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MEETING: 27 JULY 1978

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## 2082nd MEETING

Held in New York on Thursday, 27 July 1978, at 3 p.m.

President: Mr. William H. BARTON (Canada).

The situation in Namibia

Present: The representatives of the following States: Bolivia, Canada, China, Czechoslovakia, France, Gabon, Germany, Federal Republic of, India, Kuwait, Mauritius, Nigeria, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Venezuela.

Provisional agenda (S/Agenda/2082)

Adoption of the agenda

The situation in Namibia

The meeting was called to order at 3.25 p.m.

Statement by the President

The PRESIDENT: I should like first, on behalf of the Council, to welcome the presence at the Council table of His Excellency Mr. Louis de Guiringaud, Minister for Foreign Affairs of France, His Excellency Mr. Hans-Joachim Genscher, Vice-Chancellor and Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Federal Republic of Germany, His Excellency the Right Honourable David Owen, M.P., Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs of the United Kingdom, and His Excellency Mr. Cyrus Vance, Secretary of State of the United States of America.

I should also like to welcome His Excellency Brigadier General N. Garba, Member of the Supreme Military Council and Special Envoy Plenipotentiary of the Head of the Federal Military Government of Nigeria.

Expression of thanks to the retiring President

The PRESIDENT: As this is the first formal meeting of the Security Council for the month of July, I should like, before we turn to the question on the agenda, to express, on behalf of the members of the Council, our appreciation and gratitude to the representative of Bolivia, Ambassador Anaya, who presided over the Council last month. On behalf of the Council, I pay a tribute to him for the diplomatic skill with which he conducted the proceedings of the Council.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

4. The PRESIDENT: I should like to inform members of the Council that I have received letters from the representatives of Angola, Benin, Mali, Senegal, South Africa, Sri Lanka and the Sudan, in which they request to be invited to participate in the discussion. In accordance with the usual practice I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite those representatives to participate in the discussion, without the right to vote, in conformity with the provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the provisional rules of procedure.

5. There being no objection, I invite those representatives to take the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber, on the usual understanding that they will be invited to take a place at the Council table whenever they wish to speak.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Luvuvalu and Mr. de Figueiredo (Angola), Mr. Boya (Benin), Mr. Kanté (Mali), Mr. Sylla (Senegal), Mr. R. F. Botha (South Africa), Mr. Gooneratne (Sri Lanka) and Mr. Deng (Sudan) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber.

6. The PRESIDENT: I should also like to inform the members of the Council that I have received a letter dated 27 July from the President of the United Nations Council for Namibia which reads as follows:

"The Security Council is now considering the question of Namibia. I wish to convey to you the desire of the United Nations Council for Namibia to participate in this debate, without the right to vote. For this purpose, the Council for Namibia will be represented by a delegation headed by myself as President of the Council, and including the three Vice-Presidents of the Council."

7. On previous occasions, the Council has extended invitations to representatives of other appropriate United Nations bodies in connexion with the consideration of matters on its agenda. It seems appropriate to me to proceed, if there is no objection, to extend an invitation, under rule 39 of the provisional rules of procedure, to the President of the United Nations Council for Namibia and the rest of the delegation of the Council.

At the invitation of the President, Miss Konie (President of the United Nations Council for Namibia) and the other members of the delegation took places at the Council table.

8. The PRESIDENT: I wish to inform members of the Council that I have received a letter dated 27 July from the

representatives of Gabon, Mauritius and Nigeria which reads as follows:

"We, the undersigned members of the Security Council, have the honour to request that the Council should extend an invitation under rule 39 of its provisional rules of procedure to Mr. Sam Nujoma, President of the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO), during the course of the Council's consideration of the situation in Namibia." [S/12794.]

9. If I hear no objection, I shall take it that the Council agrees to the request.

*It was so decided.*

10. The PRESIDENT: The Security Council finds itself today at a historic juncture in its consideration of the question of Namibia. For more than 30 years, the United Nations has sought to bring about the self-determination and independence of Namibia. We are on the threshold of accomplishing this laudable task. It is an honour and a pleasure for me, personally and as the representative of Canada, to preside over the meeting of the Council which will take the first of two steps envisaged to put into effect the proposed settlement agreed upon by the principal interested parties. I should like to add that it is with deep regret that my Secretary of State for External Affairs is not able to be with us this afternoon.

11. I should like to call attention to the two draft resolutions in documents S/12792 and S/12793 and to the documents listed therein.

12. I now put to the vote the draft resolution contained in document S/12792.

*A vote was taken by show of hands.*

*In favour:* Bolivia, Canada, China, France, Gabon, Germany, Federal Republic of, India, Kuwait, Mauritius, Nigeria, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Venezuela.

*Against:* None.

*Abstaining:* Czechoslovakia, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

*The draft resolution was adopted by 13 votes to none, with 2 abstentions.<sup>1</sup>*

13. The PRESIDENT: I shall now put to the vote the draft resolution contained in document S/12793.

*A vote was taken by show of hands.*

*The draft resolution was adopted unanimously.<sup>2</sup>*

14. The PRESIDENT: I have been informed that the Secretary-General wishes to make a statement, and I now call on him.

15. The SECRETARY-GENERAL: The Security Council has just taken a historic decision. The complex question of Namibia has been a special responsibility of the Organization ever since it was founded 32 years ago. The agreement now reached here to implement the terms of a peaceful solution will enable the people of the Territory to exercise their inalienable right to self-determination and independence in accordance with the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations.

16. I have taken careful note of the task entrusted to me and I wish to assure the members of the Council that I will exert every effort to carry it out in the fullest and most expeditious manner possible.

17. In keeping with the Council's decision, I intend to appoint Mr. Martti Ahtisaari, the United Nations Commissioner for Namibia, my Special Representative for Namibia. Mr. Ahtisaari will lead a mission which will proceed to Namibia within a week to conduct a survey of the arrangements necessary for the implementation of the Council's resolution. I expect that the mission will complete its task within two to three weeks. On the basis of its findings, I shall then submit to the Council detailed proposals for attaining the objectives set forth in the proposal for settlement [S/12636].

18. I am deeply mindful of the importance of the Council's decision today. It sets into motion an extremely challenging operation of immense scope, which will heavily tax the resources of the Secretariat as well as the organizations of the United Nations system. Its success will require the firm support of all Member States. Above all, it demands the full co-operation of all the parties directly concerned. I join with the Council in urging them to exert their best efforts towards the achievement of independence for Namibia at the earliest possible date.

19. In closing, I should like to express my sincere appreciation to the parties themselves for the constructive attitude they have shown. My gratitude goes to the members of the Council who have laboured so tirelessly and devotedly to achieve the agreement reached here today. I would also pay a tribute to the African leaders whose invaluable efforts have contributed in such a decisive manner to the successful outcome of the negotiations.

20. I am convinced that the attainment of a peaceful and just solution to the Namibian problem will have a positive impact on the remaining problems of southern Africa. It will also strengthen the confidence of the international community in the United Nations itself and provide a new hope for the future.

21. Mr. VANCE (United States of America): This is an auspicious occasion in the history of the United Nations and in the work of the Security Council. After months of painstaking diplomatic efforts by the representatives of many countries and organizations, including the United Nations itself, we are, as you have said, Mr. President, on the threshold of a peaceful settlement of a problem as old as the United Nations itself.

22. The issue of Namibia was first raised at the United Nations in 1946, and the inability of the world com-

<sup>1</sup> See resolution 431 (1978).

<sup>2</sup> See resolution 432 (1978).

to come to an internationally acceptable solution to this problem has over the years posed an increasingly serious threat to the peace and stability of southern Africa. Today, by dint of hard work and goodwill, we have finally set in motion the process by which Namibia will achieve independence peacefully and in accordance with Security Council resolution 385 (1976). In terms of the purposes of the United Nations and the history of this problem, it is of paramount importance that this process should take place peacefully and through direct participation of the United Nations. I am pleased that the United States and other Western members of the Council have been able to play a role in what has been achieved.

23. It would be incorrect to single out any one country or group of countries. Many countries have made a contribution and it is fair to say that each contribution was in its own way vital and essential to the success which has been achieved. In the final analysis, this diplomatic achievement belongs to the United Nations itself. It has provided the impetus for a Namibia settlement, served as the focal point for the negotiations leading to the settlement agreement and is now providing the mechanism for its implementation. Secretary-General Waldheim, whose support and advice has been invaluable throughout these negotiations and who will have to see this process through to its conclusion, merits our particular gratitude.

24. To the Government of South Africa and the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO) we must express our sense of appreciation for their pursuit of a peaceful solution to Namibian independence and their willingness to join with the members of the Council in working diligently towards that goal. To the front-line African States, without whose assistance this conclusion to our efforts would have been impossible, we must express our gratitude and our belief that in facilitating a peaceful settlement in Namibia they have made a major contribution to the peace and stability of Africa as a whole. We also wish to call attention to the positive role which other parties in Namibia have played in this endeavour.

25. In my Government's view, the importance of what has been achieved has implications which go far beyond the Namibia problem itself. The successful resolution of this international issue can encourage solutions for other pressing problems of Africa, particularly in the case of Rhodesia. Were the same spirit of goodwill and compromise exhibited by the parties in Namibia could create a basis for a peaceful settlement. By opening a new chapter in the history of Namibia, we also open a new chapter in the history of the United Nations. The world body will now provide the impetus for the emergence of a newly independent nation. By approving this proposal for Namibian independence, at one and the same time we vote for an independent Namibia and we take a step to strengthen the prestige of the United Nations and its ability to respond effectively to critical problems wherever they arise. Let us hope this success will serve as an example to encourage all States to join in seeking equally positive solutions to other international problems that confront the world community.

That concludes my remarks on behalf of the United

27. I should now like to make an additional statement on behalf of the Governments of Canada, the Federal Republic of Germany, France, the United Kingdom and the United States about the resolution on Walvis Bay which has been adopted by the Council.

28. From the beginning of our efforts to assist in the achievement of independence by Namibia in accordance with resolution 385 (1976), our Governments have been conscious of the strongly held views of the parties concerned on the status of Walvis Bay. Since these opposing views appeared to be irreconcilable, the five Governments decided to take the position that they would not include any provisions on this question in their proposal for a settlement of the Namibian situation. Consequently, the terms of the proposal which we submitted to the Security Council on 10 April [S/12636] contain no mention of Walvis Bay. This does not mean that we have no views concerning this question. We adopted our position in recognition of the fact that no proposal on Walvis Bay appeared to be capable of acceptance by the parties. Indeed, we were acutely aware that an effort to resolve the question in the context of our proposal would make agreement on the proposal impossible. Thus, in our discussions with the parties we did not seek to initiate a substantive discussion of this issue. We emphasized to all concerned our belief that a discussion of the legal status of Walvis Bay would not be useful and could only continue to hamper a resolution of the 30-year controversy over Namibia. Instead, we stated on a number of occasions that the question of Walvis Bay would have to be the subject of negotiations between the parties concerned because we recognize, and we believe all parties recognize, that Walvis Bay is critical to the future of Namibia.

29. In this connexion, I should like to reiterate what the Secretary of State for External Affairs of Canada said when he spoke in the General Assembly during its ninth special session, on 25 April. Mr. Jamieson said:

"The General Assembly will have noted that we have omitted from our proposal the difficult question of Walvis Bay for the reason that we see no way of settling the question in the context of the present negotiations. We feel strongly, however, that the issue should not delay the long-sought-after independence of Namibia. We consider that all aspects of the question of Walvis Bay must be subject to discussion between the South African Government and the elected government of Namibia. We have, furthermore, obtained assurances that the strength of the South African force in Walvis Bay will not be increased during the transitional period and that Namibians in Walvis Bay will be able to participate in the political life of the Territory during the transitional period, including by voting in the elections."

30. Since that time, our Governments have given further consideration to this difficult question. We have confirmed our position that we do not wish to enter into disputes of a legal character concerning the various claims as to the status of Walvis Bay. Nevertheless, we recognize that there are

arguments of a geographic, political, social, cultural and administrative nature which support the union of Walvis Bay with Namibia. Our Governments have also taken due note of the fact that political parties in Namibia hold the view that Walvis Bay must be part of an independent Namibia.

31. All these considerations lead to the conclusion that it is appropriate that the Security Council should adopt a resolution which calls for "the initiation of steps necessary to ensure the early reintegration of Walvis Bay into Namibia". This resolution does not prejudice the legal position of any party. It does not seek to coerce any party. For our part we should like to state our understanding of our role with respect to the future of Walvis Bay. The commitment of our five Governments, our undertaking by voting in favour of this resolution, is to stand ready to offer the diplomatic support of our Governments to achieve the objective of a successful negotiation. We view our undertaking as consistent with the fundamental principle of the Charter of the United Nations that disputed questions are to be settled peacefully. We consider that the "steps necessary", referred to in paragraph 2 of the resolution, are negotiations between the two parties directly concerned. Accordingly, we shall encourage negotiations on this subject between the Government of South Africa and the government of Namibia that will be elected in accordance with our proposal for a settlement of the situation, and we are pleased to note that the Government of South Africa has publicly indicated its readiness to enter into such discussions.

32. We hope that the adoption of this resolution will make a positive contribution. In our view the support of the Security Council in resolving this question is entirely appropriate in view of the responsibilities which the Charter bestows upon this body. Our Governments pledge to exert our best efforts in order to promote the achievement of an early, peaceful and successful result to the negotiations on Walvis Bay for the mutual benefit of the people of the region.

33. Mr. DE GUIRINGAUD (France) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, I should like first of all to greet you as President of the Security Council and as Ambassador of a great country with which we are very friendly. At a time when the Council is seized of a particularly difficult question, your outstanding talent, which we all recognize in you, will be sorely needed. I am aware of your personal interest in the question before us today. You may be sure of my delegation's full support and complete co-operation.

34. I also wish to express my thanks to the representative of Bolivia, Mr. Mario Rolón Anaya, who was President of the Council for the month of June and who so skilfully guided its proceedings.

35. The debate this week in the Security Council on the question of Namibia represents a historical event. In adopting the plan for a settlement, the Council has provided the Organization with the means of applying an internationally acceptable solution to one of the most intractable problems it has ever had to deal with, and we are sure that it will also pave the way for a new era in all of southern Africa.

36. The question of Namibia has been on the agenda of the Council for almost 30 years. On 30 January 1976, the Council unanimously adopted resolution 385 (1976). It is on this basis that the Governments of Canada, France, the Federal Republic of Germany, the United Kingdom and the United States on 10 April last submitted a proposal for a settlement. I believe I may say that the efforts undertaken by those five members of the Council were within the framework of resolution 385 (1976) and in conformity with the spirit and the objectives of many resolutions adopted by the General Assembly on the question of Namibia. I would add that the plan was arrived at after lengthy negotiations with the parties concerned, both South Africa and SWAPO, the principal Namibian nationalist movement, and in close consultation with the Secretary-General, the front-line States and Nigeria, Gabon and Mauritius, which are members of the Council, as well as numerous other countries. This proposal for a peaceful and democratic transfer of powers to the elected representatives of Namibia is therefore a collective undertaking which required an exercise in imagination and political maturity on the part of all. It is only natural that today the plan should be submitted to the Security Council to receive the endorsement of the international community. I should like to point out that never has the Council been seized of such a complex and detailed document, nor the United Nations entrusted with a role fraught with such heavy responsibilities. This means—and I should like here to express the firm position of my Government—that the United Nations, to succeed in its task, will need the support, understanding and co-operation of all. We are convinced that all will sincerely wish to participate in this work of peace and freedom.

37. France voted in favour of the two resolutions just adopted. In this connexion, I wish to specify that my delegation entirely subscribes to the interpretation given on behalf of the five members of the Council by the Secretary of State of the United States in respect of resolution 432 (1978).

38. In agreeing to the proposals which have now become the plan adopted by the Council the parties concerned have already proved their constructive attitude. We have taken note of this and we are certain that, in keeping with their commitments, they will fully contribute to the implementation of the plan.

39. No one is unaware that initially some doubted whether the United Nations really had the capacity to accomplish the task which it is about to assume; others did not believe that the Organization was in practice able to undertake such an endeavour. We, for our part, have always believed that the United Nations would be equal to its responsibilities and we have tried to convince all the parties concerned that this was so. The contacts which we have maintained with the Secretary-General have shown us the personal interest which he took in the efforts undertaken. He was informed of the role which might be given to the United Nations and we know that he has been concerned with this for a long time. The Organization has, furthermore, had some experience in this field. It has already played a role in the accession to independence of 10 Trust Territories. In each case it acted competently and impartially.

40. Today time is of the essence. The plan which the Council has just adopted constitutes a practical means to implement resolution 385 (1976), but prompt action is required. The people of Namibia have been waiting only too long; we must respond to their appeal and pay a tribute to the praiseworthy efforts of all those who have striven for the independence and freedom of their country.

41. As long ago as 1975, at this very table, I myself, as representative of France, proposed that general elections should be held in Namibia on the basis of "one man, one vote" and within the framework of a single electoral roll for the entire Territory. It is that provision which constitutes the basic element of the plan just adopted, and this clearly shows that there is continuity in our action and that it is in accordance with the principles and purposes of the Organization.

42. France will continue to do everything necessary to ensure the attainment of the common goal. France will co-operate in every way possible in the task now being undertaken, so that justice and peace may finally prevail in Namibia.

43. Mr. OWEN (United Kingdom): I should first of all like to congratulate you, Sir, not only on your assumption of the presidency, but also on your presiding over a meeting which may come to rank as one of the more important held by the Security Council.

44. I should say at the outset that I associate my Government with everything that has been said on behalf of the Governments of the Five by my colleagues in the Council.

45. Many, indeed most, of the Council's meetings have inevitably been called to deal with urgent crises and the outbreak of fighting in various parts of the world. The Council has often been able to deal effectively with these crises by imposing a cease-fire and in some cases by dispatching peace-keeping forces. But it has not always been successful in solving the basic problems underlying these crises. Today, however, we take the first and most important step towards the actual solution of a problem which has defied the best efforts of the United Nations for over 30 years.

46. The people of Namibia can today look forward to early independence achieved peacefully under leaders of their own choice. But the decision we make today has an importance beyond the frontiers of Namibia. It is my profound hope that a settlement of this problem will further the cause of peace, stability and economic development not only inside Namibia but in the whole region of Southern Africa.

47. I hope that some people in South Africa will today see that through patient negotiations they and their country can work with the international community, not against it. I could today be starting an evolutionary process whereby all the people of South Africa see the United Nations as an organization which can help them resolve their difficulties. I hope also that we shall demonstrate today to the people of Rhodesia that Zimbabwe too can become

independent with the help of the United Nations, through negotiation and compromise.

48. Above all, our action today has shown that even a problem as intractable as that of Namibia can be solved by patience, goodwill and the process of negotiation. This is a victory for the concept of the peaceful settlement of disputes as enshrined in the Charter. We are demonstrating today that there is an alternative to the armed struggle, with all the bloodshed and suffering which that entails; that people of different views can, even while fighting each other, still come together and negotiate for peace.

49. I am proud that my Government along with the Governments of Canada, France, the Federal Republic of Germany and the United States has been able to help Africa resolve one of its most difficult problems. Many African countries have contributed—many around this table here today. We have acted at times as a catalyst, but without the wisdom and statesmanship of the leaders of the front-line States we could never have reached this conclusion. Nor could we have succeeded without the willingness of all parties to work for a peaceful and internationally acceptable settlement and to make concessions—even on points of important principle—to reach a compromise agreement.

50. The first resolution we have adopted today is only the starting point of a process which will lead Namibia to independence. It is our hope that the Secretary-General will be able to act speedily in order to install the United Nations transition assistance group in Namibia at the earliest possible date, in accordance with the proposal which has been negotiated and agreed by the parties. The task before the Group will require great skill, good judgement and immense hard work, and everyone must wish the Secretary-General's distinguished Special Representative good luck in his task. But I am confident that the United Nations, under the distinguished leadership of the Secretary-General, will prove able to discharge the vital role of guaranteeing the stability and security of Namibia, at the same time as supervising the electoral process. My Government stands ready to help in any way we can.

51. At the end of the transition period, the newly independent Namibia will enjoy the full support of the United Nations. It will of course face problems. The question of Walvis Bay will have to be resolved, as envisaged in the second of the two resolutions we have just adopted. And there will be the enormous and challenging task of the development of the country's substantial natural resources. The international community will have an important role to play in supporting the Namibian Government, and the United Kingdom will play its full part in this vital task.

52. Mr. GENSCHER (Federal Republic of Germany):<sup>4</sup> It is a great honour for me to speak in this august body for the first time. It is a particular pleasure for me to do so under the presidency of a distinguished Canadian. This is all the more true as our two countries are linked by manifold bonds of friendship and common interests. Mr. President, your country has rendered outstanding services to the

<sup>4</sup> Mr. Genschler spoke in German. The English version of his statement was supplied by the delegation.

United Nations, especially in most difficult peace-keeping operations. You have greatly contributed to Canada's active role in the Organization. The experience you have thus gained will be of great help in solving the important question before us.

53. I should like also to pay a tribute to Ambassador Rolón Anaya of Bolivia, who presided over the work of the Council with great skill and efficiency during the month of June.

54. On behalf of the Federal Republic of Germany, I should like to express my great satisfaction at the fact that the Security Council has, by its decision to confer a mandate on the Secretary-General, created the basis for the attainment of Namibia's independence under the auspices of the United Nations. All parties involved and the international community must be gratified to learn that the conditions for the peaceful solution of a burning issue are being created, an issue which has for a long time been a burden for the people in southern Africa—and not only for them. This decision taken by the Council serves effectively to confirm the peace-keeping function of the United Nations, to which the Federal Republic of Germany attaches great importance within the framework of its policy for peace and co-operation on a basis of partnership.

55. The fact that it was possible to achieve a peaceful solution of this problem was due to the readiness for negotiation and compromise of all parties directly and indirectly involved, to their patience and their vision.

56. Even though initially the positions of the parties directly involved were far removed from each other, thanks to the good offices of the United Nations and the mediating role played by a number of States, in particular also by members of the Organization of African Unity, it was finally possible to reconcile their points of view to such an extent that the way for a peaceful transition of Namibia to independence has now been paved. In this context I should like in particular to mention the endeavours undertaken by the front-line States and by Nigeria.

57. The decision of the Security Council is, however, only the first step along Namibia's road to independence. In the future, too, considerable efforts will be required in order that the people of Namibia may finally shape its future in free self-determination and work towards the well-being of each of its citizens. That this may be achieved is our sincere wish.

58. The Federal Republic of Germany is determined actively to support the United Nations in the implementation of the Namibia plan in all its parts. We shall support you, Mr. Secretary-General, and your Special Representative for Namibia in the fulfilment of the mandate assigned to you by the Security Council. We shall support the United Nations in fulfilling the task of ensuring general and free elections in Namibia, and we are also determined to make our contribution towards the operational readiness and maintenance of the United Nations peace-keeping troops.

59. An independent Namibia will, as a new member of the international community, require the economic support of

its friends. As you are aware, the Presidency of the European Community is at present in the hands of the Federal Republic of Germany. I should therefore like to draw your attention to the declaration on Namibia made by the nine foreign ministers on 25 July from which, with your permission, Mr. President, I should like to quote:

"Having frequently expressed their support for a peaceful solution of the Namibian situation based on Security Council resolution 385 (1976), the Foreign Ministers of the nine countries of the European Community, meeting in Brussels, noted with satisfaction that the proposal of the five Western Security Council members for the settlement of the Namibian situation has been accepted by all parties concerned. The way has thus been opened to an early internationally acceptable solution of one of the major problems in southern Africa. This is proof that peaceful solutions to such problems are possible. It has been done in close co-operation and with the active support of front-line States.

"The nine Foreign Ministers declare that, should an internationally accepted independent Namibia so request, the European Community and its member States are prepared to render their support as far as possible to promote the economic well-being of the country."

60. The Federal Republic of Germany will endeavour to assist Namibia after it has acquired its independence in the development of the country on the basis of equality and partnership. We renew and reaffirm our assurance to this effect given before the thirty-second session of the General Assembly.

61. As I said in Brussels on 24 July last, in my capacity as President of the European Community, on the occasion of the solemn opening of the negotiations on the new co-operation agreement between the European Community and 53 developing countries from Africa, the Caribbean and the Pacific, the Community is willing to include all African developing countries south of the Sahara, which have acquired their independence, in the negotiations on an extension of the Convention of Lomé. This offer also applies to an independent, internationally recognized Namibia.

62. We are hopeful that the consensus and the will for co-operation as manifest in the consensus of the Security Council will be kept up throughout all phases of implementation of the Namibia plan. We hope in particular that any further problems and differences of opinion possibly arising among the parties involved will be settled in a spirit of co-operation and not of confrontation.

63. As to the Security Council resolution on Walvis Bay which has just been adopted, I fully associate myself with what has just been said by my colleague from the United States. I should like to add that I fully associate myself with what has been said by him and by the representatives of the other States which have engaged in the initiative with me, that is to say, the United Kingdom and French Foreign Ministers and the representative of Canada.

64. We hope that Namibia will become a model of peaceful relations and co-operation among all sections and



groups of the population. It is our hope and our wish that Namibia's road to independence will always be an example of how to achieve a lasting settlement of conflicts not by force, but only through a fair and peaceful balance of interests and co-operation among all parties involved.

65. The PRESIDENT: The next speaker on my list is Mr. Sam Nujoma, President of the South West Africa People's Organization.

66. Mr. NUJOMA: It was our understanding earlier that the statements would precede the voting on the draft resolutions. Now that the order has been revised, I should like to indicate that some parts of our statement need to be changed accordingly. However, the substance of the statement has not been affected in any way.

67. Once again it is my privilege and pleasure to be accorded an opportunity to address the Security Council on the question of Namibia.

68. This privilege was initially bestowed on us when I appeared before this esteemed Council in 1971, in this very chamber, as the first freedom fighter to be so honoured. Since then, my colleagues and I have been making frequent appearances to put our view across to the Council and to galvanize the world community in support for and solidarity with the struggle of the Namibian people, under the leadership of SWAPO, for national and political liberation, racial emancipation and economic self-determination.

69. Indeed, I felt on that first occasion in 1971, and I feel today even more intensely, that it is the inevitable historical successes and victories of our people in Namibia which have compelled nations, countries and peoples of the world to recognize and appreciate our devotion, determination and commitment, as well as our willingness and preparedness to suffer, to sacrifice and to die in order to liberate our fatherland and to reassert our dignity and national sovereignty.

70. That the Namibian people have assumed the direct responsibility and duty to liberate themselves by any and all means at their disposal, in particular armed struggle, is a part of contemporary history. This is a proved fact.

71. The fact that I appear this time before the Security Council is not, in our view, accidental. Rather, it is a result of many years of untold sufferings, sacrifices and hardships of our men and women, and children--born and unborn--as well as the elderly, at the hands of the racist rulers of our land and their imperialist masters, who support and abet them in the perpetuation of colonial oppression, racial domination and foreign exploitation of our country and people. Without their heroism, patriotism and selfless readiness to pay the price for freedom, it would not have been possible for me to receive this recognition and honour.

72. For my own part, the dynamics of the historical and political situation inside Namibia and the wishes of SWAPO have combined to put on my shoulders the responsibility and challenge to represent and defend the legitimate interests and inalienable rights of the oppressed people of Namibia here, and at all stages throughout the decoloni-

zation process, which is now unfolding in the Security Council and through the Secretary-General.

73. While we, in the first instance, believe in and draw courage and inspiration from the gallantry and magnanimity of our own oppressed masses and from the patriotism of the militants of the People's Liberation Army of Namibia, we have over the years of the struggle received material, political, diplomatic and moral support from the overwhelming majority of the world community. This has, indeed, enhanced our integrity and standing and has further strengthened our own efforts to liberate Namibia.

74. During the past five months, we have been extremely pleased to witness and welcome, with sincere thanks and appreciation, political support and concrete, material assistance from the United Nations, the Organization of African Unity, Socialist countries, from the African front-line States and from other progressive countries, international organizations, support groups and individuals.

75. For example, the United Nations Council for Namibia, meeting in its plenary sessions held at Lusaka in March, renewed its support of and co-operation with SWAPO in the struggle until general independence is achieved in Namibia. Then, in April, the General Assembly met in a special session and, at the end, adopted a Declaration and a Programme of Action, in which the continuing special responsibility of the United Nations concerning Namibia was underscored and consecrated [resolution S-9/2]. These documents express full support for and reaffirm unequivocal political solidarity with and material assistance to SWAPO, as the sole and authentic representative of the Namibian people. Furthermore, on 10-11 June 1978, the African front-line States convened a summit meeting at Luanda, also attended by my colleagues in the Central Committee and me. In a final communiqué issued at the end of the summit, the African leaders stated, in part:

"The front-line States call upon the international community to intensify their moral, political, diplomatic and material support for the just struggle of the people of Namibia under the leadership of SWAPO."

They concluded:

"Finally, the front-line States reaffirm their continued support for SWAPO and the liberation struggle of the Namibian people."

76. Only a few days ago, the fifteenth summit of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity concluded its meeting. This was a historic gathering for a number of reasons, least of them being the record attendance by African leaders. Regarding Namibia, all the heads of State and Government or heads of delegations who addressed the Assembly were unanimous in their expressions of appreciation to SWAPO for having stood steadfast and unrelenting over the years in the gallant and courageous struggle for the total liberation of Namibia. Moreover, they commended SWAPO for its statesmanship and the spirit of principled flexibility it demonstrated in the diplomatic arena, with a view to finding a negotiated settlement for Namibia on the basis of

relevant resolutions and decisions of the United Nations, especially Security Council resolution 385 (1976). At the end, the Assembly unanimously adopted two important resolutions on Namibia [S/12837, annex]. The first one is a strong, comprehensive, political resolution on all aspects of the question of Namibia, in the context of the ongoing struggle, and on all fronts—military, political and diplomatic. The second one is a special resolution in which the African leaders welcomed the Luanda joint communiqué of 12 July 1978 between SWAPO and the representatives of the five Western Governments, whereby the two delegations agreed to proceed to the Security Council in order to open the way for the initiation of the decolonization process regarding Namibia.

77. We feel it is necessary and proper to put these developments over the last five months on record, in the light of what we are going to be engaged in henceforth.

78. The Security Council is now seized formally of "The situation in Namibia". Obviously, this meeting is most important and unprecedented, with regard both to the problems it must address and resolve at this stage and to the guarantees it must ensure for a genuine and satisfactory settlement in Namibia.

79. Namibia is a unique and special responsibility that the United Nations has assumed in the interests of the colonized and oppressed people of the Territory. Since that historic decision of the General Assembly in 1966—but even before then and certainly thereafter—the international community has taken unequivocal and far-reaching decisions of legal and political significance in defence of the just rights and legitimate interests of the Namibian people. Certain basic principles and notions have emerged over the years during which the United Nations has been grappling with the question of Namibia. Today, as exemplified by the references made earlier, there is overwhelming agreement that Namibia must be free and independent, with scrupulous adherence to the principles and notions that were adopted and have been persistently followed by the world community.

80. A situation should never be allowed to occur in which euphoria and expediency would replace political acumen and careful administrative planning, in order to ensure now, at this stage, that there will be no pitfalls, gimmicks and chaos later when the process has already started. It will be too late then, and the likely options are equally costly in terms of life and limb for the Namibian people and of the integrity and the very existence of the United Nations itself.

81. The process of exploratory talks, proximity talks and indirect and direct negotiations over the last 15 months has been cumbersome and difficult. It provided an opportunity for SWAPO to present, articulate and defend the position of the oppressed people of Namibia. In this regard, SWAPO has always and throughout sought to differentiate, as a matter of principle, between the just rights and legitimate interests of our suffering masses, on the one hand, and the unfounded claims of the racist South African colonial aggressor and usurper, on the other.

82. During all the stages of the talks, the occupation régime employed the so-called two-track strategy of political character assassination, manipulation of mass media, false pretensions and public-relations gimmicks, all aimed at presenting racist South Africa in a positive light and suggesting that it has gone a long way in making so-called concessions. But actually, inside Namibia, the régime remained intransigent and uncompromising. The actions and activities of the régime remain contradictory to the spirit of the talks and destructive of efforts towards a negotiated settlement.

83. Suffice it to bring to the attention of the world community the following repressive measures and illegal acts carried out by the racist South African régime in Namibia during the period when the talks between the five Western Security Council members and SWAPO aimed at finding a negotiated settlement of the Namibian problem were going on: first, the unilateral and illegal appointment of the so-called Administrator-General in August 1977; secondly, on 28 February 1978, the enactment and re-enactment of numerous repressive measures and emergency regulations—for example, AG 26 of April 1978, under which SWAPO leaders, members and sympathizers have been arrested and detained; thirdly, on 4 May 1978, a wanton act of aggression against the People's Republic of Angola and a barbaric attack on a Namibian civilian settlement at Kassinga, killing or wounding over 1,000 Namibians, mainly women, children and elderly persons; fourthly, in June 1978, an illegal proclamation for the so-called registration of voters in preparation for so-called elections in Namibia; fifthly, the pouring of huge sums of money into the pockets of the puppets and quislings of the so-called Democratic Turnhalle Alliance in preparation for the so-called elections; sixthly, the continued organized terror campaign and violence against SWAPO, arrests, detentions, and intimidation of SWAPO members.

84. Despite the fact that we agreed in good faith to proceed to the Security Council in search of a negotiated settlement, arrests and detention of SWAPO leaders and members continue unabated. The latest in this series is the re-arrest of our colleagues who took part in the Luanda meeting, among them, SWAPO Secretary for Foreign Relations, Comrade Festus Naholo, and SWAPO Secretary for Transportation, Comrade Franz Kambangula.

85. Even at this late stage, the régime is threatening to withdraw from the whole exercise and put into operation the second track of its strategy, the so-called internal settlement. We wish to bring these points out in order to caution that there is still much that remains to be done. During this debate of the Council, we shall no doubt hear the voices of the spokesmen of the occupation régime threatening to withdraw or actually withdrawing all the so-called concessions made. It is misleading to say at this stage, when we are just starting the serious business, that the diplomatic process has already succeeded in Namibia. Hope is no certainty.

86. The situation is still pregnant with many uncertainties, imponderables and dangers. If we are serious about the business of solving the problem of Namibia in the face of the continued double-talk and intransigence of the occupier,

tion régime, then we should not regard the problem as an intellectual exercise or an occasion for administrative experimentation. We cannot and will not entertain such an undertaking. The lives of our people and their future and that of our country are at stake. We accept seriously the responsibility and duty to defend and protect the safety of our people and the territorial integrity of our country.

87. Should this exercise end in fiasco or should it, at worst, fail, the result would be tragic in either case for the people of Namibia. Equally dangerous would be a situation akin to a cover-up, in which case certain actions or intrigues would be conscientiously overlooked as aberrations or minor incidents. The result of this would be that these presumed incidents would be too numerous to be accidental and would actually become incidents of a fait accompli. Here again, the victims would be Namibians.

88. If it is a fiasco, the best that could be done would be for the matter to be referred back to the Council. At that time, what can and what will the Council do? By that time lives might have been lost, property damaged and untold suffering incurred. Hopes, expectations and aspirations of the oppressed Namibian people would, one more time, be frustrated and destroyed. The only conceivable action by the Council would be a resolution of condemnation.

89. We must think not only about present developments but also about future eventualities, whether they occur by design on the part of the enemy or by default by the United Nations. For our part, we will not deviate from our sacred obligation of bringing Namibia to genuine independence.

90. I have chosen to go to great lengths to put our point of view on record before this esteemed Council and before the world assembly of conscience. And we feel strongly about these matters.

91. Now I wish to comment in general terms about the Western proposal contained in document S/12636. I shall refrain from discussing it section by section or paragraph by paragraph since the SWAPO delegation has already indicated to its authors which sections or elements present difficulties.

92. First, we understand the plan to be an effort to put resolution 385 (1976) into operational terms for implementation and not an ingenious scheme to supplant that resolution.

93. Secondly, we do not regard it as a final document which incorporates all our concerns, programmes or principles for the kind of society that we are committed to building in Namibia. It is a compromise plan which is, in our view, heavily weighted in favour of South Africa's colonial interests in Namibia.

94. Thirdly, the language is deliberately so vague and ambiguous that it is subject to different and unavoidably conflicting interpretations. One area where this is particularly glaring is with regard to the position, powers, authority and working relations between the United Nations Special Representative and the local colonial

representative of South Africa, the so-called Administrator-General. Our knowledge of the racist rulers in Namibia and our experiences with similar previous United Nations undertakings lead us to believe that it is here that most, although not all, of our concerns and apprehensions lie.

95. The success or failure of the United Nations undertaking in Namibia this time will depend on the effective power and authority that the Special Representative must possess and wield regarding all stages and aspects of the transitional administration, security measures and the conduct of the entire electoral process.

96. In this regard, we should like to restate our understanding of the role and functions of the Special Representative:

(a) He must exercise effective supervision and control of the transitional administration, all the security arrangements and the conduct of elections in accordance with resolution 385 (1976);

(b) He must have the preponderant power and authority to approve or disapprove any action by the colonial Administrator-General;

(c) He must also have the power and authority to initiate measures towards the implementation of all the necessary steps for transferring power to the Namibian people in matters such as the taking of a census, the registration of voters, the preparation of voters' rolls, the delineation of electoral constituencies, the setting of the commencement of the electoral campaigns, the date of the election and all other aspects of the electoral procedures as well as the tabulation, publication and certification of election results;

(d) He must have the final say regarding the good conduct of the police forces and should ensure that necessary steps will be taken to guarantee against the possibility of their interfering in the political process.

97. This is the interpretation of SWAPO's understanding of the role and functions of the Special Representative which we expressed to the representatives of the five Western Governments at Luanda and it was on the basis of their concurrence, among other things, that we agreed to proceed to the Council.

98. Fourthly, I should like to comment on the recruitment and deployment of the United Nations personnel, especially the civilian contingent. Without in any way seeking to interfere with this prerogative of the Secretary-General, SWAPO wishes to state, with due respect, that it is not enough for someone to be an expert, without commitment to the principles and resolutions of the United Nations and sympathy for the Namibians who are victims of colonialism, racism and exploitation. It is also not enough for someone to be well read, abstractly, about Namibia. Book knowledge about Namibia should not preclude the actual situation and the real conditions prevalent in the country. There is also a problem of attitudes and subjective preferences. The very fact that Namibia has been for so many years a subject of international dispute has given in some quarters the wrong

impression that we do not know what is good for us. It seems everybody is more eager to decide for us than to listen to us. Paternalism is just a few degrees on the positive side of racism or ethnic chauvinism. Both are insulting and despicable, and we shall without fear or favour expose and denounce anyone who goes to Namibia with this kind of attitude.

99. Fifthly, regarding the peace-keeping force, as the sole and authentic representative of the Namibian people we expect to be consulted about its composition.

100. Sixthly, we maintain and insist that the remaining enemy troops should be confined to one base under strict and elaborate surveillance, to prevent them from being used for purposes of intimidation and repression of the Namibian people or for aggression against neighbouring States.

101. This time we want to be certain that right from the beginning everything is carefully planned and executed at each stage with caution and deliberation.

102. We are willing to take a political risk. In the first instance, we are confident of the political maturity of our people in their popular desire for total liberation and genuine independence. We also know the weaknesses and the desperation of the enemy, which create favourable conditions for the seizure of political power by the Namibian people. The masses of Namibia and the militants of the People's Liberation Army of Namibia will, if need be, take up arms to renew the resistance and defend the safety of our people and the integrity of our fatherland. I repeat: the masses of Namibia and the militants of the People's Liberation Army of Namibia will, if need be, take up arms to renew the resistance and defend the safety of our people and the integrity of our fatherland. This is our inspiration; this is our determination.

103. We want only to make absolutely certain, while we can, that the independence that finally comes to our troubled Namibia, as it inevitably must, will be the genuine and complete independence for which our people—the past generations and the present ones—have suffered, sacrificed and died. The United Nations should not, cannot and must not falter and relinquish its unique and special responsibility over Namibia until that independence is achieved. In this respect, it is our continuing belief that the United Nations Council for Namibia remains the only legal authority over Namibia until independence and must accordingly be effectively involved in the decolonization process. In the meantime, the United Nations Council for Namibia must continue to carry out its responsibility towards implementing the mandate entrusted to it by the General Assembly.

104. Before I conclude I wish to say something about Walvis Bay. As far as the people of Namibia and SWAPO are concerned, Walvis Bay is and will forever remain an integral part of Namibia. SWAPO therefore strongly rejects and condemns racist South Africa's decision to annex Walvis Bay. We regard that decision as illegal, null and void and an act of aggression against the Namibian people and a flagrant violation of the territorial integrity of our country SWAPO

therefore requests the Security Council to ensure, by committing itself to expediting the immediate withdrawal of all enemy troops and administrative machinery from Walvis Bay, that it will be speedily and unconditionally restored to Namibia.

105. In conclusion, Mr. President, I would extend to you and to the members of the Council our sincere appreciation and gratitude for this opportunity to address the Council and to put our views on record. I thank you personally, Mr. President, for your understanding and goodwill. I hope and trust that you will steer this serious business of the Council to a successful conclusion that will pave the way for a lasting settlement in Namibia.

106. We would also express our gratitude and appreciation to the Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, for his professional and personal commitment to assisting the efforts of the international community aimed at the realization by the Namibian people of their inalienable and just rights to self-determination and genuine independence.

107. We congratulate Mr. Martti Ahtisaari on his appointment as the United Nations Special Representative for Namibia, wish him good luck and state our wish to co-operate fully with him in the realization of the goals and objectives for which he has been appointed.

108. Finally, I would wholeheartedly thank my African brothers the Honourable Ministers for Foreign Affairs and the representatives of Gabon, Mauritius and Nigeria for their initiative in supporting our being heard in this debate. We are confident that they will continue to back us throughout this process, until the Security Council has satisfactorily completed its tasks concerning Namibia. Through them we wish also to thank the Chairman of the African Group for this month and the Group as a whole for their continued confidence in us and their generous political and diplomatic support.

109. Mr. GARBA (Nigeria): Mr. President, as this is the first time that my delegation has spoken in the month of July, I should like first of all to extend to you my warmest congratulations on your accession to the presidency of the Security Council for this month. My delegation welcomes Canada's positive contribution to the search for a peaceful settlement in Namibia and, indeed, in southern Africa as a whole.

110. It has been a long and difficult journey for all the parties concerned. Now that, it is hoped, we are approaching the end of the journey, there is an even greater need for circumspection and sober judgement, so that Namibia's progress towards independence under the auspices of the United Nations will not be interrupted either by design or default.

111. We should be clear in our minds as to what has brought about the situation in Namibia today and aware of the untold sufferings to which the hapless people of Namibia have been subjected. The manner in which Namibia was handed over to South Africa by the League of Nations in a fit of absent-mindedness is a lesson for all mankind. The failure of the international community over

the years to insist upon and secure South Africa's withdrawal from Namibia is a blemish on everyone concerned. This is no place to rehash all the efforts and attempts by the United Nations to secure South Africa's withdrawal from Namibia. But all these efforts, no matter how genuine, were bound to fail as they lacked a sense of purpose and determination. So many lives have been lost in the ensuing bloody conflict in Namibia, which could have been avoided had the international community fully discharged its responsibilities towards that Territory.

112. It would be uncharitable at this stage to dismiss the efforts of the five Western members of the Security Council in working for a peaceful settlement in Namibia. The negotiations have certainly been tough and no agreement could have been reached had it not been for the efforts of the five Western members and the Secretary-General to exert pressure on the racist régime in South Africa. Similarly, we wish to pay a tribute to SWAPO for its realism during these difficult negotiations. Despite very brutal treatment and harassment of its members, SWAPO's attitude to the talks has been constructive and pragmatic. There has been no display of peevishness, despite persistent provocations by the South African armed forces.

113. In light of this, we must recognize the fact that SWAPO's acceptance of the settlement proposals is an act of faith in the United Nations and not in the South African racists. It is therefore essential that SWAPO's faith in the United Nations and, *ipso facto*, in the international community be not abused. It would be a tragedy for the United Nations if by error of commission or omission it should in the end prove unworthy of the faith which SWAPO has reposed in it.

114. More specifically, there should be no ambiguity about the future of Walvis Bay. If necessary, clarifications must be sought and obtained now about aspects of the proposals relating to Walvis Bay. It is my delegation's understanding that Walvis Bay will be reintegrated into Namibia as speedily as circumstances permit after Namibia's transition to independence. There should be no prevarications or subterfuges on this matter. The Secretary-General should be given fully authority to ensure that all aspects of resolution 385 (1976) relating to Walvis Bay will be fully implemented. It is only after this objective has been secured that we can consider our task completed.

115. We have undoubtedly made substantial progress in resolving the conflict in Namibia. But let us not forget that this is only the first step in resolving the problem of Southern Africa as a whole. In Zimbabwe we are faced with an equally dangerous situation which, if left unattended for too long, will certainly lead to a major world-wide conflagration. Men of goodwill throughout the world have a heavy moral responsibility to ensure that reason will prevail in Zimbabwe. The writing on the wall is very clear and it is essential for the minority and unrepresentative régime at Salisbury to heed the warning on Zimbabwe. We therefore seize this opportunity once again to call upon all the parties concerned in Zimbabwe to choose the path of reason and peaceful negotiation. The alternative is a ghastly war, the repercussions of which cannot be in anybody's interest.

116. As we take these initial steps towards the decolonization of Namibia, we should not forget the series of broken promises which have characterized South Africa's behaviour in the past. Even after having adopted today the enabling resolution authorizing the Secretary-General to appoint a Special Representative for Namibia, we have a collective responsibility to ensure that no impediment will be placed in the way of Namibia's speedy transition to independence through free and fair elections.

117. We for our part will continue to give SWAPO full moral, political, diplomatic and material support in its heroic and legitimate struggle for the liberation of its country. More specifically, we stand unflinchingly with it in its determination to maintain Namibia's territorial integrity.

118. Finally, it is imperative for the United Nations, as part of its continuing obligation towards Namibia, to ensure that the independent elections in Namibia will be free and fair and that the political will of the people of Namibia will prevail in the end. The Special Representative must be given very clear terms of reference in this regard so as to avoid the mistakes of the past.

119. At stake, therefore, is the credibility not only of the Security Council as mankind's custodian of international peace and security but also of the Western sponsors of the current initiative, who, we hope, will see the wisdom of continuing to ensure that both the political and moral will of the world, as well as the aspirations of the people of Namibia, will not be frustrated. To do otherwise would be to disrupt the delicately balanced arrangement. To upset the present arrangement in the hope of making some short-sighted political gains would certainly set back the march for peaceful transition to an independent Namibia.

120. Let us therefore resolve that, in these critical times, we shall exercise fully our collective responsibility and discharge our obligation towards the people of Namibia. This will require our full commitment and dedication.

121. Mr. RAMPHUL (Mauritius): Mr. President, I should like to congratulate you on your presidency on the occasion of this historic meeting of the Council, which marks an important point in our long deliberations on the Namibian question. I should also like to thank you for the frank and helpful manner in which you have helped to carry us through the difficult consultations on the matter which have been taking place this month. Your wise guidance as the progressive representative of a Commonwealth country has been much appreciated.

122. I wish also to congratulate my colleague, the representative of Bolivia, for the skilful and firm but courteous manner in which he conducted the business of the Council during the month of June.

123. I would also welcome to the Council my beloved African brothers, the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of Africa, who all played a crucial role in achieving agreement on the way towards a Namibian settlement. We are honoured to have them here and we are happy that they can participate with us in these deliberations. I bid a special warm welcome to Brigadier Garba, member of the Supreme

Military Council of Nigeria Members might be interested in knowing that Brigadier Garba is a young and most eligible bachelor, and, who knows, he is perhaps a prospective son-in-law to me.

124. I should also like to welcome the Foreign Ministers of the Western members of the Council—the Secretary of State the Honourable Mr. Vance of the United States of America, the Honourable Mr. Owen of the United Kingdom, His Excellency Mr. Louis de Guiringaud of France and His Excellency Mr. Genscher of the Federal Republic of Germany. Their tireless efforts over these long months have helped to bring a Namibian settlement within reach.

125. I also salute the presence among us of my comrade and beloved African brother, President Sam Nujoma of SWAPO, to whose statement I listened with special attention.

126. It would be wrong to enter into our discussions today without taking note of the importance of the occasion. The question of Namibia is unique in the annals of the United Nations. As a result of decisions by the General Assembly, and as a result of the Security Council's own previous discussions and decisions, the Council has assumed an important, indeed historic, responsibility—the responsibility for taking action to end South Africa's illegal occupation of Namibia and for assuring the transfer of power, by means of free and fair elections, to the people of that Territory. In the context of the deepening crisis in southern Africa as a whole, it is a crucial responsibility. For by our actions we can show that we can fulfil the legitimate hopes and aspirations of the Namibian people, however difficult that may be. Our ability to carry through with our obligations—indeed, our determination to do so—will have important consequences for the standing of the Organization in the international community. By bringing an end to colonialism and ensuring a period of transition in which there can truly be a free play of political forces, the Security Council can reaffirm the principles of the Organization, on which the peace of the world depends. If we should falter, it would be tragic, not only for the people of Namibia but also for the United Nations itself—not to say for the entire international community.

127. We must therefore be glad that we have come so far already. The commitment to a settlement, hard work, perseverance and skilful negotiating have carried us very near our goal. My delegation would like to express its recognition and gratitude to all those involved in the negotiations, especially SWAPO, the front-line States and the five Western members of the Security Council, for their efforts to secure a settlement. I should like also to pay a special tribute to my beloved Afro-American brother, Ambassador Andrew Young of the United States, whose personal spirit and dynamic and sincere enthusiasm for the service of the cause of the oppressed people of southern Africa have certainly forced the wheels of progress to move in the right direction. Mr. Kurt Waldheim deserves our deepest appreciation for the constant, indefatigable, quiet yet most effective role he has played over the years, ever since he assumed his almost impossible duties as Secretary-General.

128. At the same time, it is important to note that all the problems have not yet been solved. Even as we have taken a decision to request the appointment of a special representative for Namibia, there is a danger that the Namibian people will be denied real independence and the possibility of free political expression. For South Africa has taken actions which, in the absence of counteractions, will likely undermine the settlement which is now in view. I speak here of South Africa's refusal to agree that Walvis Bay is an integral part of Namibia, and of the campaign of intimidation and violence which prevents free political expression in Namibia today. The agreement reached at Luanda two weeks ago has carried us very near a settlement. These two problems, however, must be solved.

129. The Security Council has repeatedly affirmed that Walvis Bay is an integral part of Namibia. Quite apart from historical and legal arguments, there are important reasons why it has done so. Let me remind the Council, if I may, what they are.

130. Walvis Bay is Namibia's only deep-water ocean port. Without it, Namibia would be practically a land-locked country with no access to the sea. There are no economically feasible alternative ports. The continued occupation of Walvis Bay by South Africa would make an independent Namibia economically dependent on South Africa. Indeed, Namibia could survive economically only if South Africa were willing. South Africa would have near-complete control over Namibian trade. The country could be subjected to quotas and financial burdens. Namibia would probably be compelled to enter into the South Africa Customs Union, about which there have already been many complaints. Furthermore, South Africa would take possession of one of Namibia's most important industries: the fishing industry. Walvis Bay is the only port which can accommodate the large boats now used for commercial fishing. It has all the processing facilities of Namibia. The continued illegal occupation of the enclave would therefore mean a substantial loss to Namibian national income, a loss which a newly independent and developing country could scarcely afford to sustain.

131. It is clear, however, that South Africa wishes to maintain its hold on Walvis Bay for strategic reasons also. It has a naval base there, with the most modern communications facilities. There are also important army and air force bases. According to the most recent reports, the latter facilities are now being expanded. Several thousand troops are already based in Walvis Bay. Indeed, the forces in Walvis Bay are among the most modern and well equipped which South Africa has. They can be transported by air to almost any point in Namibia within a few hours.

132. Thus, the possession of Walvis Bay by South Africa creates an immediate military danger to the independence of a future Namibia. A Namibian government would in such circumstances exist under the constant threat of intervention by South Africa, whose overwhelming military power in the region it could hardly oppose. The United Nations cannot accept such a situation. It cannot allow Namibia to be born in such conditions. It cannot help bring Namibia into being and at the same time allow its life to be so threatened.

133. There are a number of other considerations which should be taken into account, but there is really no need for further details. It is clear enough that the South African occupation of Walvis Bay undermines any possibility of real independence for Namibia.

134. My delegation therefore wishes to express its concern about the omission of the question of Walvis Bay from the communiqué issued at Luanda earlier this month. The question of Walvis Bay must be settled in accordance with previous decisions of the General Assembly and of the Security Council. There cannot be a real settlement which does not recognize Walvis Bay as an integral part of Namibia. That is why we support the resolution on Walvis Bay and why we regard that resolution as necessary if we are to begin the process of transition to majority rule in Namibia. I feel that the Council, especially its permanent members, must undertake to ensure the territorial integrity of Namibia.

135. There is a second issue which needs to be discussed here and which we must begin to resolve. That is the question of the powers of the United Nations Special Representative for Namibia. I should like, if I may, to explain why my delegation regards this as a critical issue.

136. We must remember that resolution 385 (1976), which we are seeking to implement here, calls for the withdrawal of South Africa's occupation forces, the withdrawal of its administration, the ending of repressive legislation, territorial integrity, the release of all political prisoners, and free elections under United Nations supervision and control.

137. It is understandable that in the course of long negotiations some concessions should have been necessary on both sides. Consequently we stand on the threshold of the transition period without having satisfied all the conditions laid down in resolution 385 (1976). South Africa will gradually withdraw all its troops except for a small force. However, it continues to administer Namibia. And it governs, in effect, through the new Administrator-General, a South African judge. Its police continue to maintain what South Africa calls law and order. Large numbers of political prisoners are in gaol. And the Administrator-General has already begun preparations for an election.

138. We must examine the implications of this situation for the achievement of the objectives of resolution 385 (1976). Clearly the situation is a difficult one. For resolution 385 (1976) envisages the end of South African control in Namibia and the transfer of power to the Namibian people. It prescribes that the transfer shall take place through free elections held under United Nations supervision and control. The drafters of resolution 385 (1976) emphasized the word "control" because they were aware of the need to ensure truly free elections. They were aware that elections which were controlled by South Africa might be far less than free and that South Africa could, in certain circumstances, frustrate the aims of the United Nations by a guileful use of power.

139. I do not think there can be any doubt that South Africa would like to avoid free elections in Namibia. It is

well known that Pretoria is strongly opposed to the idea of a SWAPO-led government at Windhoek. Yet the fact remains—and South African sources acknowledge it—that SWAPO commands the loyalty of the vast majority of Namibians. Free elections would lead inevitably to a SWAPO victory, that is, to a result which is apparently anathema to the Pretoria racist régime.

140. The difficulty we confront now, the difficulty which remains, even after long months of negotiations, is that South Africa is still in a position to prevent truly free elections in Namibia. And there is ample evidence that it is seeking to use the power it has to frustrate the aims of the Council.

141. I should like to indicate briefly why my delegation is alarmed about the present situation in Namibia. In the first place, South Africa has created a political grouping in Namibia, the so-called Democratic Turnhalle Alliance (DTA), which has already organized an intensive electoral campaign. The Alliance is closely tied to South African interests. According to numerous press reports, it receives funds not only from South Africa but also from Europe. It is believed to be spending something in the order of 400,000 rand per month. It is well known that South Africa is actively seeking to ensure an electoral victory for the Alliance in order to ensure the protection of its interests in Namibia.

142. It is worth noting that Namibian citizens are being more or less dragooned into the Alliance. It was recently reported that at one missionary hospital DTA men were distributing party cards to incoming patients, telling them that if they did not take them they would not be treated. Elsewhere in Namibia, people have been threatened with the loss of cattle, pensions and jobs if they refuse to join the Alliance.

143. At the same time, South Africa has been proceeding with the registration of voters in Namibia, including the preparation of voting rolls. There have been reports of forced registration and even of the registration of Angolan citizens.

144. All this is to say that South Africa clearly is already taking control of the electoral process. Yet this process is, according to resolution 385 (1976), supposed to be controlled by the United Nations.

145. Far more serious, South Africa has organized a widespread campaign of violence and intimidation designed to make it impossible for SWAPO to participate effectively in the electoral process. According to various reports, and most notably that of the Anglican Church of Namibia, there has been a significant increase in the numbers of troops and security police in Namibia in recent months. Two observers recently returned from Namibia indicate that there are likely to be far more than the 50,000 troops and police SWAPO has spoken of in Namibia. Reverend Heinz Hunze, recently expelled from the Territory, has shown that torture has now been institutionalized in Namibia. SWAPO leaders have been rounded up and jailed. Hundreds are interrogated and threatened every week. At Katutura township at Windhoek, DTA supporters have been

able to acquire guns from the Bantu Administration or the Security Police.

146. In short, while preparations for so-called elections are made, and while sympathizers of South Africa are favoured and assisted, SWAPO is being prevented from organizing an electoral campaign. Its leaders in Windhoek have either been detained or have left the country. Lucy Hamutenya, the only SWAPO leader still at Windhoek, said a few weeks ago that, and I quote: "At the moment it would be suicide to organize SWAPO meetings or to distribute openly our material".

147. Thus, South Africa is already making a mockery of the central idea of resolution 385 (1976), that of free elections under United Nations supervision and control.

148. We can ignore that fact only at the peril of losing everything for which the Namibian people have been striving, and everything for which the Council has been striving. The Council cannot countenance a situation which would prevent SWAPO, the sole and authentic representative of the Namibian people, from even competing in the electoral process on equitable terms. It cannot allow South Africa to subvert its fundamental objectives in Namibia by force or by fraud.

149. The question, of course, is how to deal with this situation. The answer is clear and is already provided in resolution 385 (1976). We have only to specify carefully the powers of the Special Representative for Namibia in order to put an end to the abuses now accumulating in Namibia. Resolution 385 (1976) calls for United Nations control of the electoral process. We must specify—perhaps at a more appropriate time—powers which will enable the Special Representative to initiate actions he regards as necessary to ensure free and fair elections and to prevent actions on the part of the Administrator-General which would interfere with that aim. That is, we must specify powers, in detail if necessary, which will truly give the Special Representative control of the situation in Namibia when his mission there begins.

150. My delegation would emphasize that these must not be paper powers. The Special Representative must have the authority to use United Nations military forces to do what he deems necessary to prevent interference with free and fair elections, to prevent intimidation and to prevent fraud. There must be an agreed mechanism to ensure that he will be able so to act without constant recourse to the Security Council, which would, of course, be impossible. There must be no doubt in anybody's mind that it is the Special Representative who is in control and not the South African Administrator-General.

151. I would hope that the first report of the Special Representative would provide clear recommendations about the powers and arrangements needed to ensure United Nations control in this matter, including control over the administrative system which determines the environment in which the electoral process takes place. There should be no ambiguity about these matters. For if our aims should be subverted by force and fraud, and as a result of our own inability to assert the potential power and authority of the

United Nations, we can expect nothing but a travesty of elections and the effective continuation of South African rule in Namibia.

152. Mr. CHEN Chu (China) (*interpretation from Chinese*): The Chinese delegation has listened attentively to the statement made by Mr. Sam Nujoma, President of SWAPO, and the statements made by the Ministers for Foreign Affairs and the representatives of some countries. We have also studied the related draft resolutions and participated in the voting.

153. Now, I should like to state briefly the Chinese delegation's position on the relevant questions.

154. First, the Chinese Government and people have always firmly supported the Namibian people in achieving their national independence free from any outside interference and on the basis of territorial integrity and unity. We sternly condemn the South African racist régime for its illegal occupation of Namibia, and we have always held that the South African racist régime must immediately, totally and unconditionally withdraw all its military and police forces as well as its administration from Namibia and immediately terminate its illegal occupation there, so that the Namibian people may achieve genuine independence on the basis of the above-mentioned principles. This is the only correct guideline and means for the settlement of the Namibian question.

155. Secondly, over a long period, the heroic Namibian people have carried out valiant and unremitting struggles against colonialism and racism and for national independence and liberation. In their just struggle they have won extensive support from the African people at large and the people of the rest of the world. In recent years, under the leadership of SWAPO, the Namibian people have actively waged and ceaselessly stepped up the armed struggle, winning one victory after another and dealing increasingly heavy blows at the South African colonialist authorities. The South African authorities have also met with continuous setbacks and failure in their political schemes to institute the bantustans and a so-called internal settlement in Namibia. It should be noticed that the South African racist régime has finally been forced to commit itself to a gradual withdrawal of its troops from Namibia and an end to its illegal occupation there as a result of the protracted struggle, particularly armed struggle, carried on by the Namibian people with the support of the entire African people and the people throughout the world.

156. Thirdly, we have noted that the draft resolution contained in document S/12792 refers only to the Security Council "taking note of the proposal for a settlement of the Namibian situation" submitted by the five Western Powers without asking the Council to approve of the "proposal" in question. Therefore, the Chinese delegation's affirmative vote for the draft resolution does not signify our approval or total endorsement of the "proposal". In fact, the "proposal" has serious defects.

157. In the first place, we have always held a different position in principle with respect to the dispatch of United Nations forces, and hence we have serious reservations



the content of the "proposal" concerning the dispatch of the so-called United Nations transition assistance group. At the same time, we hold that the Security Council should enjoin the South African racist authorities to withdraw all their military and police forces as well as their administration from Namibia immediately, totally and unconditionally, put an immediate end to their illegal occupation of Namibia and transfer political power to the Namibian people.

158. But the "proposal" of the five Powers would allow the South African racist régime to retain in Namibia "during the transition period" part of its military force and all its police force, as well as the whole administration headed by the Administrator-General appointed by South Africa and so on. Furthermore, at present the gradual withdrawal of the South African racist régime's military forces from Namibia still remains a commitment in word and an agreement on paper, but not yet something real. As to the Namibian people's armed force carrying on the just struggle, the "proposal" of the Five has not only failed to give support to it, but has taken an unjust attitude in its approach. It must be pointed out that under these circumstances it is imperative to heighten one's vigilance a hundredfold and resolutely prevent the South African racist authorities from taking advantage of the said circumstances to manipulate the elections and carry on sabotage.

159. Fourthly, we have always held that Walvis Bay is an integral part of Namibian territory and that it should be restored to Namibia immediately. We severely condemn the South African authorities for their illegal occupation of Walvis Bay. It is totally unjustifiable and absolutely impermissible for the South African racist régime to continue its forcible occupation of Walvis Bay under any pretext.

160. We have noted that the draft resolution contained in document S/12793 has confirmed Walvis Bay as an integral part of Namibia, that it has enjoined the South African racist régime to reintegrate Walvis Bay into Namibia by ending its illegal occupation there and that it has declared this to be the prerequisite for assuring the territorial integrity and unity of Namibia. Therefore, we support this draft resolution. But it must be pointed out that such wording in the draft resolution as "the initiation of steps necessary to ensure early reintegration of Walvis Bay into Namibia" is ambiguous. Consequently, we also have serious reservations in this regard. In our view, the Security Council must never allow the South African racist régime to use this ambiguity for prolonging and perpetuating its forcible occupation of Walvis Bay. Here we wish to reaffirm our resolute support for the legitimate demand of the Namibian people for the immediate recovery of Walvis Bay.

161. Fifthly, the facts show that there will be no small hindrances on the Namibian people's road towards genuine national independence, and a number of twists and turns may yet emerge. The South African racists will never shun evil and do good and become Buddhas overnight. The two super-Powers have been intensifying their rivalry over southern Africa. One super-Power is trying by every possible means to preserve its vested interests in southern Africa, while the other super-Power, a late comer, casting a

covetous eye, is sparing no effort to carry out infiltration and expansion in that region. Therefore, in order to achieve genuine and complete independence, the Namibian people have to carry on arduous and unremitting struggles, guard against and frustrate the schemes of sabotage and trouble-making on the part of the South African racist régime, and forestall the control and interference by the super-Powers, particularly by that super-Power which styles itself the "natural ally" of the African people. However, we are deeply convinced that the Namibian people and the entire African people will persevere in unity and struggle, overcome all disturbances and obstacles and win final victory in their just struggle for national independence and liberation.

162. Mr. CARPIO CASTILLO (Venezuela) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Since I know that the next name on the list of speakers is that of the representative of the Soviet Union, I should like to say that it is simply a coincidence that I should find myself between China and the Soviet Union.

163. My delegation wishes to state how pleased it is, Sir, that you are presiding over the work of the Security Council. We are certain that your lengthy experience and your outstanding diplomatic skill and personal charisma are credentials which guarantee the good conduct and success of the tasks facing us. Having for more than three years represented my country as Ambassador of Venezuela to Canada, I should like to take this opportunity to pay a just and well-deserved tribute to your country for its positive contribution in all international forums, in which its presence has been a factor of moderation for the rational and peaceful solution of problems.

164. This meeting of the Security Council can be described as historic because its effects will be so far-reaching and it represents a victory for the international community and for the United Nations itself, which has taken upon itself the task of saving Namibia from usurpation by the Government of South Africa. We thus put an end, we hope, to almost half a century of domination of a Territory—domination which, to make matters worse, has been exercised by a racist régime which has no respect for the human rights of the indigenous Africans and has a strange concept of its historical responsibility to the international community.

165. The efforts made by the five Western Powers members of the Council have been very important in the drafting of the agreement for the independence of Namibia and we consider it our duty to recognize this at this time. But the fundamental struggle, the basic pressure which has led to the present situation, has been the result of the unwavering sympathy and support that the progressive part of the international community has given to the popular forces in Namibia, whose victories must be credited to SWAPO because of its heroic struggle to expel the illegal occupiers. It has been proved once again that there is no force greater than that of the will of a people ready and determined to achieve its independence and freedom even at the cost of heavy sacrifices.

166. My country has always been in favour of and supported the national anti-colonial liberation struggles

because they are just and legitimate; we understand them in their true proportions since more than 150 years ago in Latin America our forebears waged a lengthy anti-colonial war for national liberation, which happily led to the independence of more than 20 territories which then became sovereign republics.

167. Soon an electoral process will begin in order to give the Territory of Namibia the legal and political instruments needed by every modern State. It is our hope that that process will strengthen democracy in the newly born country emerging to independence and freedom. As my country sees it, democracy is the recognition of the will of the majority, which can only be expressed and brought about by consulting the people, without pressure or haste, and putting the results into effect so that the governments which emerge from these consultations of the people may enjoy respect and acceptance. We hope and trust that the forthcoming elections in Namibia will represent the will of its people so that respect will be guaranteed.

168. Furthermore, my delegation considers that agreement by South Africa, rather late in the day, to leave the Territory of Namibia, which it has occupied by force, can and should positively encourage the solution of similar or analogous problems in other parts of Africa and other regions of the world where the illegal occupation of territories represents a threat to international peace and security.

169. We believe that the satisfactory solution of the problem of Namibia strengthens the credibility of the United Nations as an international organ for the achievement of civilized coexistence among nations and countries. But this credibility needs to be perfected and this can only come about when Walvis Bay is reintegrated into Namibia, for South Africa cannot allege that it has any valid title to continue to usurp that sovereign part of Namibia.

170. In this spirit of renewed faith in the United Nations and the possibilities it offers, Venezuela voted in favour of the two draft resolutions which in a sense might be said to constitute Namibia's independence act.

171. Mr. TROYANOVSKY (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*interpretation from Russian*): Mr. President, allow me first of all to congratulate you on your assumption of the important and responsible duties of President of the Security Council and to express the hope that your exceptional diplomatic experience will contribute to the success of the important discussions in which the Council is now engaged.

172. I should like, at the same time, to express our satisfaction at the way the representative of Bolivia, Ambassador Rolón Anaya, so ably guided the work of the Council last month.

173. The Soviet delegation welcomes the participation in the work of the Council of the acknowledged leader of the Namibian people—the President of SWAPO, Mr. Nujoma. The organization he heads has been leading for a period of many years the struggle of the Namibian people for the affirmation of their inalienable right to freedom and independence

174. In welcoming the presence at this meeting of many outstanding figures from African and other countries, we note that their participation in the work of the Council indicates the importance of the problem for the consideration of which we are meeting here.

175. The liberation of Namibia from colonial racist occupation is one of the most important international tasks and brooks no further delay. The just solution of that problem will determine to a great extent the fate of peace and security not only in southern Africa but far beyond the confines of that continent. The liquidation in Namibia of one of the last bastions of colonialism would be an important step on the way to the final elimination of the shameful colonial system, a system which until quite recently held a significant part of the globe in its grip.

176. Over the past quarter of a century, Africa has witnessed enormous changes. The colonial empires have collapsed and there has arisen the practical problem of the complete elimination of hotbeds of colonialism and racism on the African continent. The liberated African countries, in spite of all the difficulties, have experienced very great positive changes. With growing vigour, the young States are attempting to strengthen their independence, to raise the level of the social, economic and cultural development of their peoples and to defend, in opposition to imperialism and neo-colonialism, their legitimate and inalienable rights. The role and significance of the countries of Africa on the international scene have grown and their contributions to the struggle for détente, the strengthening of peace, disarmament and the reaffirmation of the principles of equality in political and economic relations among States are becoming increasingly substantial.

177. However, we are also witnessing other trends. Certain international circles which clearly do not find the national and social progress of the African peoples to their taste are pursuing a policy of whipping up tensions in Africa and around Africa and are fomenting, for their own selfish interests, fratricidal conflicts among Africans and trying to arrogate to themselves the right to decree the fate of African peoples. The activities of such circles can only be interpreted as clear attempts by any means possible to put a brake on progress in Africa, to divert the countries of that continent from positions of non-alignment, to undermine their solidarity and to divide them in the face of pressures exerted on them by the forces of imperialism, racism and reaction. Serious concern has been aroused throughout the world by the efforts undertaken by some circles with a view to preserving the racist order in Namibia and in Zimbabwe.

178. Over the last decades, the racist régime of Pretoria has shamelessly plundered the natural wealth of Namibia, oppressed and enslaved its population and extended to its territory the shameful policy and practice of apartheid. It attempts by every means possible to repress the movement of the Namibian freedom fighters and keep the country under its colonial sway. The racists are building up their military potential in the illegally occupied Territory of Namibia and are striving to maintain their troops in that country, while hatching plots to take away vitally important parts of the Territory. If we have not been able thus far to put an end to the criminal policy of the Pretoria

leaders, then those who are guilty first and foremost are those who encourage that régime and support its activities.

179. A myriad of facts shows that major responsibility for the continuing occupation of Namibia by South Africa lies precisely with those countries which, in spite of the many decisions of the United Nations, continue to lend South Africa political, economic and military support. The reasons for that support are a secret to no one. They are rooted, first and foremost, in the far-reaching interests of Western transnational monopolies in the continued exploitation of the natural resources of Namibia, which they carry out either by themselves directly or jointly with the South African racists. We cannot fail to see how the economic relations of South Africa and the Western Powers are closely intertwined. No doubt it is precisely the existence in Namibia of potentially great deposits of minerals which explains the stubborn efforts of those Powers to preserve in one way or another the colonial order in that part of the African continent.

180. The Soviet Union has favoured and continues to favour the enjoyment by the Namibian people of their inalienable right to self-determination and independence on the basis of maintenance of the unity and territorial integrity of their country. The Soviet Union has favoured the immediate and total withdrawal of the troops and administration of South Africa and the transfer of power to SWAPO, which is recognized by the United Nations as the sole legitimate and authentic representative of the people of Namibia.

181. The Soviet Union supports positive measures which are designed to achieve a political solution of the Namibian problem in the interests of the people of that country. As the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, Leonid I. Brezhnev, said in one of his recent statements:

"As far as the Soviet Union is concerned, it is side by side with the national liberation movements in Africa as well as those in other parts of the world. We are in solidarity with the just liberation struggle of peoples. But this, of course, does not at all mean that the Soviet Union is against efforts, including diplomatic efforts, which are designed to achieve a peaceful solution to pressing problems if such a solution is in keeping with the legitimate interests of peoples."

182. The Soviet Union continues to believe that the basis for a solution to the Namibian problem is set forth in the well-known resolutions of the Security Council and of other United Nations bodies, which provide for the immediate cessation of the occupation of Namibia by the Pretoria régime and the immediate withdrawal of all troops and police forces as well as of the Pretoria administration from all parts of Namibia, including Walvis Bay. A reliable way of ensuring compliance with these solutions is strict observance of sanctions against the racist régime of Pretoria which have already been adopted by the Security Council and also the adoption by the Council of further effective measures for the complete international isolation and boycotting of the racist régime on the basis of sanctions

against it in the economic, commercial, financial and all other spheres, in full application of Article 41 of the Charter.

183. These remarks explain the negative view which we have expressed on many occasions concerning the Namibian settlement plan as proposed by the five Western States members of the Council, especially with respect to its provisions which refer to the presence in the Territory of Namibia of South African troops and of an Administrator-General. All that goes against the decisions of the United Nations and the speedy achievement of genuine independence for Namibia with strict observance of the principle of the territorial integrity of the country.

184. In the light of its experience, the Soviet Union has the gravest misgivings as to the appropriateness of the dispatch to Namibia, in accordance with the Western plan, of numerous civilian personnel and United Nations troops. We feel that SWAPO has sufficient experience and the necessary personnel, enjoys the confidence of its own people and is prepared to assume responsibility for the solution of any matters which might arise in connexion with the independence and the governing of the country.

185. However, bearing in mind the position of SWAPO and a number of African countries, we have not objected to the adoption by the Security Council of a resolution instructing the Secretary-General to appoint a Special Representative for Namibia and to submit a report and recommendations on measures to be taken in implementation of resolution 385 (1976). In this regard we feel that, in solving the question concerning the sending to Namibia of a limited contingent of United Nations military and civilian personnel, it should be clearly specified that the purpose of their presence in Namibia is to ensure the immediate and full withdrawal of all troops and the South African administration from Namibia and the granting to its people of genuine independence on the basis of maintenance of the unity and territorial integrity of that country. Further, we feel that the functions of observing and effectively supervising the electoral process should fall not to the South African Administrator-General but to the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, who should be granted appropriate powers for that purpose. It is also necessary for all questions concerning the establishment, composition, leadership, functions and length of stay in Namibia of civilian and military United Nations personnel to be settled directly by the Security Council and to come under its strict and constant supervision. There should be exclusion from the United Nations contingents of personnel coming from those States that maintain close contacts with South Africa. According to the Charter, the activities of the Secretary-General and his Special Representative in Namibia fall strictly within the authority of the Security Council, which is the only body empowered to permit, supervise and direct such activities.

186. Expenditures for such operations should be borne by those countries that are imposing a plan for a settlement that provides for the maintenance in Namibia of South African troops and the dispatch to Namibia of United Nations military contingents.

187. The Soviet Union sternly condemns the activities of South Africa designed to perpetuate the occupation of Walvis Bay, which is an integral part of Namibia. We feel that that area also should immediately be cleared of the troops and administration of South Africa. We therefore voted for the resolution on Walvis Bay adopted by the Council.

188. That is our position of principle on the matters now before the Security Council.

189. The interests of peace and the development of Africa require an immediate end to imperialist interference in the affairs of African countries, respect for their right to free and independent existence, and support for the maintenance of equitable relations with all States in accordance with the purposes and principles of the Charter.

190. The message recently sent by the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet and the Council of Ministers of the USSR to the participants in the fifteenth session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity expressed confidence that the leaders of independent Africa would, as on more than one occasion in the past, find solutions to pressing problems in keeping with the vital interests of the peoples of that continent. The message further stated: "We are convinced of the final triumph of the lofty principles of real African solidarity, of the cause of freedom, independence and social progress in Africa."

191. For its part, the Soviet Union will, as in the past, do everything in its power so that matters in Africa may take just such a course

192. Mr. EL-JEAN (Kuwait): Mr. President, allow me first to congratulate you on your assumption of the presidency of the Council for this month. Although we did not meet during the first two thirds of the month, we were grateful for your continual concern and alertness, which kept us rather busy with important international developments affecting international peace and security. We should also like to express our gratitude to the President of the Council for the month of June, the representative of Bolivia, for his excellent guidance.

193. Kuwait welcomes the settlement of the Namibian problem, which has long been overdue. We appreciate in this regard the initiative of the five Western States members of the Council. We welcome all the efforts exerted to tackle the outstanding issues. We urge that the efforts by the Five and their commitment to a settlement should not stop short of resolving all outstanding questions. My Government believes that any settlement of the Namibia problem should meet with the approval of SWAPO and the consent of the front-line States. We note the courage and realism demonstrated in a flexible position by SWAPO. However, we recognize the importance of securing the consent of all parties without any prejudice to the future independence, unity and stability of Namibia.

194. We are of the opinion that the details of a negotiated settlement should conform to the terms of resolution 385 (1976), adopted unanimously in January 1976. It

guarantees the territorial integrity and unity of Namibia as a nation and declares it imperative that elections under the supervision and control of the United Nations should be held for the whole of Namibia as one political entity. The proposal by the Western Five has not ignored the provisions of that resolution. After all, it was resolution 385 (1976) that inspired the drafting of the proposal, or so we have been informed.

195. We are very much concerned about the unresolved issue of Walvis Bay, which is not referred to in the Western proposal. The objective of restoring Walvis Bay to Namibia should be upheld. Walvis Bay is an integral part of Namibia. That has always been reaffirmed by United Nations resolutions. Without Walvis Bay, an independent Namibia would be at the mercy of South Africa economically and strategically. It would lose both its outlet to the sea and an economic asset of critical importance. Moreover, South Africa should not be allowed to use Walvis Bay as a means of pressure or intimidation against independent Namibia.

196. In spite of all our concerns, we are still full of hope. We are certain that an independent Namibia will have far-reaching effects throughout the African continent. It will mark the triumph of the rule of law over repression. We believe that it will also be a clear acknowledgement of the decadence of *apartheid* and the triumph of the right of self-determination and independence.

197. We emphasize the leading role and responsibility of the United Nations in the transition process, not merely as an expression of legality but also for political expediency. It may all depend on how effective the United Nations can be. The Organization will be confronting one of its most difficult tasks. In addition to the complexities of the issues, it will have to cope with a wide area having a thin density of population.

198. Most important are the conditions under which the United Nations will operate. The South African Government has taken a number of measures to affect the process of transition. South Africa has long been planning to bring about the results it desires in Namibia. It is of vital importance to make it clear that the authority of the United Nations surpasses that of the South African administration in Namibia. No action by South Africa should be allowed to jeopardize the effective functioning of the United Nations in Namibia.

199. The involvement of the United Nations in supervising and controlling the elections should ensure the integrity of the electoral process. We believe that only if the provisions of resolution 385 (1976) are adhered to by all parties can there be a smooth transition towards an independent, stable and unified Namibia. The resolution declares that "there shall be adequate time . . . for the purpose of enabling the United Nations to establish the necessary machinery within Namibia to supervise and control [the] elections". Also the illegal administration of South Africa should be withdrawn from Namibia and the release of political prisoners secured.

200. Lastly, the delegation of Kuwait voted in favour of the two draft resolutions in the realization that this was the

optimum that could be achieved under existing circumstances.

201. Mr. NGUEMA-MBA (Gabon) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, I should like first of all to extend to you my delegation's warm congratulations on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for the month of July. My pleasure at seeing you preside over the Council is particularly heartfelt because your beautiful country and my country enjoy close relations based on cooperation, understanding and mutual respect. The role that you and your country have played and continue to play with regard to the problem before us today, together with your great qualities as a diplomat, your experience in international affairs and your wisdom, are all guarantees that our work will be crowned with complete success.

202. I should also like to join in the congratulations that have been extended to your predecessor, Mr. Mario Rolón Anaya, the representative of Bolivia, on the manner in which he conducted the proceedings of the Council during the month of June.

203. Turning now to the two draft resolutions which we have just adopted, I should like first and foremost to recall that, to my delegation, Namibia is an entity and that its territory should accede to international sovereignty and independence, including Walvis Bay.

204. My delegation welcomed the Luanda agreement of 12 July on the proposals of the five Western members of the Council because it signalled the setting in motion of the process leading to a just and final settlement respecting the legitimate interests of the Namibian people and the hopes for peace of all the people of that part of Africa.

205. My delegation would of course have wished the problem of Walvis Bay to be linked to the Western plan. As much as it has not been, we hope that the Security Council will remain faithful to its commitment and that no time will be left unturned to ensure that Walvis Bay, an integral part of Namibia, will never be allowed to escape its control and that SWAPO will never have occasion to regret the major concessions which it made when it agreed not to cede that part of its territory before independence.

206. As far as my delegation is concerned, the acceptance of the Western plan by all parties puts an end to the impasse which until today had made it impossible for the United Nations to play its proper role in the settlement of the Namibian problem. We hope that, in the context of this plan, and on the basis of resolution 385 (1976), the Special Representative of the Secretary-General and his transition assistance group will establish a genuine interim administration fully meeting the aspirations of the Namibian people. Such an administration, in which Namibians should play an effective part, is the only way of guaranteeing the political future of the country by giving practical assistance in running the affairs of state to nationals of the country in this interim period.

207. Mr. HULINSKÝ (Czechoslovakia) (*interpretation from Russian*): Mr. President, I should like first of all sincerely to congratulate you upon your assumption of the

presidency of the Security Council for the month of July. I am pleased to note in this connexion that the Socialist Republic of Czechoslovakia and Canada have long enjoyed friendly working relations and that the future development of these relations is a highly promising prospect, particularly after the recent meeting in May between the Prime Minister of Canada, Mr. Trudeau, and the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Czechoslovakia.

208. I should also like to take this opportunity to thank the representative of Bolivia, Ambassador Mario Rolón Anaya, for having skilfully and competently conducted the work of the Council last month.

209. The Socialist Republic of Czechoslovakia has always consistently favoured the speedy enjoyment by the people of Namibia of its right to self-determination and independence. Czechoslovakia has always been a proponent of decisive measures which would put an end to the illegal occupation of Namibia by racist South Africa—measures which would guarantee the full transfer of authority in Namibia to the patriotic forces of the country headed by SWAPO, which has been recognized by the United Nations as the sole and authentic representative of the Namibian people. My country's position on the Namibian question has always been that there should be a just settlement in Namibia on the basis of complete and unswerving respect for the fundamental principles formulated in the decisions taken to date by the General Assembly and the Security Council, particularly the latter's resolution 385 (1976).

210. More than 10 years have elapsed since the United Nations declared the occupation of Namibia by South Africa illegal. Today, just as at that time, a just settlement of the Namibian problem on the basis of strict implementation of the relevant decisions of the Security Council and the General Assembly is possible only if an end is put to South Africa's illegal occupation by means of an immediate and unconditional withdrawal from the Territory of Namibia of all South African troops, police and administration without exception and the dismantling of all existing military and paramilitary South African installations. Today, just as at that time, a just settlement must guarantee the unity and territorial integrity of Namibia including, of course, the port and city of Walvis Bay, which is an inalienable component part of Namibia and which is closely linked to it through geographic, historical, cultural, economic and ethnic ties. Today, just as 10 years ago, a paramount condition for a genuine settlement of the problem is the speedy and guaranteed transfer of all power in the country to the patriotic forces of Namibia, under the leadership of SWAPO.

211. Only if those major conditions are completely met will the Namibian people be able to achieve its victory, independence and freedom. It is in that context that the United Nations must live up to its particular responsibility for the full emancipation of Namibia.

212. Naturally, we are very cautious in respect of all proposals that do not fully conform to the relevant decisions of the General Assembly and the Security Council and that endeavour to bypass those decisions. We are not at all surprised that the provisions of many of these pro-

posals which, by the way, equate SWAPO, fighting against the occupation forces for freedom and independence, with the South African occupation régime—were unacceptable to SWAPO.

213. Quite honestly, the delegation of Czechoslovakia must voice its doubts with respect to the proposal for a settlement of the Namibian situation referred to in draft resolution S/12792. The Namibian people's right to freedom and independence must not be subject to any kind of experimentation. The Organization must fully abide by the important responsibility it assumed over 10 years ago, and must see to it that the process of the decolonization of the Territory will be carried out without the slightest detriment to the destiny of the Namibian people. However, because of the position taken on this question at this time by SWAPO and the African countries, we abstained from voting on the draft resolution.

214. In this connexion I should like to note, already at this stage, that Czechoslovakia does not intend to participate in the financing of the United Nations operations in Namibia. That position held by my country will be explained in due time, as appropriate.

215. The Czechoslovak delegation voted in favour of the draft resolution on Walvis Bay, contained in document S/12793. In this connexion, we should like to express our conviction that in the very near future the Security Council will do everything necessary to guarantee the territorial integrity of Namibia.

216. Mr. FUENTES IBÁÑEZ (Bolivia) (*interpretation from Spanish*): I should like to begin my statement by welcoming the presence here of Ministers for Foreign Affairs of Africa and Western countries members of the Security Council. This confirms the importance that the international community attaches to the problem of Namibia and to the efforts of the United Nations to produce a suitable and just solution to that problem.

217. I should like also to welcome the President of SWAPO, Mr. Sam Nujoma, and the President of the United Nations Council for Namibia, Ambassador Konie. Without their very valuable participation, it would not have been possible to achieve results that are so promising for the cause of the Namibian people.

218. It is also my honour to greet you, Mr. President, on behalf of my delegation and more particularly on behalf of Ambassador Mario Rolón Anaya. In his name I thank you for the kind words you said about him in his capacity as President of the Council for the month of June. Your wisdom and experience are reflected in the success that has been achieved this afternoon, success to which you have contributed by the serenity and spirit of justice characteristic of your great country.

219. I wish to thank also the delegations of France and the Federal Republic of Germany, as well as the representatives of Mauritius, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Kuwait, Gabon and Czechoslovakia for their kind words about the head of my delegation, Ambassador Rolón Anaya, who could not be here today.

220. The delegation of Bolivia is sincerely pleased to have been able to participate in the vote during this meeting of the Security Council. We believe that a positive step of real historic meaning has been taken. The problem of Namibia has been before the United Nations since its creation and is one of its major responsibilities before the international community. Apart from the question of principle—that is, the elimination of one of the most serious obstacles to decolonization—we were guided in our vote only by the aim of contributing to the best of our ability to the authentic and genuine freedom of the Namibian people.

221. The Government of Bolivia viewed with the greatest interest the efforts of the Western countries members of the Security Council to find a formula for a negotiated settlement that would enable the Namibian people to accede to freedom peacefully. After patient efforts, during which the parties displayed a large measure of determination and faith, we are now on the threshold of the birth of the new State of Namibia, which will emerge into independent life after a long period of martyrdom and devotion to the true mission of freedom.

222. The documents that have been adopted today cannot be regarded as final; rather, they are the expression of a firm will towards decision. My delegation shares the reservations expressed by the representatives of the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia to the two resolutions. But we felt that, because of the seriousness and urgency of the problem and because the situation cannot be allowed to continue any longer, we should accept the resolutions, above all in view of the fact that both of them had been accepted by SWAPO and the front-line countries, in accordance with the decision taken at Luanda. At any rate, this does not represent a delay but, rather, means that the future procedure will be in conformity with the recommendations of the Secretary-General, whose moral responsibility and executive talents give us every reason to expect the best.

223. Once we have before us the plan of action, we can incorporate in new resolutions all those safeguards that will guarantee the achievement of the proposed aims. As for my delegation, we should like to add to the requirements set forth by other delegations that specific measures should be taken for the total integration of Walvis Bay into Namibia, since we believe—indeed we know this from our own experience—that any negotiation, if it is to be effective, must not become bogged down in rhetorical formulas or delayed tactics with regard to jurisdiction and competence, must lay down definite deadlines, under the control of United Nations authorities.

224. We did not wish to interfere in a decision accepted by the parties and supported by members of the Security Council and the countries committed to the great crusade for the complete liberation of Africa. We believe that final victory is at hand, the dawn of a better world. This is a cause which Bolivia regards as its own.

225. Mr. HAIDAR (India): Mr. President, I join those who have spoken before me in congratulating you on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council, especially at this momentous time. Your well-known

widely respected diplomatic skills have been well matched to the needs of the hour. I should also like to express our sincere appreciation to your predecessor for his successful tenure last month.

226. My delegation shares the general feeling of satisfaction at the resolutions we have just adopted on Namibia. We hope that they point towards a new era which the people of Namibia and the international community have long awaited.

227. The story of colonial and racial suppression in Namibia is a dismal one. It has provoked world-wide indignation and has forged determination among the Namibian people to resist. Today's events represent a hopeful stage in the world community's efforts to establish genuine majority rule in Namibia. The negotiated settlement that is now on the verge of being achieved, which stems from the extended and arduous struggle waged by Namibian freedom fighters under the leadership of SWAPO, is a tribute to the statesmanship of the SWAPO leadership and especially its President, Mr. Sam Nujoma. It is also a tribute to the enduring efforts of the five Western countries members of the Security Council. It represents the culmination of repeated efforts in the United Nations for the freedom and genuine independence of Namibia, especially as embodied in resolution 385 (1976).

228. India has consistently offered its full support to SWAPO in its just struggle for untrammelled freedom and genuine independence. We believe that this can be achieved through the mechanism of free elections unhampered by interference from outside. It will now be for the United Nations to ensure that the Namibian people will be able to express their choice freely. We firmly believe that all South African troops should be completely withdrawn from Namibia.

229. I should also like to affirm my Government's unequivocal position that Walvis Bay is an essential and integral part of Namibia whose independence will be incomplete without it. This position is widely shared. It has been affirmed on numerous occasions in the United Nations and in high-level meetings of the Organization of African Unity and the non-aligned countries.

230. While welcoming the current outcome, we are aware that the United Nations faces an important and daunting practical task. The United Nations operation in Namibia is extremely complex and full of danger and difficulty. In addition to a delicate peace-keeping operation, the United Nations is to undertake an extensive plan for exercising supervision and control over the elections. Its presence must reassure a population that has been subject to organized terror and suppression that it is indeed free and able to choose the leadership it wishes. To assure this purpose, the vicious system of *apartheid* in Namibia will have to be dismantled completely. The local situation is not known to us, and practical demands made on the United Nations will become evident only when the Special Representative of the Secretary-General is able to complete his preliminary inspection and report back. The forthcoming operation in Namibia by the United Nations deserves active support and co-operation

231. With the opening of this new chapter, my country looks forward to the rapid emergence of Namibia as a fully independent State. Strengthened as it is by years of gallant and successful resistance, with gifted human resources and liberal natural endowments, we have no doubt that Namibia will shortly take its due place among the nations of the world, and we look forward to that day.

232. The PRESIDENT: The next speaker is the President of the United Nations Council for Namibia, Ambassador Konie, on whom I now call.

233. Miss KONIE (President of the United Nations Council for Namibia): Mr. President, I wish first of all to express the sincere gratitude of the delegation of the United Nations Council for Namibia for this opportunity to address the Security Council in its deliberations concerning Namibia at this crucial and decisive stage of the efforts of the United Nations to bring about the withdrawal of the illegal South African administration from the Territory so that the Namibian people may fulfil their legitimate aspirations for self-determination and independence in a united Namibia. Under your wise and experienced guidance, the Security Council has now taken the step which we all hope will lead to the speedy solution of the question of Namibia.

234. The struggle of the Namibian people under the leadership of SWAPO and with the support of friendly countries in the international community has brought about, after a decade of arduous efforts and much suffering, the prospects for the final withdrawal of the illegal South African administration from Namibia. However, the complexity of the situation does not allow for complacency. The labyrinth of political and administrative options could result equally in the creation of a state and government sensitive to the legitimate aspirations of a long-suffering people, or in the fabrication of a monstrous mystification of the principle of self-determination under a régime which will continue to serve the most retrograde tribal interests and the most questionable privileges of the colonialist and racist aggressor. It is the responsibility of the United Nations to ensure an outcome consistent with the goals and principles continuously reaffirmed by the resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council. These goals have recognized above all the inalienable right of the Namibian people to self-determination and national independence in a free and united Namibia. Furthermore, the fulfilment of these goals is directly related to the prospects of establishing conditions for international peace and security in southern Africa.

235. The progress achieved with respect to the future of Namibia owes much to the unfailing support which the Namibian people have received from the people and Governments of Angola, Botswana, Mozambique, the United Republic of Tanzania, and Zambia. These countries facing the immense difficulties of national development in an unfavourable international context gave generous and continuous assistance to the Namibian people and their liberation movement, SWAPO. The front-line States sustained and consolidated their solidarity with the Namibian people in spite of many sacrifices imposed on their economy and their people. They furthermore were exposed

to frequent attacks by South African forces and suffered many casualties and costly damage to property as a result of their unshakable commitment to the liberation struggle of the Namibian people.

236. The Namibian people under their authentic liberation movement, SWAPO, have waged a successful and protracted struggle against the illegal South African occupation of their country. Many Namibian patriots have sacrificed their lives for the cause of Namibian self-determination and independence. Many others have been harassed, imprisoned and tortured for aspiring to live with dignity in a free and independent State of Namibia. The early attempts of Namibians to obtain the recognition of their rights had no result other than intensified repression. Today, the people of Namibia have come closer than ever before to achieving their goals. In this context, we take note of the efforts and initiatives which have led to the recent developments of our deliberations.

237. A peaceful transition to independence in Namibia is certainly in the interest of all members of the international community. At the same time, proposals for a peaceful transition must not jeopardize the national integrity and legitimate aspirations of the people of Namibia for self-determination and genuine independence.

238. The United Nations Council for Namibia is fully aware of the important role which the Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, has played in maintaining contact with all interested parties. The Council for Namibia had the opportunity to benefit from his careful and informed assessments during the early stages of the efforts to arrive at an internationally acceptable settlement. The Secretary-General will need all the support of the international community in the difficult months ahead as the implementation of the international settlement proceeds to create conditions for the establishment of an independent State of Namibia.

239. The Council for Namibia is fully aware of the complexities related to an internationally acceptable settlement. In this context, SWAPO has shown great statesmanship and wisdom in making concessions in order to increase the prospects of a peaceful settlement. While aware of developments, the Council is none the less concerned that certain issues may hinder meaningful progress.

240. In interpreting the crucial issues of a transition to independence in Namibia, the Security Council should be guided by the Declaration on Namibia and the Programme of Action in Support of Self-Determination and National Independence for Namibia, recently adopted by the General Assembly at its ninth special session, on the question of Namibia.

241. The question of Walvis Bay deserves special emphasis in evaluating the success of any agreement on the question of Namibia. The position of the United Nations expressed by the Council for Namibia and reaffirmed by the General Assembly on several occasions is that Walvis Bay is an integral part of Namibia. Its geographical position as the main port and vital economic avenue of Namibia gives it a decisive role in the future welfare, economic independence

and national security of Namibia. The United Nations has continually reiterated that the territorial integrity of Namibia must not be compromised in any internationally acceptable settlement of the question of Namibia. The concern of Member States regarding the future of Walvis Bay was furthermore explicitly indicated in a resolution of the Organization of African Unity at its fifteenth summit meeting, recently held at Khartoum [see S/12837, annex].

242. The importance of Walvis Bay for the future of the Territory cannot be considered a question of political tactics, since its location and economic role place it in a decisive position for the future of an independent Namibia. Certainly, to compare the issue of Walvis Bay to other historical enclaves does not do justice to the full significance of Walvis Bay in the future of Namibia. Walvis Bay is not a problem of territorial claims but one of externally imposed and enforced partition of the Territory of Namibia. An independent Namibia without Walvis Bay would be at the mercy of South Africa and of the political whims of the authorities at Pretoria. Therefore, it must be recognized that Walvis Bay is an integral part of Namibia with which it is inextricably linked by geographic, historic, economic, cultural and ethnic bonds.

243. The concept of a transition to independence within the framework of all United Nations resolutions, including Security Council resolution 385 (1976), requires the preparation of the people of the Territory for the expression of the popular will in free elections organized under the supervision and control of the United Nations. This concept places special responsibility on the Special Representative of the Secretary-General. He must have full authority in the administration of the measures to implement the transition to independence, including the supervision and control of elections.

244. The immense power which has been concentrated in the hands of the South African authorities in the past constitutes a pervasive factor in inhibiting the free expression of the political views of the Namibian people through an electoral process. The United Nations must ensure that the practices and symbols of political intimidation, including the presence of South African troops, will not constitute a distorting factor which will falsify the very goals to which the United Nations is committed. In the exercise of his duties, the Special Representative must be guided by all United Nations resolutions on the question of Namibia, including Security Council resolution 385 (1976).

245. Mr. Ahtisaari is thus confronted with a colossal, onerous and daunting responsibility. He will need the co-operation and unstinting support of the entire international community if he is to succeed in his assignment. We, the members of the United Nations Council for Namibia, have come to recognize Mr. Ahtisaari's many fine qualities. These have in no small measure contributed to the smooth relations between his office as Commissioner and the Council. It is the conviction of the Council that Mr. Ahtisaari will apply himself with the same diligence to the execution of his extended duties. We not only congratulate him but wish him success in his endeavours. We wish him to know that the Council will always be ready



to work with him in order to ensure the achievement of genuine independence by the Namibian people.

246. The question of the presence and location of South African troops in Namibia must receive constant and careful scrutiny by the Special Representative of the Secretary-General. It is not enough that all parties concerned agree on the specifics. Nevertheless, it is not difficult to perceive that appropriate arrangements to ensure the effective containment of South African troops during the transition could be facilitated if those troops were in effect restricted to a single location. In order that a peaceful transition may lead to genuine independence, great attention must be paid to the precise implementation of the dispositions of an eventual agreement, which must remain under the constant scrutiny and review of the Security Council. The United Nations Council for Namibia has always insisted on the complete withdrawal of South African troops from the Territory in order that free elections might take place in Namibia in accordance with previous resolutions on this matter. Whatever the final outcome, the presence of South African troops must not hinder the fulfilment of United Nations objectives in the Territory.

247. The current efforts to arrive at an internationally acceptable settlement of the question of Namibia are to be commended. However, it must not be forgotten that, during the very process of discussions, the Government of South Africa has continued to engage in illegal acts and repressive measures which have intensified the suffering of the Namibian people, raising serious doubts about South Africa's true intentions. Since August 1977, the South African Government has adopted measures which are contrary to the spirit of a negotiated settlement and has put into effect numerous repressive emergency regulations. The practices of repression and intimidation of the African population continue. Efforts to prop up the tribal supporters of South African interests have intensified. It is therefore difficult to conceive that South African claims to accept the eventual independence of Namibia are to be taken at face value. The United Nations, therefore, must act decisively to ensure that any agreement on the question of Namibia will be implemented fully in accordance with the general objective of ensuring self-determination, freedom and independence in a united Namibia.

248. The United Nations Council for Namibia, since 1967, has endeavoured to fulfil the mandate given to it by the General Assembly to administer the Territory until independence. South African intransigence has, during the last decade, prevented the fulfilment of this mandate. At the same time, the Council has contributed to a systematic and continuous international political mobilization in support of South African withdrawal from the Territory. As a result, the Council has been recognized as the legal authority for Namibia in an increasing number of international conferences and organizations. The increasing support for the cause of the Namibian people created conditions for the establishment of the United Nations Fund for Namibia, the United Nations Institute for Namibia at Lusaka and the Nationhood Programme for Namibia. All these initiatives reflect the whole-hearted commitment of the United Nations and the international

community to the aspirations of a people too long deprived of its most fundamental right to self-determination and national independence. The experience and insight which the Council has accumulated throughout the years are an important resource which must remain available to all Namibian patriots until genuine independence is achieved. The Council for Namibia, therefore, is certain that it is in a position to make a constructive contribution in the complex transitional phase which is the concern of the Security Council in the forthcoming months.

249. The United Nations assumed a solemn commitment to assist the Namibian people to achieve self-determination and national independence. It must endeavour to ensure that this solemn commitment will be fully met.

250. The PRESIDENT: The next speaker is the Minister for Foreign Affairs of South Africa. I welcome him and invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

251. Mr. BOTHA (South Africa): Mr. President, I congratulate you on your assumption of the presidency of the Council.

252. I hope that this will be the last time that I speak in this forum on the principles underlying the attainment by South West Africa of its independence. Very soon South West Africa will be independent. The people of the Territory demand it; it is their will and their inalienable right.

253. For over 30 years South West Africa has been the subject of lengthy and acrimonious debate in the United Nations. All efforts in the past to resolve the issue failed in spite of the fact that South Africa went out of its way to find an internationally acceptable solution. As far as the questions of principle are concerned, we are, it is hoped, closer than we have ever been to a peaceful settlement. We sincerely trust that the present initiative will not be frustrated by those like the Nujoma faction of SWAPO who, in the name of liberation, attempt to gain by violence that which they fear they cannot gain by peaceful means. To them I say: if, as you claim, you have the support of the majority in South West Africa, then prove your claim by participating in elections; abandon the bullet and accept the verdict of the ballot.

254. All along, South Africa has administered South West Africa in the interests of the inhabitants and in the spirit of the Mandate entrusted to it by the League of Nations. We have repeatedly stated that we recognize the separate international status of the Territory and that it is our goal to bring it to full independence. To this end, we have systematically developed it politically and economically. I have on previous occasions outlined to the Council our positive contributions in this connexion. They are a matter of record. The results are there for all to see.

255. But it has always been and still remains our declared policy that it is for the people of the Territory themselves to decide their own political and constitutional future. Their wishes in this regard are the paramount consideration. As we stated as far back as 1967:

"However, at this stage it is impossible to foresee with any degree of accuracy the ultimate interactions of the

various population groups. Circumstances will alter radically. What is considered anathema today may well become sound practical politics tomorrow, and vice versa. Nor is it necessary to embark on speculation as to what the ultimate future political pattern will be. . . . The peoples themselves will ultimately decide."<sup>5</sup>

Prophetic words indeed: "The peoples themselves will ultimately decide".

256. Pursuant to the South African Government's far-sighted vision and sound approach, the process of political development can now come to fruition. The leaders in the Territory told us nearly two years ago that they were ready for independence and wanted it by the end of 1978. It is something we cannot deny them; it is something which cannot be delayed any longer; we have no right to thwart the will of the people.

257. We therefore welcomed and co-operated in the initiative set in motion by the five Western members of the Security Council in April last year. Throughout the months of negotiations which followed, South Africa played a positive and constructive role. With the knowledge of the five Powers, we last year appointed an Administrator-General whose task it is to create conditions for the free expression of the will of the people and to govern the Territory in the interim period leading to independence.

258. In the execution of his task, the Administrator-General has, *inter alia*: assumed authority over 27 government departments; abolished restrictions on freedom of movement; gone a long way towards abolishing discriminatory measures based on race or colour—he has, for example, instituted equal pay for equal work in the public sector; taken the necessary steps to ensure that during this interim period law and order will be maintained and to prevent any disruption or obstruction of peaceful and orderly political and constitutional development; accelerated socio-economic projects in education, housing, agriculture, trade and water supplies.

259. The negotiations on the Western proposals have stretched over 15 months. South Africa lent its full co-operation to those efforts. The same cannot be said of SWAPO who, backed by their neo-imperialist allies from other continents, have done all they can to obstruct the attainment of a peaceful solution. Their intransigence was intended to delay the date of independence for the Territory. These delaying tactics and statements raise strong doubts that they are really willing to participate in genuine free elections. Indeed, if reports are correct, it is even at this late stage not clear whether SWAPO has in fact accepted the proposal adopted by the Council. Nowhere in his statement today did Mr. Nujoma express acceptance. He creates the impression that he is considering accepting a proposal substantially different from the one submitted by the five Western Powers and today approved by the Council.

260. I shall refer to a few examples to illustrate the point.

<sup>5</sup> Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-second Session, Plenary Meetings, 1632nd meeting, para. 173.

261. There is no provision in the proposal indicating that the residual South African force should be confined to the base. Paragraph 8 b explicitly provides that the residual South African force would be based at Grootfontein or Oshivello or both—leaving the option to South Africa itself.

262. Similarly, it is not for Mr. Nujoma to give a new directive to the Special Representative of the Secretary-General. Furthermore, some parts of his statement cast doubt on his willingness to abandon violence. Acceptance of the proposal demands cessation of violence. This is crucial to the implementation of the proposal. His assertions in regard to Walvis Bay are entirely devoid of any legal or factual basis. His demands in this respect are simply arrogant. We do not intend to withdraw our troops from Walvis Bay. Indeed, the proposal does not contain such a provision and Mr. Nujoma knows it. I shall later deal in more detail with the issue of Walvis Bay.

263. South Africa, for its part, accepted the proposal in its final and definitive form as far back as 25 April 1978, that is to say, within two weeks of its circulation as a Security Council document. The proposal does not fully satisfy all the leaders in the Territory or, for that matter, the South African Government. We do not like all the provisions in that proposal. Nevertheless, after consultation with all groups seeking a peaceful settlement, my Prime Minister, in announcing the South African Government's decision, informed the South African House of Assembly of the South African Government's reply to the Five. Because of the importance of this decision, I shall quote it in full:

"You will recall"—and this was our reply to the Five—"that our main preoccupation with your proposals for a settlement of the South West African situation centred on paragraph 8 b of your proposals, in particular the provision that the remaining South African Forces would be withdrawn one week after the certification of the election of the Constituent Assembly. In the light of your clarification, conveyed to the Minister of Foreign Affairs on Monday, 24 April 1978, we are now giving the people of South West Africa the assurance that we will be guided by the wishes of the Constituent Assembly in regard to this very important matter. Bearing in mind also our discussions last week in Pretoria, we are now satisfied that the role of the Administrator-General, as all along envisaged, remains unimpaired, for example, that he will head the administrative structure of the Territory; furthermore, that the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, in carrying out his responsibilities, will work together with the Administrator-General to ensure the orderly transition to independence. My Government, in coming to its decision, has also been influenced decisively by the provision that there should be a complete cessation of hostilities, including, *inter alia*, mine-laying, killings, abductions etc., before any reduction in the South African Forces takes place, that primary responsibility for maintaining law and order during the transitional period shall rest with the existing Police Forces and that the issue of Walvis Bay is not included in the proposals. Having now been advised by the Administrator-General that he has consulted the various political parties and church organizations in the Territory and that he is satisfied that the proposals are acceptable to the

majority, he has recommended acceptance by the South African Government. Bearing this in mind, and also the assurance by the Five Western Powers on the Security Council that their proposals are now in a final and definitive form and that the Five are giving them their unreserved backing, the South African Government accepts these proposals. In accepting them we are not placing the maintenance of law and order and the security of the people of South West Africa in jeopardy. You, yourselves,"—that is the Five—"emphasized that the transitional period should be stable and peaceful. The people of South West Africa are anxiously and impatiently awaiting their independence which has been promised them not later than the end of this year. We assume we can rely on the co-operation of the five Western Powers, as well as others, to move rapidly in order to realize this goal."

That was the Prime Minister's announcement of the decision of the South African Government to accept the Western proposal.

264. Our acceptance on 25 April 1978 was based on the assumption that the proposal would be implemented in good faith by 31 December 1978—and not "at the earliest possible date", if this phrase were to signify a later date. We must emphasize that the clarifications given during the negotiations and the spirit in which they were conducted will be vital to the successful implementation of the proposal.

265. There are several aspects of the proposal to which special attention will have to be paid:

First, as the legislative and administrative authority in the Territory, the Administrator-General will continue to govern during the transition period.

Secondly, primary responsibility for maintaining law and order in South West Africa during the transition period shall rest with the existing police forces.

Thirdly, the Administrator-General and the Special Representative of the Secretary-General are required to work together and to consult each other with a view to full co-operation between them, to ensure an orderly and peaceful transition to independence. The proposal has liberally been left somewhat vague in this regard but it will be appreciated that, unless the relationship between them is characterized by a spirit of mutual trust and co-operation, it will be difficult, if not impossible, for them to implement their respective tasks successfully. It is in this light that my Government views this relationship. The size, composition, functions and deployment of the United Nations Transition Assistance Group are precisely the sort of matters on which close consultation is required.

Fourthly, the reduction of South African troops in South West Africa will commence only after the comprehensive cessation of all hostile acts and the establishment of a viable peace. The South African Government regards its responsibility for the security of the people of the Territory as a very serious light.

Fifthly, the functions of the Special Representative of the Secretary-General in respect of the electoral process are spelt out in the proposal in that, as a condition to the conduct of the electoral process, the elections themselves and the certification of their results, the Special Representative will have to satisfy himself at each stage as to the fairness and appropriateness of all such measures. In the course of the negotiations, we were repeatedly assured that the Special Representative would be guided by the procedures and precedents established by the United Nations in other appropriate cases where the United Nations had played a role in the determination of the wishes of the people.

Sixthly, South Africa accepted the proposal in its final and definitive form.

Seventhly, Walvis Bay, over which South Africa has undisputed sovereignty, is not included in the proposal accepted by my Government.

266. I come now to resolution 432 (1978), dealing with the question of Walvis Bay, adopted earlier today by the Council. Unfortunately, the whole settlement is now threatened by the introduction of this new element despite the fact that the proposal was submitted in March 1978 in a final and definitive form.

267. I want to make it absolutely clear that Walvis Bay is South African territory. It is not part of South West Africa, and nothing the Council can do or decide can make it part of South West Africa. Its position legally and historically is indisputable. It has been part of the Cape of Good Hope for almost 100 years. As such it became part of the Union of South Africa and consequently of the Republic of South Africa. It never formed part of the German Protectorate or of the former Mandated Territory of South West Africa. This position was recognized by the League of Nations, the International Court of Justice and the United Nations.

268. Throughout the negotiations leading to my Government's acceptance of the Western proposal, the Five acknowledged that Walvis Bay was not part and parcel of South West Africa. They alluded merely to the possibility that a controversy might arise about the issue at some future stage. They acknowledged that they were not arguing at all about the political and legal situation in respect of Walvis Bay. They were not addressing the merits of the case. On various occasions my Prime Minister also informed the representatives of the Five that the introduction of the Walvis Bay issue into the proposal would lead to the immediate termination of the negotiations. The Five more than once gave assurances that that was not their intention. That position was reaffirmed by their abstention on General Assembly resolution 32/9 D of 4 November 1977, declaring Walvis Bay to be an integral part of South West Africa.

269. During the talks in New York in February this year it was proposed to dispose of the question of Walvis Bay in a paragraph stating that acceptance of the proposal would in no way prejudice the territorial claim of any party. At my insistence it was agreed to delete even this implied reference to the question of Walvis Bay.

270. The five Western Governments again stated their position, both in the General Assembly in April 1978 and to us, as follows: "All aspects of the question of Walvis Bay must be subject to discussion between the South African Government and the elected government of Namibia." There is no room for any doubt. The language is clear. In any event, the final proposal contained no reference at all to Walvis Bay; that we all know. Nor, I may add, did resolution 385 (1976), which has throughout formed the basis of our negotiations and the final proposal.

271. The boundaries of South West Africa and of the Republic have been fixed since colonial times. No country and no organization can arrogate to itself the right to alter them unilaterally. In this connexion, I may also quote briefly from a letter I addressed to the Secretary-General on 2 May 1978. I stated:

"Based on treaties which also define the borders of other countries in the region, the Territory's boundaries have been internationally recognized for almost a hundred years. Furthermore, most Afro-Asian and Latin American countries have accepted that colonial boundaries must, under international law, continue to be the boundaries after independence. Moreover, paragraph 11 of the Manifesto on Southern Africa approved by the Conference of East and Central African States at Lusaka, Zambia, on 16 April 1969, and adopted by the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity at its sixth ordinary session, held at Addis Ababa from 6 to 9 September 1969, states in part:

"As far as we are concerned the present boundaries of the States of southern Africa are the boundaries of what will be free and independent African States."

The Manifesto was welcomed by the General Assembly itself in resolution 2505 (XXIV) of 20 November 1969." [S/12678, annex.]

272. It is thus clear beyond any shadow of a doubt that Walvis Bay is as much part of the Republic of South Africa as Alaska is part of the United States of America. I wish to repeat that at no time did it feature in the proposal accepted by South Africa.

273. We fully agree that the territorial integrity of South West Africa must be assured. We agree with that. In exactly the same way must that of the Republic of South Africa. Perhaps there is a desire to modify the situations which today exist throughout the world in regard to enclaves or islands in the immediate vicinity of the mainland in such a way as to require them to form part of the contiguous or mainland territory concerned. If any attempt is made to modify such cases, then all such cases must be reviewed simultaneously on a global basis. If that is the intention, and if the responsible Powers are willing to submit to a new international arrangement such examples as Gibraltar, Cabinda, Hong Kong, Northern Ireland, Berlin, Belize, the Panama Canal, Guantánamo Bay and Macao, to mention only some, then, and then only, would South Africa, for its part, be prepared to have the case of Walvis Bay examined on the same basis.

274. In conclusion, while on 25 April 1978 South Africa accepted the proposal on South West Africa in its final and definitive form, we categorically reject the resolution on Walvis Bay. That resolution, in draft form, came to our attention for the first time only a few days ago—months after our acceptance of the proposal. It clearly seeks to prejudge the whole issue. It never formed part of the negotiations leading to South Africa's acceptance of the proposal. We reject it. We object to it. We will not be prepared to negotiate with anybody—not even with the duly elected government of South West Africa—on the basis of that resolution. As indicated in the course of the negotiations with the Five, any discussion of this matter will be on the basis of a voluntary act on our part, a decision taken by us in the exercise of our sovereign right to do so. That we remain willing to do.

275. I want to be very frank with the Council. We were shocked by reports that the five Western Powers were going to support a draft resolution of the nature now before the Council. We were shocked and dismayed. My Government concluded that support for such a resolution would raise grave doubts as to the spirit and manner in which the Five would stand behind their own proposal. We feared that it would so destroy confidence as to make it impossible to co-operate in the implementation of the proposal. The South African Government had at the time come to the conclusion that, were the Five to vote unreservedly for such a resolution, South Africa could no longer co-operate in the implementation of the proposal.

276. Since my arrival in New York, I have had discussions with the representatives of the Five regarding the purpose and the implications of the resolution. I have taken note of the explanation of vote made on behalf of the Five today. I shall convey the statement to my Government. We shall have to study the full import of this statement. I shall also furnish my Government with the additional elucidations provided by the five Foreign Ministers. It will then be for the South African Government to make its final decision.

277. I cannot conclude without referring briefly to the invective directed against my Government in this debate today by some representatives. I do feel that the time has come to point out that there is apparently no limit to the duplicity practised within the Organization.

278. We all know what is going on in the world today. We all know about the struggle to upset the balance of power. And we know that the Soviet Union lusts after world domination. The Soviet Union's concern for Africa and the welfare of the African people is hypocritical and contrived. I want to ask the representative of the Soviet Union: What has your country done to improve the quality of life on the African continent? The Soviet Union is undermining the Governments of Africa; it is disturbing the peace, and without peace Africa cannot develop. It is subverting the Governments of Africa. It is introducing into Africa bullets and guns to kill people. It is not assisting the people with their agriculture, their road construction, their dams. It is not helping them in any meaningful sense to live a better life.

279. I want to give the following advice to the Soviet Union. Withdraw from Africa. Take out your surplus

turn to the USSR and attend to the upliftment of your people. You will have decades to keep yourself busy with this task. Uplift your people. Give them freedom. Give them freedom of expression. Give them freedom of religion, of movement. Give them freedom of the press and allow them to elect their own government according to majority vote, which the Soviet Union tells us it supports in respect of all other countries of the world.

20. Instead of using every inappropriate opportunity to engage in unsubstantiated attacks on my Government, I urge the United Nations and, in particular, the Security Council to devote attention to the plight of the millions of human beings who must live a life without any hope of receiving proper training and education, of enjoying a balanced diet, of living under conditions of personal security and safety—in short, of exercising in any meaningful sense a choice between alternatives for the improvement of their lives. Using South Africa as a scapegoat will simply not alleviate the plight of the suffering millions. It will not fulfil their desire to enjoy a better life. We stand ready to cooperate with all our fellow Africans in all spheres of life. However, the deadly struggle between the super-Powers tends to overwhelm the many efforts of the African nations towards development and stability. This struggle will bring about the disintegration of Africa economically and politically. The African nations have so much to offer the world. But it seems as if this continent is doomed to be the battleground of the big Powers pursuing their own selfish interests.

21. I appeal to my fellow Africans to rid themselves of the temptation of requesting outside assistance, which results in increased tension on our continent. Let us make a earnest attempt to remove the clouds of misunderstanding separating us and move closer towards one another in the bright light of our African sun. Let us work together. Let us not allow others to drive a wedge between us. All of us in Africa will have to pay the price of outside interference in the affairs of our continent. Allowing diversion from outside will make the intruders the victors and we, the peoples of Africa, the vanquished.

22. The PRESIDENT: The next speaker is the Secretary-General for External Relations of MPLA, the Working Party of Angola, Mr. Pascoal Luvualu, who wishes to make a statement on behalf of the front-line countries. I welcome him and invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

23. Mr. LUVUALU (Angola) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, since this is the first time that I am speaking I should like, on behalf of the front-line countries, to congratulate you on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for the month of July and on the manner in which you have been conducting the debate.

24. It is an honour for the People's Republic of Angola to speak on behalf of the front-line countries—Botswana, Zimbabwe, the United Republic of Tanzania, Zambia and Angola—at this meeting of the Council devoted to the decolonization of Namibia. I take this opportunity to thank the fraternal front-line countries for this expression of confidence in my country, its people and its President, Comrade Antonio Agostinho Neto.

285. The victory of the peoples of the former Portuguese colonies over the colonial régime has altered the balance of power in southern Africa and the entire world. Thus, new prospects for freedom have been created for the peoples of Namibia, Zimbabwe and even South Africa.

286. The long armed struggle for national liberation of the Namibian people conducted by its vanguard, SWAPO, encountered favourable conditions for rapid development. In the face of the growing armed struggle and of political and diplomatic action, the South African racist régime was obliged to abandon its plans for the bantustanization of Namibia. Vorster then resorted to acts of aggression against the front-line countries, to repression and to massacring populations, as was the case at Kassinga, in the People's Republic of Angola, where more than 600 Namibians were massacred. All the manoeuvres of the *apartheid* Vorster régime aimed at weakening SWAPO, at the destabilization of the front-line countries and at the so-called internal settlement all met with failure.

287. In spite of these manoeuvres of intimidation and aggression perpetrated against the front-line countries, these countries stood firm in complying with the resolutions of the Organization of African Unity and the United Nations relating to assistance to the national liberation movements.

288. The Security Council must once again condemn the use of the international Territory of Namibia as a base for acts of aggression and destabilization against neighbouring countries.

289. The Luanda agreement, the resolution of the summit meeting of African heads of State and government held at Khartoum and, indeed, the result of the debate of this body all represent an important victory for the people of Namibia and its vanguard, SWAPO. This victory is also that of the Organization of African Unity, of the front-line countries and of all progressive forces throughout the world which, because of their firm determination to rid African soil of dying colonialism, are providing important assistance to SWAPO.

290. The recognition by the international community of SWAPO as the sole authentic and legitimate representative of the people of Namibia is another factor that has accelerated the process of the decolonization of Namibia. I should like also to stress the important role played by the United Nations Council for Namibia.

291. Namibia is an international Territory which falls within the competence of the United Nations. Hence, the United Nations must ensure the effective application and strict supervision of the agreements leading to that country's accession to complete and total independence; in this regard the Special Representative of the Secretary-General will have a role to play. The United Nations must also ensure the safeguarding of the unity and territorial integrity of Namibia, including Walvis Bay, which geographically, politically and economically is an integral part of Namibia. The Organization must appeal to Member States and the international community in general to contribute to the national reconstruction of the economy of this State that is about to be born.

292. The front-line countries will continue to lend their moral, political, diplomatic and material support to SWAPO until the people of Namibia fully regain the freedom and independence for which they have been struggling for many years and for which they have made untold sacrifices.

293. On behalf of my colleagues of the front-line countries, I wish to express the hope that the debate in this august body will be fruitful.

294. The struggle goes on; victory is certain.

295. The PRESIDENT: The next speaker is the Minister of State in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Sudan and special representative of His Excellency President Gaafar Mohamed Nimeiri, the current President of the Organization of African Unity. I welcome him and invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

296. Mr. DENG (Sudan): I wonder whether those speaking after the representative of South Africa have had their task rendered easier or more difficult. In any case, on behalf of the current President of the Organization of African Unity, President Gaafar Mohamed Nimeiri, and of the Democratic Republic of the Sudan, I should like to express my gratitude and appreciation for the permission to address the Security Council on this matter of vital interest and concern to our continent, namely, the decolonization of Namibia.

297. Mr. President, under your wise, able and experienced leadership, the Council has adopted a historic decision which we hope will open a new page not only in the history of Namibia but also in that of southern Africa as a whole. We congratulate you and the Council on what promises to be the beginning of a breakthrough. However, we still have to take stock of the history of developments in that region if we are to continue the relentless march towards the goals of independence and human dignity.

298. I have just come from Khartoum, where our country was honoured to act as host for the thirty-first ordinary session of the Council of Ministers and the fifteenth ordinary session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity. Both sets of meetings were pervaded by a number of themes which I regard as relevant to the subject matter of this meeting: the unanimous realization of the need to consolidate African unity and solidarity in the face of the mounting challenges of liberation; a general agreement that the freedom, the independence and the integrity of any African country are vital to the integrity and the security of the continent as a whole; a significant acceptance of the principle of negotiated settlement as preferable wherever possible—otherwise, armed struggle must be relentless until the objective is fully achieved; a recognition of the vital role that must continue to be played by the international community in decolonizing the continent and freeing the Africans from the dehumanizing affliction of racism.

299. Perhaps one of the most preoccupying themes at the Khartoum meetings was that of liberation from colonialism and racism, which remains as vital for the African today as it was at the dawn of the independence movement. Africans

have come to realize, even better than ever before, that the freedom and integrity of our continent are indivisible and that any vestiges of foreign dependency or domination threaten the entire fabric of continental security. With Rhodesia in the hands of white rebels and Namibia illegally occupied by white racists, who can really say that our front-line States are secure? And if our front-line States are not secure, how can we speak of genuine security for the rest of Africa?

300. Africa has resolved that while ways and means might be diverse, and sometimes divergent, the objective is the same and should be clarified beyond doubt. For any blurring or distortion of our overriding goals is a gain for the enemies of African dignity. The goal is and must remain the freedom and independence of the whole continent and its territories, without any exception. The struggle has sadly crystallized into one of victory and dignified survival or defeat and at best a subhuman survival. It is a simple equation, in which armed struggle begins where discussions end. And, as the Security Council has just witnessed, this is not because the African is more inclined to fight than talk. No, quite the contrary: negotiation, mediation and conciliation are dominant themes in African social thought and jurisprudence, sharply contrasting with the adversary character of Western legal thought. The African resorted to armed struggle because the adversary had refused to talk or to listen to reason. It is a choice not of preference but of necessity. It is a sacrifice whose alternative is a surrender to human indignity and denial of natural rights and which is, therefore, utterly rejected.

301. To correct the history of gross violation of Africa's integrity and dignity calls for much on the part of those who are in a position to do so. This is why the Western initiatives on both Zimbabwe and Namibia have a corrective significance beyond their being independently constructive. They indicate a new and more promising page of mutual respect and co-operation between Africa and the West.

302. Seen from another vantage point, the positive reaction not only of Africa but particularly of the legitimate representatives of Zimbabwe, the Patriotic Front, and Namibia, SWAPO, is not to be lightly appraised. We must, however, also be realistic. Despite the historic achievement of today, we should also expect that there might also be a certain amount of caution, if not suspicion. And why not? Indeed, how could it be otherwise? Africans have seen enough of the conning game in which the debilitating wisdom is generously offered from outside in order shrewdly to perpetuate the bondages of colonial dependency and the indignity of racism.

303. The experience of a Zimbabwe did not do much to remove Africa's apprehensions of inner contradictions. Through the Anglo-American initiative, the United Kingdom and the United States intervened to mediate between the racist Ian Smith and the Patriotic Front. The front-line States endeavoured to give this peaceful initiative a chance. All that came and went. More groundwork had to be done. After intensive efforts, the Patriotic Front responded and the Dar es Salaam meeting materialized and, to the African, was a considerable success.

304. But to Africa's surprise, this encouraging picture was presented to the world as though there had been fundamental differences for which the Patriotic Front was implicitly responsible. Moreover, we now hear of moves to remove the existing and mandatory sanctions against the racist minority régime of Ian Smith, a development which provoked the African heads of State and government assembled at Khartoum to adopt a strongly worded resolution on the matter, declaring any breach of sanctions by any States, particularly permanent members of the Security Council, as constituting a particular affront to the dignity and aspirations of the African peoples [see S/12787]. Obviously, we all knew very well that this was precisely the objective of Ian Smith in his manoeuvres for an internal settlement. How are we supposed to react when we see indications that his dream might come true?

305. Since we are here discussing Namibia, let me say once more that the role of the five Western countries has been well received not only by Africa but, as you have just witnessed today, by the sole and authentic representative of the Namibian people, SWAPO. The Assembly of Heads of State and Government meeting at Khartoum having been informed, and I quote, "of an accord reached in Luanda on 12 July 1978 between SWAPO and the representatives of the five Western members of the Security Council on the proposal to effect a negotiated settlement of the Namibian question on the basis of resolution 385 (1976)", welcomed the agreement in a special resolution on Namibia [S/12837, annex]. Will these efforts fully materialize in self-determination and genuine national independence for Namibia? Who knows? Many will certainly continue to doubt. But Africa wants to give peaceful methods a chance. After all, as I have indicated, that is the African way if and when given a chance.

306. While always welcoming any initiatives for peace, the main hope of the African lies in the institutions of the United Nations, and especially the Security Council. In the same resolution I referred to above, the Assembly of Heads of State and Government, mindful of the special responsibility of the United Nations over Namibia, requested "the Security Council and the Secretary-General of the United Nations to proceed expeditiously towards giving effect to resolution 385 (1976) as a follow-up to the Luanda agreement" in order that total and full independence might be granted to Namibia. The Assembly also declared "that the United Nations must have effective powers and authority to exercise supervision and control regarding the transitional administration, the security measures and the conduct of the election process". It also reaffirmed its support of the United Nations Council for Namibia as the sole legal authority for the Territory until its independence. In this connexion the Assembly requested the Secretary-General to maintain consultations with and keep the United Nations Council for Namibia duly informed on the various stages of the process to give effect to resolution 385 (1976). The Assembly further requested the OAU President to maintain contact with the Secretary-General in an effort to ensure that all necessary measures will be taken in order to achieve the independence of Namibia. Finally, the Assembly reiterated its unequivocal support for SWAPO in the struggle for the total liberation of Namibia.

307. The role of the United Nations, independently of the mediation of Western countries, was also the subject of a different and exhaustive resolution on Namibia by the OAU Council of Ministers in its Khartoum session [ibid.]. The Council called on the Security Council to act decisively against any manoeuvres of the illegal occupation régime to frustrate the legitimate aspirations of the Namibian people to self-determination, freedom and national independence in a united Namibia.

308. The ball is now in the Security Council and, so far, it has been well played. But it is now a question of whether the Council, operating through the United Nations institutions of which the Council for Namibia is a specialized body, will continue to effect a decisive solution which will lead to free elections, genuine self-determination, and respect for the territorial integrity of Namibia.

309. Speaking of territorial integrity and recalling what I said earlier about the indivisibility of continental integrity and security, the issue of Walvis Bay continues to engage the concern of Africa. In the resolution of the OAU Council of Ministers referred to above, the Council reaffirmed in the most solemn manner that Walvis Bay was an integral part of Namibia, and reiterated its unequivocal condemnation of South Africa's attempts at annexation of Walvis Bay, which would constitute a flagrant violation of Namibia's unity and territorial integrity.

310. It is abundantly clear in the references I have made above that Africa, represented at all levels, maintains a strong faith in the United Nations in general and the Security Council in particular on this issue of the independence of a united Namibia. We were confident that the results of your deliberations would not only prove worthy of this faith but also of the name of this great Council and this great Organization. The result so far has been gratifying, but the real test still lies ahead. Let us hope for the best and continue to do the best towards the ultimate objective of self-determination and independence for Namibia.

311. The PRESIDENT: The next speaker is the representative of Angola, who wishes to speak in his capacity as Chairman of the African Group for the month of July. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

312. Mr. DE FIGUEIREDO (Angola): In my capacity as Chairman of the African Group for the month of July, allow me, Sir, to extend to you our very best wishes for your presidency of the Security Council.

313. The issue at present under debate is one that holds a special place in the hearts and minds of all Africans. In fact, if there is one African issue on which all Africans are completely united, it is that of Namibia. There are no conflicting positions; there are no sides; there are, for once, no camps. All of Africa supports the struggle of the Namibian people for self-determination and independence, led by their national liberation movement, SWAPO. The unanimity of African support is further evident from the resolution on Namibia recently adopted by the heads of State and government meeting at Khartoum. Our views on the matter of Namibian sovereignty and independence are

spelled out in this most recent resolution. On this subject, our African brothers and comrades are gathered here not to challenge, not to confront, but to complement each other's efforts in the search for a just solution to the Namibian problem.

314. Namibia is in the unique position of having been colonized and re-colonized. Since the arrival of the South African armies under the racist Generals Louis Botha and Jan Smuts, which easily overcame the small garrison maintained there by Kaiser Wilhelm in 1915, the land and nation of Namibia has been progressively transformed into a fifth province of South Africa, ruled by the racist minority at Pretoria, bringing the people of Namibia under the same hateful rules and system of *apartheid* as our majority brethren in South Africa itself. All this took place despite the League of Nations Mandate that enjoined Pretoria to "promote to the utmost" the social progress of the Territory's native inhabitants. Conditions grew progressively worse in the Territory, and Pretoria made every attempt to strip the Namibian people of dignity and of social and economic progress.

315. It was not until African liberation movements in southern Africa had made tremendous sacrifices, after SWAPO had waged a bitter struggle for over a decade, after the spark of revolution and the thirst for independence had spread like wildfire over our continent, that international action began to be co-ordinated with regard to Namibia. This took the form of the establishment of the United Nations Council for Namibia and other United Nations-related programmes, such as the United Nations Institute for Namibia based at Lusaka. However, the ultimate credit for the liberation of Namibia goes to its national liberation movement, SWAPO, which has received active support from progressive States and anti-imperialist forces.

316. For centuries, the history and destiny of Africa have been guided, exploited and ruled by the parliaments of Europe. Western imperialists conquered Africa and created a vast empire which fueled its economic needs. This empire has slowly, sometimes violently, been eroded, but imperialism has managed to rear its head in different ways. We find it difficult to believe that South Africa could have maintained its stranglehold over Namibia without the active, passive or tacit support of Western imperialism.

317. We hope that we are at the threshold of Namibian independence—genuine independence, and not a mockery of it. If political sovereignty is conceded but economic sovereignty remains in the hands of racist Pretoria, then independence will be a myth—a sham—and social justice and freedom will continue to be a mirage. It is not for this that the Namibian people have shed their blood. They have not undergone torture, loss of rights, incarceration and death only to inherit a semblance of democracy. Africans are prepared to fight further to gain what is rightfully theirs: freedom, choice, independence—a free Africa.

318. Thus the economic independence of Namibia is vital to its political well-being and exercise of sovereignty. And Namibia's political independence and economic progress both depend on Walvis Bay, the Territory's only deep-water port, which was illegally annexed last year by South Africa.

Walvis Bay was and is an integral part of Namibia. To allow any other arrangement would affect the full exercise of sovereignty by Namibia. Fishing is also centred in Walvis Bay, an important source of revenue and food for the future State.

319. It is inconceivable that South Africa should be allowed to man the Rooikop air, sea and military base in Walvis Bay, where South Africa maintains a battalion of ground forces backed by armoured and tank squadrons. The air base has the long low-altitude runway necessary for coastal reconnaissance flights and bomber and interceptor aircraft. It also carries a transmitter in the relay of strategic defence systems to the South African naval base near Cape Town. In fact, some NATO countries have already used Walvis Bay facilities. Thus, other than the fact that Walvis Bay handles 90 per cent of Namibia's trade, and all its mineral exports, the control of Walvis Bay by a government other than that of an independent Namibia would constitute not only a flagrant violation of the territorial integrity of Namibia, but would also pose a constant threat not only to the peace and security of Namibia, but to all of southern Africa.

320. Let there be no doubt in the minds of the international community that Namibian independence is in sight as the outcome of the heroic struggle waged by the gallant people of Namibia. Side by side with the political and armed liberation struggle, SWAPO cadres inside Namibia have long been carrying out intensive political work at the grass roots level to blunt the counter-revolutionary activities by the South African-sponsored puppets. It is the unceasing and revolutionary struggle by the genuine freedom fighters of Namibia that has brought matters to the present stage.

321. A free and secure Namibia is vital to the security of southern Africa, and a free and secure southern Africa is vital to the security of all of Africa. History does not give a second chance. Therefore all of us should do our utmost to seize the present opportunity to help resolve this bitter conflict and rectify one of the most extreme injustices of this century.

322. A free and secure Namibia can result only from the assurance that the Namibian people will not be betrayed, even as genuine independence seems near. One way of ensuring this is by the close guidance and strong presence of the United Nations, which is only fitting, since the international community accepts that the United Nations Council for Namibia is the sole legitimate authority for the Territory till the Namibian people can exercise their right to self-determination and independence. I can do no better than quote from the resolution just adopted at the fifteenth ordinary session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity at Khartoum, which declares that

"the United Nations must have effective powers and authority to exercise supervision and control regarding the transitional administration, the security measures and the conduct of the election process".

323. Without strong guarantees from the United Nations and friends of Namibia will be justified in entertaining any



...ions about the intentions and honesty of the régime  
... at present controls Namibia. There is no doubt that in  
... past such apprehensions were fully justified.

324. A more recent example further compounds our fears:  
Zimbabwe, where no true transfer of power has taken  
place, where the racist Smith régime still rules with a few  
cosmetic changes to foster the illusion that a minority  
régime has been transformed into a majority one. We are  
determined not to allow that to happen to our Namibian  
brothers. Hence we re-emphasize the full involvement of the  
United Nations and the effective power of the United  
Nations machinery inside Namibian territory. The interna-  
tional community owes this much to the people of Namibia  
and to the principles for which the United Nations stands.

325. All of us hope that we shall soon gather here again in  
the Security Council formally to admit an independent  
Namibia into the United Nations. Until that time, we shall  
have to continue our vigilance over and our support for the  
Namibian people.

326. The PRESIDENT: The next speaker is the represen-  
tative of Benin. I invite him to take a place at the Council  
table and to make his statement.

327. Mr. BOYA (Benin) (*interpretation from French*):  
The delegation of the People's Republic of Benin would  
like to thank you, Mr. President, and the other members of  
the Council for having permitted it to participate in this  
debate, the importance of which is clear to all. My  
delegation wishes to take this opportunity to congratulate  
you on your assumption of the presidency of the Council  
for the present month. The delegation of Benin is gratified  
by the excellent relations that unite our two countries and  
hopes that the co-operation between Canada and the  
People's Republic of Benin will grow in strength on the  
basis of the common interests of our two peoples. Thus it is  
a real pleasure for me to see you directing the work of  
the Council at a time when it is considering the question of  
Namibia. We are convinced that under your presidency the  
Council will conclude the present debate in the interest of  
the Namibian people in particular and the African peoples  
in general.

328. The question of the complete and genuine indepen-  
dence of Namibia and the liberation of that international  
territory from racist oppression, economic exploitation  
and cultural obscurantism is a crucial one for my country.  
Indeed, the people of Benin, which since 1972 have been  
engaged in a stubborn and determined struggle against  
foreign domination, know very well that the preservation of  
their complete independence, their fundamental freedoms  
and their territorial integrity depends upon the total  
liquidation of that bastion of oppression of southern  
Africa.

329. The independence of Namibia is one essential step in  
the liberation of Africa, in other words, the consolidation  
of the independence of African countries. The absolute  
support of the People's Republic of Benin for the African  
national liberation movements, clearly enunciated in the  
programme speech of 30 November 1972, is based essen-  
tially on this analysis. That is why my delegation supports

unreservedly the content of the statement just made in the  
Council by the President of SWAPO, Sam Nujoma, concern-  
ing the enormous sacrifices made willingly by the sons of  
Namibia for the liberation of their country from the  
colonial yoke and oppression.

330. That said, I would express briefly the point of view  
of my Government on this important question.

331. The Security Council has just taken an important  
decision for the liberation of Namibia within the frame-  
work of its resolution 385 (1976). The People's Republic of  
Benin, which was then a member of the Council, partici-  
pated in the preparation and adoption of resolution  
385 (1976). My country will therefore support any action  
aimed at implementing both the letter and the spirit of that  
resolution. That is why the delegation of Benin would like  
to emphasize the following points.

332. Walvis Bay is an integral part of Namibia. The  
Security Council must firmly oppose the manoeuvres of the  
racist Pretoria régime for the purpose of severing Walvis Bay  
from Namibia. The decision to annex that enclave, pro-  
claimed by South Africa on 31 August 1977, is null and  
void. Walvis Bay is part and parcel of the sordid plans of  
imperialism; it is meant to serve as a permanent base for  
aggression against an independent Namibia. The people of  
Benin categorically reject the nominal independence and  
neo-colonial alienation of Namibia.

333. The stationing of 1,500 South African troops at the  
border between Angola and Namibia is a serious obstacle to  
the process leading to the genuine independence of  
Namibia. The Security Council must therefore call for the  
complete disbanding of those South African troops. That is  
a *sine qua non* of a peaceful process towards independence.

334. The electoral process must be assured by democratic  
guarantees.

335. Finally, the Security Council must take the necessary  
steps to discharge its responsibilities fully and ensure the  
achievement of true independence for Namibia.

336. The representative of those who organized the  
Sharpeville massacres, of those who organized the Soweto  
massacres, the representative of the executioners of Steve  
Biko and so many other South African patriots, has just  
made a very clear statement. He is apparently convinced of  
what he has said, and that is why my delegation is forced to  
believe that the resolutions which the Security Council has  
just adopted constitute a veritable trap. But the people of  
Namibia, under the firm leadership of SWAPO, will succeed  
in thwarting all the sordid manoeuvres of the racist Pretoria  
régime and the imperialist Powers designed to make the  
independence of Namibia meaningless.

337. The PRESIDENT: The next speaker is the represen-  
tative of Mali. I invite him to take a place at the Council  
table and to make his statement.

338. Mr. KANTE (Mali) (*interpretation from French*):  
First, my delegation would like to thank you,  
Mr. President, and through you all the members of the

Security Council, for granting us this opportunity to participate in this debate which is so important for all of Africa. The delegation of Mali cannot but be pleased at seeing you preside over this debate, in view of the good relations that unite our two Governments and peoples.

339. The Security Council is meeting again to consider the Namibian tragedy. In the view of my delegation, this meeting is of paramount significance. For is this not the first time, in the more than 30 years in which the United Nations has been involved in this tragedy, that we have seen a general agreement reached, one that would free Namibia from the White racist yoke of Pretoria?

340. Hope resides above all in the fact that there seems to exist within the Security Council and SWAPO the political will to embark upon a process which should lead to a just and peaceful settlement of the Namibian question. Moreover, it is this will which made it possible to reach the agreement concluded at Luanda between the five Western members of the Council and SWAPO, which has always been recognized by OAU and the United Nations as the sole and authentic representative of the Namibian people. For the sake of clarity, my delegation would like to emphasize that the Luanda agreement hinges upon three indissoluble elements: first, the Western plan; secondly, the reaffirmation of the fact that Walvis Bay belongs to the Namibian entity; thirdly, the fact that the process of decolonization in Namibia should be carried out, supervised and controlled by the Special Representative of the Secretary-General.

341. Despite this climate of optimism which seems to exist, the moment is grave and the time has certainly not come to sheathe our swords. Indeed, we are aware of the fact that the Namibian problem is without doubt one of those questions that have put the authority and credibility of the United Nations to its greatest test.

342. In this connexion, my delegation must recall that General Assembly resolution 2145 (XXI), which put an end to South Africa's Mandate over Namibia, has never been able to be implemented, as was the case with numerous resolutions of the Security Council and the General Assembly and with the advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice of 21 June 1971.<sup>6</sup> And the South African racist régime's only response to those important decisions was to establish in Namibia the most inhuman system of oppression in the world, introducing the abhorrent policy of *apartheid*. In its arrogance, Pretoria has always cynically opposed and flouted all United Nations decisions. And yet, a single year was sufficient for the five Western members of the Council to compel the South African racists to accept the principle of Namibian independence. Today it has been proved that it was because of the absence of political will on the part of those Powers that we had to lament on so many occasions the useless prolongation of the Namibian crisis and the suffering of our brothers in Namibia.

343. The drama is no longer being played between SWAPO, the sole legitimate representative of the Namibian

people, and the racist Government of Pretoria, which had been disqualified by the Organization since 27 October 1966. The drama is now being played by the members of the Council seated around this table, because the liberation of the Namibian people is their responsibility. The conclusions that the members of the Council will draw from their work must be clear and the important decisions that they will take at the conclusion of the debate must be absolutely unequivocal and unambiguous with respect to the restoration to the Namibian people of their full national rights and the safeguarding of the territorial integrity of the country including Walvis Bay. The residual forces of the racist Pretoria Government must be localized and neutralized to the maximum extent possible by the peace forces of the United Nations.

344. SWAPO and Africa today demonstrated to the entire world their attachment to peace when they agreed to sit down at the negotiating table, just as in the past they demonstrated their ardour in the liberation struggle. Once again it is up to the Western Powers not to disappoint them in the implementation of the important decisions which the Council will be taking. They must make a determined commitment to begin the process which will lead to the decolonization of Namibia within its national frontiers.

345. At this final stage, there can be no question of bypassing the issue of Walvis Bay, which is historically, sociologically, geographically and legally an integral part of Namibia. Is it not precisely such a shirking of responsibility at the moment of decolonization that lies at the root of the grave tensions which continue to rend the Middle East and the acute crises that continuously endanger peace in South-East Asia and other regions? The members of the Council cannot sanction the unjustified claims of Pretoria and thus deliberately help to implant a thorn in the flesh of an independent Namibia, creating a source of tension which could at any moment unleash one of the most tragic racial wars of history.

346. The decolonization of Namibia must be full and complete, and the colonial South African administration, with its police and residual troops, must leave the Territory as soon as the Special Representative of the Secretary-General so orders, in pursuance of his mandate.

347. In the interview which the Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs of the United Kingdom, Mr. David Owen, granted on 24 June to the magazine *Le nouvel observateur*, he acknowledged that "the Western world generally does not support nationalist movements". I congratulate him on his candour. This thought would seem to indicate desire for a change in attitude in the political stance of the Western Powers.

348. That would be a sign of the times. May the decisions taken at this series of meetings of the Security Council and their implementation in the field provide confirmation that. The process that has been begun today marks a crowning achievement in the national liberation struggle that the heroic people of Namibia have been waging for many years under the flag of their vanguard and spearhead party, SWAPO. The people and Government of Mali, through me once again to assure them of our com-

<sup>6</sup> *Legal Consequences for States of the Continued Presence of South Africa in Namibia (South West Africa) notwithstanding Security Council Resolution 276 (1970), Advisory Opinion, I.C.J. Reports 1971, p. 16.*

...port. We welcome President Sam Nujoma, who is  
...ent here, that ardent patriot, that true, irrefutable  
...er of the Namibian people under whose dynamic and  
... leadership SWAPO has won this very decisive victory.

... That is the message His Excellency President Moussa  
...ré, head of State of Mali, especially asked me to  
...vey to the Security Council on behalf of the people and  
...ernment of Mali, in the hope that the great decisions  
... Council was to take on Namibia's future would help us  
...get the many frustrations and the abusive vetoes of the  
...tern Powers which, alas, for many years have marked  
... evolution of the Namibian tragedy in the United  
...tions.

350. The PRESIDENT: The next speaker is the repre-  
...ntative of Sri Lanka. I invite him to take a place at the  
...ouncil table and to make his statement.

351. Mr. GOONERATNE (Sri Lanka): Mr. President, let  
... first convey to you our warm congratulations on your  
...umption of the presidency of the Council for this  
...onth. I should like to thank you and the other members  
... of the Council for giving me an opportunity to participate  
... in this meeting as it discusses the situation in Namibia. I  
...participate both as representative of Sri Lanka and as  
...representative of the current Chairman of the Group of  
... Non-Aligned Countries.

352. The Group of Non-Aligned Countries have always in  
...mistakable terms expressed their unswerving solidarity  
... with the Namibian cause and the Namibian people, and it is  
... in this context that I wish to place before the members of  
... the Council the text of a telegram sent to the Secretary-  
... General and the President of the Security Council by the  
... Ministers for Foreign Affairs of non-aligned countries at  
... present meeting at Belgrade, Yugoslavia. The message reads  
... as follows:

[For the text, see S/12791.]

353. The decisions adopted today mark a certain advance  
... towards the goals of the freedom, national independence  
... and territorial integrity of Namibia. However, as we have  
... heard from previous speakers, there remain areas to be  
... negotiated before the goal is reached. It is a period calling  
... for great vigilance on the part of all countries and, on  
... behalf of the Chairman of the Group of Non-Aligned  
... Countries, I wish to assure the people of Namibia of the  
... continued and unswerving solidarity of the non-aligned  
... States.

354. The PRESIDENT: The next speaker is the repre-  
...ntative of Senegal. I invite him to take a place at the  
...ouncil table and to make his statement.

355. Mr. SYLLA (Senegal) (*interpretation from French*):  
... President of the Republic of Senegal deemed it fitting  
... to be specially represented at this meeting of the Security  
... Council to testify to his faith in this international Organiza-  
... tion, especially in these historic circumstances. Throughout  
... the events that led to today's meeting, President  
... Leopold Sédar Senghor has believed that the United  
... Nations provided the only valid framework within which an

internationally acceptable agreement on Namibia could be  
concluded. When he was told of the Luanda agreement, he  
was pleased that the negotiations leading to a settlement of  
the Namibian problem were being conducted again within  
the ideal framework of the United Nations.

356. Mr. President, I should like to say that I am  
particularly pleased to see you presiding over this important  
meeting, which the Security Council is devoting to the  
thorny problem of Namibia. My pleasure is particularly  
understandable because your country Canada, and mine,  
Senegal, are bound by close ties of co-operation based on  
mutual respect.

357. On this occasion I should like to thank the members  
of the Council for granting my delegation's request to speak  
in this debate.

358. We are meeting here in circumstances that can only  
be called exceptional. The Luanda agreement is indeed the  
culmination of long efforts to put an end to a situation so  
often condemned by the entire international community.  
One need only recall that ever since 1966, when the  
General Assembly decided to withdraw the administration  
of Namibia from South Africa, many Security Council and  
General Assembly resolutions have been adopted but not  
implemented. Today, the five Western members of the  
contact group of the Security Council, notwithstanding the  
suspicion caused by their initiative, have succeeded, with  
SWAPO, in finding a platform that provides us with a  
glimmer of hope on an otherwise rather gloomy horizon in  
southern Africa. We think it important to consider this  
initiative as a highly political action aimed at producing a  
real solution, one that is internationally acceptable, to the  
problem before us.

359. We realize that the Luanda document could not be  
perfect and we regret that. However, what seems to us the  
most important consideration is that it constitutes a basis  
for action. In this sense, it is highly positive. The conflicting  
positions which it seeks to reconcile could not, in our view,  
be reconciled in a better manner. In this sense, we must  
keep our realism, as we must recognize that the resolutions  
thus far adopted by our Organization have not all been  
implemented. Whether we wish to admit it or not, there has  
been, against the will of the Organization, a situation which  
the most stubborn efforts have not succeeded in changing.

360. Now that the United Nations has taken the initiative,  
we would say that the problem of the credibility of the  
Organization will depend on the follow-up to the decisions  
adopted a few moments ago by the Security Council, and  
particularly on the unresolved question of Walvis Bay, for  
the Organization cannot accept that a country should come  
into existence in a Balkanized and mutilated state. Thus,  
thanks to this welcome initiative, with which we are very  
pleased, as President Senghor said when on 5 January 1976  
he opened the Dakar International Conference on Namibia  
and Human Rights, "the time has perhaps come for the  
international community to assume its responsibilities"

361. SWAPO has also just demonstrated great political  
acumen. As a liberation movement, it has conducted an  
armed struggle to gain for its people the right to self-

determination, independence and national sovereignty within the framework of territorial integrity. However, today it has assumed historic responsibilities by taking a place at the table with five countries, whose responsibility for the Territory which it seeks to liberate is undeniable, in order to negotiate a document of such far-reaching significance. It has thus agreed to take risks, incalculable risks, which are in keeping with its determination to restore all the fundamental rights of its people.

362. I should like here to pay a tribute to Mr. Sam Nujoma, who, if there was any need, has now confirmed his stature as a leader and statesman.

363. I would also take this opportunity to pay a tribute to the courage of the freedom fighters—those who are still alive and those who have fallen on the battlefield—who have made possible the dialogue taking place today in the Security Council.

364. Senegal believes that the basis for an acceptable settlement has just been created. It is now for the international community to provide guarantees for a just and genuine solution.

365. The United Nations must demonstrate that it can discharge important and complex functions in helping Namibia to organize elections and accede to independence. However, free elections cannot take place where there is repression or under conditions of insecurity and intimidation. The international community must insist that all necessary steps should be taken to ensure respect for law and order and guarantee general security throughout the Territory.

366. We are thus looking forward to positive proposals by the Secretary-General with regard to the role of his Special Representative and the guarantees necessary for the proper implementation of the agreement that has been reached. We would also hope that the United Nations Council for Namibia will continue to play a role in keeping with its mandate. We are convinced that that Council has an important role to play in the complex transitional period in Namibia. My delegation hopes that the selfishness of some will not prevail over the self-respect of others.

367. The results achieved at this afternoon's meeting show once again that, if we all remain attentive to the voices expressing the profound aspirations of the peoples of the world, we can spare the international community needless tension and suffering and thereby contribute to the advent of a truly humanitarian civilization. And, in conclusion, I wish to express the hope that this meeting proves to be the culmination of the collective efforts of the international community to restore to Namibia its proper boundaries, its inalienable right to justice and peace and its authentic personality.

368. Mr. TROYANOVSKY (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*interpretation from Russian*): At today's meeting the representative of the South African régime made a statement. That statement cannot be viewed as anything but a strong challenge to the United Nations and the Security Council. It once again confirms that the racist

régime does not intend to abide by the decisions of the United Nations. In addition, the Pretoria representative interpreted the five-Power plan in such a way as to justify the caution advocated by us as well as by other delegations.

369. As for the slanderous remarks made by the representative of the South African régime aimed at our country and its people, I shall not answer them. I merely wish to say that the fact that the Soviet policy in support of the struggle of the peoples of Africa against colonialism and racism has aroused the concern of the representatives of Pretoria proves its efficacy and affords us great satisfaction.

370. The PRESIDENT: As there are no further names on the list of speakers, I shall now make a statement in my capacity as the representative of CANADA.

371. It is with great satisfaction and full confidence that the future will bear out the momentous decision we have reached that Canada supported resolution 431 (1978) today. The mandate which has thus been given to the Secretary-General will enable him to take the preliminary steps that will put into effect the proposal for a settlement which has been agreed upon by the principal interested parties—the Government of South Africa and SWAPO and will ultimately lead Namibia to independence, which is a goal of which the international community and Namibians have long been striving.

372. We rejoice today not only because the United Nations has once more demonstrated its vitality but more especially because the Namibian people will at long last be given the opportunity to determine their own future. The struggle for liberty, human rights and economic independence has been long and arduous, but we believe that the end of this struggle is now in sight.

373. Canada is proud to have been closely associated with the difficult process of negotiation which has resulted in today's decision. The numerous countries and organizations which have contributed to this success—and I would mention in particular the front-line States, South Africa and SWAPO—must be congratulated on their spirit of co-operation and accommodation. Had they not been willing to forgo the rigidities of the past and prepared to entertain new concepts, the international community would still be facing the same impasse that has existed for the past 30 years.

374. But, more importantly, we must now look to the future. Much remains to be done before we can welcome in this chamber the new government of independent Namibia. More than ever before, the co-operation of all Members of the United Nations and of all Namibians will be necessary. More than ever before, we shall have to rely on the Secretary-General and his staff to implement the agreement that has been reached. We know we can count on their devotion and experience, and they in turn can count on our support. Our interest in Namibia will not cease with the adoption of resolutions here. We look forward to the future establishment of the best of relations with independent Namibia.

375. Many of those who have spoken during this debate have stressed the historic importance of our commitment

tion. We certainly share this sentiment and are above all conscious that what the world is being shown today is that peaceful solutions for the most difficult and apparently intractable problems remain possible if there exist the necessary determination, patience and tolerance. We hope that, as others have said, our action concerning Namibia will serve as an example as to how other political problems might be solved.

376. Finally, I should like to associate myself with the remarks made by the Foreign Ministers of France, the

Federal Republic of Germany, the United Kingdom and the United States, and in particular with the statement made by Secretary of State Vance on the question of Walvis Bay.

377. I should like to thank the members of the Council, the Secretary-General and all others who have been closely involved in the process which has led to the successful conclusion of this meeting for the full co-operation they have extended to me, as well as for their kind sentiments.

*The meeting rose at 8.45 p.m.*