilization, aggression and subversion carried out by South Africa against neighbouring countries, along with its policy of militarism characterized by the strengthening of its military power, the establishment of new military bases and military collaboration, particularly in the nuclear field, with certain Western States and Israel.

32. The so-called internal solution of the South African racists, like their promises concerning the implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978), in view of the failure of the Geneva meeting, is in fact a mere dilatory and devisive manoeuvre to divert public attention from the prolongation of the colonialist domination of South Africa, the anachronistic racial discrimination in Namibia and the exploitation and plunder of the human and natural resources of Namibia by the Western transnational corporations.

33. From the economic point of view, the Pretoria racist authorities, together with the Western transnational corporations, have continued to exploit and plunder the natural resources of Namibia, in particular its uranium, in flagrant violation of Security Council resolution 282 (1970) and the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly.

34. The fact that the South African colonialists have adopted such an obstinate and insolent attitude towards the international community and that they have had the effrontery to act for all the world as if they had a right to launch their so-called punitive attacks against the front-line States because of the latter's support of SWAPO combatants is due to the protection and clandestine assistance given Pretoria by Western Powers, including some permanent members of the Security Council. During the consideration at this session [*56th and 57th meetings*] of the activities of foreign economic and other interests which are impeding the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples in Namibia and in all other

Territories under colonial domination and efforts to eliminate colonialism, *apartheid* and racial discrimination in southern Africa, overwhelming proof was brought to light about the collusion of some Western countries and Israel with the South African Administration at every level, in particular the nuclear level.

35. In fact, the minority South African régime and some Western countries persist in holding on to Namibia for its abundant marine, mineral and other natural resources, the inviolable and unquestionable heritage of the Namibian people. While pursuing their global hegemony throughout the world and in view of the strategic position of southern Africa, imperialist circles have striven to bolster the Pretoria régime and help it become an instrument of aggression, a policeman in Africa, with a view to establishing their neo-colonialist domination over the African peoples. It is for economic and strategic reasons that the South African Administration and the Western transnational corporation have sought to co-operate and make investments in Namibia in defiance of the relevant resolutions of the United Nations, which severely condemn them and call on them to put an end to their domination and exploitation. It is mainly for those reasons that many United Nations resolutions which condemn South Africa and demand that it put an end to colonialization in Namibia have remained a dead letter and that many requests made to the Security Council for the imposition of binding comprehensive sanctions to this end, pursuant to Chapter VII of the Charter, have not met with a favourable response, because of the Western veto.

36. The recent failure of the Geneva meeting which was summed up in masterly fashion yesterday morning by the representative of Algeria [*104th meeting*], once again showed up the collusion of the Pretoria régime with some Western countries whose interests would be at stake should the Namibian people recover their rights to self-determination, freedom and national independence.

37. This was explicitly stated in the report of the United Nations Council for Namibia on the hearings on Namibian uranium:

"In view of the simultaneous involvement of certain Western States, directly and through their corporations, in the extraction, processing or sale of Namibia's uranium on the one hand, and in international efforts to secure South Africa's withdrawal from the Territory on the other, the Panel has serious doubts as to the ability of those States to faithfully pursue and defend the interests of the people of Namibia in any dialogue with South Africa. The liberation of Namibia has therefore been subjected to delays on account of this duplicity." [*A/35/24, vol. III, para. 228.*]

I quote further:

"South Africa's collaborators, in particular the Western permanent members of the Security Council, are themselves displaying extreme cynicism towards the decisions of the General Assembly and the Security Council in relation to Namibia and towards their responsibilities in respect of the maintenance of international peace and security." [*Ibid., para. 230.*]

38. The most relevant conclusions of the Panel for hearings on Namibian uranium [*ibid.*, paras. 221-233], endorsed by the United Nations Council for Namibia, are clear. Some Western countries, in the first instance the United States of America, are held to be directly responsible for the present tragedy of the courageous people of Namibia and for the fact that peace and security are seriously threatened in southern Africa.

39. For more than 30 years the people of Namibia, supported by the progressive members of the human race, have waged a heroic and persistent struggle for self-determination, freedom and national independence; and yet, that people continues to be oppressed and exploited. The situation in Namibia continues to deteriorate rapidly. The peoples of the front-line States have not yet been able to enjoy the necessary stability to build a new life. The other African countries are subjected to intimidation and threats of aggression from the colonialists and imperialists. Peace and security in southern Africa in particular and in the world in general are seriously endangered. In view of such a situation, as was repeatedly stated by the authentic representative of the people of Namibia here the day before yesterday, the people of Namibia, under the leadership of SWAPO, have no other alternative but to fight on all fronts, political, diplomatic and military, against the oppression, exploitation and illegal occupation of their country by the South African racist régime, supported by the forces of international imperialism and reaction.

40. We have great admiration for that nation which, for decades, has waged a valiant struggle and will admit of no defeat; it has taken up arms to fight the colonialist army of the racist régime of Pretoria, which today has 70,000 men and sophisticated weapons from the countries of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization [*NATO*]. Although struggling under extremely difficult conditions, the fighters and people of Namibia, under the leadership of SWAPO and with the active support of the African peoples, particularly the front-line States, and with the active sympathy of the socialist countries and all countries which love peace and national independence, have gradually built up their strength and won victory after victory of increasing importance. The heroic people of Namibia and SWAPO deserve the assistance and support in many forms of the international community. The present situation in Namibia calls for greater international solidarity, greater political, moral and material aid, not only for the people of Namibia and SWAPO, but also for the peoples and Governments of the front-line States, as the representative of SWAPO requested at the 103rd meeting.

41. We solemnly reaffirm that the genuine independence of Namibia can come about only with the direct and full participation of SWAPO, the sole authentic representative of the Namibian people, in all efforts made to implement United Nations resolutions on Namibia and that the only parties to the conflict are, on one hand, South Africa, which illegally occupies the Territory and commits aggression against its people, and, on the other hand, the Namibian people under the leadership of SWAPO, supported by the United Nations, which is directly responsible for the Territory until its independence. All attempts by the

Pretoria racists to call into question the representative nature of SWAPO through the intermediary of their paid agents must be unmasked and condemned with the greatest severity.

42. On the basis of a policy of militant solidarity with national liberation movements, the people and Government of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam have always had, and continue to have, profound admiration for the Namibian people and for SWAPO, their sole authentic representative, and to offer complete and unfailing support for their just cause. We are convinced that, by means of their persistent and valiant struggle and with the sympathy and support of all peace-loving peoples of the world, the Namibian people will certainly win ultimate victory. We vigorously condemn the racist Administration of Pretoria, which persists stubbornly in its illegal occupation of Namibia. We demand that it withdraw from Namibia completely, immediately set free the Namibian prisoners and implement the relevant resolutions of the Security Council and the General Assembly concerning Namibia. We reaffirm our unreserved support for the right of the Namibian people to self-determination, freedom and national independence in a reunified Namibia, including Walvis Bay, the Penguin Islands and the other offshore islands, in accordance with resolution 1514 (XV) and subsequent General Assembly resolutions on the question of Namibia.

43. We join with other speakers who have preceded us here to call upon certain Western countries—some among them permanent members of the Security Council—to cease all aid to, co-operation with or protection of the racist régime of Pretoria. That is a *conditio sine qua non* for the success of any negotiated solution to the question of Namibia.

44. Viet Nam firmly supports the recommendation made by the Special Committee on decolonization at its 1181st meeting on 21 August 1980, and that of the United Nations Council for Namibia, by the terms of which the Security Council should have an emergency meeting to consider the imposition of comprehensive, binding sanctions against South Africa pursuant to Chapter VII of the Charter in order to ensure the prompt implementation by the Pretoria régime of the Security Council's decisions.

45. We should like to express our great appreciation for the sustained efforts of the United Nations Council for Namibia, presided over by Mr. Lusaka of Zambia, to make an active contribution to the independence struggle of the Namibian people.

46. Mr. SEIFU (Ethiopia): Mr. President, on behalf of the Ethiopian delegation, I should like at the outset to congratulate you on the very able manner in which you have been discharging the heavy responsibilities of the office of President of the General Assembly. I believe that your positive role in the continuing attempts to launch the global negotiations at an early date deserves special mention here.

47. A well-deserved commendation also goes to the United Nations Council for Namibia and to its President for the invaluable contribution they have so far made in effectively mobilizing world public opinion in support of the just liberation struggle of the Namibian people. At this juncture, I should like to reaffirm

Ethiopia's full support for the Council, as well as its endorsement of all the Council's recommendation.

48. We in Ethiopia are now determined more than ever before to consider as our own the struggle of the Namibian people under the leadership of SWAPO, its sole and authentic representative. We will, as a result, extend to them our total solidarity and full support until freedom dawns in that African land. The struggle ahead is arduous and long and the sacrifice immense. Needless to say, the Namibian people and SWAPO now know this and are prepared for it. But is the United Nations, the only legal Administering Authority of Namibia, resolved to discharge its unique responsibility to the struggling people of Namibia? This is a question of historic import, whose answer will depend to a large measure on the results of the resumed session of the General Assembly.

49. When the international community agreed four years ago to support the diplomatic initiative of the five Western countries peacefully to resolve the question of Namibia, it was with a clear understanding that those five countries would, in concert, use all their political influence and economic leverage to bring the South African régime over to the path of sanity. The whole world then knew—as it does now, with even better and more concrete evidence—that Pretoria would not end its illegal occupation of Namibia easily and willingly. The whole world also knew then, as it does now, that it was either military victory by SWAPO or all-round pressure, especially by the Western countries, that would dislodge Pretoria from Windhoek. Despite the serious misgivings of some, including my own country, however, it was generally agreed at that time that negotiations should first be given a chance to produce a peaceful solution.

50. As a result, the Western contact group and the front-line African States all undertook the task of conducting the process of negotiating a plan agreeable to both SWAPO and Pretoria, which at last culminated in the adoption of Security Council resolution 435 (1978). Three years have now elapsed since agreement was reached on the United Nations plan for Namibia. Yet we still have Pretoria's deceit and perfidy as the sole obstacle to its implementation. This, however, is as expected. But what was not expected was the failure of the five Western States to act forcefully and with determination to make the South African régime listen to reason and to convince it of its own interest in an early resolution of the problem. In this they have failed and failed completely.

51. It was this failure that motivated African foreign ministers, during their meeting in Addis Ababa last week, to deplore "the apparent unwillingness and half-hearted attitude of the Western contact group to exert concerted pressure on the Pretoria racist régime to co-operate with the United Nations Secretary-General in the implementation of the United Nations decolonization plan for Namibia" [see A/35/794-S/14390].

52. It can safely be said that the five Western countries have indeed betrayed the trust of the international community. If those five countries have any regard for the trust bestowed upon them by the world community, as we sincerely hope they have, then there is still time for them to redeem that trust. They

can—and here again, we hope that they will—join the international community during this resumed session in calling upon the Security Council to impose comprehensive and mandatory economic sanctions against South Africa. Such a move on their part would not only help bring Pretoria to its senses, but would also dispel the strong and ever-present feeling that their initiative for peaceful negotiations has all along been nothing but a remarkable ploy to give Pretoria time to consolidate its hold over Namibia through the establishment of a neo-colonial setup in Windhoek.

53. The process of negotiations has obviously been initiated as a means to a peaceful resolution of the Namibian question. Because of the treachery and duplicity of the South African régime this process has failed, as was finally proved in Geneva during the so-called pre-implementation meeting. There is therefore no point in pursuing it further. Indeed, now is the time to initiate the long-delayed process of enforcement under Chapter VII of the Charter. At this point it must be made clear to those who want to resurrect the dead process of negotiations that we cannot agree to convert the negotiating process into an objective to be pursued permanently and continually, irrespective of its potential or actual results.

54. SWAPO has so far gone more than half way to meet the unending demands of Pretoria. It cannot in all fairness be expected to go any further unless, of course, the aim is to have it surrender. Africa and, indeed, the entire peace-loving world have been very patient and accommodating. We are now impatient, and for good reason. To expect any more concessions is to be unreasonable, to say the least. Concessions can no longer be given as a sign of moderation and flexibility. Any possible further accommodation of racist Pretoria can emanate only from weakness and can have no other interpretation. But we can rest assured that a people determined to fight to the last for its inalienable right to freedom with the full and active support of the overwhelming majority of mankind can never be weak. And such is the case with SWAPO and the Namibian people.

55. Finally, I should like to stress the firm conviction of the Ethiopian delegation that the only viable option left to the United Nations is to use the already available enforcement provisions of the Charter in order to impose the legitimate will of the international community on the South African régime.

56. Mr. MUNTASSER (Libyan Arab Jamahiriya) (*interpretation from Arabic*): More than two months have elapsed since the suspension of the thirty-fifth session and the consideration of the question of Namibia, pending the results of the meeting held at Geneva from 7 to 14 January, at which negotiations were held between South Africa and SWAPO to fix a date for a cease-fire and to begin the implementation of the United Nations plan on the independence of Namibia. There followed on that suspension a period of hope and optimism.

57. In spite of the fact our delegation was not among those who were optimistic, because we are fully aware of the nature of the racist South African régime and its manœuvres, we were nevertheless disappointed to learn of the failure of the Geneva meeting. We did not believe, however, that the independence

of Namibia was no longer possible. Quite the contrary, we were convinced that Namibia's independence was imminent, because we were aware of the will of the Namibian people and its heroic armed struggle waged under the leadership of SWAPO, its sole authentic representative, against the racist South African régime.

58. We felt frustrated, however, because the meeting has constituted a unique opportunity for South Africa to declare its acceptance of the will of the international community and its withdrawal from Namibia, thus sparing further bloodshed as the price of the freedom of the Namibian people. However, the Geneva meeting has certainly confirmed the fact that the racist South Africa régime continues completely to disregard the relevant United Nations resolutions. That was recognized in the Secretary-General's report submitted to the Security Council, in which he declared that the collapse of the meeting was due to the fact that "the South African Government was not yet prepared to sign a cease-fire agreement and proceed with the implementation of resolution 435 (1978)." [S/14333, para. 19.]

59. Although the majority of the States Members of the United Nations have for several years been aware of South Africa's intentions and of that régime's procrastination in order to perpetuate its presence in Namibia and its attempt to impose a puppet régime on the people of that country, certain Western countries still do not wish to admit this fact and continue to oppose any measure that the Security Council has sought to take against the South African régime.

60. We hope that the Geneva meeting has provided those countries with the opportunity to take an honest stand and support the measures to be adopted by the international community in order to compel South Africa to comply with United Nations resolutions, thus enabling the people of Namibia to exercise its right to self-determination and independence.

61. More than 20 years ago the General Assembly stated in the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, contained in resolution 1514 (XV), that "the subjection of peoples to alien subjugation" was "contrary to the Charter of the United Nations". In that resolution the Assembly declared:

"Immediate steps shall be taken, in Trust and Non-Self-Governing Territories or all other territories which have not yet attained independence, to transfer all powers to the peoples of those territories, without any conditions or reservations, in accordance with their freely expressed will and desire, without any distinction as to race, creed or colour, in order to enable them to enjoy complete independence and freedom."

62. In spite of that commitment and regardless of the efforts exerted by the United Nations to implement that resolution, there are still a number of peoples subjected to foreign rule and various kinds of persecution and oppression and even denied the right to be treated in the same way as the rest of mankind. Clear examples of that can be found in Namibia, South Africa and Palestine.

63. The situation in southern Africa is deteriorating day by day. Oppression, suppression, detention and executions have become the daily practice of the racist South African régime against the black people of Namibia. That régime has intensified its manœuvres in that Territory in a desperate attempt to remove SWAPO as the only authentic representative of the Namibian people by stepping up harassment and detention of SWAPO leaders and trying to set up a puppet régime.

64. The situation in that area constitutes a grave threat to international peace and security. In spite of the long period that has elapsed since the adoption of Security Council resolution 418 (1977), which imposed an arms embargo on South Africa, that embargo has not been respected. As is stated in the report of the Special Committee against *Apartheid*, South Africa has been able to receive enormous quantities of armaments and other equipment. In collusion with Western countries and transnational corporations, South Africa has been able to develop its armaments industry and its military capability. Recently it has intensified its armed raids against neighbouring African States, the latest example of which was the offensive carried out by South African armed forces against the capital of Mozambique, during which they killed a number of innocent Namibian refugees.

65. The United Nations has a special responsibility, as the racist régime is increasing its interference in southern Africa by escalating its military presence in Namibia, by recruiting and training certain Namibians to take part in tribal armies and by illegally using Namibia as a base for its offense against the independent African States. The delegation of my country believes that all this would not have been possible without the collusion of Western countries, led by the United States Government, and the support they continue to give the South African régime in various fields, including the nuclear field.

66. There is in the Organization a group of States that maintain a close relationship with South Africa, and they carry on their economic and trade relations with that régime either directly or through transnational corporations. Thus they impede the implementation of international sanctions against that régime. The Security Council's failure to adopt effective measures against South Africa is due to the opposition of certain Western States permanent members of the Security Council and their unqualified support of the racist régime. Their ultimate aim is to continue their plunder of the resources of Namibia.

67. In this connexion it should be noted that despite the various resolutions adopted by the United Nations, particularly Security Council resolutions 283 (1970) and 301 (1971), and Decree No. 1 for the Protection of the Natural Resources of Namibia, the riches of that Territory are still being plundered. The report of the United Nations Council for Namibia indicates that British, French, West German, Canadian and American corporations are participating in the exploitation of Namibian uranium, with the knowledge of the Governments of those countries. The report indicates that several Western countries are still importing Namibian uranium, which is illegally exported by the South African Government.

68. My delegation firmly condemns those countries that act in collusion with the racist régime in plundering Namibia's natural resources and depriving the Namibian people of them.

69. The South African régime's procrastination, which is intended to perpetuate its presence in Namibia; will involve southern Africa and indeed the whole world in a real disaster. My delegation joins preceding speakers who have called for an urgent meeting of the Security Council in order to adopt comprehensive and mandatory economic sanctions against the South African régime in accordance with the provisions of Chapter VII of the Charter. In this connexion we suggest that the Security Council meeting should take place in one of the African States as a token of the international community's solidarity with the African continent in the search for a solution of that problem. I do not believe it is impossible to implement this proposal, particularly since the Security Council has on more than one occasion had meetings away from United Nations Headquarters.

70. More than once the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya has expressed its unqualified support for the Namibian people in its just struggle for independence and self-determination. We wish once again to voice from this rostrum our continued moral and material support for SWAPO, the sole legitimate representative of the Namibian people, which is leading the people in its heroic armed struggle for freedom and independence.

71. I also wish to confirm that my country considers the United Nations Council for Namibia as the legal Administering Authority for the Territory until it achieves independence.

72. Our delegation wishes to express its sincere appreciation of the efforts exerted by the United Nations Council for Namibia, led by Mr. Paul Lusaka of Zambia. We would also like to express appreciation to 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 to the Special Committee against Apartheid for all the efforts they have exerted to enable the Namibian people to achieve independence.

73. I wish to affirm that, regardless of any suppression, persecution or ruthless measures carried out by the racist South African régime in Namibia, that régime will not be able to halt the struggle of the Namibian people for freedom and independence. There is no doubt that the end of colonialism in Namibia is at hand.

74. Mr. DASHTSEREN (Mongolia) (*interpretation from Russian*): Quite recently, the world community marked the twentieth anniversary of the adoption of the historic Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. The 20 years that have gone by since then have been marked by major victories for those peoples who have fought for their freedom and independence and by the collapse of the world colonial system.

75. The fall of the colonial system is a natural part of the world historical process of mankind and a result of the widely developed national liberation movement of the peoples and the tremendous efforts of progressive forces both inside and outside the United Nations.

76. Nevertheless, because of the obstructionism of the imperialist Powers and the reactionary régimes that are their accomplices, more than 3 million people are still without any opportunity of exercising their right to independence and self-determination.

77. In the light of recent events in southern Africa and the defiant cynicism in the conduct of the South African racists towards Namibia, which is the largest of the remaining colonial Territories, the question of granting independence to Namibia has become an extremely urgent matter.

78. In flagrant disregard of the numerous decisions of the Security Council and other organs of the United Nations calling for the cessation of the illegal occupation of Namibia, the Pretoria authorities will stop at nothing in their acts against the Namibian people.

79. The terror and violence of the South African racists in Namibia are assuming unprecedented proportions and are becoming unprecedentedly cruel. As was recently stated by the Minister of Justice of South Africa, Mr. Coetsee, in 1980 alone 170 death sentences were carried out. The overwhelming majority of those executed were political prisoners. In order to maintain the shameful system of *apartheid* at home and to preserve its occupation régime in Namibia, South Africa has been constantly building up and improving its armed forces. The military appropriations of the régime for the 1980-1981 fiscal year amounted to 2.3 billion rands, which constitutes 18 per cent of the total South African budget.

80. The number of military personnel in 1979 already exceeded 340,000, and the number of South African troops in Namibia in 1979 amounted to more than 75,000, and it is continuing to grow.

81. The rate and scale of the militarization of South Africa, the co-ordination and mobilization of all branches and sectors of the country's economy in this area demonstrate the aggressive intentions of the South African racists.

82. Repeated acts of aggression committed by South Africa against Angola, Mozambique, Zambia, Zimbabwe and Botswana have caused numerous casualties and done tremendous economic damage in those countries.

83. In an article on Namibia published in *Time* magazine of 2 March of this year, it was reported that the South African racists have asserted that in the last two years they have killed 3,343 SWAPO fighters, while they themselves lost only 72 soldiers. If we take into account the fact that, as is reported in *Time* magazine, it is very difficult for South African soldiers to distinguish SWAPO partisans from local inhabitants, then we get a terrifying picture of the tragic plight of the peaceful, defenceless inhabitants of Namibia.

84. If we add to this the fact that the racists have undertaken intensive nuclear weapons development, we realize what a serious threat they are posing to peace and security, not only on the African continent, but throughout the world.

85. The reasons for the refusal by the Pretoria régime to comply with the resolutions of the United Nations on Namibia and the increasing outrages they are committing in the Territory they occupy are clear

to everyone. Were it not for certain Western countries which have a vested interest in preserving a hotbed of colonialism and racism for political, economic and military-strategic reasons, were it not for their comprehensive support and assistance to Pretoria, and were they sincerely to co-operate with the United Nations in implementing its decisions, the picture would be entirely different today.

86. In that regard, I should like to point out that it is a truly paradoxical fact that the natural resources of this country have actually become the primary cause of the plight of its people.

87. After the victory of the people of Zimbabwe and their winning of freedom and independence, the prospects became encouraging.

88. The question of the granting of independence to Namibia became an agenda item.

89. We should take serious account of the fact that every day lost, every month lost, every year lost plays into the hands of the South African racists and brings untold suffering to the Namibian people. With the policy of tricks and procrastination the Pretoria rulers and their patrons are winning time for the consolidation of their positions and are prolonging the existence of the colonial racist régime. To that end, they have used the Geneva meeting, the so-called pre-implementation meeting, the purpose of which was to ensure a cease-fire in order to create conditions propitious to a peaceful settlement.

90. SWAPO, the sole authentic representative of the Namibian people, responded positively to that meeting. The meeting, as we know, ended in total failure, and for this the South African racists and their patrons are to blame.

91. Under the given circumstances, the only alternative for the Namibian people and SWAPO, its avant-garde, is to step up their just and lawful struggle, while for the international community the only option left is to support the struggle of the people of Namibia and call upon the competent bodies of the United Nations to take the most effective measures to compel South Africa to give up inhuman policy of *apartheid* and occupation and exploitation of the people of Namibia.

92. Under the given circumstances, the only alternative actively in the common efforts of the world community to bring about a settlement of the Namibia problem. The position of our Government on the question of Namibia is well known. The Government and people of Mongolia have always vigorously condemned the criminal activities of the racists and the intrigues of the imperialist Powers and have unswervingly supported the national liberation movement of the peoples.

93. In its approach to the question of Namibia, our Government bases its position above all on the principle that Namibia is illegally occupied by South African racists and that SWAPO is the sole lawful representative of the fighting people of Namibia, hence, our consistent support for the just struggle of the Namibian people and SWAPO, its leaders, for the liberation of their country.

94. The valiant struggle being waged by SWAPO has been acknowledged, and the United Nations and

other authoritative international organs have confirmed over and over again that that struggle is just and lawful. Accordingly, the international community should give SWAPO every possible kind of support and assistance, which the people of Namibia need today more than ever before.

95. We whole-heartedly support the demand of the majority of delegations for the convening of a meeting of the Security Council so that that body can adopt comprehensive binding sanctions against South Africa, including an oil embargo, in accordance with Chapter VII of the Charter.

96. In this regard I should like to draw attention to the fact that it is precisely the Western countries which are trading partners and allies of South Africa which have the greatest opportunity to exert effective pressure on the Pretoria régime. For example, besides closely-operating in various areas with those countries, South Africa imports from them practically all the oil it needs. The sale and delivery of all the imported oil, as well as 86 per cent of the oil market in South Africa, is in the hands of five major transnational corporations: Shell, British Petroleum, Caltex, Mobil and Total.

97. We are sure that the suspension of deliveries to South Africa of oil alone, not to mention other coercive measures, would have a sobering effect on the racist rulers in South Africa.

98. Our delegation would like to point out again that responsibility for the situation in southern Africa lies not only with the South African racists, but to an equal, if not a greater, extent with the Western countries which have played a double game with world public opinion.

99. As everyone knows full well, those countries, being sponsors of the text adopted as Security Council resolution 435 (1978), which provided a basis for the United Nations settlement plan for Namibia, have at the same time done everything in their power to thwart all constructive efforts aimed at implementing United Nations decisions.

100. We believe that both the Pretoria rulers and the imperialist circles in the West should realize that they will not be able, by pressure, intransigence or any kind of subterfuge, to disrupt the progressive development of mankind and that the just cause of the Namibian people, like that of the people of Zimbabwe, will triumph.

101. My delegation would like to pay a tribute to the United Nations Council for Namibia for the great work it has done in promoting the struggle of the Namibian people for the exercise of its inalienable right to freedom and independence.

102. The delegation of the Mongolian People's Republic whole-heartedly supports the draft resolutions and recommendations submitted by the United Nations Council for Namibia, the implementation of which would ensure the attainment by the Namibian people of liberation, true independence and territorial integrity.

103. Mr. YANGO (Philippines): We are meeting at a time of universal anxiety, frustration and disillusionment over the future of Namibia, for only last December [98th meeting] the General Assembly

unanimously decided to defer the substantive consideration of the question of Namibia, buoyed by the hope that the pre-implementation multi-party meeting, which took place at Geneva from 7 to 14 January, would be able to reach final agreement on the modalities that would set in motion the early implementation of Security Council resolutions 435 (1978) and 439 (1978). We are all aware of where the responsibility for the failure of the Geneva meeting should be laid.

104. The continued intransigence of the illegal racist régime of South Africa in Namibia, coupled with its dilatory tactics and manoeuvres, undermined all the serious and painstaking efforts of SWAPO, the front-line States, Nigeria and the Secretary-General of the United Nations to achieve meaningful progress during the negotiations aimed at fixing a date for the cease-fire and the start of the implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978). In this connexion, my delegation wishes to pay a tribute to SWAPO for the statesmanship it displayed during the talks, as well as to the front-line States and Nigeria for the constructive role they played as observers.

105. As a member of the Security Council my delegation had the opportunity to express its grave concern over the deplorable outcome of the pre-implementation meeting, when the Security Council considered the latest report of the Secretary-General on the implementation of resolutions 435 (1978) and 439 (1978) concerning Namibia [S/14333].

106. Today, my delegation wishes not only to reiterate its grave concern over the fate of the United Nations plan for the independence of Namibia as a result of the intransigence and apparent lack of sincerity of South Africa, but also to urge immediate concerted action on the part of the United Nations to bring the machinery at its disposal to bear in order to end the illegal occupation by South Africa of Namibia, which is the direct responsibility of the United Nations in accordance with General Assembly resolution 2145 (XXI) of 27 October 1966.

107. The will of the international community should not be frustrated by the unfortunate intentions and designs of an illegal minority racist and colonialist régime whose apparent desire is to legitimize its bantustanization policy in Namibia.

108. The position of the Philippines in respect of the question of Namibia remains firm and consistent. It was enunciated by Mr. Carlos P. Romulo, the Minister for the Foreign Affairs of the Philippines on 21 October 1977.⁴ The Philippines resolutely supports the right of the people of Namibia to self-determination, freedom and national independence in a united Namibia, including Walvis Bay, the Penguin Islands and other off-shore islands, in accordance with the Charter, the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, and General Assembly resolution 2145 (XXI). We also support the legitimacy of their struggle, which should be crowned by elections freely held under United Nations control and supervision. Moreover, the Philippines supports SWAPO as the sole and authentic representative of the people of Namibia, as recognized

by the General Assembly and reaffirmed by the Security Council.

109. In 1977, the Philippine delegation also vigorously supported the call of the group of African States at the United Nations and the OAU for a special session on Namibia under General Assembly resolution 32/9 H. Since then, my delegation has consistently supported all relevant United Nations resolutions on Namibia, in particular, Security Council resolutions 431 (1978), 432 (1978), 435 (1978) and 439 (1978).

110. Over the past years, the United Nations Council for Namibia has held several extraordinary sessions to assess the critical situation obtaining in Namibia as a result of the continued illegal occupation of the Territory by the *apartheid* South African régime. In 1978, the Council met at Lusaka and adopted the Lusaka Declaration.⁵ Last year, it met at Algiers and adopted, on 1 June 1980, the Algiers Declaration and Programme of Action [A/35/24, vol. I, para. 91].

111. The Algiers Declaration and Programme of Action put in full perspective the necessary elements that should ensure the effective discharge by the United Nations of its direct and special responsibility towards Namibia until genuine independence is achieved in the Territory. Coming in the wake of the independence of Zimbabwe, the meetings at Algiers of the United Nations Council for Namibia were also significant in that they once again unmasked the designs of the illegal South African régime to install a puppet régime in Namibia to the exclusion of SWAPO, the sole, authentic representative of the Namibian people. My delegation thus lends its full support to the thrust of and the goals embodied in these historic documents.

112. My delegation associates itself with the recommendations contained in the report of the United Nations Council for Namibia [A/35/24 and Corr.1 and 2, vol. II] and the decision 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, contained in its report [A/35/23/Rev.1, chap. VIII, para. 13].

113. Until Namibia is brought to genuine independence and majority rule based on the exercise of the right of the Namibian people to self-determination, my delegation supports the activities and programme of work of the United Nations Council for Namibia. The General Assembly must reaffirm its mandate as the sole, legal Administering Authority for the Territory until the advent of independence.

114. The troubled situation in Namibia has been exacerbated by strong indications that South Africa has been developing a nuclear weapons capability, using the Kalahari desert for its nuclear tests, in contravention of Namibia's territorial integrity and posing a serious threat to international peace and security. It has created tribal armies in Namibia and also used mercenaries and made military incursions into the neighbouring States—in particular, Angola and Zambia—and violated their sovereignty and territorial integrity. The existence of South African military installations at Walvis Bay, an integral part of

⁴ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-second Session, Plenary Meetings*, 41st meeting.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Ninth Special Session, Supplement No. 1, para. 31.

Namibia, is a flagrant violation of the territorial integrity of the Territory. The General Assembly must once again declare that any action by South Africa to separate Walvis Bay from Namibia is illegal and null and void.

115. My delegation continues to subscribe to the view that any negotiated settlement of the Namibian problem must include SWAPO, as the sole, authentic representative of the Namibian people, and must be within the framework of the relevant resolutions of the United Nations.

116. My delegation also supports the Nationhood Programme for Namibia and particularly Decree No. 1 of the United Nations Council for Namibia, which declares that the natural resources of Namibia are the birthright of the Namibian people and, therefore, the exploitation and depletion of those resources by foreign economic interests under the protection of the repressive racist and colonialist régime is illegal and contributes to the perpetuation of the illegal occupation régime.

117. The Philippines has continued to extend both moral and financial assistance to the Namibian people in its struggle, in the context of the Nationhood Programme for Namibia, the United Nations Institute for Namibia, at Lusaka, the United Nations Fund for Southern Africa, established by the non-aligned movement. My delegation urges Governments of Member States, intergovernmental organizations and specialized agencies and non-governmental organizations to give all possible assistance to the Nationhood Programme for Namibia and to be more generous with their aid, especially if they have not yet contributed to the United Nations Fund for Namibia.

118. In the face of South Africa's blatant refusal to abide by the relevant United Nations resolutions, it is abundantly clear that we must meet this challenge now and take the necessary concerted international action to put an end to that illegal racist régime's dilatory schemes. South Africa's persistent defiance of the United Nations, its repression and subjugation of the people of Namibia, its repeated acts of aggression launched from bases in Namibia against independent African countries, its colonialist expansion and its policy of *apartheid* constitute a serious threat to international peace and security.

119. The situation calls for the imposition of comprehensive mandatory economic sanctions against South Africa in order to compel it to comply with the resolutions and decisions of the United Nations concerning Namibia.

120. The United Nations cannot abdicate its direct responsibility towards Namibia. It is high time that we acted effectively and resolutely in the efforts to bring Namibia to independence, if we are to remain faithful to the purposes and principles of the Organization.

121. Mr. KOH (Singapore): The facts concerning the question of Namibia are clear and not subject to controversy. The General Assembly terminated the Mandate of South Africa over Namibia and demanded the complete and unconditional withdrawal of South Africa from that Territory. South Africa has refused

to comply with this decision of the General Assembly. In an advisory opinion given on 21 June 1971, the International Court of Justice stated unanimously that South Africa's continued presence in Namibia was illegal and that it was under an obligation to withdraw its Administration from that Territory immediately.

122. Through the good offices of five Western countries, namely, Canada, the Federal Republic of Germany, France, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and the United States of America, a United Nations plan for the independence of Namibia was evolved. That plan was adopted by the Security Council in 1978 through its resolution 435 (1978). At the time of its adoption, the Government of South Africa had given the impression that it was willing to accept the United Nations plan. Subsequently, however, it sought various clarifications and offered many excuses for its refusal to implement the plan. Finally, it insisted that a pre-implementation meeting be held at Geneva, to which would be invited the Government of South Africa, SWAPO, which has been recognized by the Assembly as the sole and authentic representative of the people of Namibia, and other parties from Namibia. The pre-implementation meeting was held in January this year. At the meeting the President of SWAPO reiterated SWAPO's acceptance of Security Council resolution 435 (1978), stated its willingness to sign a cease-fire agreement with the Government of South Africa and pledged its readiness to co-operate with the United Nations Transition Assistance Group [UNTAG] in order to ensure the early commencement of the implementation process. The pre-implementation meeting failed, owing exclusively to South Africa's unwillingness to accept and to implement in good faith the United Nations plan for the independence of Namibia.

123. The question is, what can SWAPO, what can the five Western members of the contact group, what can the African front-line States and what can the rest of us do in order to liberate Namibia from the illegal embrace of South Africa. In the face of South Africa's intransigence, SWAPO has no alternative but to continue with its struggle to free Namibia. The African front-line States and Nigeria, which have acted with great prudence and statesmanship, must continue to give SWAPO and the OAU sound guidance and wise advice on how best to continue the political and diplomatic struggle to free Namibia. I am confident that the front-line States and Nigeria will avoid falling into the traps which South Africa has laid for us. The South Africans are looking for excuses for not implementing the United Nations plan. South Africa has unjustly accused the United Nations of partiality. The African States must act with great prudence and wisdom in order not to give any credibility to such accusations.

124. Finally, I believe that the five Western Members of the contact group, whose initiative and ideas have led to the evolution and adoption by the Security Council of the United Nations plan for Namibia, have the responsibility and the capacity to persuade South Africa to alter its course before more blood is shed, before more property is destroyed and before the path of peaceful change is blocked forever. If persuasion fails, the Western countries, especially the three

permanent members of the Security Council, must be prepared to exert pressure, including the imposition of sanctions, on South Africa in order to compel it to do what it is morally and legally obliged to do: to set Namibia free.

125. Mr. ROA KOURÍ (Cuba) (*interpretation from Spanish*): About 15 years ago the General Assembly adopted the historic decision to terminate the Mandate of the South African racist régime over Namibia and to assume direct responsibility for the Territory and the people of Namibia until independence was gained [*resolution 2145 (XXI)*].

126. Since 1966 the Pretoria racists have enjoyed the unfortunate privilege—shared only with Israel—of standing outside the world Organization, defying its decision with impunity.

127. Their refusal to put an end to the illegal administration they exercise in Namibia, against the express will of the international community, has caused immense suffering for the people of Namibia, subjected as they are to the brutal intensification of exploitation and repression on the part of the South African occupying forces.

128. The period beginning with the adoption of Security Council resolutions 385 (1976) and 435 (1978) was particularly revealing. By those resolutions the Secretary-General received a mandate to discuss with the South African régime the implementation of the United Nations plan for Namibia.

129. That plan, the aim of which is independence for Namibia, to be achieved through an electoral process monitored and supervised by the United Nations, not only would make possible a peaceful, civilized and proper solution but would also put an end to the suffering and sacrifices of the Namibian people and contribute to ensuring peace in the region, a peace destroyed by South African military acts of aggression against neighbouring States.

130. The initiatives of the United Nations to fulfil its obligations towards the Territory and people of Namibia and the efforts made by the Secretary-General have at all times been met by various dilatory manoeuvres by the South African Fascists, which represent a rebuff to the good faith of the international community.

131. On the pretext of negotiations, and encouraged by their Western partners, they have cunningly manoeuvred to set up a puppet régime to divide the people by organizing tribal military forces and setting up compulsory military service for those between 16 and 25 years of age. They have also tried by every means to divide, undermine and militarily annihilate SWAPO, the sole and legitimate representative of the people of Namibia and the vanguard of the liberation struggle, advocating a fraudulent "internal solution" founded on pathetic quislings grouped in puppet parties manipulated from Pretoria.

132. It is only too well known, furthermore, that South Africa shamelessly and deliberately provoked the failure of the Geneva meeting held last January, the only aim of which was to establish a date for a cease-fire and for setting up UNTAG in the field, in accordance with Security Council resolution 435 (1978).

133. SWAPO's attitude, on the other hand, has been praiseworthy. Despite blatant provocation by the South African racists, SWAPO has at all times maintained a serious, constructive and responsible negotiating position, as becomes those who represent the sacred cause of the freedom of their people.

134. We cannot fool ourselves about those who encourage the arrogant terrorist policy of the Pretoria régime. Although in years gone by the economic, political and military support of the Western Powers for South Africa has been obvious—and those Powers include those who supposedly were promoting the implementation of Security Council resolutions—in recent months Herr Botha's Fascists received fresh encouragement and impetus from the reactionary policy of the new American Administration. What other meaning can the meeting in Europe of Herr Botha and Herr Kissinger have unless it is the re-establishment of the old links of camaraderie that unite imperialism with its racist emulators? We must not forget the sinister role played by these personages in the invasion of Angola in 1975, or the fact that the ideologists of the so-called new right in America unreservedly, proclaim their interventionist ideals *urbi et orbi*.

135. It is impossible to imagine that from the alliance between the South African racists and those who dub "terrorists" the peoples struggling for their liberation—whether in Namibia, in Palestine or in El Salvador—anything other could emerge than the most abject plotting to foil SWAPO's victory, to prevent the Namibian people from exercising their inalienable rights, to attempt to suffocate, one way or another, the revolutions of Angola and Mozambique, and subjugate the other front-line countries which so gallantly support their brothers in SWAPO and the cause of liberation for Africa.

136. This year marks 21 years since SWAPO began its heroic struggle for the national liberation of Namibia against the occupying forces, without the latter being able to defeat that movement by military might or, much less, to separate it from its popular base. And this is precisely because for many years SWAPO has been the sole patriotic force of liberation which has promoted and given impetus to the revolutionary fight in unequal combat and through great sacrifice and has thus earned the right to be acknowledged as the sole and authentic representative of the people of Namibia.

137. The reports on the hearings on Namibian uranium [*A/35/24, vol. III*] and those made by petitioners to the Fourth Committee in 1980 have once and for all unmasked those interests which overtly or covertly promote the maintenance of the *status quo* in Namibia.

138. The work done by SWAPO in these 20 years or so of revolutionary struggle and 15 of sincere diplomatic endeavours obliges the international community, with all moral authority and right, to request that the Security Council meet urgently to impose the sanctions provided for in Chapter VII of the Charter against the illegal racist régime of South Africa and to put an end to its occupation of the Territory of Namibia.

139. Since the racist régime obviously has no intention of taking the necessary steps to create conditions which would enable UNTAG to implement the relevant resolutions, it is the bounden duty of the General Assembly to assume its obligations towards the Territory and people of Namibia and to take the necessary action called for by world opinion.

140. In this regard, my delegation supports the resolution adopted by the Council of Ministers of the OAU at its thirty-fifth session, held at Freetown from 18 to 28 June 1980, authorizing the group of African States at the United Nations to request the convening of the Security Council with a view to taking effective measures against the racist régime and to impose sanctions against it, as provided for in Chapter VII of the Charter [see A/35/463, annex I]. We welcome the decision of the Co-ordination Committee for the Liberation of Africa, adopted at Arusha on 23 January 1981, and urge Member States to give SWAPO every assistance in its just struggle against foreign occupation and domination in order to gain genuine national independence in a united Namibia and in full respect of its territorial integrity, including Walvis Bay and the off-shore islands.

141. Similarly, we support the recommendation of the Conference of Ministers for Foreign Affairs of Non-Aligned countries, held at New Delhi from 9 to 13 February 1981, that a special Session be convened to consider the new situation so as to take appropriate measures for the liberation of Namibia, should the Security Council not adopt the expected decisions.

142. Cuba's position was firmly established, together with the other non-aligned countries which in the declarations of Havana⁶ and New Delhi condemned the continued illegal occupation by the racist régime of South Africa and described it as aggression, not only against the people of Namibia but against all the independent sovereign States of Africa and the rest of the world; which condemned, furthermore, all manoeuvres to establish puppet authorities in Namibia; and which reiterated their recognition of SWAPO as the sole legitimate representative of the people of Namibia and expressed their conviction that armed struggle led by SWAPO would receive total and effective support so as to hasten the complete liberation of the fatherland.

143. At its extraordinary plenary meeting, held at Algiers from 28 May to 1 June 1980, the United Nations Council for Namibia also arrived at important definitions, as did the International Conference in Solidarity with the Struggle of the People of Namibia, held in Paris from 11 to 13 September 1980, in which more than 300 participants expressed their unswerving solidarity with that just cause.

144. Cuba supports any initiative taken by the United Nations specialized agencies to implement an international programme to mobilize public opinion against the South African racist régime, its imperialist allies and the transnational corporations which support the opprobrious system of *apartheid*. In particular, we warmly welcome the convening this year of an international conference on sanctions against the Fascist régime of Pretoria.

145. Some of those people who like fishing in troubled waters have been openly enthusiastic about the reactionary turn that matters have taken in the international situation in the last two years, among them the South African racists, who see a promising future for their military industry and their expansionist and hegemonistic designs in southern Africa:

146. But regardless of the predictions made by the seers of anti-history, there is no doubt that we are in a qualitatively new stage in the efforts to eradicate colonialism and racism in South Africa. Zimbabwe's achievement of independence after an arduous struggle for its national liberation, and its entry into the United Nations, could not be more encouraging.

147. Cuba condemns the colonialist and racist régime of Pretoria for its constant acts of aggression against the front-line States and, in particular, for the recent attacks on Mozambique and Angola.

148. The international community must put an end to the illegal occupation of the Territory of Namibia by the South African Fascists, call for strict observance of the oil boycott and the arms embargo against South Africa and denounce the collaboration with that régime of some Western Powers in the area of nuclear energy, which could—if it has not already done so—enable the *apartheid* régime to produce nuclear weapons.

149. A few months ago, we celebrated the twentieth anniversary of the adoption of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. The Assembly approved a plan of action to put an end to colonialism in the near future. Without any doubt, the question of independence for Namibia is at the head of the agenda of decolonization, and we must devote our untiring efforts to that task. At the same time we must make every endeavour to settle the debt of the United Nations towards the black people of South Africa, to help finally to destroy the ignominious system of *apartheid* and the brutal—and in fact colonial—oppression exercised by the racist minority of Pretoria against the true people of South Africa.

150. My delegation wishes to avail itself of this opportunity to pay a tribute to the Secretary-General and to the President of the United Nations Council for Namibia, as well as to the Chairman of the Panel for hearings on Namibian uranium, for the enormous efforts made to promote the independence of Namibia.

151. Finally, I should like to reaffirm the firm support and solidarity offered by the people and Government of Cuba to the Namibian people, their liberation movement, SWAPO, and its leader, Sam Nujoma, and to assure them that in our people and its revolutionary leadership they will always find firm and resolute companions in arms.

152. Mr. OUMAROU (Niger) (*Interpretation from French*): Mr. President, when on 17 December last [99th meeting] you suspended the thirty-fifth session and left, *inter alia*, agenda item 27 "to mature" pending the Geneva meeting which was at that time being prepared, there were many of us, here and elsewhere, who wondered whether South Africa had finally really decided to settle this question of Namibia or whether, as usual, it had merely seen in the

⁶ See A/34/542, annex.

meeting a longed-for opportunity to put off the day of a new ruling by the Organization.

153. The prospects of the Geneva meeting gave rise to as much hope as scepticism—or, I ought to have said, more scepticism than hope. For Pretoria has already accustomed us to broken appointments which, we must, alas, admit, over the years it has used very cleverly to prolong its colonial, illegal and racist domination over Namibia.

154. We need only to recall all the obstacles—the very numerous obstacles—which South Africa, in an obstructionist tactic as highly developed as it is pernicious, regularly threw up to foil all the attempts at a settlement that have thus far been made to make the independence of Namibia a reality.

155. Thus we were in no way surprised at the results—or rather the single result—of the Geneva meeting, which was quite simply a failure: a pre-meditated failure, wished for and planned by South Africa alone, a failure all the more agreeable to South Africa since it was a brutal setback to the whole process of the United Nations plan and has postponed independence for Namibia to an even later date. Thus the exploitation of that Territory's natural resources can be prolonged by that same South Africa which has become so greedy, the more so since it knows full well that it is acting with the most contemptible illegality and with the unanimous reprobation of the world's nations.

156. But the failure of the Geneva meeting is above all a harsh snub to the advocate of a dialogue with Pretoria, particularly to the United Nations and to the five Western countries of the contact group, which had invested so much vigour, moderation and hope in that initiative, and which found, once again, that in dealing with the congenital lawlessness and the arrogance of such a country as South Africa, mere efforts at persuasion are not enough. The such efforts must also be added inflexible firmness and a good dose of coercion. And now, not content with defying the international community, not content with thwarting its own partners, not content with continuing in its policy of shilly-shallying, of sham and of rejection of any constructive dialogue, South Africa even assumes the right to make all kinds of accusations against the Organization and against the Secretary-General, who, shockingly, is subjected to loud admonitions, even insulting calls to conform to certain rules of international conduct with South Africa should be the last to attempt to require of others. Its attitude was already intolerable even before that.

157. In other words, while South Africa consolidates and refines its policy of "resistance to the end", we of the United Nations have the tendency to give the false impression that we can only follow, protest and bear it. It is always the Pretoria racists who retain the initiative in Namibia. It is they who make and unmake events there, who plan the time frames, who set up and maintain puppets there with impunity. The way things are going, what real surprise would it be to the world were South Africa, overstepping the mark and in obedience to an unlucky law of series, quite simply to proclaim rebel independence in Namibia?

158. Yet, in our view, Namibia is already a legally constituted State, which has a legally established and internationally recognized executive council, the United Nations Council for Namibia, which does remarkable, responsible and courageous work. Why do we not give to that Council the means and powers it needs to set itself up at Windhoek, organize a State there and to cause justice and democracy to flower?

159. And yet Namibia has a patriotic and dynamic organization of its own which is struggling and drawing strength from the overwhelming majority of the Namibian people, which enjoys international recognition and which has shown itself to be outstandingly representative, consistent and responsible. That organization is SWAPO, which is an Observer at the United Nations and which seeks our clear and unanimous support as well as increased measures to intensify its liberation struggle so that it can kick out the South African colonizers as soon as possible. Why do we not assure it of this unanimous support and these sound measures? We should if we are to be consistent with our own approach and our own concerns.

160. It is true that Namibia is suffering enormously because of South Africa, but it is also suffering because of our hesitations, not to say our contradictions. For example, for several years now the African States and the non-aligned countries have been repeating that the situation in Namibia calls for comprehensive mandatory sanctions against South Africa in order to compel it to abide by the relevant General Assembly and Security Council resolutions. To date we are still turning a deaf ear, and the Security Council still does not appear to be in any great hurry.

161. In this matter we cannot, however, blame the United Nations for a lack of patience and imagination. Indeed, for 60 years Namibia has been suffering under the South African yoke. Fifteen years ago the United Nations, unmasking South African moves towards pure and simple annexation of this Territory, wisely decided to revoke the South African Mandate and to proclaim the right of Namibia to self-determination and independence. For 15 years various carefully studied formulas, the latest of which has just failed at Geneva, have been elaborated and introduced calling on South Africa to liberate the Territory. For 15 years South Africa has been refusing to accede to those requests and therefore has been in open rebellion for 15 years, daily defying the international community, ignoring warnings and resolutions, pursuing and oppressing Namibian patriots, plundering the wealth of the Territory and committing acts of aggression against the neighbouring countries that have the courage and the merit to support and lend their assistance to the Namibian cause.

162. We must tidy things up, for the question of Namibia is first and foremost a question which involves the full responsibility of the United Nations. It would therefore be neither conceivable nor desirable for this prestigious Organization to continue to stand by helpless in the face of rebuffs from one of its Members.

163. For its part, the Niger fully upholds the Namibian cause and will firmly support any measure, here or elsewhere, aimed at compelling the South African racists to free Namibia, including Walvis Bay.

The meeting rose at 1.15 p.m.