

United Nations
**GENERAL
ASSEMBLY**

THIRTY-NINTH SESSION

Official Records



**82nd
PLENARY MEETING**

Monday, 3 December 1984,
at 10.55 a.m.

NEW YORK

**President: Mr. Paul J. F. LUSAKA
(Zambia).**

AGENDA ITEM 29

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;
- (c) Reports of the Secretary-General

1. Mr. AL-MUSFIR (United Arab Emirates) (*interpretation from Arabic*): It is now 38 years since the question of Namibia was first placed on the agenda of the General Assembly at its first session in 1946. It is 18 years since the General Assembly adopted resolution 2145 (XXI), on 27 October 1966, which terminated South Africa's Mandate over Namibia, proclaimed the continued occupation of that Territory by the racist Government of Pretoria illegal and made the Territory the direct responsibility of the United Nations.

2. Since that date this question has received increasing international attention and several international conferences have been held on the matter, the most recent being the Conference of Arab Solidarity with the Struggle for Liberation in Southern Africa, which was held in Tunis from 7 to 9 August 1984, under the auspices of the League of Arab States and the United Nations.

3. Several Security Council and General Assembly resolutions and declarations adopted at the conclusion of international conferences on the question of Namibia have recognized the total legitimacy of the cause of independence for Namibia and have condemned the racist régime of Pretoria for its continued occupation of the Territory and its failure to respect the international will.

4. Today we are meeting after yet another year of occupation. The Territory of Namibia is still under the occupation of European conquerors. The Namibian people are the victims daily of persecution, torture, expulsions and harassment by the racist forces in their own country, Namibia, and beyond. The entire region has been disrupted by these conquerors. The natural resources of the Territory are being plundered systematically and illegally. On the basis of colonialist ideology, monopolies are

systematically and unlawfully plundering the national resources of the Territory. Labour is being exploited and paid ridiculously low wages, as indicated in a working paper [see A/AC.109/744, para. 10], according to which the per capita income of the indigenous black man is 125 rand, which is below subsistence level, whereas the per capita income of the white European is 3,000 rand—a ratio of 24 to 1. That proportion is outrageous on the part of those who claim to be defending democracy.

5. Genuine democracy protects the human being against exploitation, protects human rights and curbs monopolies. But the monopolies in South Africa and Namibia expel the true owners of the land of the country and the African workers when they ask for decent wages and for an improvement in their social conditions.

6. In the military sphere, the racist Pretoria Government—like the Zionist Government that is occupying Palestine—is, with the help of its allies in the industrialized countries, obtaining the most sophisticated weapons of mass destruction. Similarly, nuclear co-operation between South Africa and the Zionist State, on the one hand, and certain great Powers, on the other, has become very close, despite the embargo imposed long ago on the supply of weapons to South Africa, under Security Council resolution 418 (1977).

7. The question of Namibia is a colonial question and must be examined in that context. To examine it not in that context but in the context of East-West relations is tantamount to changing the very nature of the question. It can only increase the difficulties that are already hampering the establishment of peace and security in southern Africa.

8. Attempts at a so-called internal settlement and the alleged constitutional reforms cannot put an end to this tragedy. To do so we must respond to the aspirations of the Namibian people as expressed repeatedly and in various forums by the South West Africa People's Organization [SWAPO], the only legitimate representative of the Namibian people. Furthermore, the United Nations plan for the liberation of Namibia, as endorsed in Security Council resolution 435 (1978), adopted on 29 September 1978, must be put into effect. The Namibian people, through their sole legitimate representative, SWAPO, have announced that they fully approve this resolution as well as other relevant resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council.

9. The Government of South Africa and its Western allies are imposing a further condition on the granting of independence to Namibia—that is, the withdrawal of Cuban forces from Angola. That constitutes interference in the domestic affairs of a sovereign, independent State. We categorically reject any interference in the domestic affairs of any State.

10. On the 29th of November of this year, we heard a message from the President of the People's Republic of Angola in which he outlined the measures to be taken for the independence of Namibia, as well as the framework for the presence of Cuban forces and the conditions for their withdrawal. These proposals have been transmitted to the United Nations, to the racist, Fascist Government of South Africa and to the Government of the United States of America. Will this plan and these proposals, which could result in the independence of Namibia and the establishment of peace and security in southern Africa, be put into effect?

11. We are awaiting with impatience the day when the United States will play its natural role *vis-à-vis* the oppressed peoples whose territories have been usurped, whether in Namibia, in South Africa or in Palestine occupied by the Zionist, racist State of Israel. Its role, as a world force, is to aid the oppressed peoples to return to their homelands, from which they have been driven out. This applies to the Palestinian people, who must be helped to establish their own independent State. The occupiers must be forced to withdraw from Palestine, from South Africa and from Namibia and to return whence they came. We state to those who claim that they are defending human rights that these are global rights, because a human being is a human being whether he is in Africa, in Latin America or in the Middle East. Therefore, human rights cannot be differentiated according to region. To do so results in racial discrimination, which has been prohibited both under international law and under the Charter of the United Nations.

12. The United Arab Emirates once again expresses its complete solidarity with SWAPO in its struggle to achieve the total independence of the Namibian people and the territorial integrity and unity of Namibia, including Walvis Bay, the Penguin Islands and the other offshore islands. We express our gratitude to the neighbouring countries that have been supplying moral and material support to SWAPO, the only legitimate representative of the Namibian people. We condemn acts of aggression against these countries, committed by any State whatever, as well as any interference in their domestic affairs.

13. In conclusion, my delegation expresses its sincere appreciation to the United Nations Council for Namibia and to Mr. Paul Lusaka, its President, for the efforts they have made. Through the President, we also express our thanks to the members of the Council and to its secretariat for the information they have supplied and the work they are continuing to do with such devotion. We express our gratitude also to the Secretary-General for the role he has been playing in the attempts to achieve the independence of Namibia as soon as possible.

14. Mr. TSVETKOV (Bulgaria) (*interpretation from French*): Eighteen years ago the General Assembly adopted resolution 2145 (XXI), which terminated South Africa's Mandate over Namibia and called on the racist Pretoria régime to withdraw forthwith from the Territory of Namibia. Since 1966 the General Assembly and the Security Council have adopted a large number of resolutions reaffirming that request and, at the same time, condemning South Africa for its persistent refusal to implement United Nations resolutions, for having introduced in and imposed on Namibia the inhuman system of *apartheid*, for its

shameless colonial exploitation of that country's human and natural resources, and for the cruel colonial oppression to which it has subjected the Namibian people. The international community during all this time has constantly expressed its deep concern at the continued attempts by South Africa and its allies to place obstacles in the path charted by the United Nations for the realization of the inalienable right of the people of Namibia to self-determination and independence in a united Namibia.

15. Notwithstanding the indefatigable efforts of the international community to achieve an immediate and unconditional solution to the Namibian problem on the basis of the relevant United Nations resolutions and decisions, including Security Council resolutions 385 (1976) and 435 (1978), which endorse the United Nations plan for the granting of independence to Namibia, the manoeuvres of the racist South Africans to prevent the implementation of those resolutions have not ceased.

16. If the South African racists dare so arrogantly to oppose the decisions of the world Organization and to flout openly the expressed will of the international community, it is because they enjoy the wide protection, co-operation and political, economic, financial and military support of their allies, in particular the United States of America and Israel. This is so because Pretoria has subordinated the question of the independence of Namibia to the geo-strategic interests of American imperialism. All of this has led to a heightening of tension in the region, with deplorable consequences for all neighbouring independent States, and thereby for the whole world.

17. As a result of that policy, known as "constructive engagement", the South African racists pursue their open colonial war against the Namibian people, continue to occupy one part of the territory of the People's Republic of Angola, and pursue their operations aimed at destabilizing sovereign neighbouring States, while cruelly stifling the legitimate protests of the majority of the population. Despite the general and total condemnation of that policy, the South African racists continue to apply it. They still make persistent efforts to take the solution of the question of Namibia out of the United Nations framework.

18. As can be clearly seen from the report of the United Nations Council for Namibia [4/39/24], it is in keeping with this policy that the United States and South Africa constantly bring up the issues of "linkage", "parallelism" and "reciprocity" in connection with the settlement of the Namibian question. They have gone so far as to establish as a precondition the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola, despite the position stated by the People's Republic of Angola that such a linkage has no relevance to the matter of the immediate cessation of the illegal occupation of Namibia by the Republic of South Africa. The inconsistency in these efforts at linkage, aimed at delaying the settlement of the question of Namibia, became even more obvious in the substance of resolutions on Namibia adopted by the General Assembly and the Security Council. General Assembly resolution 38/36 B, in a clear and strong manner, emphasizes that Security Council resolution 435 (1978) is the sole resolution which establishes the basis for the settlement of the Namibian question and that it must be applied without delay and without conditions by South Africa, with no qualifications, modifications or amendments of any kind.

19. The efforts of the international community in favour of the achievement of the inalienable right of the Namibian people to self-determination and independence, on the basis of the relevant resolutions of the United Nations, go hand in hand with the armed struggle of the Namibian people, under the guidance of their sole legitimate representative, SWAPO, against the colonial oppressor for the achievement of this sacred right. The difficult conditions in which the Namibian people live under the inhuman system of *apartheid*, instituted by the racists, will not force them to stop fighting. The cruel racist practices and actions cannot break the will of a people firmly committed to the achievement of its inalienable rights. Notwithstanding continued threats of repression, the ranks of the Namibian freedom fighters, struggling for freedom, are constantly increasing.

20. The racists, in order to guarantee their continued exploitation of human and natural resources in Namibia for the benefit of foreign economic interests, which are imposed illegally in that Territory, and also to continue the war of aggression against the Namibian people, continually strengthen their military potential, increasing the number of occupation troops, which have already exceeded 100,000 men with all their weaponry.

21. Taking also into account the facts stated in the report of the United Nations Council for Namibia, namely that the racist régime continues to develop its military industrial capacity and its nuclear co-operation with the United States, some Western countries and Israel, it is necessary for the Security Council to abide by the proposals of the General Assembly and the United Nations Council for Namibia and to decide on mandatory global sanctions against the South African régime, as provided for in Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations, and the cessation of all co-operation with that racist régime. Thus, a very important contribution will be made to eliminating the growing threat to peace and security of the peoples of that region of Africa and the world, resulting from the policy of the South African racists.

22. This year the international community commemorated the one-hundredth anniversary of the heroic struggle of the Namibian people. Under the aegis of this anniversary, it will pursue its efforts in support of the just and legitimate struggle of those people for self-determination, freedom and independence. May we express our profound appreciation of the activities of the United Nations Council for Namibia, which, under your skilful guidance, Mr. President, has made untiring efforts with a view to ensuring the implementation of United Nations decisions on the just and durable settlement of the Namibian question.

23. In its capacity as a member of the United Nations Council for Namibia, the People's Republic of Bulgaria, as in the past, will continue to give its unreserved support to the realization of the inalienable right of the Namibian people to self-determination and independence.

24. On the occasion of the commemoration this year of Namibia Day, the Secretary-General of the Communist Party and President of the Council of State of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, Mr. Todor Zhivkov, addressed a message to the President of the South West Africa People's Organization, Mr. Sam Nujoma, wherein he stated Bulgaria's position of

principle on the question of Namibia. He stated the following:

"The People's Republic of Bulgaria has always been in the forefront of the struggle against colonialism, neo-colonialism, racism and *apartheid*, and has always given its full support to the struggle of the Namibian people for the realization of their inalienable right to self-determination and national independence. We consider that the decisions of the United Nations, and in particular Security Council resolution 435 (1978), constitute the sole basis on which the independence of Namibia can and should be carried out without prior conditions. The People's Republic of Bulgaria strongly condemns the assistance rendered by imperialistic circles, in particular the United States, to the inhuman system of *apartheid* in South Africa. We also reject all the political manoeuvres to which the United States and South Africa resort to maintain the *status quo* in South Africa and to impose a neo-colonialist settlement for the Namibian question."

25. Miss AL-MULLA (Kuwait): Kuwait attaches great importance to the current debate on the question of Namibia, during which the international community is demonstrating its concern for peace and justice. Among the positive results of this international concern is the release of the Secretary-General of the South West Africa People's Organization, Andimba Toivo ya Toivo, after 16 years of incarceration. We warmly welcome him to our midst as a free man.

26. The debate is not only a demonstration of concern but also an expression of responsibility towards the Namibian people. Namibia remains a primary responsibility of the United Nations. It remains an issue of decolonization of a Territory under illegal occupation by the *apartheid* régime of South Africa.

27. The international community has repeatedly called for the withdrawal of South Africa from Namibia and the transfer of power to the Namibian people. The process towards this objective was laboriously worked out in a settlement plan, culminating in the adoption of Security Council resolution 435 (1978). That resolution remains, in the view of my delegation, the basis for a peaceful settlement. Deviation from its provisions could only be at the expense and to the detriment of the Namibian people. While emphasizing the commitment to the settlement plan, the international community has been witnessing the introduction of other issues into its framework, chief among which is "linkage". It is, then, not without concern that the international community has rejected the injection of extraneous issues into the settlement plan. Security Council resolution 539 (1983) clearly identified the so-called linkage issue as being incompatible with resolution 435 (1978), other decisions of the Security Council and the resolutions of the General Assembly on Namibia, as well as resolution 1514 (XV).

28. While underlining its support for a peaceful settlement of the problem, the international community remains seized of a situation fraught with threats to international peace and security. On the political level, we are confronted with a party that has made intransigence and procrastination a corner-stone of its policy. It has proved ingenious in its delaying tactics designed to evade implementation of the settlement plan. On the economic level, the *apartheid*

régime and other foreign economic interests have been steadily exploiting, depleting and plundering the natural resources of Namibia. On the military level, that régime has often resorted to intimidation, aggression, political intervention and economic destabilization of neighbouring States. In Namibia itself, we are faced with a process of intimidation, repression and increased militarization. The latest manifestation of the policies of the South African régime is the recent imposition of military conscription of all male Namibians between the ages of 17 and 55 to serve in the occupying army, in a dangerous attempt to pit brothers against each other.

29. The sacrifices made by the Namibian people and the front-line States as a result of these policies have been staggering. Their resilience has been remarkable. While trying to overcome their difficulties, the Governments of the front-line States and SWAPO have demonstrated an admirable degree of statesmanship. They continue to bear with patience all attempts to derail the implementation of the settlement plan.

30. Needless to say, the international community has often deplored the policies of the *apartheid* régime and the support rendered to it by its allies. These policies should be rejected rather than tolerated. The *apartheid* régime should be isolated rather than embraced through policies such as that of so-called constructive engagement. The international community is called upon to adopt, and should apply, effective measures to control the situation. Such measures are not beyond its reach. We believe that, with serious pursuit of these measures and with co-operation among States, the international community could achieve the desired results, given the political will to do so.

31. The application of effective control measures is one way of assisting the Namibian people in their struggle for freedom. Another way lies in extending financial and technical assistance to their cause. The role played by the United Nations Council for Namibia towards this end has been indispensable. We pay tribute to its tireless efforts. Kuwait, for its part, will continue to support these efforts through the United Nations and the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries.

32. We believe that peoples derive strength, in their struggle for freedom and independence, from collective support and assistance. We hope that our debate will be an asset in that respect.

33. Mr. WASIUDDIN (Bangladesh): The General Assembly is once again considering the question of Namibia. Another year has passed, but we find ourselves in no way nearer the dawn of Namibian independence. At the outset, therefore, I should like to reaffirm the total solidarity of the Government and people of Bangladesh with the valiant people of Namibia in their just and legitimate struggle for freedom and national independence under the leadership of SWAPO, their true and authentic representative.

34. We have before us several reports on this item for our deliberations: namely, the report of the United Nations Council for Namibia [A/39/24], the report of the Special Committee on the Situation with Regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples [A/39/23] and the report of the Fourth Committee [A/39/675]. We also have

before us the report of the Secretary-General [A/39/508] on this subject. May I record our deep appreciation to him for his untiring and commendable efforts in the cause of the Namibian people.

35. My delegation also wishes to commend you, Mr. President, for the admirable and exemplary manner in which you have guided the activities of the United Nations Council for Namibia as its President. Let us hope and strive for the liberation of the Namibian people from the yoke of the abhorrent racist régime during your presidency of the General Assembly.

36. Bangladesh's position on the question of Namibia is firmly based on our total commitment to support for the oppressed peoples around the world waging a just struggle against imperialism, colonialism and racism. It is also based on our deep and abiding faith in the Charter of the United Nations and our unswerving adherence to the historic Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples and the inalienable right of all peoples to self-determination, freedom and independence. We are equally convinced that the process of decolonization is irreversible and the struggle for freedom and independence inexorable.

37. Our position on the question of Namibia may be summed up on the basis of the following points.

38. First, Bangladesh has reiterated its total and unflinching solidarity with and support for the people of Namibia in their just and legitimate struggle, by every available means, for freedom and national independence under the leadership of SWAPO, their true and authentic representative.

39. Second, we strongly condemn the illegal occupation of Namibia by South Africa in defiance of United Nations resolutions and decisions and have reiterated time and again that Namibia is the direct responsibility of the United Nations until genuine independence is achieved by the Territory.

40. Third, Bangladesh is firmly convinced that the independence of Namibia can and must be achieved in accordance with the principles embodied in United Nations resolutions on the question of Namibia, in particular Security Council resolutions 385 (1976) and 435 (1978), which constitute the only acceptable basis for the peaceful transition of the Territory from colonial subjugation to independence, and has repeatedly called for their immediate and full implementation without any modification whatsoever.

41. Fourth, we have rejected all attempts by the racist Pretoria régime to link the independence of Namibia with extraneous and irrelevant issues. Similarly, we have rejected the racist régime's continued and repeated attempts to impose an internal settlement in Namibia.

42. Fifth, Bangladesh commends the leadership of SWAPO, the sole and legitimate representative of the Namibian people, for extending its full co-operation towards the implementation of the United Nations plan, including its readiness to sign a cease-fire agreement with the racist régime to facilitate the arrival of UNTAG, which would in turn set in motion the election process in Namibia under United Nations supervision.

43. Sixth, Bangladesh has repeatedly declared that Walvis Bay and the Penguin and other offshore islands are integral parts of Namibia and that the

territorial integrity and unity of Namibia must be preserved.

44. Seventh, we have strongly condemned the *apartheid* régime's military aggression against neighbouring African countries and its use of Namibian territory as a springboard for launching those attacks, as well as for other actions aimed at destabilizing those countries.

45. Eighth, we commend the leaders of the front-line States for the courage and fortitude they have shown and the invaluable support they have extended to the cause of Namibia.

46. Ninth, Bangladesh has reaffirmed its full support for the arms embargo imposed against South Africa under Security Council resolution 418 (1977) and has called for its full and effective implementation.

47. Tenth, Bangladesh has also strongly denounced the continued illegal exploitation of Namibian uranium and other resources by the illegal South African régime and foreign economic interests, in violation of General Assembly and Security Council resolutions and decisions and, in particular, of Decree No. 1 for the Protection of the Natural Resources of Namibia,¹ enacted on 27 September 1974 by the United Nations Council for Namibia.

48. Eleventh, Bangladesh, since its independence, has maintained no relations whatsoever with the racist régime in any field—diplomatic, political, economic, trade, social, sport, cultural or other—and we have consistently supported the call for comprehensive mandatory sanctions against South Africa as provided for in Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations.

49. Twelfth, within its modest means Bangladesh has contributed to the United Nations Fund for Namibia and has offered training facilities in Bangladesh for Namibian students.

50. Bangladesh is proud of its association with Namibia. We deeply value the trust and confidence reposed in us for assisting and facilitating the work of the United Nations Special Representative in the context of UNTAG. As a member of the United Nations Council for Namibia, Bangladesh has made and will continue to make every possible effort for the advancement of the cause of Namibian independence.

51. My delegation would like to take this opportunity to say a special word of appreciation for the efforts exerted by the Secretary-General towards the early independence of Namibia. We are fully aware of his deep personal commitment to this question and appreciate his intensive ongoing consultations with all the parties concerned with a view to the early implementation of the United Nations plan. During the course of the past year the Secretary-General has visited the region and made yet another effort at a comprehensive settlement of the problem. His efforts, as on previous occasions, have been blocked again by the racist Pretoria régime putting forward its totally unjustified and irrational pre-conditions.

52. Preceding speakers have already given a graphic account of the situation prevailing in and around Namibia. I would just like to point out that for over a decade and a half Namibia has been a unique responsibility of the United Nations. The international community, therefore, has the historic mandate to protect the rights and interests of Namibia until its independence. We cannot remain silent

spectators of all the inhuman crimes being perpetrated by the Pretoria régime and the endless travail and trauma suffered by the Namibian people. The arrogant and obstructionist policies of the *apartheid* régime must be challenged effectively, and we must act decisively and firmly to usher in the independence of Namibia on the basis of the United Nations plan, the only acceptable and viable basis for a final and lasting settlement of the Namibian problem.

53. In conclusion, I would like to reaffirm our firm conviction that the heroic struggle of the people of Namibia for freedom and national independence, under the leadership of SWAPO, their true authentic representative, will be crowned with success. Their struggle is just and its triumph inevitable.

54. Mr. KRAVETS (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic) (*interpretation from Russian*): One hundred years have passed since the night of colonial bondage descended on Namibia, a night which continues to this day. The liberation of that country from oppression by the South African racists has become one of the principal tasks in the present stage of the struggle to eradicate colonialism.

55. In spite of United Nations demands for the unconditional liberation of Namibia, the rulers of the Republic of South Africa have for many years subjected the Namibian people to cruel terror and repression, and are striving to break its will for freedom and independence. The racist régime of Pretoria has applied the inhuman system of *apartheid* to Namibia and converted the Territory into a raw-materials adjunct of the South African economy. At the same time, the Republic of South Africa is using the territory of Namibia as a bridgehead for aggressive and subversive activities against neighbouring States, which have justifiably come to be called front-line States.

56. As emphasized in General Assembly resolutions, South Africa's continuing illegal colonial occupation of Namibia, in violation of numerous United Nations decisions, constitutes an act of aggression against the people of Namibia.

57. The Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, which fully supports the just struggle of the Namibian people against the occupiers, firmly advocates that the Namibian people be given the earliest possible opportunity to exercise their right to self-determination and independence in a single, territorially integrated State, including Walvis Bay and the offshore islands. It is in favour of the transfer of full power to the people of Namibia, through SWAPO, which is recognized by the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity [OAU] to be the sole authentic representative of the Namibian people.

58. The international community, the United Nations, the OAU and the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries are making systematic efforts to bring about the cessation of the unlawful occupation of Namibia. We should like to refer here to the great work done by the United Nations Council for Namibia under your leadership, Mr. President. The Council has done a great deal to defend the interests of the Namibian people, provide assistance in their just struggle for independence and mobilize public opinion in favour of the speedy solution of the Namibian problem.

59. The United Nations bears direct responsibility for the fate of Namibia and for its decolonization. The relevant decisions of the United Nations, in

particular, Security Council resolution 435 (1978), set out the practical ways and means to ensure the transition of Namibia to independent and separate development.

60. Yet the Pretoria régime, flagrantly violating the Charter of the United Nations and challenging the overwhelming majority of the States of the world, is doing everything possible to drag out endlessly the process leading to the solution of the Namibian problem so as to force upon Namibia, through a so-called internal settlement, a neo-colonialist system by which authority would be handed over to South African puppets and the position of the Republic of South Africa in that country would be preserved.

61. In this connection, Pretoria is being assisted in various ways by its imperialist protectors, most notably the United States of America. Everybody knows that the United States and certain other Western countries are pursuing their own selfish interests in Namibia. We see in Namibia the high-handed methods of imperialist transnational corporations, which are plundering the great mineral wealth and deriving excessive profits from the cruel exploitation of Namibians. Hundreds of millions of dollars are deposited annually in the coffers of foreign transnational and national companies.

62. The documents of the United Nations Council for Namibia, the Special Committee against *Apartheid* and other bodies of the United Nations contain a wealth of data which reveal the rapacious looting of the natural resources of Namibia. The logical conclusion to be drawn is that such unlawful activity by foreign economic, financial and other interests is one of the main obstacles to the attainment of independence by Namibia.

63. Furthermore, the American imperialists have handed over to the South African régime the function of policeman in protecting the "vital interests" of the United States in the southern portion of the African continent. It is no accident that Washington considers the racist régime of Pretoria to be its "strategic ally". This is what lies at the heart of the "constructive engagement" between the United States and South Africa.

64. Through their joint efforts Washington and Pretoria are torpedoing every attempt by the United Nations, the front-line States and SWAPO to bring about a peaceful settlement of the Namibian question. The overseas strategists are assisting the captains of the racist régime in their manoeuvres and advising them how to "link" the granting of independence to Namibia with extraneous and irrelevant questions, so as to place insuperable barriers in the way of a settlement of the Namibian problem and limit Angola's sovereign right of self-defence in circumstances of constant military aggression by the Republic of South Africa. A recent letter from the Minister for Foreign Affairs of South Africa addressed to the Secretary-General is evidence of the fact that the Pretoria régime continues to try to force such "linkage," although it has been condemned and rejected in United Nations decisions, by the OAU and also by the heads of State or Government of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries.

65. Thus, the attempts of the United States and the Republic of South Africa to substitute for genuine Namibian freedom and independence a neo-colonialist variant and the extensive assistance to South Africa provided by the United States, certain other

Western countries and Israel in the political, economic, military and nuclear spheres are the basic reasons why United Nations resolutions on Namibia have so far not been implemented.

66. In firmly condemning the racist régime of South Africa, which, with the encouragement of its imperialist allies, is continuing to hold the Namibian people in a state of colonial slavery by force of arms, the Ukrainian SSR fully supports the demands of the African States concerning the speedy adoption by the Security Council of comprehensive, mandatory sanctions against the Republic of South Africa, in accordance with Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations. We are firmly convinced that only through the joint efforts of all States, through the total isolation and boycotting of the racists in the international arena, will it be possible to achieve the early liquidation of the last bastion of colonialism in southern Africa and to strengthen peace and security in that region.

67. In accordance with its position of principle, the Ukrainian SSR will continue in the future to speak out in support of the struggle of the courageous Namibian people, headed by SWAPO, for its freedom and liberation. We affirm our solidarity with the peoples of the African front-line States and support their efforts to reach a just settlement of the question of Namibia in accordance with United Nations decisions.

68. Mr. EL-FATTAL (Syrian Arab Republic) (*interpretation from Arabic*): The General Assembly is considering the question of Namibia at a very critical juncture in the history of the conflict imposed by the white racist minority régime on the southern African region as a whole. A few days ago the General Assembly discussed carefully and fully the deteriorating conditions of the South African people resulting from the intensified application of the shameful policy of *apartheid* of the Pretoria régime, which is applied both institutionally and constitutionally against the dignity, rights and interests of some 80 per cent of the population of South Africa and against every non-white person. Thanks to these debates, in which most Member States have participated, it has become clear that the Pretoria régime is committing four international crimes, simultaneously and persistently, against the peoples of southern Africa. These are: first, the crime of collective enslavement, which is perpetrated inside South Africa through the policy of *apartheid*; secondly, the crime of continuing the occupation of Namibia, which is a crime against the right of people to independence on the one hand and against peace on the other; thirdly, the crime of continued aggression against the front-line States; and, fourthly, the crime of actions and manoeuvres by the Government of Pretoria to destabilize the African States in southern Africa, as well as the policy of blackmail directed against those States in order to strengthen South Africa's hegemony over the Africans, in collusion with world imperialism.

Mr. Zain (Malaysia), Vice-President, took the Chair.

69. Contrary to the claims from some Western quarters, it seems that on the question of Namibia a departure is traditionally made from the major concepts and provisions of the relevant Security Council and General Assembly resolutions which, as is well known, provide for the immediate indepen-

dence of Namibia. The most important of these resolutions is Security Council resolution 435 (1978), which endorsed the United Nations plan for the independence of Namibia. It seems that there exists a dangerous attempt at deviation designed to undermine international legality through a set of imperialistic policies and conspiracies based on two parallel, simultaneous plans. The first plan is being carried out against the peoples of southern Africa under the misleading slogan of "constructive engagement". This "constructive engagement" concept was invented by the United States of America, in collusion with Pretoria, in order to make it possible to intervene in the affairs of the region, to impose its hegemony there and to continue the policies of aggression and racial discrimination in southern Africa, disregarding any international responsibilities, especially those under the United Nations and its Charter. The second plan is related to the question of linking the independence of Namibia with the imposition on Angola of a set of conditions that run counter to the sovereignty of Angola—a country that achieved its freedom and independence through long struggle and heavy sacrifices. This linkage is in fact encroachment upon the independence of Angola and intervention in its internal and external affairs in an attempt to perpetuate South Africa's occupation of Namibia.

70. On the basis of these considerations, in its discussion of the question of Namibia the General Assembly faces an extremely difficult task, namely, to confront all these plans designed to maintain the old *status quo* and destabilize the African States in southern Africa.

71. World imperialism is currently using all its influence to amend and alter the concepts, purposes and provisions of resolution 435 (1978). Amending that resolution is but a stage in an overall scheme to do away with the international legality that came into existence as a result of international solidarity and the struggle of the people of Namibia. Recently, Namibia's independence was in sight; today, it seems far away. Therefore, the Security Council, the General Assembly, the United Nations Council for Namibia and other international governmental and non-governmental organizations should redouble their efforts to frustrate this conspiracy against international legality, as embodied in resolution 435 (1978), and in order to abort all deviationist and regressive tendencies.

72. Mr. Sam Nujoma, the President of the South West Africa People's Organization, last June reminded us of this danger when he said: "Much of the recent flurry of activities and meetings inspired by Pretoria have been mere delaying tactics aimed at finding alternatives to the United Nations independence plan for Namibia, which provides for elections that SWAPO is confident of winning hands down".*

73. This danger is real. We can feel it daily through the repeated attempts being made not only to undermine the United Nations plan for the independence of Namibia pursuant to Security Council resolution 435 (1978), but also to remove the question of Namibia from the framework of the United Nations. This means the isolation of SWAPO and its being dealt with unilaterally, which would result in delaying the independence of Namibia and in fragmenting international solidarity.

*Quoted in English by the speaker.

74. The threats, pressures and sanctions exercised against the States committed to supporting the people of Namibia with all possible means in its struggle for independence are proof of the attempt to undermine our collective efforts to bring about this independence. Therefore, the General Assembly should take all effective measures to ensure the implementation of its previous resolutions and those adopted by other United Nations bodies, by the OAU and by the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries.

75. We are confident that the attempts to disrupt international solidarity against colonialism, racism and foreign occupation through methods contrary to the Charter, including political blackmail, at a time when the spectre of famine and deprivation looms over millions of Africans, will fail.

76. Our solidarity with Africa in general and with the people of Namibia in particular is not the result of immediate interests. This consideration emanates from our full commitment to the liquidation of imperialism and colonialism wherever they may be, in accordance with the Charter and with the provisions of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples contained in General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV), wherein we have all committed ourselves to the eradication of all forms of colonialism and foreign domination. These threats do not frighten us; on the contrary, their only effect is to broaden our front against those who wish us to keep silent about the crimes being perpetrated against the people of Namibia and the other peoples of southern Africa.

77. In fact, these threats have backfired, for the General Assembly, in its resolution 38/36 B, reaffirmed that Security Council resolution 435 (1978) was the only basis for a peaceful settlement of the question of Namibia. The General Assembly also demanded the immediate and unconditional implementation of that resolution without qualification, modification or amendment or the introduction of extraneous and irrelevant issues of "linkage", "parallelism" or "reciprocity" insisted upon by the United States of America and South Africa. The General Assembly requested the Security Council to exercise its authority with regard to the implementation of its resolutions 385 (1976), 435 (1978) and 532 (1983) so as to bring about the independence of Namibia without further delay. Moreover, the General Assembly urged the Security Council to impose comprehensive mandatory sanctions against the racist régime of South Africa under Chapter VII of the Charter, in order to ensure the total cessation of all co-operation with that régime.

78. Another principled response came in the form of the Final Communiqué of the Summit Meeting of the Front-line States, held at Arusha on 29 April 1984,² in which the heads of State or Government reaffirmed their total and unqualified commitment to the liberation struggle of the people of Namibia against colonialism under the leadership of SWAPO, its sole and authentic representative. They also called for the rapid implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978) and reiterated the importance of the continuing role of the Secretary-General and the Security Council in the implementation of the United Nations plan for Namibia. They also rejected linking the freedom of Namibia with any decision taken by the Government of Angola regarding its security needs and internal political structure.

79. On the basis of the principle of Arab-African solidarity and co-operation, which emanates from ties of brotherhood and the history of a common struggle against all forms of imperialism, the Conference of Arab Solidarity with the Struggle for Liberation in Southern Africa, held at Tunis from 7 to 9 August 1984 with the co-operation of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* and the League of Arab States, drew attention in particular to the policy adopted by the United States of America, which has damaged the vital interests of Africa and the Arab world by its strategic co-operation with Israel and its policy of constructive engagement with Pretoria. That Conference condemned all attempts to divide the Arab and African States in their common struggle to liberate Africa, Namibia and Palestine. It also strongly condemned the close alliance between the two racist régimes, in Pretoria and Tel Aviv, in view of their common hostility to the freedom of the African and Arab peoples. It welcomed the oil embargo imposed by the Arab countries against South Africa. The Conference also condemned the support and encouragement provided by some Western countries and Israel to the *apartheid* régime.

80. My delegation wishes to express its deep appreciation to the United Nations Council for Namibia and the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples for their very detailed respective reports [A/39/24 and A/39/23], both of which show the true dimensions of the conspiracy hatched against the independence of Namibia and international efforts to ensure that independence. The reports mention possible ways of supporting the struggle of the Namibian people against the racist occupation, under the leadership of SWAPO, and of overcoming the obstacles blocking the path to independence.

81. It is clear that the United States, some Western countries and Israel bear direct responsibility for the deterioration of the situation in Namibia because of their increased co-operation with the racist régime. It is clear from the above-mentioned reports and from other reports that the deteriorating conditions in southern Africa also are the responsibility of certain States. For example, in the report of the United Nations Council for Namibia it is stated that "the mandatory arms embargo was not successful in stopping the flow of foreign arms to South Africa" [see A/39/24, para. 196] because of the continued nuclear collaboration with the *apartheid* régime by the United States and some other Western countries and Israel.

82. The same report states that "the development of South Africa's nuclear capability has been enhanced and accelerated by the collaboration extended to the *apartheid* régime at various levels by certain Western States, particularly the United States, and by Israel, through assistance in uranium extraction and processing the supply of nuclear equipment, the transfer of technology, the provision of training and the exchange of scientists" [*ibid.*, para. 233].

83. Therefore, Israel, which speaks often about the assistance it provides to some African States from the pocket of the American taxpayer, bears a special responsibility for the continued occupation of Namibia, as a result of its collusion with the Pretoria régime at all levels.

84. The same report also asserts that Israel is the primary supplier of weapons to South Africa and that "Israeli officials themselves have acknowledged that South Africa was the leading recipient of Israeli arms" [*ibid.*, para. 229].

85. The alliance between Pretoria and Tel Aviv against the interests of southern Africa is an alliance of a special type, based on a common ideology and similar practices, which are inspired by the racist and colonialist nature of their régimes. Therefore, this is not an alliance of two parties against another party, but an alliance which should be seen in the context of the larger strategic alliance between Washington and Tel Aviv, on the one hand, and Washington and Pretoria on the other. This tripartite alliance threatens the security of the Middle East and the African continent because of the aggressive actions taken against the peoples of these regions. It is no secret that Washington is doing its utmost to enhance these two bases of colonialism and imperialism in South Africa and Palestine to extend its hegemony to two of the most important regions of the world, namely, the Middle East and Africa, since they contain enormous economic and natural resources and because of their strategic importance. The accelerating pace of this tripartite alliance threatens international peace and security, especially since the increasingly militaristic tendency of the United States runs parallel with similar aggressive militaristic tendencies in the two racist régimes, which use force in their approach to development and in their daily life, and as an objective in itself.

86. Therefore, if the Assembly wants to halt the aggression of *apartheid* against Namibia, it has to ensure the implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978) without delay, while at the same time imposing comprehensive and mandatory sanctions under Chapter VII of the Charter. Moreover, boycott measures against South Africa should be applied in a very strict manner, in accordance with General Assembly resolutions and with resolutions adopted in other forums. We also have to do our utmost to help the struggle of SWAPO in all areas, especially through armed struggle, for the liberation of Namibia. All these measures should be taken simultaneously, because we will not be able to compel the *apartheid* régime fully to withdraw its forces from the land of Namibia unless the African and national struggles gain increasing international support with intensified international pressure on the *apartheid* régime to eliminate imperialism from Namibia.

87. My country is not afraid of the threats made by those in imperialist circles in order to prevent us from speaking our minds when we are discussing problems related to imperialism. For us, decolonization is a duty and a commitment. The present facts should encourage us to adopt more resolutions in order to improve international action, and to extend more assistance to the people of Namibia and SWAPO, as well as to the threatened African States.

88. In our view, responsibility for the continued failure to implement United Nations resolutions falls squarely on some Western States, in particular the United States and Israel. It is a crime to be silent and it is also a crime to attempt to hide the identity of the culprit. We shall spare no effort in extending all possible assistance to the Namibian people and SWAPO in their efforts to attain independence in a unified Namibia.

89. We are convinced that our struggle against Zionism is a way of contributing to the struggle against *apartheid*, which is the other face of colonialism, supported by imperialism. The terrorists are those who resist and suppress the aspirations of peoples to freedom, independence, equality and justice.

90. Mr. FOSSEN (Norway): Since we last debated this question one year ago there has been little evidence of any progress being made towards finding a solution to the Namibian problem. The aspirations of the Namibian people to independence and self-determination remain unfulfilled, and we understand their feelings of frustration and anger. The question of Namibia constitutes a major challenge to the United Nations and we all have an obligation to contribute to the achievement of independence for Namibia. It is long overdue.

91. Much thought and effort have gone into planning for Namibia's future. Through the adoption of Security Council resolution 435 (1978), we have a comprehensive plan for achieving such independence. This plan has been accepted by the international community and the parties most directly concerned. It remains the only framework for an internationally acceptable solution to the Namibian problem.

92. We all know that there are other issues holding up the independence of Namibia. The South African Government has demanded the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola as a condition for implementing resolution 435 (1978). Although we recognize that this undoubtedly is an important issue to which a solution will have to be found, my Government considers that it should not be allowed to delay the implementation of the United Nations plan for Namibia.

93. My Government continues to believe that every effort should be made to achieve a negotiated settlement of the Namibian problem in order to stop further bloodshed and suffering. We were therefore encouraged by the so-called Lusaka agreement in February of this year regarding the withdrawal of South African troops from southern Angola and the establishment of a joint South African-Angolan monitoring commission to supervise the withdrawal process. We had hoped that this agreement could help create a climate of confidence in the region and thus facilitate the implementation of the United Nations plan for Namibia. I regret to say that these expectations have not been fulfilled. South African troops are still in southern Angola.

94. My Government has noted with satisfaction the efforts being made by the United States to unblock the current stalemate in the Namibian negotiations. We have been encouraged by the constructive attitude taken by the Angolan Government in this connection and we hope that the South African Government will respond in a similar fashion. However, the recent letter from the Minister for Foreign Affairs of South Africa to the Secretary-General on the question of Namibia does not give cause for any optimism in this respect. At the same time, I should like to stress that nothing should be done to undermine the vital role of the United Nations in achieving the independence of Namibia and that the Secretary-General should be closely involved in the negotiation process.

95. Norway remains committed to early achievement of independence for Namibia, and my Government has made significant contributions to the various United Nations activities benefiting Namibia. Let me mention the United Nations Institute for Namibia and the Nationhood Programme for Namibia. We also give considerable humanitarian support to SWAPO for the benefit of Namibian refugees, and my Government has recently decided to finance the construction of a secondary technical school for Namibian refugees in the People's Republic of the Congo. My Government is also prepared to assist in the reconstruction and development of a free and independent Namibia.

96. In our statement under this agenda item at the 75th meeting of the thirty-eighth session we stated our disappointment and frustration at the unacceptable language contained in many of the draft resolutions on the situation in Namibia submitted by the United Nations Council for Namibia. I regret to say that we have the same reservations with regard to the draft resolutions submitted by the Council this year. My delegation will comment in more detail on these draft resolutions later on, but I should like at this stage to express my reservation about the work programme being presented by the Council. My Government feels that, as the United Nations authority responsible for Namibia, the Council should direct its activities towards preparing in a practical way for Namibia's independence. Yet the Council seems to direct too much of its attention and resources to the holding of seminars and symposia of limited practical benefit. We should like to see a reversal of this unfortunate trend so that the United Nations Council for Namibia may be able to play a more constructive role in the future.

97. The continued South African occupation of Namibia has brought great suffering upon the people of Namibia. The Namibian economy has suffered from many years of warfare and drought. The South African Government must surely know that it is fighting a losing battle. My Government would hope that the South African Government would draw the logical conclusion from this and agree to the early implementation of the United Nations plan for Namibia.

98. Mr. MGUMIN (Comoros) (*interpretation from French*): On the eve of the commemoration of the fortieth anniversary of the founding of the United Nations, we deem it appropriate to point out the lessons that can be learned from the question of Namibia.

99. The decolonization of Namibia is unquestionably the responsibility of the United Nations. It is in that spirit that we interpret General Assembly resolution 2145 (XXI), adopted by the General Assembly in 1966, which terminated South Africa's Mandate over Namibia, and the establishment, in 1967, of the United Nations Council for Namibia.

100. The advisory opinion delivered by the International Court of Justice in 1971³ described South Africa's presence in Namibia as illegal, considering it devoid of any juridical foundation. Finally, in 1978 the supreme organ of the United Nations, the Security Council, adopted resolution 435 (1978) and endorsed the plan of action to enable the Namibian people fully to enjoy their inalienable right to independence.

101. Resolution 435 (1978) and the resolutions related to it provide the ways and means for settling this painful question peacefully. We nourished great and real hopes when the Security Council adopted resolution 435 (1978). But with the passing of time, given the intransigence of the South African Government, those hopes have given way to despair and bitterness. In fact, the continued South African presence in Namibian territory and South Africa's obstruction of the implementation of the plan of action for the decolonization of Namibia are, in our opinion, a challenge flung at the international community in general and Africa in particular.

102. It is therefore appropriate to wonder about the true scope and political impact of the resolutions we adopt each year on the various problems threatening peace and thereby jeopardizing the development and well-being of the peoples we represent here. It is because the credibility of the United Nations is at stake that my delegation solemnly requests the countries friendly to South Africa to use their influence to induce it to change its position, for the benefit of the Namibian people. These people have suffered too much from brutal, blind repression, from the continued exile of their sons. Their claims are simple and legitimate. They aspire only to peace and the enjoyment of their most fundamental rights. SWAPO, their sole legitimate representative, has constantly given proof of good faith, political maturity and wisdom in the search for a just and lasting solution to this question.

103. Unfortunately, SWAPO's readiness and the international community's determination to complete the work of the decolonization of Namibia are confronted by the negative, nefarious attitude of the racist South African régime.

104. South Africa, instead of abiding by the various resolutions adopted by the United Nations on this subject, goes on inventing delaying tactics and subterfuges of all kinds to curb the process of the decolonization of Namibia. Everyone here remembers that this year South Africa purely and simply torpedoed the talks which were held with SWAPO in Zambia and Cape Verde for the purpose of speeding up Namibia's independence.

105. The racist Pretoria régime continues to link the implementation of resolution 435 (1978) with extraneous elements, in particular the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola. For my delegation, the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola can in no circumstances be a pre-condition for the decolonization of Namibia. Angola, a sovereign and independent country, is free to appeal to any country for assistance in ensuring its national security. For the Islamic Federal Republic of the Comoros, the insistence on this notorious linkage is an inadmissible pretext for delaying the liberation of Namibia.

106. The Namibian people have made enormous sacrifices, and there is an urgent need to ensure that right prevails over might. These people await from all of us the most valuable birthday gift of their history, on the eve of the fortieth anniversary of the United Nations—that is, their inalienable right to self-determination.

107. In conclusion, my delegation ventures to hope that the enthusiasm and firm positions demonstrated in the Assembly will be followed by concrete deeds in support of the courageous Namibian people in their historic struggle for national liberation.

108. The decolonization of Namibia is an integral part of an irreversible movement for the exercise by all peoples of their inalienable right to decide their own destiny.

109. Mr. CHARLES (Haiti) (*interpretation from French*): It is with a deep feeling of frustration that my delegation embarks upon the consideration of the question of Namibia, which for a number of years now has been at the very heart of the concerns of the international community, confronted as it is by the combined efforts of the backward forces of colonialism, racism and *apartheid* to halt the course of history by continuing to deny the Namibian people the enjoyment of their legitimate rights to self-determination, freedom and independence.

110. This criminal policy of the Pretoria régime is being pursued in spite of many General Assembly and Security Council resolutions which have repeatedly called on South Africa to put an end to its illegal occupation of Namibian territory. Ignoring international public opinion, South Africa has met United Nations action with defiance, strengthening its military potential and increasing, on the one hand, its repression within its own borders and in Namibia and, on the other, the destabilization of neighbouring States, which are thereby compelled to conclude with South Africa agreements designed not only to isolate the freedom fighters but also to perpetuate South Africa's racist hegemony over the southern part of the African continent.

111. At the same time, Pretoria is actively engaged in an intensive propaganda campaign which gives the false impression that it is prepared to co-operate in the search for a negotiated settlement to the Namibian problem. These manoeuvres of the racist régime should not astonish anyone. Using cunning, pretending to negotiate, now feigning to yield in order later to reopen the whole issue, Pretoria is only trying to gain time for the purpose of consolidating its position. Experience has shown that it is resolved to use terror and violence to achieve its purpose.

112. Today, Namibia is a huge armed camp, with one soldier for every 12 adult members of the population. The current status is practically that of martial law, which permits the murdering of innocent civilians, arbitrary arrests and detention, torture, and so on, in order to maintain the *status quo*.

113. One can never emphasize sufficiently the urgent need to bring about a negotiated solution which would put an end to the prolonged sufferings of the Namibian people while at the same time having a positive effect upon security and stability within the region. Six years have passed since the adoption of the United Nations plan for the independence of Namibia, which is universally recognized as the only basis for a peaceful and authentic settlement of this question.

114. As is well known, contrary to the will to co-operate clearly manifested by SWAPO, which went so far as to propose a cease-fire, Pretoria has unfortunately done everything to prevent the implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978).

115. Among the difficulties raised was, in the first instance, the question of the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola. Is there any need to recall in this connection that the right of a people to independence, once recognized, cannot be made dependent upon any other right or condition? Is it also necessary to emphasize that this linkage is one of the most

astonishing paradoxes of contemporary international life, according to which the cessation of the illegality of the occupation by South Africa of Namibia should depend upon the cessation of a fact which is legal and legitimate from all standpoints? Only upside down logic would make it possible to understand such a position.

116. Be that as it may, Pretoria is going to leave Namibia sooner or later. Those which, by their actions, support it are contributing to providing it the time needed for the elimination of the SWAPO leadership and the establishment of a puppet régime in Namibia. Under these circumstances, we cannot but deplore the attitude of those States, especially those that have special obligations under the Charter of the United Nations but yet encourage South Africa to torpedo the United Nations plan for Namibia and to perpetuate its unlawful occupation.

117. There is no doubt that the situation in southern Africa in general, and specifically in Namibia, is a serious threat to international peace and security. As such, it justifies the implementation of enforcement measures provided for in Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations, the effective and immediate application of which by all Member States would compel South Africa to bow to the will of the international community. The situation also requires that SWAPO be strengthened and provided with the material and moral support it needs in order to enable it to confront the occupier successfully in the struggle which was imposed upon it.

118. For its part, the Republic of Haiti, which has always been at the forefront of the struggle of peoples against colonialism, foreign occupation, racism and *apartheid*, reaffirms its unstinting support for the valiant people of Namibia, under the leadership of SWAPO, their sole authentic and legitimate representative. It remains confident that, current circumstances notwithstanding, this struggle, which is also its own, will soon be crowned with success.

119. Mr. KORHONEN (Finland): The continuation of the South African occupation of Namibia is a flagrant challenge to the authority of the United Nations and the Security Council. Moreover, Namibia is suffering from the maximum distortions of a colonial economy and the ravages of the *apartheid* system perpetrated in Namibia for over two decades. The people of Namibia are deprived of human rights and fundamental freedoms—civil, political, economic, social and cultural. South Africa has subjected them to increasing physical and spiritual repression. The occupying Power has not hesitated to deplete the rich natural resources of Namibia, whether in the mining industry, agriculture or fishing.

120. I wish to reiterate my Government's high esteem for the continuing dedication of the United Nations Council for Namibia and its President, Mr. Paul Lusaka, to the cause of the people of Namibia. The report of the Council again this year gives an accurate description of the dismal situation in and around Namibia. This portrayal consists of persistent, widespread violations of human rights, such as the detention of individuals without charge for indefinite periods and the use of torture.

121. The basis for negotiations and a political solution is embodied in Security Council resolution 435 (1978). The focal point of the United Nations settlement plan is free and fair elections, signifying an unfettered democratic expression of the will of the

people. My Government strongly believes in and supports a negotiated settlement. These past years have clearly indicated that it is not internationally acceptable to impose any pre-conditions on the implementation of resolution 435 (1978) or otherwise to delay the attainment of Namibian independence. The international community must intensify its efforts to convince the South African Government of this fact and to accelerate the implementation of the United Nations plan. It is worth bearing in mind that the Government of South Africa has committed itself to that plan.

122. The people of Finland have a history of friendly relations with the Namibian people going back for more than a century. Responding to a need of the highest priority among the Namibians, the need for education and training, Finland's initiatives and proposals have led to the founding of the United Nations Fund for Namibia and the establishment of the United Nations Institute for Namibia and the Nationhood Programme for Namibia. Our continuing dedication to the cause of the people of Namibia is manifested in our annual contributions to these funds and programmes. Our country also gives humanitarian assistance to SWAPO and to Namibians, both directly and through the United Nations. We have declared that independent Namibia will become a major recipient of Finnish technical and economic assistance.

123. Our action has been motivated solely by a desire to make a constructive and pragmatic contribution to the settlement of the Namibian question. We have maintained our preparedness to participate in UNTAG in order to be able to respond promptly and efficiently to any request for services.

124. Additionally, we emphasize the assistance rendered by the programme of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, which is targeted for the agricultural and training sectors. Its primary aim is to help the Namibians living outside their country, in refugee camps, to improve their standard of living by giving them the means to become more self-reliant, thus lessening their dependence on international aid and making them better prepared for the future development of Namibia.

125. The wider regional security issues affecting Namibia's peaceful accession to independence, which have been the subject of recent initiatives aimed at putting an end to armed conflict and building up confidence in the area, deserve to be carefully studied. It should be determined to what extent these could advance the foundation of an independent Namibia. It is of the utmost importance to break the impasse that has prevailed during the past few years. We thus welcome the new and concrete approaches presented in recent discussions by relevant parties to the conflict. We should recognize especially the constructive position of Angola in this context. We should also pay a tribute to the statesmanship and valuable initiatives of the front-line States, in particular Zambia, which, together with Cape Verde, has provided good offices to the parties. SWAPO, showing remarkable patience, has played a crucial and positive role in the search for a peaceful, negotiated settlement. We recognize SWAPO as having an essential role in endeavours to achieve a political solution in Namibia.

126. It is the common responsibility of the States Members of the United Nations to be of assistance in

the search for a settlement and to see to it that any arrangement for Namibian independence will be based on the provisions set out by the international community in the United Nations plan and Security Council resolution 435 (1978).

127. Mr. DJOUDI (Algeria) (*interpretation from French*): Never has a decolonization problem proved as disconcerting as that of Namibia. For several decades, while South Africa has been called upon to respect its international obligations with regard to Namibia, it is still ignoring such calls. Analysis of the resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council shows beyond doubt that for far too long its aggression has persisted against the Namibian people and that international peace and security are seriously endangered in the region because of Pretoria's actions.

128. In the course of its frequent deliberations on the Namibian question, the General Assembly has amassed a great deal of damning information concerning the racist Pretoria régime. The continued illegal occupation of that Territory, the successive attempts to subvert the process of its decolonization, the repeated destabilizing and aggressive actions against sovereign States of the region and the strengthening of the *apartheid* system show clearly the extent of the tragedy that is taking place in the southern part of the African continent.

129. Today, six years after the adoption of the plan for the peaceful settlement of the Namibian question, the situation has not changed. The implementation of the decolonization of Namibia stands at an impasse, and there South Africa and some of its allies wish to keep the efforts of the United Nations.

130. The question of Namibia is too well known by the General Assembly to require lengthy explanations. As a decolonization problem, it is among those which cannot be subject to any challenges or erroneous interpretations, because the essential facts cannot be misunderstood.

131. Eighteen years ago the United Nations assumed direct responsibility for the Territory of Namibia and undertook to bring to a conclusion the process of its liberation. Since then, in a joint effort, the General Assembly, the International Court of Justice and the Security Council have accurately defined the inevitable course for the restoration of right and the realization of the consensus of the nations: the independence of Namibia in full sovereignty and with complete territorial integrity.

132. South Africa's Mandate over Namibia has thus been annulled, and its presence in the Territory declared illegal. The inalienable right of the Namibian people to independence and the legitimacy of their struggle for national liberation under the direction of SWAPO, their sole and authentic representative, were confirmed.

133. Thus the independence of Namibia became the goal of all. By its resolutions 385 (1976), 435 (1978) and 439 (1978), which reflected the international consensus and expressed a common will to hasten the decolonization of Namibia, the Security Council defined the necessary terms and conditions for providing and affirming the process leading to that goal. Since then, all the initiatives aimed at the implementation of that settlement plan have been blocked by South Africa. South Africa's responsibility for the failure of those initiatives, its persistence in its illegal occupation of Namibia, its successive

attempts to subvert the process of the decolonization of that Territory and its destabilizing actions should have called for firmer action on the part of the international community.

134. Pretoria's intransigence and its delaying actions have been supported, it must be stated, by complacency and by powerful complicity. In defying the international consensus, the Government of Pretoria, comforted by the support it has received from certain Powers with which it maintains privileged relations, has constantly mobilized its political and military apparatus in order to impose a neo-colonialist solution upon Namibia.

135. The impasse at which the Namibian question now finds itself and the attempts to divert the process of its decolonization from the normal course laid down for it by the United Nations are a source of serious preoccupation for Africa and for the international community as a whole. The intrusion of an irrelevant link between the independence of Namibia and the withdrawal of Cuban forces from Angola has created further barriers to that process, which has been delayed for far too long. This link is contrary to the spirit and the letter of the United Nations settlement plan and vitiates all the accepted and recognized data on the question of Namibia. Obviously, this link between a State's sovereign decision and an authentic problem of decolonization on which international unanimity exists gravely jeopardizes the effort organized patiently and perseveringly by the community of nations. The decolonization of Namibia has thus been attacked at its core and diverted from its course by being viewed from the geostrategic standpoint and being thrust willy-nilly into the context of confrontational power relations.

136. This state of affairs only strengthens the attempt of the racist régime of Pretoria to impose an internal solution in Namibia. We cannot help wondering if an attempt is being made, by means of constantly deferred deadlines, to impose a neo-colonial solution on the Namibian people, against its will and contrary to its legitimate aspirations. That is why Africa, and subsequently the General Assembly and the Security Council, forcefully rejected the establishment of such a link.

137. At this decisive stage of the settlement of the Namibian question, it is essential to reaffirm vigorously both that SWAPO is the sole legitimate representative of the Namibian people and that the United Nations bears the full and indivisible responsibility in Namibia's process towards independence in strict compliance with resolution 435 (1978). Given South Africa's equivocation and the intensification of its policy of oppression and aggression, the United Nations must translate into specific measures and actions its solidarity with the peoples of southern Africa in their struggle.

138. Because of its sole responsibility for Namibia's decolonization process, because of its legal authority over that Territory until independence, and because it is the guarantor of the maintenance of international peace and security, the United Nations must take the decisions needed to put an end to Pretoria's policy of defiance.

139. The problem of Namibia is and will continue to be a problem of decolonization. It is subject to action clearly identified by the United Nations and to a series of decisions which have universal support. These basic truths must be reaffirmed with all the

necessary vigour to protect the decolonization of Namibia against all attempts at modification. Therefore, it is the duty of the international community to support the Namibian people and their national liberation movement, SWAPO. It must show its solidarity by effective commitments and specific action.

140. As the Namibian people commemorate a century of struggle against colonial occupation, that duty becomes an obligation for the international community, which should make practical efforts to establish international legality in Namibia and enable the people of that Territory to enjoy all their inalienable rights.

141. I wish to conclude by paying a tribute, on behalf of my country, to the Namibian people's fight for national liberation and by reaffirming to their sole legitimate representative, SWAPO, our unflagging solidarity and support. I wish also to hail the efforts of the United Nations Council for Namibia in favour of the just cause of the Namibian people.

142. The PRESIDENT: I call now on the observer of the League of Arab States, in accordance with General Assembly resolution 477 (V) of 1 November 1950.

143. Mr. MAKSOUD (League of Arab States): Once again the General Assembly is seized of the question of Namibia. The world community is called upon to go beyond condemnation. Racists, when condemned, tend to treat world opinion with contempt. Racists become more intransigent. They tend to feel that those who initiate condemnation are denying racism its privilege of being superior and of acting accordingly. Those who support the initiators of condemnation are for the most part considered by the racists to be "opportunists" or "misguided", or racists who are cowardly and therefore disguise their racism. To racists—such as the practitioners of *apartheid*—exclusionary policies, practices and behaviour are inherent, necessary and an attribute of superiority. To sustain the abnormal, unnatural, immoral, illegitimate structures of racist régimes, resort to sophisticated mechanisms of repression is inevitable. Violence is a measure by which to exert force on those who confront discrimination and all forms of occupation and disfranchisement. Violence is latent in the plans to sustain the permanency of inequality and the efficacy of repression and occupation.

144. Racists resort to pseudo-legal measures to render their victims so bogged down in trivial involvements on a daily basis that they resign themselves to their fate and condition themselves to limiting their concerns to mere survival, acquiescing in the permanency of their humiliation and disfranchisement.

145. Racists do not recognize the humanity of their victims. In that way, their system and practices are dehumanized. To buy time, racists keep introducing new issues; they resort to procrastination; they defy United Nations resolutions; and they insult their critics in a deliberate attempt to remain immune from accountability. Diversionary tactics have become, as we all know, the habit and the method of the two remaining openly racist régimes, namely South Africa and Israel. Both throw tantrums in the United Nations. Both act hurt at even minor criticism by whomever they perceive as sponsors—that is, Western Europe and the United States. Both live

in intellectual ghettos, as they are totally oblivious to the humanist, rational and egalitarian components of Western civilization, of which these two régimes claim to be projections in South Africa and the Middle East.

146. What both these régimes represent in fact is the last colonial-settler thrusts, at an historical juncture when decolonization has legitimized the equality of nations and peoples and the inalienable right of peoples to self-determination. Equality and self-determination, however, have always been considered by these régimes to be an intrusion into the overall conceptual scheme of racism and an interruption of what racists consider to be their absolute right to dominate others, to control their destiny and to keep them in a perpetual state of national exclusion.

147. From this vantage point, the racists—whether the *apartheid* régime in South Africa or the Zionist régime in Israel—consider any challenge to their control to be subversion, any resistance to their occupation terrorism, and any dissent or mild opposition to their practices seditious and perfidious. Because the remaining racists intend to perpetuate their absolute control over the destiny of others, they attribute their own basic characteristics to their opponents, and reverse the realities in an uncouth shamelessness that causes the human mind everywhere to boggle.

148. That is why the racists are indifferent to United Nations resolutions and contemptuous of those that favour them. This studied indifference and contempt is becoming a serious obstacle to effective action by the United Nations and a serious roadblock in the way of peace and freedom, not only in Namibia but throughout the continent of Africa.

149. The League of Arab States, aware of the grave danger of South Africa's continued occupation of Namibia and its deliberate prevarication concerning compliance with Security Council resolution 435 (1978), has demonstrated its unequivocal support for the struggle of the Namibian people under the leadership of SWAPO.

150. We are aware that the South African *apartheid* régime dangles before certain sectors of the world public measures intended to confuse the growing international consensus on applying the necessary sanctions so that condemnation may achieve the necessary and desired results. Condemnation without penalty has ceased to be an incentive to racists to change and reverse their policies. It has emboldened South Africa—as it did Israel—to pursue its aggressive policies of occupation and repression and its inhuman, discriminatory practices and behaviour.

151. We in the League of Arab States, in fulfilling our moral and political commitments to the people of Namibia, undertook as a first step in our co-operation with the United Nations system a joint Conference of Arab Solidarity with the Struggle for Liberation in Southern Africa.

152. The Conference of Arab Solidarity with the Struggle for Liberation in Southern Africa, which was held at the Arab League headquarters at Tunis from 7 to 9 August 1984, in its declaration [see A/39/450, annex], besides condemning the illegal occupation of Namibia and the reckless exploitation of its human and natural resources, rejected any extraneous linkage between the independence of Namibia and the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola. The Conference called for the provision of all the necessary

moral and material assistance to SWAPO in the struggle for genuine independence and freedom for Namibia, as endorsed repeatedly by the Council of the League of Arab States.

153. At this particular moment the international community, through its collective will, must demonstrate its determination, capability and effectiveness. For too long the peoples of Namibia and Palestine have awaited the results of "constructive engagements", whether they take the form of the Camp David accords or the form of the constructive engagement policy of the United States with the racist régime. How long are those engaged in such futile exercises willing to wait? It is time the United States and other Western Powers realized that their contribution to the liberation struggle of the peoples of Namibia and South Africa will also salvage the very values that the West claims to promote and cherish.

154. To apply double standards by permitting further delays and giving South Africa the opportunity

to further circumvent General Assembly and Security Council resolutions will only allow the *apartheid*-Israeli axis to remain a threat to peace and international security. This must be avoided. I am sure that this debate will further enhance the necessary awareness and steel the will of the freedom fighters in Namibia and elsewhere.

The meeting rose at 1.05 p.m.

NOTES

¹Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-fifth Session, Supplement No. 24, vol. I, annex II.

²A/AC.115/L.611.

³Legal 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.