

United Nations
**GENERAL
ASSEMBLY**

THIRTY-FOURTH SESSION

Official Records



**93rd
PLENARY MEETING**

Friday, 7 December 1979,
at 10.40 a.m.

NEW YORK

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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;
- (c) Report of the Secretary-General

1. Mr. DOLGUCHITS (Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic) (*interpretation from Russian*): The consideration of the question of Namibia at this session of the General Assembly is taking place at a most important time for the future of that country—a time when the protracted, tenacious and just struggle of the Namibian people, under the leadership of the South West Africa People's Organization [SWAPO], against colonial-racist oppression by the Pretoria régime has entered a decisive phase.

2. The United Nations has repeatedly condemned the racist South Africans for their continued illegal occupation of the Territory of Namibia and for their pursuit of their criminal policy of oppression and terror and the persecution of the Namibian people, particularly of the members of SWAPO, as well as for their acts of aggression against sovereign African States from bases situated in Namibia, and for their arrogant disregard of United Nations decisions with regard to the immediate and unreserved decolonization of Namibia. The United Nations has quite correctly described the policy of colonialist expansion and *apartheid* of the Pretoria régime as a serious threat not only to African peoples but also to international peace and security.

3. At the present time, the South African racists, with the connivance of the major Western Powers members of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization [NATO], have undertaken desperate efforts and have resorted to all kinds of subterfuges and tricks to prevent the people of Namibia from attaining self-determination and independence. In addition, they are attempting to consolidate the puppet neo-colonialist Turnhalle régime, which they themselves installed.

4. It is quite obvious that South Africa is pursuing a policy of establishing neo-colonialist puppet régimes in

Namibia and southern Rhodesia, and is trying to put together, with the participation of those régimes, a military-political bloc under its own aegis in order to fight the African national liberation movements and the whole of independent Africa.

5. But all of the South African racist régime's political manoeuvres have been repeatedly condemned by the international community. Specifically, in the political declaration adopted at the Sixth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held from 3 to 9 September 1979 at Havana, it is stressed that:

"The Conference firmly rejected and strongly denounced the manoeuvres of the South African racist régime—with the consent, accomodation and approval of international reaction and imperialism—aimed at breaking up the territorial integrity of the country by annexing Walvis Bay; legitimizing the 4 December 1978 electoral farce; and setting up in Namibia a neo-colonial régime controlled by Pretoria. These manoeuvres violate the decisions of the United Nations and should be repudiated." [A/34/542, annex, sect. I, para. 67.]

6. South Africa's attainment of its aggressive and expansionist goals is being promoted also by the Pretoria racist authorities' policy of militarizing the country and intensifying their military occupation of Namibia and by their ambition to acquire their own nuclear "club"—a prospect fraught with the most serious consequences for international peace and security.

7. The actions of the South African racists represent an open challenge to the United Nations and to the whole world community. They are aimed at undermining the efforts of the United Nations to ensure the attainment by the people of Namibia of self-determination and independence in accordance with the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples [resolution 1514 (XV)] and other relevant United Nations decisions.

8. The efforts which have been undertaken during the last two years at the United Nations to settle the Namibian problem through negotiation have so far been unfruitful, unfortunately, because of South Africa's stubborn determination to preserve its domination over Namibia and the reluctance of the initiators of the western settlement plans to undertake or even support effective measures against the *apartheid* régime to compel it unconditionally and without delay to halt its illegal occupation of Namibia and to withdraw from it all armed forces, police forces and administration and to respect the right of the Namibian people to decide the question of their country's future for themselves.

9. In fact, all of the talks have been used by the Pretoria racists simply to play for time so that they could proceed to implement the internal settlement by means

of a fictitious and illegal "national assembly" designed to achieve international recognition for the Turnhalle puppets and thus perpetuate the illegal occupation and colonial-racist exploitation of Namibia by South Africa and the Western imperialist monopolies.

10. The current Namibian situation is the result of the connivance with the South African racists on the part of the major Western Powers, which have unfailingly offered protection to the South African régime. Primary responsibility for the continuing occupation of Namibia by South Africa must be borne by precisely those Western countries which, in defiance of the numerous decisions of the United Nations, continue to supply South Africa with political, economic and military assistance and support.

11. The roots of that policy of the major Western Powers lies, as we know, in the deep vested interests of those countries' imperialist circles and transnational corporations, in their piratical exploitation of the human and rich natural resources of Namibia and in their determination to pump out super-profits from that country, as well as in the attempts to ensure the strategic goals of the NATO bloc.

12. Heightened interest is being shown by the major Western countries and their transnational corporations in Namibian uranium, notably in the Rössing uranium mines, and an active part is being played by major South African mining companies and a number of Western countries in uranium prospecting in Namibia.

13. The policy of the major Western Powers and the activities of their monopolies in southern Africa are a major obstacle to the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

14. As is pointed out in the message of congratulations of the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and President of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, Leonid I. Brezhnev, to the States and the peoples of Africa on the occasion of African Liberation Day:

"The emergence of a free Africa is taking place in circumstances of sharp confrontation between the forces of national liberation and progress and the forces of imperialism and reaction which are striving to slow down that irreversible process and even to launch a counter-offensive. This is attested by the situation existing today in the southern part of the African continent, where the racists, with the support of imperialist circles, are making desperate efforts to break the will to victory of the patriots of Zimbabwe and Namibia, to impose puppet neo-colonialist régimes there, to secure their international recognition and to turn that region into a preserve of racism and oppression and a constant source of danger to independent Africa." [see A/34/282, annex.]

15. In May this year the General Assembly, in its resolution 33/206, once again declared:

"... the urgent need to ensure the attainment of the inalienable rights of the Namibian people to genuine self-determination and national indepen-

dence in Namibia, including Walvis Bay, in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations and the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples as well as all subsequent resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council. . . ."

and supported

"... the legitimacy of their struggle by all means at their disposal against the illegal occupation of their Territory by South Africa".

The General Assembly also called upon

"... all Member States and the international community to refrain from according any recognition to, or co-operating with, the illegal national assembly or any régime which racist South Africa may impose upon the Namibian people in disregard of resolutions of the United Nations".

16. The Byelorussian SSR not only whole-heartedly supports that resolution but was also one of its sponsors.

17. The position of the Byelorussian SSR on the question of Namibia is clear cut and based on principle. Our country has always supported the guaranteeing to the people of Namibia of its inalienable right to self-determination and independence on the basis of preserving the unity and territorial integrity of the country, including Walvis Bay, and we have always favoured the immediate and total withdrawal of the troops, police forces and administration of South Africa from Namibia and the transfer of all power to the Namibian people, through SWAPO, its sole legitimate and genuine representative.

18. The Byelorussian SSR considers that the basis for a solution to the Namibian problem is contained in the relevant resolutions of the Security Council and the United Nations organs which are dealing with problems of decolonization.

19. In our view, the only reliable way of implementing those United Nations decisions lies in unswerving observance by all States of the sanctions against the racist Pretoria régime and also in the adoption by the Security Council of further practical measures aimed at completely isolating and boycotting the racist régime on the basis of establishing binding and comprehensive sanctions against it, pursuant to Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter.

20. The Byelorussian delegation would also support any other effective and decisive measures in accordance with the Charter, in order to bring about a speedy and just settlement of the Namibian problem in the interest of the Namibian people.

21. Mr. FLORIN (German Democratic Republic) (*interpretation from Russian*): The current session of the General Assembly is taking place at a time when, according to the proposals and plans of the United Nations, the freedom, independence and self-determination of the people of Namibia should long ago have been forthcoming. However, this people is still being forced to live under the colonial yoke of the Fascist *apartheid* régime. Every day in Namibia a large

number of men, women and children, the innocent victims of racial barbarity, are dying.

22. Today more than ever before we should really raise the question in this Assembly of why it has not been possible to carry out the intentions of the United Nations and the overwhelming majority of States of the world to ensure for the people of Namibia life and freedom. The principal reason for this undoubtedly should be sought in the conduct of the racist rulers of Pretoria. In spite of diversionary manoeuvres, it has become obvious today that a solution to the Namibian problem is being deliberately protracted and blocked.

23. Thus something that was insistently and persistently stressed by the majority of speakers at the thirty-third session in May this year and also at previous sessions has been confirmed—namely, that the Pretoria régime cannot be compelled by mere talk and appeals to renounce its occupation of Namibia, which is in contravention of international law. The assertion of the representatives of certain Western Powers to the effect that the racists can be brought to their senses by talks among themselves has been repudiated by the racists' allies themselves.

24. The *apartheid* régime has stepped up its policy of terror and oppression against the people of Namibia precisely at a time when the representatives of the Western Powers have been holding talks about so-called settlements. The reports of SWAPO, which has been recognized by the United Nations as the sole legitimate liberation organization, make it undeniably clear that the racists are using the escalation of terror as their main instrument in their policy with regard to Namibia. As was reported this July in Dar es Salaam by the Secretary for Foreign Affairs of SWAPO, Mr. Peter Mueshahange, in the course of their terror campaign aimed against the African liberation movement, which was stepped up at the beginning of May, troops and police of the racist Power had in the period up to the end of June 1979 alone arrested a total of 4,822 members and sympathizers of SWAPO. That is the true picture of the alleged independence today practised by the puppet régime appointed by Pretoria. Therefore, there can be no doubt that the régime which emerged from the rigged elections is serving only the purpose of perpetuating the illegal occupation of Namibia and undermining the relevant decisions of the United Nations.

25. In the light of this situation, the delegation of the German Democratic Republic once again calls with the utmost insistence for sanctions against South Africa, in accordance with Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter. We should like in this regard to refer in particular to General Assembly resolution 33/206, adopted on 31 May 1979, which in paragraph 12, once again repeats the demand contained in documents adopted earlier by the United Nations.

26. Categorically condemning the escalation of terror by the racists in Namibia, we should also like to draw attention to the intensification of the policy of aggression pursued by Pretoria against independent African States—and it has been the People's Republic of Angola which has suffered particularly from this South African aggression. At the same time, the racist clique in Southern Rhodesia is continuing to commit new acts of aggression against the People's Republic of Mozambique, Zambia and other independent African

States. The delegation of the German Democratic Republic wishes to issue a vigorous protest against the new attacks by the racist régime against neighbouring States.

27. The United Nations must condemn the recent threats of invasion by the Pretoria régime and issue a serious warning. In this regard, I should like to stress the justness of the communiqué dated 4 December 1979 issued by the Government of the Democratic Republic of Madagascar which stated:

“... the Patriotic Front... should refrain from committing itself to signing documents concerning elections until the South African army has withdrawn from Rhodesia”.¹

28. Thus the truth has once again been confirmed, a truth which has been so often uttered here and in other United Nations bodies. There is a link of direct dependence between the imperialist policy of exploitation and oppression, as embodied in racism and *apartheid*, and the policy of aggression and terror pursued by these régimes. The existence of these régimes is a threat to neighbouring African States and to international peace and security, and it is for this very reason that we deem absolutely indispensable the adoption of enforcement measures against the racists, in accordance with Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter.

29. For some years now we have realized that those who, within the United Nations, oppose sanctions are those who are continuing and expanding co-operation with the racist régimes. The major multinational corporations of NATO countries are still using the exploitation and oppression practised by the racist régime in Namibia for the plundering of the natural resources of that country in the interest of maximum profits. These concerns, with the full support of their Governments, are openly disregarding the United Nations and to this very day have not concerned themselves in any way with the decisions on Namibia adopted by the United Nations.

30. Permit me once again to draw the attention of this Assembly to Decree No. 1 for the Protection of the Natural Resources of Namibia by the United Nations Council for Namibia.² The provisions of this document should have been used to prevent the plundering of natural resources so that subsequently they could have been placed at the disposal of the free people of Namibia. However, the multinational corporations and the Governments of NATO countries which support them have been systematically violating this decree and all the other irrevocably binding documents of the United Nations on Namibia. In a working paper of the Council for Namibia dated 13 February 1978,³ attention is drawn urgently to the continuing practice of exploitation by multinational corporations. We find particularly alarming the attempts of these corporations to plunder to the greatest extent possible the uranium resources of Namibia. As was stressed by the Chairman of SWAPO, Sam Nujoma, in an interview with the Nigerian newspaper, *The Sunday Observer*, on 15 April 1979, uranium ore concentrates have recently been sent from Namibia

¹ See document A/C.4/34/13.

² *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-ninth Session, Supplement No. 24A*, para. 84. The Decree has been issued in final form in *Namibia Gazette No. 1*.

³ Document A/AC.131/L.73.

by air. In the interests of their profits, the monopolies do not shrink from violating the international rules governing the security of the transport of uranium according to which the transport of these ores is permitted only in special craft.

31. The working paper of the Council for Namibia also contains illuminating information concerning the unabashed exploitation and catastrophic living conditions of, in particular, the African population. The examples it gives of living and working conditions of the Africans recall the dungeon-like conditions of the last century and once again demonstrate that the régime has no intention of changing the existing situation and nor have the multinational corporations.

32. There are limits to the patience of the majority of States Members of the United Nations. We cannot and we must not permit the racist régimes by their manoeuvres repeatedly to disregard the world Organization and to violate the existing decisions of the United Nations. It is not difficult to identify what is behind the manipulations involved in the so-called Namibia plan by the five NATO Powers; it is to prevent the genuine independence of Namibia, which would give the people of that country an opportunity independently to determine their own fate. At the present time we are once again witnessing a situation in which efforts are being intensified in imperialist circles to deprive SWAPO of its legitimate right to act on behalf of the people, and to transfer power both in Namibia and in Southern Rhodesia to puppet Governments which will defend imperialist interests. In Geneva and in London attempts are proceeding to legalize step by step the puppets which are being maintained by South Africa. The national liberation groups are being given ultimatums, the purpose of which is to compel them to give up their positions of principle. The one-sided demands which have been made of the national liberation movements coincide with the desires of the racists, instead of forcing the latter to give up their policy and to recognize the rights of SWAPO and the Patriotic Front, as demanded by United Nations resolutions.

33. One sometimes wonders whether the officials of the United Nations apparatus are always guided by the decisions of the General Assembly. We cannot fail to see that there are attempts in imperialist circles to block any development which might conflict with their interests in southern Africa, so as to guarantee in practice the preservation of colonial dependence. The agents of these circles are sparing no efforts to sow division, to destabilize the situation and to organize economic difficulties for the independent African States. Therefore, unlimited, unreserved solidarity with all the forces fighting these neo-colonialist trends is dictated by the events of the day. Of equal importance are joint actions on the part of the sovereign African States and the national liberation movements of southern Africa.

34. The German Democratic Republic unreservedly supports the programme of action of the United Nations, as contained in General Assembly resolution 33/206, and once again we wish to draw attention most vigorously to the demands for the immediate cessation of the illegal occupation of Namibia and the total and unreserved withdrawal of all occupation troops, non-recognition of the illegal puppet régime installed by Pretoria; recognition of the territorial integrity and political unity of Namibia; the liberation of all political

detainees; and respect for the right of the Namibian people to struggle for independence by all means available.

35. The General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany and Chairman of the State Council of the German Democratic Republic, Erich Honecker, who recently went to Addis Ababa on a visit of friendship, met there the Secretary-General of OAU and his deputies and the heads of missions of member States of OAU and addressed them as follows:

“My visit to the Secretary-General of the Organization of African Unity has given me a very good opportunity once again to confirm the unshakeable support of the German Democratic Republic for the people of Zimbabwe and its legitimate representative, the Patriotic Front, and for the people of Namibia and its legitimate representative, SWAPO.

“ . . . What we want is the genuine independence of these peoples through the total transfer of power to their lawful representatives, the Patriotic Front and SWAPO.

“ . . . In view of the continuing barbarous acts of aggression by the racist régimes against Angola, Mozambique and Zambia, we also wish to express our particular solidarity with, and active support for, those States.

“ . . . I should like to assure you, Mr. Secretary-General, that the peoples and States of Africa can always continue to rely on the socialist German Democratic Republic as a faithful friend and reliable ally in their just struggle for national and social liberation, for the strengthening of their national sovereignty and for the attainment of their economic independence.”

36. That is the position of the German Democratic Republic.

37. Mr. BHATT (Nepal): The developments in Namibia continue to frustrate the hope of the international community that the people of Namibia will be able to exercise their inalienable right to self-determination, freedom and national independence. The racist régime of South Africa openly continues to disregard the various resolutions of the United Nations and thus perpetuates its illegal occupation of Namibia. The United Nations has had a direct responsibility for Namibia since its birth, and it is disheartening to note that the problem today remains as intractable as it was then.

38. The justice of the cause of the people of Namibia has been overwhelmingly recognized. The world notes with admiration the continued struggle waged by those people, under the leadership of their sole and authentic representative, SWAPO. I take this opportunity to reiterate our full support for SWAPO and the legitimacy of its struggle.

39. My delegation wishes to commend 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 the excellent and factual details contained in its report [A/34/23/Rev. 1, chap. IX]. The report once again lays bare

the stark reality behind the racist régime's attempt at a so-called internal settlement. The only conclusion that can be drawn from this report is that free elections under the control and supervision of the United Nations in the whole of Namibia as one political entity alone can pave the way to a solution fully acceptable to the people of the Territory. Namibia is one political entity, and Walvis Bay forms an integral part of its territory. No amount of manoeuvring will enable the racist régime to justify the annexation of this Territory. The report contains a consistently depressing picture of the economy of the Territory. Nothing could be more painful than the fact that a potentially rich country has been reduced to such a status because of the continued illegal exploitation of its resources.

40. We also commend the Council for Namibia on the role it is playing in upholding the just cause of the Namibian people. The Council, which is the legal Administering Authority of the Territory until its independence, has notably intensified its activities designed to help the people to achieve self-determination, freedom and national independence in a united Namibia.

41. Nepal has consistently opposed the illegal occupation of Namibia by South Africa and supported majority rule for the people of the Territory, led by SWAPO, in their legitimate struggle for freedom and national independence. We welcomed the relevant Security Council resolutions as having established a framework for an internationally acceptable settlement of the question of Namibia. The special responsibility of the United Nations for an early and honourable settlement of the problem cannot be overemphasized. The international community and SWAPO, the principal party to the issue, have repeatedly expressed their readiness to co-operate in the United Nations efforts towards an early solution of the problem. The attitude of the racist régime has been marked by duplicity. The sinister manner in which it tries to perpetuate its illegal occupation of the Territory has added to the woes of the struggling people. That South Africa is in no mood to comply with United Nations decisions is clear from the escalated arrests and detentions of the struggling people.

42. In its resolution 439 (1978), adopted on 13 November 1978, the Security Council issued a warning that if South Africa failed to cancel the projected elections and comply with the Council's resolutions, the Council would be compelled "to meet forthwith to initiate appropriate actions under the Charter of the United Nations". That sham election has been held, and an illegal and arbitrary national assembly has been set up in Namibia. This is part of the racist régime's plan to legalize its occupation of the Territory. These manoeuvres were strongly condemned at the Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Havana last September. The General Assembly, in resolution 33/206 called upon all Member States to refrain from recognizing or co-operating with the illegal assembly or any régime which racist South Africa may impose on the Namibian people. The resolution also calls upon the Security Council to take enforcement measures as provided for under Chapter VII of the Charter. Nepal has consistently supported such a move by the United Nations. We believe that it alone can ensure South Africa's compliance with the desires of the international community. Nepal looks

forward to welcoming Namibia as a fully-fledged Member of this world body.

43. Mr. SOKALSKI (Poland): As we are gathered here today, once again discussing the almost perennial question of Namibia, there must be much rejoicing going on in certain quarters. The racist politicians in Pretoria are jubilating. Enemies of Africa are exulting. Big monopolies are pleased and delighted. They are all celebrating the passing of yet another year bringing no closer a long overdue settlement of the colonial situation in Namibia.

44. For a number of years now, we have been witnessing a strange, but clearly discernible, sequence of manoeuvres on the part of the racist régime of South Africa and its more or less involved outside protectors. Whenever an important debate is about to be held on Namibia, whether it be in the General Assembly or in the Security Council, signals are dispatched on South Africa's alleged readiness to ease its uncompromising stand vis-à-vis the occupied Territory. Consequently, new attempts at talks begin; the Pretoria régime reenacts its oratorical, inglorious part and withdraws to its position of total hostility towards the world community, leaving behind the hopeful and the naive. That was the case last month in Geneva. The same outcome had been registered on previous occasions, and, regrettably as it may sound, hardly anything else can be expected from those in Pretoria on the occasions to come.

45. Few other international issues before this Organization have been as crystal-clear as is the question of Namibia. On the one hand, there is the people of the Territory, engaged in a genuine struggle for its self-determination and independence under the leadership of its sole, authentic and legitimate representative, SWAPO; and, on the other hand, there is a tyrannical foreign régime of a racist making, illegally occupying Namibia by means of its army of 60,000 troops and plundering its resources, in accordance with the gravest colonialist pattern of a bygone era. Its recent attempts to impose a so-called internal solution on Namibia have only served to crystallize the picture of the situation even further. What the Pretoria régime refers to as a constituent assembly—designed to give a semblance of power to a handful of its puppets—is as illegal as unrepresentative of the people of Namibia as the white minority of South Africa is of the 18 million indigenous population enclosed within bantustans and suffering from the inhuman policies and practices of *apartheid*.

46. Developments around Namibia continue to confirm that only vigorous action by the international community with a view to bringing independence to the Territory can change the present unyielding position of South Africa, thus not allowing it to gain time in trying to consolidate its illegal rule over Namibia. Indeed, the last two years have offered ample evidence of its tactics aimed at further delaying the time of Namibia's accession to independence. Numerous meetings of the Security Council, the ninth special session of the General Assembly, in 1978 the thirty-third session of the Assembly last fall—and the resumed part of that session last May devoted exclusively to the question of Namibia—and the present thirty-fourth session of the General Assembly, not to mention a series of other important international gatherings, both governmental and non-governmental, seem only to have changed the arrogant

stand of Pretoria from defiance of into contempt for the international community.

47. If by now the Western authors of a plan for Namibia have not understood that it has been exploited as yet another ploy and gambit in South Africa's piecemeal tactics of delay, we would have new reason to assume that the considerations behind the proposal were not so entirely genuine and disinterested as this Organization has been invited to believe.

48. A conspiracy is brewing around the whole question of Namibia, hatched and organized by South Africa, but willingly or unwillingly incited also by those who still seem to trust its régime and who deliberately or otherwise belittle the role of the United Nations and its Council for Namibia, the only legal Administering Authority of the Territory. With even greater urgency than before, we repeat today what we have been saying for years—a just solution of the Namibian problem lies in the unhesitant implementation of the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council, as well as in the latter's action to impose sanctions upon South Africa as provided for in Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations.

Mr. Eralp (Turkey), Vice-President, took the Chair.

49. As we have always done, we fully subscribe to the recommendations regarding Namibia contained in the important documents of the OAU, the movement of non-aligned countries and the Council for Namibia. In the face of the continued machinations of the Pretoria régime and in keeping with the decisions of most representative international forums, the time is ripe for decisive action to be taken by the international community and an end to be put to Namibia's illegal occupation. Events have shown that no half-measures, whatever their origin, scope or time-limits, will ever suffice to persuade South Africa to leave Namibia on its own. It is within the framework of such action that the United Nations, which has direct responsibility for the Territory until it attains genuine self-determination and national independence, can effect South Africa's unconditional withdrawal from Namibia, including its inseparable Walvis Bay. That is how the world community can stop the arrest, detention and torture of SWAPO leaders and members, along with other acts of violence against the people of Namibia. That is the way for Namibia to achieve its complete decolonization, and not merely formal independence with a *de facto* perpetuation of its exploitation.

50. The Government and people of Poland have always been faithful to the cause of Namibia's freedom. We have consistently lent SWAPO our all-round support and solidarity in its just struggle to achieve self-determination, freedom and a national independence in a united Namibia. We welcome the appeal of the recent Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries at Havana to increase world-wide support to SWAPO so that it could intensify the armed struggle for liberation [see A/34/542, annex, sect. I, para. 69]. We are in full solidarity with the front-line States, which carry their own part of the brunt of the struggle against the racist régimes' armed aggression and attempts to destabilize their economy. Indeed, their plight, like that of Namibia, is a continuous illustration of the functioning of the triangle of evil, stretching from apartheid's Pretoria to Zimbabwe and

Namibia, set up and perpetuated in southern Africa by racism and big monopolies, which now, hypocritically enough, try to present themselves as a factor in the liberation effort. Never can Namibia expect to be really free as a result of actions of the forces which have exploited it for years. Its independence can and will finally come as a hard won victory of its own people. But the time it will happen depends also on a united effort of the membership of the United Nations. So far, the effects of an effort like this are unfortunately still pending.

51. Mr. ZAIME (Morocco) (*interpretation from French*): The General Assembly is again obliged to consider the question of Namibia, which is a chronic problem.

52. The history of this question is that of deliberately missed opportunities and delaying manoeuvres, for as soon as the international community begins to perceive the beginnings of a settlement, the South African Government always manages to introduce a fresh complication which puts an end to any burgeoning hope.

53. If we consider the background of the question of Namibia, it confirms that the only concern of the South African Government has always been to perpetuate its control over the Territory of Namibia with a view to plundering its natural resources and defending the survival of the minority racist régime which holds power in Pretoria.

54. The South African Government indeed realizes that its presence in Namibia is illegal. It had no choice, if it was to maintain its position, but to manoeuvre to gain time.

55. After trying in vain from 1946 to obtain the consent of the United Nations to attach Namibia to the Union of South Africa, the Pretoria Government considered it opportune to deny the international Organization succession to the League of Nations and on this basis not to acknowledge its responsibility for the Territory of South West Africa, which was still not independent.

56. The reply of the international community was clear and firm. The International Court of Justice declared the presence of South Africa in Namibia to be illegal, and the General Assembly ended Pretoria's Mandate over the Territory [resolution 2145 (XXI)], which it entrusted thereafter to the United Nations Council for Namibia.

57. In the face of these protective measures, the South African Government had recourse to more serious moves. In 1968 it started to implement a policy of fragmentation of the Territory of Namibia according to criteria both tribal and colonial within the framework of the so-called Odendaal Plan.⁴ The best arable and oil-bearing land, covering 43 per cent of the area of the Territory, was set aside for the whites, while 40 per cent of the area, the poorer land, was divided up according to tribes for the non-whites. Twelve per cent of the land area constitutes the diamond-bearing regions, which,

⁴ For a summary of the recommendations of the Commission of Enquiry into South West Africa Affairs (Odendaal Commission), see *Official Records of the General Assembly, Nineteenth Session, Annexes*, annex No. 8 (part I) (A/5800/Rev. 1), Chap. IV, paras. 18-65.

according to the plan, would be under the direct control of the Pretoria Government.

58. The 40 per cent of the land divided on a tribal basis was to serve for the establishment of homelands, along the lines of the South African bantustans. The Pretoria Government thus envisaged setting up 10 homelands in Namibia, giving them the status of independent nations, in a desperate effort to weaken the national unity of the Namibian people and to destroy the territorial integrity of the Territory.

59. South Africa, in addition to these national measures, has used racist and segregationist legislation to ensure the systematic plundering of the wealth of the Namibian Territory through brutal oppression of the indigenous population and the imprisonment or physical elimination of all those who put up any resistance or object to the illegal presence of the colonial and racist régime of South Africa in the Territory.

60. The great wave of emancipation that has washed over the continent of Africa with the falling of the bastions of European colonialism in southern Africa has terrified those who believe in racist minority power in South Africa.

61. Pretoria has thus had to think again about its colonial strategy in Namibia, realizing that it had become archaic and was based on conventional colonialism, which had no chance of survival.

62. The South African Government is now claiming to be in favour of the independence of Namibia and the establishment of a democratic régime on the basis of consultation of the people. It claimed that it wished to co-operate with the United Nations on the basis of the plan proposed by the five Western members of the Security Council⁵ and adopted by the Council in resolution 435 (1978).

63. It is now clear that South Africa's attitude was merely a new delaying manoeuvre and that the only aim was to legitimize the *status quo*—in other words, to perpetuate the exploitation of the people of Namibia and of their natural resources.

64. The South African Government hastened to organize various tiny groups in order to set up the so-called Turnhalle assembly, magically transforming them into political parties, defending for the most part the tribal and racist policy of Pretoria. On the pretext of respecting so-called date limits, Pretoria unilaterally organized and brought forward the proposed elections, before the withdrawal of the occupation forces, before the return of the exiles, before the release of the political prisoners and in the absence of any supervision by or presence of the United Nations as provided for in the plan adopted by the Security Council and agreed to by South Africa. Everything that happens suggests that South Africa does not want a happy outcome of the untiring efforts of the international community to find a definitive settlement of the question of Namibia. Sometimes the excuse is that the United Nations forces are too numerous. Sometimes we are told that it is the stationing of the armed forces of the two opposing parties that causes problems. When, nevertheless,

thanks to the most praiseworthy endeavours of the Secretary-General of the United Nations, difficulties are smoothed away, the South African Government always manages to find new obstacles to a peaceful settlement.

65. The question of Namibia has reached a deadlock. All the efforts of the international community are still meeting with the blind obstinacy of Pretoria, which seeks by all possible means to hide behind a flimsy façade of pseudo-democracy, which fools no one, and to prevent the legitimate aspirations of the people of Namibia to real national independence from coming to fruition within the framework of national unity and respect for territorial integrity.

66. Our Assembly has accorded this problem the importance it merits. It decided to deal with it directly. In 1978, it devoted its ninth special session to it and May last had to reconsider it at the resumed thirty-third session in the light of new developments. In other words, the international community as represented by this body has spared no effort to offer the South African Government every opportunity to accept what is obvious and agree to put an end to a very explosive situation. We now wish to reiterate our appreciation of the exemplary patience shown by the Secretary-General and his representatives in carrying out an extremely difficult task.

67. Unfortunately, the bad faith and intransigence of the South African Government allow of no glimmer of hope so far for the beginning of a change in the current deplorable situation in Namibia.

68. We can never repeat too often that to be just and lasting the political solution must be based on the cessation of the illegal occupation of the Namibian Territory by the Government of South Africa and on the effective exercise by the Namibian people of its right to self-determination and national independence within the framework of a united Namibia. In other words, that solution must be based on faithful, sincere implementation, with no mental reservations, of the settlement plan adopted by the Security Council.

69. Only absolute respect by the South African Government for its commitments in accordance with that Security Council decision can bring just and lasting peace to this region of southern Africa and make it possible to avoid a general flare-up in the region, which would be a real threat to international peace and security.

70. The international community cannot continue indefinitely to tolerate the irresponsible and dangerous conduct of the Pretoria Government. The United Nations Charter provides for means of persuasion which can be brought into play in the service of peace and justice. The Security Council's responsibility in this sphere is quite clear. We venture to hope that the Council will usefully and effectively employ all the means available to it to strengthen the chances for peace and justice in southern Africa by adopting measures conducive to putting an end to the dangerous cynicism of the South African Government, so that the courageous people of Namibia may finally achieve its aspiration to independence and freedom and take its rightful place in the concert of nations.

⁵ See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-third Year, Supplement for April, May and June 1978*, document S/12636.

71. Mr. PEŇAŽKA (Czechoslovakia) (*interpretation from Russian*): In our consideration of the question of Namibia, we, like other delegations, have been compelled from the outset to note a fundamental fact, namely, that the situation in Namibia, like that throughout southern Africa generally, has recently seriously deteriorated and that it represents an increased threat to international peace and security.

72. The main reason for the present situation is the continuing refusal of the *apartheid* régime of South Africa to agree to a solution which would be in keeping with the demands of the African population of Namibia, headed by its sole authentic representative, SWAPO, and to the demands contained in numerous resolutions adopted by various United Nations bodies. In total disregard of these United Nations decisions, South Africa is not only continuing its illegal occupation of the Territory of Namibia, but is, moreover, attempting by every possible means to consolidate further its domination of that country.

73. In recent years various attempts have been made to settle the question of Namibia through talks with the racist régime. The Czechoslovak Socialist Republic has always been in favour of a peaceful, political settlement of this problem which would ensure the granting of genuine freedom and independence to the people of Namibia.

74. However, the situation in Namibia is in fact completely different. Experience has shown that the rulers in South Africa have used and continued to use their participation in talks solely to play for time and to prepare the conditions which would make it impossible for SWAPO to come to power and at the same time would lead to the establishment of a puppet régime and the consequent entrenchment of a neo-colonialist régime in that Territory.

75. This, after all, is what the entire course of events of Namibia since the beginning of the talks has demonstrated. It has demonstrated that the authorities of racist South Africa have been stepping up their repression of the indigenous African population and its vanguard, SWAPO, and continue to build up their police and military forces in Namibia, creating special police detachments and gangs of mercenaries. This build-up of armed forces is accompanied by a build-up of equipment and the latest military technology.

76. The whole of this vast military machine is being used by the racists in order to suppress the struggle of the Namibian for their freedom and independence and to carry out continual acts of aggression against neighbouring independent African States which support that legitimate struggle.

77. One element of the criminal policy against the African people in Namibia has been the effort of the Pretoria régime to create in that country various kinds of puppet groupings through which the racists intend to put into effect their neo-colonialist plans for Namibia. It is precisely with this in mind that the South African authorities brought their handful of placement and hirelings to the fore, and December last carried out their rigged and illegal elections. But the manoeuvres of the racists cannot possibly deceive anyone. The so-called democratic parties created by the South African authorities can in no way be considered representative of

the people of Namibia; they are simply representative of the interests of the racist régime of South Africa and its allies.

78. There cannot be the slightest doubt that all the manoeuvres of the racists in Namibia are designed to impose upon the Namibian people a so-called internal settlement which would ensure the perpetuation of South Africa's illegal occupation of Namibia and the continuance there of the inhumane exploitation of the population of Namibia and its natural resources by imperialist monopolies.

79. Another undeniable fact is that the continuance of the illegal occupation as well as all the manoeuvres of the South African régime would have been impossible if that régime had not enjoyed the support of the forces of world imperialism and if all States had broken off economic, political, military and other ties with South Africa, as called for by resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council. The existing situation is the result of connivance with the South African racists by those Western countries which continue to provide the Pretoria régime with every kind of political, economic and military support and which are co-operating with that régime in the nuclear field. As long as the Pretoria authorities know that powerful defenders stand behind them to protect them, they will never agree to a just settlement in Namibia.

80. The delegation of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic continues to believe that a genuine and just settlement of the Namibian problem can be brought about only on the basis of the relevant General Assembly and Security Council resolutions, which provide for the immediate cessation of the illegal occupation of Namibia by South Africa, the unconditional withdrawal from Namibia of all South African armed forces, police and administrators, the guaranteeing of the unity and territorial integrity of Namibia, including Walvis Bay, and the exercise of the lawful right of the people of Namibia, under the leadership of SWAPO, to self-determination and independence. At the present time, the first and most important task of the United Nations is discharging its direct responsibility for Namibia until that Territory attains full independence is to meet those fundamental demands.

81. Any other approach to solving the problem would be tantamount to misleading the people of Namibia and extending the domination of South Africa over that territory in one form or another.

82. The Czechoslovak delegation, like the majority of the Members of our Organization, is of the view that the only reliable way of consistently performing that task in the United Nations lies in the adoption by the Security Council of effective measures to bring about the total international isolation and boycotting of the racist régime by adopting, in accordance with Chapter VII of the Charter, comprehensive economic, financial, trade and other kinds of sanctions against it. This would also include the area of nuclear co-operation and the placing of a total embargo on arms deliveries. The taking of those measures would, to a considerable extent, facilitate achieving a speedy solution to the Namibian problem, in full compliance with the will and aspirations of the people of Namibia and in the interests of the peace and security, not only of southern Africa but of the world at large.

83. The Czechoslovak Socialist Republic for its part is ready to continue doing all it can to co-operate in seeing that the United Nations shoulders its responsibilities for Namibia by putting an immediate end to racist domination by South Africa in Namibia so that the people of that country can exercise its inalienable right to freedom and independence. We should like to express our support for the efforts of the subsidiary organs of the United Nations which are dealing directly with that problem, primarily the United Nations Council for Namibia.
84. In conclusion I should like once again to confirm the determination of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic to continue to provide comprehensive support and assistance for the just struggle of the people of Namibia for genuine freedom and national independence under the leadership of its sole and genuine representative, SWAPO.
85. Mr. CHOU Nan (China) (*translation from Chinese*): Year after year, the Namibian question has been listed as an important item for consideration on the agenda of the General Assembly. In the preceding two years, in addition to the thirty-third regular session, the United Nations convened the ninth special session and the resumed thirty-third session of the General Assembly, which were devoted exclusively to the consideration of the question of Namibia. The current session has once again listed it as an important item and allocated it for consideration in plenary meeting. All this shows that the peoples of the world are deeply concerned about and support the just struggle of the Namibian people and they urgently demand a speedy and just solution of the Namibian question.
86. Resolutions were adopted by the General Assembly, both at the thirty-third session [*resolutions 33/82 A and B*] and resumed thirty-third session [*resolution 33/206*], strongly condemning the South African racist authorities for their defiance of the relevant United Nations resolutions, their continued illegal occupation of Namibia, their brutal repression of the Namibian people and their armed aggression against neighbouring African States, and demanding an immediate end to South Africa's illegal occupation of Namibia and the withdrawal of all its armed and police forces and administration from Namibia, so as to enable the Namibian people to exercise their right to self-determination and attain national independence. In September last year, the Security Council also adopted a resolution—resolution 435 (1978)—concerning the settlement of the Namibian question, calling for efforts to ensure the early independence of Namibia through elections under the supervision and control of the United Nations. SWAPO, the front-line African States and other African countries as well as the international community have made a great deal of important effort to implement the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council in order to find a just solution to the Namibian question at the earliest possible date. However, so far, these efforts have not brought about the progress that should have been made. The root cause lies in the South African racist authorities' adamant persistence in their colonialist position aimed at perpetual occupation of Namibia. Not only are they obstructing a solution of the Namibian question by repeatedly going back on their own words, creating side issues and using all kinds of dilatory tactics in disregard of the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council, but they have pressed forward unscrupulously with their fraud of an "internal settlement". Last year, they stage managed the farce of "elections" and set up a bogus "Constitutional Assembly", which was renamed this year as the "National Assembly", and they have also clamoured for the establishment of an "interim Government" in an attempt to legalize the puppet régime they have fostered. At the same time, internally they have intensified their military repression and political persecution of the Namibian people, detaining, jailing and slaying many leaders of SWAPO and innumerable patriots. Large areas inhabited by the Africans have been allocated as military zones. Fascist terror prevails throughout Namibia. Externally, they use Namibia as a base for incessant armed provocations and aggression against the neighbouring African States of Angola and Zambia, grossly violating the sovereignty and territorial integrity of these countries, causing serious damage to the lives and property of the local population, and gravely menacing the security and stability of the region.
87. It can be seen from the developments over the past year and more that the South African racist régime is not only the biggest obstacle to a settlement of the Namibian question, but also the main source of turmoil in southern Africa. In order to eliminate this obstacle and source of trouble, it is necessary, in the final analysis, to rely on all forms of struggle, including armed struggle, actively waged and stepped up by the African people, and first and foremost by the people of southern Africa. At the same time it is necessary for the international community to take all kinds of effective measures to force the South African authorities to implement the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council. Any act of condoning or abetting the South African white racists would only inflate the latter's arrogance, bring about greater turmoil in the region and provide opportunities for intervention and meddling by outside forces, including those of hegemonism.
88. It is the sacred right and long-term goal of the Namibian people to end the illegal occupation by the South African racist authorities and realize their genuine national independence and liberation. Over the past decade and more, SWAPO has led and organized the broad masses of the Namibian people in carrying out all forms of arduous struggles against colonialism and racism and for national liberation. They have scored major successes both in armed struggle and in the political field, thus winning the praise and support of the people all over the world. The sixteenth ordinary session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the OAU and the Sixth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held in July and September respectively, reaffirmed their support for the just struggle of the Namibian people. The United Nations Council for Namibia has also worked actively and made useful contributions to mobilizing all countries and peoples to give support to the Namibian people. At present, the peoples of Namibia, Zimbabwe and Azania are co-operating with and supporting each other in their respective struggles, dealing heavy blows at the decadent colonial and racist forces in southern Africa. The heinous acts of the South African white racists in no way demonstrate their strength, but on the contrary reveal their intrinsic weakness, showing they are heading towards their doom and putting up a death-bed struggle. Many more obstacles and even dangers

will appear along the Namibian people's road to progress. But since they have grown in strength step by step and won continued victories in the past by relying on their unity and struggle, they will continue to do so in the future and will certainly be able to remove the obstacles, overcome the difficulties and dangers and finally defeat the enemy and win national liberation and independence.

89. The Chinese Government and people unswervingly support the just cause of the Namibian people. We have always maintained that the national aspirations and goal of the Namibian people must be realized free from any outside interference and on the basis of ensuring the territorial integrity and unity of Namibia. The South African racist authorities must immediately and unconditionally implement the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council, end forthwith their illegal occupation of Namibia and withdraw all their armed and police forces as well as their colonialist administration. Walvis Bay is an integral part of the Namibian territory, and it must be returned to Namibia unconditionally. The United Nations should also call upon the South African authorities to stop their repression and persecution of the Namibian people, cease their illegal activities of a so-called "internal settlement", and refrain from using Namibia as a base for threats and aggression against Angola, Zambia and other neighbouring States.

90. In our view, the current session of the General Assembly should not only once again strongly condemn the South African racist authorities for their refusal to implement the relevant United Nations resolutions and for their crime of continued illegal occupation of Namibia, but also adopt all the necessary and effective measures against the South African authorities, including mandatory sanctions in response to the demand of the African States and the relevant provisions of the United Nations Charter. The Namibian question is an important question in present-day international politics that calls for an early solution without any further delay. We hope that the United Nations will play a useful role in this respect in effective fulfilment of its responsibilities.

91. Mrs. ALI (India): The attention of the General Assembly has once again this year been focused on the question of Namibia. Despite the dedicated and determined efforts of States Members of the Organization to terminate the illegal occupation by South Africa of the international Territory of Namibia and to bring an end to the cruel subjugation of the Namibian people, the performance of the United Nations in ensuring to the people of Namibia the exercise of their inalienable rights to self-determination and independence has so far been marked by varying vicissitudes of disillusionment and despair.

92. Ever since the assumption of direct responsibility, by the United Nations in 1966, for the future of Namibia when South Africa's Mandate over Namibia was terminated and the Territory declared the responsibility of the United Nations, this *de jure* termination of South Africa's Mandate has in fact remained until today unrealized and unimplemented. Successive General Assembly and Security Council resolutions have been adopted on the question but over these 13 years they have only added more weight to the shelves of United Nations archives. Musty parchments, it has been said,

may give right their sanctity but they do not ensure their realization.

93. The Father of the Indian Nation, Mahatma Gandhi, stated long ago that one can only awaken a person from slumber if he is really asleep. If he is pretending, your efforts can be of no avail. The hopes and expectations of the international community have in past years been successively raised and dashed by the deliberate procrastinations of Pretoria over the ending of its illegal rule over Namibia. Each time the response of South Africa has been one of subterfuge and deceit. Every time the Security Council has sought to impose sanctions against this recalcitrant régime, such action has been blocked either by certain countries which continue to have massive political and economic vested interests in South Africa, or by yet another promise of "consideration to co-operate" by South Africa itself.

94. Since the consideration of this item at the thirty-third session, the question of Namibia has come up for consideration at the meetings of the Special Committee on decolonization at Belgrade in April 1979 [see A/34/23/Rev. 1, Chap. IX] and at the resumed session of the General Assembly in May this year. At the resumed session, my delegation had occasion to stress⁶ that the United Nations, in particular the Security Council and its permanent members who have traditionally used the veto to block enforcement action against South Africa, had to face their moment of truth. We cannot afford to fail in taking effective action, fully within the powers of the United Nations, in order to force South Africa to vacate the Territory and to comply with Security Council and General Assembly resolutions. My delegation has become increasingly and painfully aware that the sudden injection of activity at the time of discussion of this item at the General Assembly is possibly part of a deliberate effort to project a myth of movement in negotiations in order to confuse the issue and prevent strong action by the General Assembly in the matter.

95. It is for us to recommend to the Security Council action which will enable the United Nations to discharge its obligations and prevent this world Organization from being made a mockery of by one of its own Member States. Indeed, the very question of whether South Africa should continue as a State Member of the United Nations deserves closer scrutiny. Both the General Assembly and the Security Council have to complement each other's efforts in promoting an early and effective solution to the problem. Any failure would mark a severe setback to the effectiveness and credibility of the role of the United Nations in international affairs. This would inevitably have grave consequences for the peace in that region and elsewhere in the world.

96. How long is the world community to wait while South Africa considers its options on whether or not to participate meaningfully in negotiations on the holding of elections supervised by the United Nations in Namibia? The discussions in the March proximity talks in New York, as well as the most recent ones held at Geneva, in November at the initiative of the Secretary-General, have provided opportunities for such a meaningful dialogue. We have before us, in this connexion, the supplementary report of the Secretary-General concerning the implementation of Security Council resolu-

⁶ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-third Session, Plenary Meetings*, 100th meeting, paras. 1-16.

tion 435 (1978) and 439 (1978) on the question of Namibia.⁷

97. While SWAPO and the front-line States have accepted the concept of the demilitarized zone, it is our impression that so far, rather than engage in realistic discussions, the South African reaction has been one of further prevarication. The reply⁸ sent on the eve of this debate, the day before yesterday, expressing South Africa's conditional acceptance of the idea of a demilitarized zone only fortifies this impression. Not only has South Africa remained attached to its usual rigid posture, but it has kept the door open for further dilatory responses by making clear that the list of six conditions mentioned is only a partial one.

98. It is facts and deeds that should justify South African pronouncements, and not the other way around. The fact of the matter is that, while on the one hand South Africa has been building up an elaborate smokescreen of supposed willingness to negotiate, it has simultaneously sought to strengthen its hold over Namibia. By its unilateral decision to hold sham elections in Namibia, its attempts to stamp out SWAPO resistance by continuous armed attacks against and imprisonment of Namibian patriots, by the artificial orchestration of the political voices of puppet groups under the umbrella of the *eratz* Democratic Turnhalle Alliance, by the creation of tribal armies and the forcedbantustanization of the Territory, by placing Walvis Bay under the administration of one of its provincial governments with the devious intention of destroying the territorial integrity and unity of Namibia, and by flagrant attacks on neighbouring States—in particular, the recent assaults against Angola—by all these actions South Africa has in effect attempted an illegal unilateral declaration of independence for Namibia.

99. It has been said that what the imperialists cannot colonize they balkanize.

100. South Africa has gone so far as to revive the concept of a "constellation of States" in the area, hinged on Pretoria and aimed at offering security for the racist minority rump in the region. Simultaneously in Namibia, steps taken in enhancing the powers of the so-called national assembly leave no doubt of its true intentions—namely, to continue by all possible means its illegal occupation of Namibia and to perpetuate its colonial exploitation of the people and resources of that Territory.

101. The recent reports of South African attempts to raise loans in the Swiss money market on behalf of the so-called Administrator-General are a further indication of this nefarious intent.

102. If all these are not sufficient indicators of South Africa's cynical intentions, certainly the most recent reports of South Africa's activity in the direction of acquiring nuclear weapons should give the international community pause for grave concern. My delegation firmly supports, in this context, the conclusions and recommendations of the United Nations Seminar on Nuclear Collaboration with South Africa, held in London in February this year, which, *inter alia*, called

for the adoption of mandatory sanctions under Chapter VII of the Charter to put an end to all nuclear collaboration with South Africa.⁹ We have already had occasion to discuss in the Fourth Committee the need for a more vigorous enforcement of Decree No. 1 on the Protection of the Natural Resources of Namibia. Such action is all the more urgent in the present context.

103. The illegal projection of Walvis Bay as an entity separate from Namibia and as part of South Africa is also calculated, *inter alia*, to sever Namibia's natural links with the outside world and cause incalculable damage to its economy. Similar strategies of economic stangulation have been cruelly resorted to by nineteenth century imperialist Powers, aimed at the annihilation of entire tribes in that part of Africa. However, it was the valour and endurance of those same people that helped them survive and continue their heroic struggle. My delegation strongly condemns, as an act of colonial expansion, South Africa's designs to annex Walvis Bay, thereby undermining the territorial integrity of Namibia.

104. Freedom for the struggling people of Namibia may be delayed by South African tactics, but we are convinced that it cannot be withheld for very long. Their courage and determination to fight for the inalienable right to self-determination and independence and majority rule will inevitably triumph against all odds. While pledging the support of my delegation to this cause, I should like to quote from the message sent by my Foreign Minister on the occasion of the Week of Solidarity with the People of Namibia in October this year, wherein he reaffirmed India's support for solidarity with the people of Namibia and their sole and authentic representative, SWAPO:

"The leading role of SWAPO in the Namibian people's valiant struggle for self-determination and genuine majority rule has been internationally recognized. SWAPO has repeatedly demonstrated its readiness to co-operate in the efforts of the United Nations to achieve a peaceful negotiated settlement in Namibia. In sharp contrast, the South African authorities have sought to reinforce and institutionalize their oppressive and illegal control over Namibia. They have indulged in acts of violence and repression against Namibia and members of SWAPO. They have also launched aggression against neighbouring independent African States. These intransigent and illegal acts of the racist South African régime call for strict enforcement measures under Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter. SWAPO's struggle deserves the full moral, political, diplomatic and material support of the international community. India reaffirms its full support for the heroic struggle of SWAPO, the sole and authentic liberation movement of Namibia, against the oppression of the racist régime of South Africa."

105. As a member of the United Nations Council for Namibia, my delegation has actively participated in the work of the Council and also in the preparation of its report [A/34/24] now before the General Assembly for consideration. We should like at this point to place on record our tribute of warm appreciation to the President of the United Nations Council for Namibia, Mr. Lusaka of Zambia, for the high qualities of leadership and

⁷ *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-fourth Year, Supplement for October, November and December 1979*, document S/13634.

⁸ *Ibid.*, document S/13680, annex.

⁹ *Ibid.*, *Supplement for January, February and March 1979*, document S/13157.

sincere dedication consistently displayed by him to the cause of the Namibian people. We support the recommendations contained in the report.

106. My delegation attaches particular importance to the successful efforts of the Council for Namibia in promoting and safeguarding Namibian interests in the specialized agencies of the United Nations and at various international organizations and conferences. The activities of the Council for Namibia are particularly significant in this context, as they are directed at preventing efforts by South Africa illegally to represent Namibia in various international forums. We note with particular satisfaction the increased activity of the Council in the work of the specialized agencies and the granting of full membership to it by an increasing number of these agencies. Those decisions, we are convinced, are effective proof of the growing recognition on the part of the international community of the important role played by the Council as the legal Administering Authority for the Territory.

107. My delegation would also like to pay a warm tribute to the United Nations Commissioner for Namibia, Mr. Martti Ahtisaari, for the considerable and painstaking efforts undertaken by the Office of the Commissioner for Namibia in the preparation and progressive implementation of the Nationhood Programme of Namibia. Apart from providing appropriate training for Namibian patriots outside the Territory, this Programme is a unique effort to prepare Namibia for the vital task of national reconstruction and nation-building. The valuable support and financial assistance extended to the Nationhood Programme by UNDP, UNESCO, WHO and FAO, as well as other international organizations will in no small way contribute to the success of the Programme.

108. Similarly, we should like to stress our support for the activities undertaken under the aegis of the Committee of the United Nations Fund for Namibia, on which my country has the honour of being represented. The work of the Institute for Namibia functioning in Lusaka will, we believe, also contribute constructively to the development of competent and qualified administrative and other personnel for a new independent Namibia.

109. The Government and people of India extend their total political, moral and material support to the people of Namibia in their struggle for national independence based on human dignity and majority rule. The courageous struggle being waged by them will not be in vain. In expressing our support to the front-line States, we are conscious of their daily sacrifice in terms of economic hardships and the constant thrust of aggressive reprisals they face from across the border for their persistence in support of the cause of the Namibian people. This annual debate in the General Assembly also provides an opportunity to pay homage to all those freedom-fighters who have lost their lives in the long war against racism and colonial domination, as well as to those who are languishing in South African prisons and to other victims of exploitation and *apartheid*. It is relevant to recall the recent announcement of the conferring of the Jawaharlal Nehru Award for International Peace and Understanding upon Nelson Mandela for his brave and unremitting struggle against the forces of exploitation and *apartheid* and for truth, justice and human understanding. Mr. Mandela takes his place

alongside such other distinguished luminaries as President Kaunda of Zambia and the late Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. as an ardent champion of peace, justice and a free world order. In recognizing his contributions, we pay our tribute to the heroic sons of southern Africa in their struggle against the heinous practice of *apartheid*. The success of the struggle against South African colonialism in Namibia in its turn is bound to contribute to the inevitable dismemberment of this obsolete system.

110. India will continue to render support both bilaterally to SWAPO and multilaterally to the cause of Namibian freedom through various United Nations agencies. We recognize the circumstances under which SWAPO has been forced to resort to armed struggle. We are confident that victory will ultimately be theirs—a victory for the people of Namibia and a victory for truth and justice over tyranny and deceit.

111. Let us not allow the will of the international community to be paralysed into inaction over Namibia. Let us collectively determine that we can rise to this challenge and, with the powers that have been provided under the Charter, overcome it. What is at stake is a sacred trust and responsibility which we owe to the people of Namibia.

112. Mr. KRAVETS (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic) (*interpretation from Russian*): The discussion, now under way in the General Assembly, of the situation in Namibia, whose people have for so many years been waging a heroic struggle for liberation from the colonial domination of South Africa, is entering a decisive phase in southern Africa. In its attempt to keep this Territory under its control at all costs, the racist Pretoria régime is continuing to escalate its presence in Namibia, in defiance of numerous resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council calling for an immediate and just solution to the Namibian problem. Under the cover of demagogic declarations about conditions for implementing the United Nations plan for Namibia, the South African racists have steadfastly and stubbornly pushed things so far as to create a puppet régime entirely dependent on the South African régime, on the model of the illegal Government of Salisbury. They are endeavouring to replace a just and peaceful settlement of the problem by so-called internal settlements. All that has once again been confirmed in a cynical and arrogant letter sent by the South African racist régime to the Secretary-General on 5 December this year.

113. In disregard of the decisions of the United Nations, which as long ago as 1966 abolished South Africa's Mandate for the administration of Namibia, the Pretoria régime is continuing to increase its colonial army in that country, an army which, according to data provided by SWAPO, at the present time exceeds the strength of the South African armed forces during the Second World War. The South African racists are increasing their police force and administrative apparatus in Namibia.

114. As is pointed out in the report of the United Nations Council for Namibia, in the period from May to July 1979 alone the south African racist régime arrested about 15,000 SWAPO members and sympathizers. South African punitive squads are carrying out active operations against the partisans, particularly in the northern regions. At the end of May of this year the

racists, using aircraft, helicopters and armoured troop carriers, raided the province of Cuando Cubango in neighbouring Angola. By these actions they are aiming at exerting pressure on the front-line States to make them give up their support for the just struggle of the Namibian patriots for their independence.

115. Examples of the atrocities and brutalities and the lawlessness perpetrated by the South African racists in Namibia are legion, as has been convincingly demonstrated in the statements of representatives of African and other countries. Our delegation, like the overwhelming majority of delegations, has repeatedly in this Assembly categorically condemned the aggressive actions and the colonialist policy of the Pretoria régime. Vigorous demands for an end to be put to the illegal occupation of Namibia and for the implementation of a just solution to the problem, under the effective control of the United Nations, are contained in the numerous resolutions of the General Assembly and of the Security Council. However, the South African racist régime continues to sabotage these United Nations decisions.

116. It is a secret to no one that the situation which has now arisen was made possible only as a result of the broad political, economic and military support which the South African régime receives from a number of Western Powers, and primarily from members of the NATO bloc and Israel. As is shown by the documents available, the investments of the imperialist countries of Western Europe and the United States of America in the South African economy amount to billions of dollars. The Western transnational corporations last year alone earned \$350 million of pure profit in Namibia. It is quite obvious that they have a direct vested interest in maintaining the colonial régime in Namibia.

117. The goals of defending their vested interests in that part of the world are served by the active co-operation of a number of Western countries in strengthening the military potential of Pretoria, and world public opinion has been seriously alarmed and concerned over the efforts of the Pretoria racists to create their own nuclear potential, which undoubtedly constitutes a genuine threat to the cause of peace and security not only in that area but throughout the world. The world community must call most vigorously for unswerving observance of the embargo adopted by the United Nations on arms deliveries to South Africa¹⁰ and take appropriate measures to prevent the acquisition of nuclear weapons by the racists.

118. The critical situation which now exists in Namibia makes it urgently necessary to take effective measures to defend the interests of the Namibian people. At this session the General Assembly must make its own contribution to ensuring a just solution for the Namibian problem. The Ukrainian SSR wholeheartedly supports the inalienable right of the people of Namibia to self-determination and independence on the basis of the preservation of the unity and territorial integrity of the country, and is in favour of the cessation of the illegal occupation of Namibia and the unconditional withdrawal of the armed forces and the administration of South Africa from Namibia, including Walvis Bay, as well as of the transfer of power to SWAPO, the only legitimate and genuine representative of the Namibian people. We are firmly convinced that the cessation of loans to, investments in and economic and military

ties with South Africa, and the total international isolation and boycotting of the racist régime of Pretoria could become an effective means of compelling South Africa to end its illegal occupation of Namibia and could bring about the elimination of one of the last hot-beds of colonialism in southern Africa. For this reason, it is urgently necessary to adopt coercive sanctions against South Africa, in accordance with Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations.

119. The long-suffering and heroic people of Namibia, in their just and lawful struggle for freedom and independence, can always count on the solidarity and support of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic.

120. Mr. FADHLI (Democratic Yemen) (*interpretation from Arabic*): Our delegation remembers how, at the thirty-second session of the General Assembly, all delegations were awaiting with impatience the reaction of Mr. Nujoma, Chairman of SWAPO, to the proposals submitted by the group of five Western countries for the settlement of the Namibian problem. That reaction, a wise one, soon came.

121. Two years have passed, and there has been no change in the negative attitude assumed by the racist régime of Pretoria regarding the right of the Namibian people to self-determination and independence. This negative attitude continues to be supported by some Western countries which encourage the racist régime in its attitude in order to assure the common and illegal exploitation of the natural resources of Namibia and the military protection of those interests in the whole of southern Africa.

122. It was therefore natural to affirm that the proposals of the Western Powers to settle the Namibian question were only a manoeuvre to gain time in order to be able to continue exploiting the considerable wealth of that Territory and to set up a fragile administration or entity which in no way represents the people of Namibia. We had a parody of elections, held without any presence of or supervision by the United Nations, contrary to Security Council resolution 385 (1976) and subsequent resolutions, and without the participation of SWAPO, the sole, legitimate representative of the people of Namibia.

123. Some Western countries said that they would bring pressure to bear against the white minority régime of South Africa in order to persuade it to implement that Security Council resolution and ensure the independence of Namibia. In return, SWAPO was to be co-operative and enter into negotiations to settle the problem by peaceful means. At that time SWAPO welcomed this initiative, convinced as it was that it was necessary to abide by international commitments.

124. But events proved that those countries played a different part, and the only way to secure independence for Namibia is to impose sanctions against the régime in accordance with Chapter VII of the Charter. This would take the form of an oil embargo, a total economic boycott, the prohibition of the sale of arms of any kind and even the breaking-off of diplomatic relations.

125. We do not share the view of those countries that feel that the application of such sanctions is unnecessary, because as time passes the Pretoria régime only

¹⁰ Security Council resolution 418 (1977).

increases its crimes against the peoples of South Africa, Namibia and Zimbabwe.

126. We support the territorial integrity of Namibia. We feel that Walvis Bay is an integral part of the territory of Namibia, and that any separation of Walvis Bay from Namibia would be null and void.

127. Democratic Yemen believes that the United Nations has a vitally important responsibility, and the United Nations Council for Namibia, which is the legal Administering Authority of that Territory, must play a positive role in bringing about the independence of Namibia. The achievement of this objective, of course, requires the co-operation and support of all the States Members of the United Nations.

128. I feel constrained to mention here my delegation's appreciation of the role played by the President and members of the Council for Namibia; they can be assured that we will always support all peoples and countries in their struggle for independence and freedom.

129. Mr. NEIL (Jamaica): On 29 September 1978 the Security Council adopted resolution 435 (1978), which is now 14 months old. It appeared at that time that the way was clear for a final and peaceful settlement of the question of Namibia based on a proposal for a settlement negotiated by the five Western countries and accepted by the parties directly involved.

130. Now the General Assembly is addressing the problem in a situation in which little, if any, progress has been made towards effective implementation of the plan. There can be no doubt that this situation is the direct result of the intransigent attitude adopted by South Africa and the use of delaying tactics to prolong its illegal presence in Namibia. All the other parties have in good faith kept their word and given full co-operation towards the implementation of the plan, but South Africa has chosen to exploit every opportunity to frustrate all efforts towards achieving a settlement which would guarantee genuine independence for the people of Namibia. It held unilateral and illegal elections in December 1978; it has made new and unreasonable demands on the international community; it has intimidated the other parties through violence; and it has equivocated on every constructive proposal to break the deadlock that South Africa itself has created.

131. The South African strategy is threefold. First, it seeks to prolong the negotiations indefinitely by objecting to various aspects of the plan and by adding new elements and making new demands to gain more concessions. This tactic was used in January when South Africa objected to the arrangements in the plan for SWAPO bases in Namibia at the time of the cease-fire and made a new demand for the monitoring of SWAPO bases outside Namibia. It was South Africa's intransigence that caused the failure of the proximity talks held in March of this year and designed to break the deadlock. At the same time, the Pretoria régime continues to give the appearance of willingness to continue negotiations, in order to achieve its objective of gaining more and more delay.

132. Secondly, South Africa continues to adopt the Kassinga-style tactics of intimidation against the front-line States. Over the past year, it has launched a series

of armed attacks against Angola and Zambia. These acts of aggression, which have been condemned by the world community, have been orchestrated to intimidate the front-line States and to weaken their resolve to support the cause of the Namibian people.

133. Thirdly, it has embarked on a new wave of repression unleashed against SWAPO and the people of Namibia. This wave of terror, which includes mass arrests, torture and murder, is carried out with all the ruthlessness and brutality for which South Africa has an unequalled reputation. In this campaign the *apartheid* régime is using all the expertise it has perfected against the black majority of South Africa itself. This intensified campaign of repression against the Namibian people and their leaders is designed to clear the way for installing South Africa's hand-picked puppets, who are expected to support the South African objective of holding the Namibian people captive in its own interest. That is why the campaign is directed against SWAPO, which is the only authentic representative of the Namibian people, which is struggling for a free and independent Namibia. Jamaica's firm support for this struggle under the leadership of SWAPO has been stated and reiterated on many occasions before the General Assembly, and we once again reaffirm our solidarity in that struggle. We strongly condemn South Africa's attempts to impose its puppets on the Namibian people.

134. The designs of South Africa on Namibia must be resisted by the United Nations, which assumed responsibility for the Territory in 1966 and which has a sacred duty to the Namibian people. We cannot afford to compromise on the basic objective of a genuinely free Namibia, and we cannot afford to take the path of concession and surrender to South Africa.

135. The prolonged negotiations on a peaceful transition to independence have reached a stage at which a new assessment is required. The latest rounds of talks held recently in Geneva have resulted in the acceptance by all parties except South Africa of the proposal made by the late President Neto of Angola for a demilitarized zone. Once again, the good faith and constructive co-operation of SWAPO and the front-line States have been demonstrated. But not so South Africa; once again the South Africans have responded with familiar double-talk—an apparent acceptance on the condition of contradictory and unjustified demands. In short, the reply of South Africa of 5 December is totally unacceptable, and we reject it.

136. The five Western members which undertook the initiative must now show us where they stand. They must show whether they are prepared to acquiesce in and tolerate the continued defiance of South Africa and to give it a further opportunity to equivocate and to delay. Much of their negotiations with South Africa over the past year has been shrouded in secrecy, but the time has now come for them to show the extent of their commitment to the Namibian people and their aspirations for genuine independence.

137. The international community has waited with growing impatience and must now consider the adoption of concrete measures to deal with South Africa's obvious attempts to frustrate its will and the legitimate aspirations of the people of Namibia. It is the duty of the Security Council to take the necessary measures, in-

cluding those provided for under Chapter VII of the Charter, to compel the racist régime of South Africa to withdraw from Namibia and enable the people of the Territory to exercise their inalienable right to self-determination and independence.

138. In conclusion, my delegation takes this opportunity to pay a tribute to the Council for Namibia under the leadership of Mr. Lusaka of Zambia for its devotion to the noble cause that has been entrusted to it. We also wish to express our appreciation to the Secretary-General and to his Special Representative for their untiring zeal and firm determination to secure an internationally acceptable settlement which would lead to the full recovery of the rights of the people of Namibia.

139. Mr. CERGA (Albania): The delegation of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania has expressed its viewpoint on the question of Namibia at previous sessions, especially last year¹¹ when our Organization devoted a special session to this question.

140. The mere fact that the question of Namibia has been discussed for years in the General Assembly and other forums of our Organization shows that it is one of the most important issues about which the overwhelming majority of freedom-loving and justice-loving people are concerned. Relevant resolutions have been adopted at the end of every session, but the Pretoria Fascists have never taken them into consideration and have overtly pursued their barbaric policy of *apartheid*.

141. Representatives of various democratic and progressive countries that have spoken thus far have once again brought incontestable proof of the grave situation existing in Namibia as a consequence of colonial domination, the policy of *apartheid* and racial discrimination systematically implemented by the racists of South Africa.

142. In making a statement once again, the Albanian delegation would like to join its voice of protest to the voices of other countries and to condemn with indignation the policy of South African racists, which is not only a flagrant violation of the rights of the Namibian people but also constitutes an open challenge to the African people and to other peoples of the world that support the just struggle of the people of Namibia.

143. The development of events in Namibia and in Southern Rhodesia since our last session show that the Pretoria racists have not the slightest intention of giving up their colonial domination. The racist régime of Pretoria, which is bogged down in increasing difficulties both at home and abroad, is having resort to more cunning methods in order to maintain its colonial domination in Namibia. To this end the racists of South Africa have intensified their armed suppression and violence and are building new military installations in Namibia and systematically undertaking armed incursions into neighbouring countries to paralyse and break down the support and backing those countries provide to Namibian fighters. On the other hand, the racists of South Africa have concocted a series of political intrigues, like those of "internal settlements" or phoney elections, so as to set up a puppet régime at their service, and so forth. Furthermore, the Pretoria racists

are feverishly attempting to bring the whole area of southern Africa under their domination through the establishment of a constellation of pseudo-States.

144. The barbaric and criminal policy of racial discrimination and *apartheid* is well known to all Member States. At a time when almost all representatives of freedom-loving and peace-loving countries of the world are denouncing the crimes committed by the racists of South Africa, one cannot help asking how those Fascists dare to exercise a colonial policy of occupation in Namibia and deny the suffering people of that country the right to be free and independent and to set up its own sovereign State.

145. To the Albanian delegation everything is clear. The racists of South Africa enjoy the all-round support, overt and covert, of the imperialist Powers and of the transnational corporations, which have vast interests in the African continent. All those forces spare no effort to weaken the militant spirit and determination of the Namibian people so as to divert it from the just path of winning freedom and national independence. The imperialist Powers are very much interested in avoiding the destruction of the Pretoria and Salisbury régimes, because such a thing would have negative consequences for those countries, which want to continue with the exploitation of the peoples and assets of Namibia and of other countries of that area. It is for such reasons that United States imperialism and other imperialist Powers are supporting and encouraging by all means the Pretoria and Salisbury régimes to oppress and exploit those people and to deny them the right to live free and independent.

146. Within this framework those people realize that the farce of the so-called internal settlement of the question of Namibia, as well as the endless negotiations that were initiated by some Western countries, have yielded no positive results. They are but a smokescreen used by the racist régimes and imperialist Powers that stand behind them to sabotage the armed struggle of the Namibian people and to create obstacles or to delay attainment by the Namibian people of freedom and independence, and thus to provide the South African racists with further opportunities to undertake other political manoeuvres aimed at strengthening their colonial positions in Namibia and, ultimately, to preserve in that country the interests of the imperialist Powers themselves.

147. It is a well-known fact to the people of the entire world that the United States is the main defender and supporter of such Fascist régimes, which receive from United States imperialism constant political, economic, military and diplomatic aid. The Soviet social-imperialists, too, in rivalry with United States imperialism, are trying to exploit in their own interest the revolutionary situation that prevails in that continent. By coming out with slogans as champions of the defence of the rights of the people of Azania, Namibia and Zimbabwe, the Soviet social-imperialists as a matter of fact do what they can to turn the existing situations to their benefit, to sabotage the liberation movements and, through so-called aid to those movements, to provide themselves with the possibility of penetrating Africa economically and militarily, thus creating new social-imperialist strongholds to consolidate and enlarge their expansion in Africa.

¹¹ Official Records of the General Assembly, Ninth Special Session, Plenary Meetings, 6th meeting, paras. 152-170.

148. The peoples of the African continent are seeing more and more clearly the aims of the imperialist super-Powers and other capitalist Powers and do not believe in their pledges and demagogy. Those peoples are realizing that the road to their liberation is that of resolute armed struggle against political, economic and military intervention and of coping successfully with the plots and intrigues concocted against them. They understand that it is the former colonial Powers and above all the imperialist super-Powers that are trying to bring about political uncertainties in African countries and to weaken and hinder the fight of the peoples of those countries against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism by organizing local conflicts and interfering by means of weapons, counsellors or mercenaries. It has already been proved that wherever the imperialist super-Powers have intervened or have offered their mediation the situation of those countries has been further aggravated.

149. In such conditions the Namibian people has to wage a resolute struggle, because it is quite clear that the Pretoria Fascists will never leave the stage of

history of their own accord and present independence to that oppressed people on a silver platter. The Namibian people is more convinced with every passing day that resolute struggle is the only sure means of breaking the fetters of colonialism and winning genuine national independence.

150. The Albanian people and its Government steadfastly support the just cause of the Namibian people and its struggle to put an end to the rule of the régime of the South African racists. We condemn with indignation the Pretoria and Salisbury Fascists for their stubborn continuance of their policy of *apartheid*, of violation and of massacres committed against the Namibian people, as we condemn the plots and intrigues of imperialist super-Powers and imperialist Powers which aim at perpetuating the domination in Namibia of South African racists. We are convinced that it is only through a resolute struggle and by denouncing the plots concocted against it that the Namibian people will certainly achieve victory and will be able to establish its free and sovereign State.

The meeting rose at 1.05 p.m.