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## Agenda item 27:

Question of Namibia (*continued*):

- (a) Report of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples;
- (b) Report of the United Nations Council for Namibia . . . 1835

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## AGENDA ITEM 27

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1. Mr. SANGSOMSAK (Lao People's Democratic Republic) (*interpretation from French*): Almost 15 years have gone by since the General Assembly, in resolution 2145 (XXI) of 27 October 1966, declared that Namibia was the direct responsibility of the United Nations, in order to enable the population of the Territory to exercise its right to self-determination and independence. However, the Organization has still not managed to oblige South Africa to withdraw from Namibia, and the *apartheid* régime thus continues savagely to oppress and to exploit the population and wealth of Namibia. At the opening of the thirty-fifth session, while the international community noted and hailed the victory of the people of Zimbabwe in their struggle for national independence and solemnly celebrated the twentieth anniversary of the historic Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples [*resolution 1514 (XV)*], we were severely disappointed to see that the people of Namibia were still continuing to suffer physically and spiritually from the oppressive colonial yoke which had been imposed on them for almost 60 years by the South African régime. It is therefore with a feeling of deep frustration that the delegation of the Lao People's Democratic Republic once again is taking part in the discussion of the question of Namibia, which we hope will very shortly be satisfactorily resolved.

2. Meanwhile, we are constrained to note that Pretoria, instead of learning from the failure of its attempts to keep Zimbabwe as a buffer State, last year stepped up and developed repressive measures against Nami-

bian patriots and increased its manœuvres in order to foil any initiative for a peaceful settlement of the question of Namibia. In this context we have witnessed a number of illegal unilateral actions taken by the racist minority régime of South Africa with a view to imposing its internal settlement on us at all costs. In this respect, while pretending to accept negotiations on the organization of free and democratic elections in Namibia in accordance with Security Council resolution 385 (1976), the *apartheid* régime organized a mockery of an election after which a so-called Constituent Assembly was set up with wide executive and legislative powers.

3. Although the international community has severely condemned and categorically refused to recognize this play-acting, the racist régime none the less is stubbornly going ahead with its administrative preparations to perpetuate the policy of *apartheid* in Namibia by establishing a so-called Council of Ministers with executive powers in almost every field. All these events make it quite clear that South Africa's feigned acceptance of participation in the process of a negotiated settlement has above all served that régime as a smokescreen for carrying through its own plan of internal settlement consisting of the establishment at Windhoek of a puppet government, thus conferring a semblance of legality to the racist occupation.

4. If the racist régime of South Africa has thus far been able to act with arrogance and cynicism, it is because it has benefited from the indulgence of Western circles and other forces of exploitation. Indeed, everyone is aware that for more than three years the five Western countries have been carrying on negotiations with the *apartheid* régime with great fanfare in order to arrive at a negotiated settlement of the question of Namibia. However, as it has turned out, these negotiations have above all given the racists of Pretoria a respite to mature fresh plans for their internal settlement and to weaken the position of the South West Africa People's Organization [SWAPO], which is the sole genuine representative of the Namibian people. The setting up of a number of puppet political parties, in the vain hope of having them share power with SWAPO, if not actually replacing that movement, proceeds directly from South Africa's sinister plan to chip away at SWAPO's influence.

5. In that connexion, South Africa even went so far as blatantly accusing the United Nations of partiality, calling on it to withdraw its recognition of SWAPO as the sole authentic representative of the Namibian people; moreover, it cynically argued that the Namibian conflict was one between SWAPO and the so-called other parties. But, as everyone is aware, the struggle of the Namibian people, under the leadership of its sole representative, SWAPO, is a struggle against colonialism, illegal occupation and *apartheid*, and for

self-determination and national independence. However, the arrogant, dishonest attitude of Pretoria has merely served to strengthen our conviction of South Africa's determination to perpetuate its illegal occupation of Namibia by every means to that end, including the physical and political annihilation of SWAPO.

6. This is now shown, within Namibia, by the stepped-up systematic and continuous harassment, torture and imprisonment of Namibian patriots, particularly members of SWAPO, whose crime was to have struggled for the exercise of their inalienable right to self-determination and independence. The death sentence meted out to Markus Kateka by the illegal occupation authorities has been upheld, despite universal indignation and protestation. This is just one more appalling measure to silence the just struggle waged by the valiant Namibian people.

7. What is more, South Africa, thanks to the indulgence of Western imperialist circles, has used the three years of negotiation to strengthen its military capability in Namibia, employing that Territory as a springboard for launching repeated acts of aggression against independent front-line States, particularly Angola and Mozambique, which have done no more than fulfil their lofty duty of solidarity with the people of Namibia in its just struggle to regain independence. The recent acts of aggression against those two countries represent a serious threat to peace and security in that part of the world. Those unprovoked acts of aggression, which the delegation of the Lao People's Democratic Republic energetically condemns, were accompanied by alarming declarations by the South African authorities that the Pretoria racist régime would not hesitate to resort to the nuclear option if it thought it necessary to do so. There is every reason to fear, in view of its insane reactions thus far, that the racist régime will not hesitate to unleash a nuclear war to perpetuate its domination over the Namibian people and to exert its influence over other countries of southern Africa.

8. The illegal South African authorities in Namibia are characterized not only by their aggressive and repressive nature but also by their criminal exploitation, in collusion with imperialist transnational corporations, of Namibia's natural resources, in total defiance of Decree No. 1 for the Protection of the Natural Resources of Namibia, enacted by the United Nations Council for Namibia [A/35/24, vol. I, annex II]. Furthermore, the hearings on Namibian uranium organized by the Council [*ibid.*, vol. III] have clearly revealed the close co-operation between the illegal South African Administration in Namibia and certain Western countries in the exploitation and purchase of Namibian uranium.

9. We vigorously condemn that illegal and clandestine co-operation, which has enabled its perpetrators to make scandalous profits. Hence, it is extremely urgent to make possible the strict and full implementation of Decree No. 1 with a view to putting an end, once and for all, to the shameless exploitation of Namibia's natural resources. Otherwise, those riches will be rapidly exhausted and the people of Namibia, when it does gain independence, will be poorer than ever.

10. In this connexion, all Governments, particularly those of the Western countries that have not yet

recognized the United Nations Council for Namibia as the sole Administering Authority in Namibia until its independence, must change their attitude by accepting the well-founded nature of the mandate entrusted to that Council by the General Assembly. They must also take the necessary legislative measures to punish offences or crimes in connexion with the exploitation, import and export of Namibian natural resources without the Council's authorization.

11. When the General Assembly decided to postpone consideration of the question of Namibia to await the result of the pre-implementation meeting on the United Nations plan, held at Geneva in January, my delegation had serious doubts that any tangible results could be expected of that meeting. That scepticism was based on the fact that South Africa had always had a negative attitude towards the United Nations and had never shown any interest in solving the Namibian question. Furthermore, after the statement by the South African Government prior to the meeting to the effect that that country would not be directly involved in the organization of elections in Namibia, my delegation finally ceased to believe that such a meeting could be of any use. It is regrettable that it actually did end in failure, a failure for which South Africa was fully responsible. It is also to be regretted that South Africa's Western protectors, because they did not bring enough pressure to bear on their racist ally, share the responsibility for that failure. However, we must not overlook the fact that, although South Africa finally did decide to take part in the Geneva meeting, it was not with the intention of solving the key problems of Namibia—namely, the achievement of a cease-fire and a transition to independence—but, rather, with the aim of carrying out further manoeuvres to distract the attention of the international community from Namibia's real problems and to gain time to enable the illegal South African Administration in Namibia further to consolidate its occupation of the Territory. Also, the main aim of South Africa, in agreeing to take part in the meeting, was, above all, to try to have the so-called Democratic Turnhalle Alliance [OTA] accepted as the true power in Windhoek and, thereby, legitimize permanently its occupation of Namibia. But it is worthwhile stressing that South Africa will in no way manage to carry through its sinister designs, because the international community is more aware than ever of the true problem of Namibia. SWAPO, the sole legitimate representative of the Namibian people, for its part showed maturity and political wisdom and was ready to further a political settlement in Namibia by every possible means, in accordance with the United Nations plan. Unfortunately, the South African Government did not think it worth while to take action to that end, and, consequently, the Namibian patriots and their representative, SWAPO, had scarcely any alternative but to win the independence of Namibia on the battlefield, in a struggle which enjoys the ever wider and more resolute support of all peace-loving and justice-loving peoples.

12. After three years of dilatory tactics and empty promises, and particularly after the failure of the recent Geneva meeting, the United Nations must not continue to allow itself to be deceived and abused by the racist régime of Pretoria and its allies. Given its heavy

responsibility to lead Namibia to independence, the Organization has tarried too long in taking the appropriate measures called for so long by the whole international community. That hesitation has not only caused great suffering to the people of Namibia, but has also seriously damaged the credibility of the United Nations.

13. The delegation of the Lao People's Democratic Republic considers that it is high time that the General Assembly took effective measures to foil all the manoeuvres and perfidious ruses of South Africa and fully guarantee the realization of the legitimate aspirations of the Namibian people to self-determination and independence. In that regard we fully support the Algiers Declaration and Programme of Action on Namibia [*ibid.*, vol. I, para. 91], and we call once again on the Security Council to implement without delay its resolution 439 (1978), in which it clearly stated that if South Africa did not co-operate with it and with the Secretary-General in the implementation of the relevant resolutions of the United Nations concerning Namibia, in particular Security Council resolutions 385 (1976) and 435 (1978), it would be compelled to initiate appropriate actions, including those provided for in Chapter VII of the Charter. Thus far there is nothing to show that the racist régime of South Africa has acted in conformity with the provisions of those resolutions. Quite the contrary; it has continued to defy the Organization with increasing arrogance. As for the Western States permanent members of the Security Council, which witnessed the irresponsible behaviour of South Africa throughout the Geneva meeting, if they sincerely want Namibia to gain independence according to the time-table established by the United Nations, they must join in the endeavours of the international community to impose comprehensive economic sanctions against South Africa. Should the Security Council fail to meet its responsibilities by adopting such measures, the delegation of the Lao People's Democratic Republic will fully support the call of the Conference of Ministers for Foreign Affairs of Non-Aligned Countries, which was held at New Delhi from 9 to 13 February 1981, for the convening of an emergency special session of the General Assembly at the foreign minister level to reconsider the question of Namibia and to take appropriate measures in accordance with the Charter.

14. The delegation of the Lao People's Democratic Republic would like once again to reaffirm its firm support for the just struggle of the people of Namibia for its right to self-determination and independence in the unity and territorial integrity of the country, including Walvis Bay. South Africa must immediately withdraw its Administration and its armed forces, which are illegally on Namibian soil, and bring about the transfer of full powers to the people of Namibia through SWAPO, its sole legitimate and authentic representative. My delegation is convinced that the General Assembly will worthily fulfil its responsibilities in contributing to the achievement of these aims.

15. Mr. ÅLGÅRD (Norway): When the General Assembly decided last December to postpone its debate on the situation in Namibia, it was in the hope that the forthcoming pre-implementation meeting at Geneva would become a breakthrough in the long process towards a free and independent Namibia.

16. Once again those hopes were frustrated by the South African authorities. It is the opinion of the Norwegian Government that South Africa must bear full responsibility for the failure of the Geneva meeting and for the ensuing impasse in the transition process.

17. The Norwegian Government rejects South Africa's excuse for the collapse of the pre-implementation meeting, namely, the alleged lack of impartiality on the part of the United Nations. As far as we have been able to ascertain, the other parties involved in the negotiations made every possible effort to reach an agreement. Today all the principal substantive demands put forward by the South African authorities in previous negotiations have been met. It must therefore be deeply regretted that South Africa has once again put forward new demands, as soon as previous problems had been cleared up.

18. Even though the pre-implementation meeting did not achieve its major objective, we share the view of the Secretary-General that the meeting was in many ways important. For the first time SWAPO and South Africa met at the negotiating table to consider the implementation of the United Nations plan. They were informed in detail of the manner in which the United Nations would discharge its responsibilities during the implementation process and, in particular, of the changes that would take place immediately following the agreement on implementing the independence plan.

19. I should like to take this opportunity to express my Government's satisfaction at the moderation and flexibility shown by SWAPO during the Geneva negotiations. Norway would also like to commend the Secretary-General, his Special Representative and their staff for their untiring efforts to achieve a settlement of this question based on free and fair elections. We are convinced that they can count on the continued unanimous support of the international community in this important endeavour. We should also like to express our appreciation to the Organization of African Unity [OAU], the front-line States, Nigeria and the contact group of five Western countries for their demonstration of good faith and reasonableness during the talks. The Norwegian Government wishes also at this point to renew its expression of support for the settlement plan as proposed by the contact group and as adopted by the Security Council.

20. The important question we are facing at this resumed session is, where do we go from here? We have to discuss what should be done in the wake of the failure of the Geneva meeting to implement the Security Council plan.

21. In the view of my Government it must first be emphasized once again that the United Nations has a special responsibility towards Namibia and that that responsibility cannot be relinquished until an internationally acceptable settlement has been reached in accordance with Security Council resolution 435 (1978).

22. Secondly, we should try to exploit whatever positive results came out of the Geneva meeting. It is of crucial importance that the talks be resumed at an early date with a view to finding a way out of the present impasse. My delegation holds the firm view that the United Nations must not relax its efforts on behalf

of the people of Namibia and of its right to self-determination and independence before those efforts have been brought to a successful conclusion.

23. Thirdly, we join the Secretary-General in urgently appealing to the Government of South Africa to review, with the utmost care, the implications of the Geneva meeting and to reconsider its position with regard to the implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978) at the earliest possible time.

24. Fourthly, we also urge the five members of the Western contact group to continue their efforts to bring about an independent Namibia at an early date. That group was the initiator of the United Nations plan. We find it more important today than ever before that the contact group maintain its efforts to bring about the early implementation of the plan.

25. In conclusion, it must be emphasized that the Namibian question has a bearing far beyond the borders of Namibia. South Africa's policies at present pose a serious threat to peace and stability in southern Africa and beyond. If South Africa maintains its negative attitude and strategy of stalling towards the United Nations plan the international community will have no choice but to revert to effective international measures under the Charter.

26. Mr. NEIL (Jamaica): In the spring of 1978, when it was announced that South Africa had accepted the Western plan for the independence of Namibia, there were many doubts about the sincerity of the racist régime of South Africa. The record over the past three years of negotiations, consultations and talks with the South African régime has confirmed the validity of those doubts. It is unnecessary to recount all the difficult stages of the process which are already known to the General Assembly. But the record is clear that, while the other parties directly concerned have negotiated in good faith, South Africa has employed every available tactic for obstructing the implementation of the plan for Namibian independence adopted by the Security Council in its resolution 435 (1978). Those tactics include violent provocations directed at the other parties to the negotiations, the holding of unilateral elections and the adoption of other illegal measures in the Territory, the introduction of new elements not included in the original plan, and demands for more and more concessions from other parties. The Geneva talks held in January were the latest victim of those tactics. On that occasion, with no more substantive issues left to discuss, South Africa manufactured the so-called impartiality question to justify its refusal to co-operate in setting a date for the implementation of the plan.

27. This intransigent attitude on the part of the South African racist régime at the conference table should be viewed alongside its other activities in southern Africa. Inside Namibia it is seeking to impose a group of puppets to masquerade as representatives of the people and to constitute them as a so-called council of ministers. This band of quislings is kept in power by the army of occupation, which maintains an intensified campaign of terror and repression in the Territory. In addition, we have witnessed a recent escalation of acts of aggression against front-line African States, particularly Mozambique and Angola.

28. When viewed together, those developments are ominous. The gamble it took at Geneva and the pursuit of its lawless activities in southern Africa indicate a growing recklessness on the part of the Pretoria régime, which poses a grave threat to international peace and security.

29. It is necessary for the United Nations to respond with firmness and decisiveness. The United Nations, which has assumed responsibility for the Territory, has a clear duty to make every effort and to use the necessary powers to carry out its responsibilities for the well-being of the Namibian people. The United Nations is faced with a defiant challenge from the illegal régime in the Territory. And it is not only the fate of the nearly 1 million people of Namibia which is at stake; it is also the credibility of the United Nations itself and the extent to which it is prepared to live up to the principles of the Charter and committed to act for those under its protection. Jamaica believes that in the present situation the United Nations should respond to the challenge with forceful and decisive action.

30. Strong pressure should be brought to bear on South Africa. My Government strongly believes that the most appropriate and effective means is by the adoption of comprehensive economic sanctions against the racist régime of South Africa under Chapter VII of the Charter. This action has been urged by the Conference of Ministers for Foreign Affairs of Non-Aligned Countries held at New Delhi in February and by the Council of Ministers of the OAU at its thirty-sixth ordinary session, held at Addis Ababa from 23 February to 1 March. The Security Council, which is entrusted with the responsibility of maintaining international peace and security, should respond positively to those calls. Sanctions are now the only effective means for pressuring the South African régime to end its illegal occupation of Namibia and to allow the Namibian people to exercise its right to self-determination and independence. All else has been tried, but to no avail. The three Western States members of the Council which are also permanent members have a special responsibility at this time. They promoted the plan for a negotiated settlement, and they have a duty to apply pressure on South Africa to comply. In this regard, we recall Security Council resolution 439 (1978), adopted on 13 November 1978, in which the Council demanded that South Africa co-operate with the Security Council and the Secretary-General in the implementation of resolutions 385 (1976), 431 (1978) and 435 (1978). In paragraph 6 of that same resolution, the Security Council warned South Africa that its failure to comply would compel the Council to meet forthwith to initiate appropriate actions under the Charter, including Chapter VII thereof, so as to ensure South Africa's compliance with the aforementioned resolutions.

31. That solemn warning has evidently had no effect on the South African régime, and the time has come for that threat to be implemented.

32. We urge the Western members not to be guided by the politics of kith and kin and by short-term material interests and not to repeat the triple veto of 1975. From the standpoint of both principle and expediency it is important at this time that no country cast its lot with South Africa. South Africa's gamble

in stalling the Geneva talks should not be allowed to succeed. If it is allowed to get away with such stark defiance, then there is little hope that the Council can play an effective role in the Namibian question.

33. Jamaica, for its part, will continue to be steadfast in support of the heroic struggle of the Namibian people for its liberation under the leadership of SWAPO, its sole legitimate representative. We also reaffirm our support for the protection of the territorial integrity of Namibia and declare once again that Walvis Bay and the islands off the coast of Namibia are an integral part of the Territory.

34. My country will remain committed to the achievement of genuine majority rule in a free, independent and united Namibia. The intransigence of the Pretoria régime is apparently leading to a situation where the achievement of these objectives will increasingly depend on the armed struggle of the Namibian people. As custodians of their legitimate hopes and aspirations, the international community must be prepared to provide the requisite political and material support for that people.

35. We must seek also to end the deplorable exploitation of the human and natural resources of Namibia by foreign economic interests operating principally from some Western countries. Their continuing activities help to maintain and strengthen the illegal régime in Namibia and contribute to frustrating and delaying the achievement of independence.

36. Before concluding, I should like, on behalf of my delegation, to congratulate the United Nations Council for Namibia on its work over the past year and to pay a tribute to the outstanding leadership of Mr. Lusaka. Once again, the Council has placed before the Assembly a number of constructive recommendations, which have our support.

37. Mr. LING Qing (China) (*translation from Chinese*): The question of Namibia has now become the most salient issue in the decolonization struggle. Its consideration in the present circumstances, at the resumed thirty-fifth session, has a greater urgency and significance.

38. Since the thirty-fourth session the people of Zimbabwe have won national independence after an arduous, protracted struggle. The glorious birth of the Republic of Zimbabwe has radically altered the balance of power between the African people and the South African racist forces, thereby giving a powerful impetus to the struggle of the Namibian and South African peoples against racist rule. Inspired by the victory of the Zimbabwean people, the Namibian people have further heightened their militancy. Led by SWAPO and supported by the peoples of various countries of Africa and the rest of the world, the Namibian people have defied their brutal enemy in their sustained struggle, dealing heavier and heavier blows to the South African authorities. Enlightened by a wealth of experience gained in the process, and with renewed dedication and fervour, they are intensifying various means of struggle, including armed struggle, to achieve national liberation and independence.

39. This righteous struggle enjoys ever-increasing sympathy and support from the people of Africa and

the rest of the world. Since the independence of Zimbabwe, the African people and the world community have focused their attention on the Namibian people's struggle for national independence and have strongly demanded that the South African colonial régime immediately terminate its illegal occupation of Namibia and implement the relevant United Nations resolutions and plan.

40. However, in defiance of the just demand of the international community, the South African régime has continued its cruel oppression of the Namibian people, arresting Namibian patriots *en masse* and frantically trying to suppress the liberation movement. It has, moreover, frequently carried out military provocations against, and armed incursions into, neighbouring African countries. This deliberate violation of their sovereignty and territorial integrity is a vain attempt to deter the front-line States from rendering support and assistance to the independence struggle of the Namibian people.

41. The South African racist régime has gone back on its word regarding the United Nations plan for the settlement of the question of Namibia. By resorting to all sorts of absurd pretexts and raising one obstacle after another, it stubbornly refuses to implement Security Council resolution 435 (1978), adopted more than two years ago. Last January, a meeting under the auspices of the United Nations was held at Geneva for the implementation of the United Nations plan regarding Namibia. SWAPO, which was a party to the negotiations, demonstrated the utmost restraint and adopted a most positive attitude towards the meeting. The OAU, the front-line States and Nigeria, to name a few, were also very keen and helpful. Only the South African racist régime, which was bent on torpedoing the Geneva meeting, again came up with the absurd argument that it was "premature" to effect a cease-fire now. It stubbornly refused to agree to start the implementation of the United Nations plan regarding Namibia. Consequently, the renewed efforts made by the Namibian people and the international community to achieve the independence of Namibia again came to nought. Indisputably, the South African racist régime should be held fully responsible for the failure of the Geneva meeting.

42. The South African régime, by its wilful disruption of the Geneva meeting, has once again revealed a total lack of sincerity with regard to a negotiated settlement of the Namibian question. It was utterly unwilling to implement the United Nations plan providing for a cease-fire, a demilitarized zone and a United Nations-supervised general election to bring about the independence of Namibia. All this was calculated to put off a cease-fire so that it could continue its repressive campaigns to weaken the SWAPO armed forces and gain time to build up the "internal parties", which are only its puppets, and to push through an "internal settlement" as a means to prevent the Namibian people from gaining real independence, thereby perpetuating the illegal occupation of Namibia by the South African racist régime. This, of course, is wishful thinking.

43. It is by no means accidental that the South African racist régime dared to confront the international community with such an intransigent attitude. Over a long period of time, the imperialist forces, acting on behalf



of their own vested interests, have emboldened and supported the South African racist régime in various ways. Another outside force, which has long coveted Namibia's mineral and marine resources, as well as its strategic location, and which has been infiltrating and expanding in southern Africa by every possible means, has tried hard to place the liberation movement of the Namibian people under its control. The South African racist régime will not fail to take advantage of all this.

44. The Namibian people have traversed a tortuous path in their struggle, but the quest of oppressed nations for independence is a general trend of history desired by all the people. The present excellent situation in which the people of the world are combating imperialism, colonialism and hegemonism is highly favourable to the Namibian people's struggle for national independence. Neither the last-ditch struggle of the South African régime nor the intervention or sabotage by the imperialist and outside forces can hold back the Namibian people's historic march towards complete independence and liberation. We believe that the Namibian people, led by SWAPO and supported by the justice-upholding countries and peoples of Africa and the world, will certainly win genuine national independence as long as they close their ranks, persist in their struggle and dispel all outside interference.

45. The intransigence of the South African régime has aroused the strong resentment and angry condemnation of the people of Namibia and, indeed, the people and public opinion the world over. The final Declaration adopted by the recent Conference of Ministers for Foreign Affairs of Non-Aligned Countries at New Delhi strongly denounced the South African régime for its criminal act of sabotaging the Geneva meeting, demanded mandatory sanctions against that régime and appealed to the world for greater support for the just cause of the Namibian people. The meeting of the Council of Ministers of the OAU which concluded a few days ago reaffirmed the determination of the African countries and peoples to give firm support to the Namibian people's struggle and demanded effective mandatory sanctions against South Africa.

46. The United Nations Council for Namibia, presided over by Mr. Lusaka of Zambia, has carried out many activities and performed much useful service in mobilizing the people and public opinion of the world in support of the just struggle of the Namibian people, championing the independence of Namibia and defending the interests of the Namibian people. The Chinese delegation actively supports the work of the Council.

47. The Chinese Government and people will, as always, and together with the African countries and peoples, firmly support the Namibian people's just struggle against the colonial and racist régime of South Africa and for the national liberation and independence of Namibia. We highly appraise and firmly support the correct stand taken by the front-line States in assisting the struggle of the Namibian people. We sternly condemn the South African reactionary régime for its continued illegal occupation of Namibia, for its cruel suppression of the Namibian people and for its wanton attacks and aggression against the front-line States.

48. The Chinese delegation fully supports the stand and proposal of the New Delhi Conference and of the Council of Ministers of the OAU. We fully support the correct recommendations contained in the report of the United Nations Council for Namibia. We hold that the General Assembly at this resumed session should not only reaffirm its strong condemnation of the reactionary deeds and obdurate stand of the South African régime but should also enable the United Nations fully to discharge its functions so as to ensure the speedy and effective implementation of the United Nations resolutions and plan relating to the question of Namibia. The General Assembly should now look into and adopt the correct ideas and recommendations put forward by the New Delhi Conference, the Council of Ministers of the OAU and the United Nations Council for Namibia. It should give greater and more effective support to the Namibian people's just struggle and apply effective sanctions, as provided for in Chapter VII of the Charter, against the South African racist régime. We expect and hope that the General Assembly at this resumed session will make the due positive contribution to the advancement of the cause of Namibia's independence.

49. Mr. LIPATOV (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic) (*interpretation from Russian*): The problem of the long-suffering people of Namibia has claimed the attention of the international community and of the General Assembly for many years now. In the present circumstances, where there is a heightened conflict between the forces of national liberation and progress and those of imperialism and reaction, it takes on a special significance.

50. Last December the United Nations and, indeed, all progressive mankind solemnly celebrated the twentieth anniversary of the historic Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, which indicated the way leading to the free and independent development of dozens of States in Asia, Africa and Latin America. Today we can point with some pride to the fact that the process of the final elimination of colonialism has now reached its culminating stage. A new and important achievement on this path was the establishment of the newly created State of Zimbabwe, whose people, as a result of its own valiant struggle, swept aside the white minority régime in Rhodesia and won its independence. This fact, and also the growing intensity of the liberation struggle in Namibia and South Africa itself, has clearly shown, as was emphasized at the twenty-sixth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union by the Head of the Soviet State and General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Comrade Brezhnev, that "the domination of 'classic' colonizers and racists is reaching its end".

51. However, the blots of colonialism have not yet disappeared from the face of our planet. The long-suffering people of Namibia remain under the heel of the South African colonizers, who have openly thrown down the gauntlet to the international community. In attempting at all costs to keep this Territory under its control, the Fascist régime of Pretoria has ignored and flouted the numerous General Assembly and Security Council resolutions and is attempting to consolidate its presence in Namibia, further stepping up the

terrorism practised against its indigenous population and barbarically plundering its natural resources. There is still persecution, imprisonment, torture and murder of those who support or are members of SWAPO, the sole legitimate representative of Namibia recognized by the United Nations and the OAU as its political vanguard. On the basis of repressive legislation which has been arbitrarily extended to the country by the Pretoria régime, thousands of innocent people are being imprisoned and condemned.

52. The militarization of Namibia by South Africa, whose troops in the Territory now total more than 70,000, is continuing at an ever-increasing rate. Namibia is being used by the South African racists as a beach-head to enable them to carry out acts of aggression against neighbouring African States with a view to intimidating the front-line States and depriving the Namibian patriots of assistance and support. Last June the Security Council once again considered the further acts of aggression against the People's Republic of Angola, as a result of which more than 600 persons were killed or wounded, mostly women and children. Zambia has been a target of constant armed invasions by South Africa and also of bombings and artillery fire. A fresh act of international terrorism was perpetrated by the Pretoria racists on 30 January this year, when they attacked a camp of refugees from South Africa situated in the suburbs of the capital of the People's Republic of Mozambique. As a result of machine-gun fire and mortar fire nine persons were killed and many wounded in that camp.

53. The list of the misdeeds and illegal acts which the racists in Pretoria, throwing off all restraint, have perpetrated could be continued. And the reply to the question of why for so many years the South African racists have been able to carry out acts that are in blatant contradiction of the norms of international law can be found, as we know, not in the strength of the régime itself but, rather, in the broad political, economic and military support which it receives from outside. The days of the *apartheid* régime would have been numbered long ago had the transnational corporations of Western countries not had a deep-rooted desire to preserve the colonial régime in Namibia, which guarantees them fabulous profits through the merciless exploitation of the human and natural resources of that country in violation of Decree No. 1 enacted by the United Nations Council for Namibia and approved by the General Assembly. The progressive depletion of Namibia's natural resources is causing growing concern in the international community in view of the possible deleterious effects of such depletion on the future economic viability of independent Namibia.

54. In collusion with the occupying South African régime foreign economic circles are plundering the natural resources of the Territory on an ever-growing scale. As is indicated in document A/AC.109/611, the exploitation of minerals in the Territory of Namibia involves at least 32 foreign companies with headquarters in the United States, the United Kingdom, France, the Federal Republic of Germany, Canada and South Africa. The same document goes on to state that during the 15-month period ending 31 March

1978 the Anglo-American Corporation of South Africa alone made a net profit of 241.7 million rands.

55. To preserve the *status quo* in that area, and to protect their own selfish interests, the countries of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization [NATO] are making active efforts further to strengthen South Africa's military potential. According to document A/AC.109/605 and Corr.1, compiled by the United Nations Secretariat, in 1978 South Africa spent \$US 330 million on the acquisition of new major weapons from abroad. World public opinion has been particularly concerned by South African activity aimed at developing its nuclear potential, in which, as is known, it has been assisted by a number of Western States. It is perfectly clear that the possibility of the South African racists creating nuclear weapons represents a serious threat to international peace and security and may indeed have far-reaching consequences.

56. In recent years, while intensifying its colonial practices in Namibia itself, the racist régime in Pretoria has taken a number of steps to substitute for an authentic settlement of the problem a so-called internal settlement which would make it impossible for a genuinely independent Namibia headed by SWAPO to come into being. These manoeuvres are constantly being carried out by South Africa behind a smokescreen of negotiations and demagogic statements regarding certain conditions with which implementation of the United Nations plan for Namibia would be hedged about. The deliberate policy of evasion and open sabotage that is being pursued by the racists of Pretoria at these talks again confirms South Africa's lack of respect for the United Nations and its desire to perpetuate its illegal occupation of the Territory and to impede the realization of the legitimate aspirations of the people of Namibia and mislead the international community.

57. Evidence that the Pretoria régime has utilized the prolonged period of negotiation to implant its puppets in Namibia is provided by the fact that a so-called council of ministers has been set up in Windhoek as the governing body of the Territory. However, the illegality of these manoeuvres of South Africa has frequently been emphasized by the United Nations, which has quite justly indicated that they are simply further attempts to block a just settlement of the Namibian problem and to preserve the old order in Namibia. That became quite clear at the recent Geneva meeting on Namibia. The delegation of the Republic of South Africa brought about the breakdown of the United Nations plan by refusing to agree to a cease-fire and various other points in it. The Geneva meeting once again demonstrated the Botha régime's ignorance of the elementary norms of international law and its open defiance of the United Nations and its decisions.

58. The time has now come to take resolute and effective steps to force South Africa to submit to the will of the international community, which has been expressed in numerous resolutions and decisions of the General Assembly, the Security Council and other United Nations bodies. The delegation of the Ukrainian SSR believes that the right of the people of Namibia to self-determination and independent development on the basis of unity and territorial integrity cannot and should not be the subject of bargaining. The South African régime is occupying Namibia illegally

and in defiance of United Nations decisions, and therefore it should immediately and unconditionally withdraw its troops, its police and its administrative apparatus from the entire Territory, including Walvis Bay, and should disband the military and paramilitary formation of its puppets. At the present session the General Assembly should take effective steps immediately to put an end to the illegal occupation of Namibia by the racist régime of Pretoria and to transfer the full measure of authority in that country to the legitimate representative of the Namibian people, SWAPO. For many years now SWAPO has constantly demonstrated its political maturity. That organization possesses the necessary personnel and sufficient experience, it enjoys the full trust of the Namibian people, and it is capable of shouldering responsibility for government of the country.

59. We believe that it is extremely important, indeed essential, that the embargo on arms supplies to South Africa adopted by the United Nations be unswervingly and faithfully applied. In our opinion, if an end were put to loans, investments and economic and other links with South Africa, and if full international isolation and boycott were to be imposed on the Pretoria régime, that could be an effective way of forcing South Africa to put an end to its illegal occupation of Namibia and would ensure the elimination of one of the last hotbeds of colonialism in southern Africa. For that reason we support the demand of the African countries that the Security Council resolve immediately to impose mandatory sanctions on South Africa pursuant to Chapter VII of the Charter.

60. The delegation of the Ukrainian SSR would like to state that in their just struggle for liberation the people of Namibia can always rely on the complete solidarity and comprehensive support of the Ukrainian people and of all Soviet peoples.

61. Mr. MISHRA (India): The weeks preceding the resumption of the thirty-fifth session of the General Assembly to consider the question of Namibia witnessed an unprecedented international effort aimed at a peaceful transition to independence in Namibia. Never before had the international community shown such unity and determination to secure Namibia's independence. In keeping with the direct responsibility that it had assumed for Namibia, the United Nations provided the leadership for that effort, which explored every avenue that might lead to early implementation of the relevant United Nations resolutions. There was world-wide expectation, indeed, hope against hope, that an independent Namibia would be born before the end of the current year. But we are now back in the General Assembly with accumulated frustration and indignation. What has not been lost is our determination to meet the challenge that this question poses to the conscience of humanity. Indeed, that determination is the greater in the wake of recent failures. To many of us, the collapse of the pre-implementation meeting at Geneva was a foregone conclusion because the issues to be tackled were either beyond its competence or were not relevant to the pre-implementation stage. If South Africa was genuinely interested in the implementation of the United Nations plan, it hardly needed any proof of the ability of the United Nations to carry out its responsibilities with regard to the Territory. The preparedness of the United Nations

Transition Assistance Group [UNTAG] for immediate deployment was beyond question. If the attempt was to secure constitutional guarantees for certain sections of the people within Namibia, it was pointless to do so in a pre-implementation meeting, because such guarantees could only be given by an elected assembly.

62. Much was said or alleged about the role of the United Nations, but if the impartiality of the United Nations was to be established, it was to come after the implementation had commenced, for the United Nations, committed as it is to decolonization, could not have treated and can never treat a colonial oppressor and a people struggling to liberate itself on an equal footing. There was no reason to doubt that the United Nations would be anything but impartial with respect to the different contestants in the elections once the colonial occupation was ended and all parties enjoyed equal freedom to seek the verdict of the people. Therefore, the holding of the pre-implementation meeting was in itself a concession to South Africa, an opportunity offered to that country to make the final choice between confrontation and peace. South Africa had one last opportunity to end a tragic conflict peacefully and to facilitate the solution of a problem affecting not only Namibia but also the region as a whole and the rest of the world. The stated readiness of SWAPO to sign a cease-fire agreement and to agree to a target date for the deployment of UNTAG without any pre-conditions and with the sole objective of bringing peace to the embattled country offered a unique opportunity to South Africa. But in its characteristic manner, South Africa allowed that opportunity to be missed, thereby making a deliberate choice to continue confrontation, hatred, violence and bloodshed.

63. The new situation is characterized by a new challenge, and it ought to elicit a new response from the international community. Deliberations in the international meetings held at Arusha, Lusaka, New Delhi and Addis Ababa were devoted to a search for that response. Opinion was unanimous in those meetings that the time for negotiations with South Africa had passed and that the time had come for the international community to help prepare for the final struggle to liberate Namibia. The world community came to the inevitable conclusion that only the strengthening of SWAPO by all available means would result in success and that the threat to international peace and security caused by South Africa's intransigence made it imperative for the United Nations fully to isolate South Africa politically and economically.

64. We do hope that a rapid reappraisal of policies is taking place in certain capitals which had indirectly encouraged South Africa in its defiance of world opinion. The behaviour of South Africa at the pre-implementation meeting should have come as a shocking revelation to its friends who were under the illusion that patient negotiations would persuade that country to restore the rights of the people of Namibia. If their protestations about their faith in human rights and liberty are genuine and not a mere facade behind which they hide ambitions of economic benefit through collusion with the racist régime, they owe it to themselves to be clear and forthright in their declarations and actions. If they fail to do so now, they too will be missing an opportunity to counter racist terrorism,



to prevent bloodshed in Africa and to promote world peace and security.

65. SWAPO, the sole authentic representative of the people of Namibia, has always had a reputation for courage, fortitude and patriotism. In recent months, even its severest critics have conceded that it also possesses statesmanship and wisdom. SWAPO resorted to armed struggle because it was the only option available to it to realize the rights of the people of Namibia, and that struggle deserves to be strengthened and encouraged by freedom-loving people everywhere. The highest priority today is the strengthening of SWAPO's hand in its efforts not only to liberate Namibia but also to build up a cadre of Namibians who can take over the reins of their nation when it becomes independent. India's total political and moral support is at the disposal of SWAPO, and we shall continue to extend our material support to it whenever we are called upon to do so. We have recently reiterated our willingness to receive a resident representative of SWAPO in New Delhi as a symbol of our renewed commitment to the people of Namibia.

66. The support, rooted in principles, that has been extended to the people of Namibia by the front-line States has cost the latter dear in terms of economic hardship and the constant threat of aggressive reprisals from across their borders. South Africa's armed aggression against Mozambique, Angola and Zambia was designed to destroy their persistent determination to liberate Namibia and to render them unable to assist SWAPO. We express our solidarity with the front-line States and reiterate our faith and conviction that whatever the sacrifice, it will not deter them from continuing to adhere to the principled stand that they have taken in support of Namibian liberation. The official communiqué issued after a meeting of the heads of the front-line States held at Lusaka on 17 February 1981 is testimony to their determination to continue to assist SWAPO in all fields, including political, economic, diplomatic and military assistance.

67. The report of the United Nations Council for Namibia [A/35/24 and Corr.1 and 2] is an exemplary record of its untiring efforts to fulfil the mandate given to it by the terms of resolution 2248 (S-V) of 19 May 1967. Though its primary objective of ensuring the withdrawal of South Africa from Namibia has remained unattained, the Council has continued to function effectively as the only legal Administering Authority for Namibia and has mobilized international support for the cause of Namibia. The unique responsibility entrusted to the Council has invested it with unprecedented rights and obligations which have not been fully appreciated by some States Members of the United Nations. The Council has been handicapped by inadequate appreciation of its responsibilities, by deliberately ambivalent attitudes and at times even by total hostility. It is imperative for the Council as a whole to adopt positions in the best interests of the people of Namibia, regardless of the individual predilections and policies of its own member States. Suggestions in the Council that it should condone South African actions or remain patient to allow South Africa to choose its own time and method for granting freedom to Namibia are inadmissible. We are therefore gratified that the Council has adopted for itself a set of guide-

lines which will remind the members of their obligations and the Council's role and mandate. We wish to place on record our sincere appreciation of the manner in which the Council has been guided by its President, Mr. Lusaka of Zambia.

68. The major achievement of the Council during the past year has been the success it has registered in making the voice of Namibia heard round the world through its visiting missions, its delegations to international conferences, its extraordinary plenary meetings held at Algiers, at which it adopted the historic Declaration and Programme of Action, and finally the hearings on uranium held last year. The report of the Panel which conducted the hearings forms a part of the Council's report to the Assembly. It provides a wealth of information on the illegal exploitation of Namibian uranium and focuses attention on the motivations of certain Governments which have encouraged their multinational corporations to operate freely in Namibia. Indeed, the report provides a deep insight into the policies of certain Western nations with regard to Namibia. It shows that certain countries are fully exploiting the situation in Namibia to amass profits for themselves and to acquire control over the uranium reserves of Namibia. If those Governments have no qualms about depriving the people of Namibia of its natural heritage, if they are in a hurry to make hay while the sun shines, can they be expected to expedite any process that will eventually result in the denial of their present privileged position? Will they ever willingly become the instruments for facilitating freedom for Namibia, only to surrender the business empires they have built up so carefully over the years in collusion with the colonial régime? Such are the questions raised by the Panel after collating information on the exploitation of uranium in Namibia. The report of the Panel will also serve to enable the independent Government of Namibia to claim damages from those who have plundered the natural resources of Namibia and created hazards for the local population by neglecting to observe even the most rudimentary safety precautions in the mining of uranium.

69. The conclusions arrived at by the Panel and the recommendations made by it deserve utmost attention from the world community. The Panel has established beyond any doubt that the activities of foreign economic interests in Namibia are in violation of decisions of the General Assembly, the Security Council and the International Court of Justice. Even without the abundant evidence submitted to the Panel, it is clear that since the occupation of Namibia by South Africa is illegal, any activity undertaken there as part of an arrangement with the South African régime is also illegal. Now that the corporations involved stand totally exposed, the United Nations is in a better position to demand of its Member States that they take effective action to prevent their corporations from engaging in mining in Namibia. Equally important is the recommendation made by the Panel that the concerned countries should be asked to cease every kind of nuclear co-operation with South Africa so that it cannot improve its nuclear capability and thus further endanger peace and security in the world. The Chairman of the Panel, Mr. Noel Sinclair, of Guyana, deserves to be congratulated on the excellent work the Council has done in this field.

70. Taking into account all the pertinent facts, we solemnly call upon the Security Council urgently to convene to impose comprehensive mandatory sanctions against South Africa, as provided for in Chapter VII of the Charter, in order to ensure its immediate compliance with the resolutions and decisions of the United Nations relating to Namibia. As decided last month at the Conference of Ministers for Foreign Affairs of Non-Aligned Countries at New Delhi, in the event of the Security Council's being unable to adopt concrete measures to compel South Africa to end its illegal occupation of Namibia, the General Assembly should urgently consider necessary action in accordance with the Charter and in keeping with the direct responsibility of the United Nations for promoting self-determination, freedom and national independence for Namibia.

71. The Prime Minister of India said on the occasion of the presentation of the Jawaharlal Nehru Award for International Understanding to Nelson Mandela, the heroic freedom fighter of South Africa:

“A struggle for freedom can be suppressed; its soldiers killed, imprisoned, humiliated. But the idea of freedom cannot be stamped out; some spark will persist to burst into flame somewhere, sometime, to light the way and illumine hearts and ultimately lead to success. Neither colour nor caste nor sex makes one person superior or inferior. No matter what laws South Africa devises for itself, history cannot be denied nor will the inexorable march of the future be halted.”

72. Mr. KOMATINA (Yugoslavia): The General Assembly has met again to deal with the problem of Namibia in an atmosphere characterized by betrayed expectations and at a time when we have reached—as was recently stated at the Conference of Ministers for Foreign Affairs of Non-Aligned Countries at New Delhi—a critical moment of deterioration in international relations.

73. South Africa has once again confirmed that it can defy with impunity the decisions of the world Organization by continuing its illegal occupation of Namibia, although we had wanted to believe that all the conditions had been created for the pre-implementation negotiations to lead to the final submission of South Africa to the will of the majority and to South Africa's withdrawal from Namibia. For this reason it was decided to postpone consideration of the problem of Namibia during the thirty-fifth session of the General Assembly so as to ensure, as it was argued, that the debate on this question would not jeopardize the prospects for reaching agreement at Geneva.

74. It was yet another attempt by the international community to bring about a peaceful solution through the implementation of the United Nations plan. Thus everything was done in order to make it impossible for South Africa to find any pretext for continuing its policy of illegal occupation. SWAPO, for its part, has given proof of statesmanship and responsible behaviour, striving to contribute to the successful outcome of that meeting. While the whole world held its breath in the hope that the road towards the independence of Namibia had been cleared, South Africa once again arrogantly ignored the universal demand for the liberation of Namibia and brought about the failure

of the meeting. If any doubt concerning South Africa's real intentions still existed and if any hopes that under “the right conditions” it might agree to the implementation of the United Nations plan were still entertained by some circles, there can be no doubt whatsoever now, after the Geneva meeting, concerning South Africa's true intentions.

75. All actions by South Africa, including its pretended readiness to negotiate with the United Nations, are aimed at preserving the present situation in Namibia as long as possible, with a view to continuing a policy of oppression and exploitation. In this connexion, South Africa obviously expects that the puppet groups it itself installed will, in the meantime, become sufficiently strong to assume the role of protagonists of so-called independence, which, under such circumstances, could not be anything else but a sham.

76. As shown by the reports before us, the Pretoria régime continues to pursue a policy of internal oppression and external aggression. It is doing so in order to stifle the liberation struggle that the people of Namibia is waging under the leadership of SWAPO, its sole authentic representative, and to undermine international solidarity with that struggle. The system of *apartheid* and reign of terror persists; acts of aggression continue to be perpetrated with impunity against the independent African front-line States, inflicting heavy losses in human lives and causing vast material damage.

77. In pursuing this policy, South Africa enjoys, or hopes to enjoy, the support of forces which are interested in transforming that part of the world permanently into a raw-materials reserve or strategic stronghold. Actually, it is obvious that one of the main factors prompting South Africa to hold on to Namibia at all costs is the Territory's natural resources, which are ruthlessly exploited by South Africa in co-operation with transnational corporations.

78. The responsibility of all of us, especially after the failure of the Geneva talks, to compel South Africa to withdraw from Namibia is greater than ever before. The responsibility rests especially with the members of the contact group, whose initiative has served as a basis for the United Nations plan. The outcome of the Geneva talks gives the impression that the contact group did not act effectively to force South Africa to implement this plan. Such a lack of effective action is objectively bound to result in prolonging South Africa's illegal Administration in Namibia. In fact, it is hard to believe that those Western countries which are engaged in all-round co-operation, including military co-operation, with South Africa are not in a position to exert the necessary influence or pressure on South Africa with a view to preventing the racist régime from undertaking actions that pose a threat to peace and security. The situation in and regarding Namibia does not require any further clarification. At the same time, it clearly points to the only proper course of action to be pursued—namely, the necessity to intensify the pressure to be brought to bear by the international community on South Africa, with all the means at its disposal, until the final liberation of Namibia.

79. This course of action was recently confirmed in the Declaration adopted by the Ministers for Foreign

Affairs of Non-Aligned Countries, at New Delhi. They condemned the Pretoria régime for its persistent refusal to withdraw from Namibia and called on the Security Council urgently to impose comprehensive mandatory economic sanctions on South Africa. In the event of failure by the Security Council to impose economic sanctions, the Foreign Ministers called for the convening of an emergency special session of the General Assembly. The Western countries members of the contact group were urged to co-operate with the Security Council in the adoption of effective measures against South Africa. The Foreign Ministers also called for the lending of increased material, military, political, diplomatic and moral assistance to SWAPO so that it can further intensify the liberation struggle in Namibia, and, with this purpose in mind, they decided that an extraordinary meeting of the Co-ordinating Bureau of Non-Aligned Countries should be convened at the appropriate time.

80. In the light of the situation prevailing in Namibia, the demands put forward and the course of action advocated at the non-aligned conference are really timely and indispensable. Therefore, the General Assembly should adopt appropriate decisions on the basis of the draft resolutions which are before it. The international community cannot tolerate any longer the existing state of crisis which prolongs the suffering of the Namibian people indefinitely and destabilizes the situation on the whole African continent. Any further postponement of indispensable measures would merely give South Africa more time to consolidate its so-called internal solution. Consequently, it is incumbent on us to take urgent action and ask the Security Council to impose economic sanctions on South Africa under Chapter VII of the Charter, and we must be prepared to react rapidly in case the Security Council fails to fulfil its duty. This is perhaps the last moment for taking such action and arresting the downward slide of events liable to have serious consequences. It is illusory to speak of any stability in the world or of improvement of the existing situation as long as no steps are taken for realizing the elementary right of all peoples to live free from any foreign domination. It is not possible to build a just world on injustice and proclaim freedom to be an inalienable right while continuing to tolerate lack of freedom in Namibia or anywhere else.

81. The Namibian people and SWAPO have no option but to continue their armed struggle to cast off the foreign yoke; this has actually proved to be a *conditio sine qua non* for the liberation of Namibia. Therefore, the General Assembly, if it wishes to fulfil its mandate, must reaffirm its full support for the sole, authentic representative of the people of Namibia—SWAPO—and call upon all members of the international community to lend effective material, financial, military, political and diplomatic assistance to SWAPO in its struggle to put an end to the occupation of Namibia by the South African racist colonialist régime. In this way we would also be contributing to the realization of the objectives of the Charter of the United Nations, which has placed freedom and independence in the forefront both of the values on which the Charter is founded and of conditions for building a stable peace.

82. It would be erroneous to believe that stability can be ensured while ignoring the results of the liberation struggle of the Namibian people. On the other hand, any complicity in attempts to deprive the Namibian people of the results of the liberation struggle is immoral.

83. The international community should; at the same time, lend support and assistance to the front-line States which, owing to their support for the liberation struggle of the people of Namibia, are exposed to onslaughts against their territorial integrity, security and economic structure, suffering losses in human lives and material damage.

84. My delegation fully supports the efforts of the United Nations Council for Namibia to lend assistance to the people of Namibia and to organize international action to put an end to the occupation of that Territory. The results of the Council's work in the past year are reflected in its report, which clearly shows that it has been very active in fulfilling its mandate. The results of its activities speak for themselves. The Council is planning further to intensify its activities in the forthcoming period, which is to be highly commended.

85. To our mind there is no more urgent task today than the eradication of the last remnants of colonialism and racism and the liberation of countries from colonial and foreign domination. Namibia is a special case, as the United Nations has been entrusted with special responsibility with respect to that Territory. Furthermore, all the conditions are ripe for the solution of this problem. The international community has repeatedly declared itself in favour of such a solution, and the liberation movement, SWAPO, conscious of its responsibility and of its close identification with the Namibian people, is ready to submit itself to the decision of the people through elections.

86. There remains only the racist régime in Pretoria, which is deliberately resorting to the use of brute force and terror in order to achieve its aims. Thus it is posing a threat to world peace. The sooner and the more effectively we oppose that danger the better, because, in view of the situation prevailing on the international plane—a deteriorating international situation—we cannot remain passive observers of the rampaging of a régime that has excluded itself from the international community. The solution of the question of Namibia would amount to the victory of awakened national consciousness over the tendency to legalize the concept of might is right. We should thereby be simultaneously excluding the region from intensified extra-regional confrontations and contributing to the consolidation of the independence of every country.

87. Yugoslavia will, as heretofore, do everything in its power, by its all-round support for the liberation struggle headed by SWAPO, to accelerate the liberation of Namibia, whose significance is of a universal character. Yugoslavia, which closely co-operates with SWAPO, thereby contributes to the cause of freedom and independence which is, precisely at the present moment, ever more frequently the target of the use of force in the world in general.

88. Finally, my delegation supports all the draft resolutions in circulation, and will vote in favour of their adoption.

89. Mr. ALBORNOZ (Ecuador) (*interpretation from Spanish*): My country, Ecuador, is concerned at the situation in Namibia, both because it affects a brother people of Africa and because it puts to the test the total validity of the international system on which all peace-loving countries rely in view of the brazen rebelliousness of the racist régime of South Africa towards the United Nations.

90. We are sure of what has been clearly established, namely, that Namibia is the responsibility of the United Nations. The opinion given by the International Court of Justice in 1971<sup>1</sup> pointed out that any action or decision taken by South Africa vis-à-vis Namibia was without validity in view of the declared illegality of its presence in that Territory. The fact that the resolutions of the Organization have been ignored by the occupying country for 35 years converts this intolerable and unjust situation into an anachronistic survival of colonialism and a mockery of democratic systems. This is of particular concern to my country since the odious systems of racial discrimination and *apartheid* persist in that Territory and since Security Council resolutions 385 (1976) and 435 (1978) are being disregarded with respect to the holding of free elections which, under the supervision of the United Nations, would be the best way of resolving the question legally and of respecting the will of a people to achieve full sovereignty and an independent existence.

91. My delegation wishes to congratulate and express solidarity with the United Nations Council for Namibia, whose President, Mr. Lusaka, has submitted such an important report to the Assembly for consideration. We would also congratulate the Vice-Chairman of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples for his report on the work relating to Namibia during 1980 [see A/35/23/Rev.1]. There has been a clear reaffirmation there of the inalienable right of the people of the Territory of Namibia to self-determination and independence in a united Namibia and of the legality of their struggle, by every means available to them, against the illegal occupation of their Territory. Moreover, the report sets forth proof that the activities of the so-called Turnhalle Government and its fictitious component parts, the "Assembly", "Council of Ministers" and even the "army", are null and void, because they have no juridical basis of free elections.

92. It is clear, furthermore, that respect for the territorial integrity of Namibia must be observed by including Walvis Bay, the Penguin Islands and other off-shore islands in the definition of the Territory whose independence has to be achieved. That objective has the support of SWAPO as part of the just and sustained process whereby this problem will finally be resolved under the zealous vigilance of the Secretary-General of the United Nations, who justly and realis-

tically stated at New Delhi that, besides this serious question of Namibia, "there are unresolved problems in other parts of Africa and in Latin America".

93. It is particularly regrettable—indeed, it is a crime against humanity—that at the recent Geneva meeting South Africa saw to it that there was no signing of a cease-fire agreement—a fundamental stage in re-establishing peace—which could have put an end to 14 years of bloody struggle and led to new steps toward a solution to this serious problem of world concern.

94. Ecuador also finds that this consideration of Namibia is linked to our steady rejection of any idea of racial discrimination. We can roundly state that no form of discrimination exists in our country, an achievement that came about in a process that goes back to the time of our elimination of colonialism, when Ecuador, as part of Great Colombia governed by Bolivar between 1820 and 1830, and later as an independent sovereign nation, maintained continuous development both with regard to human rights and as a melting-pot of races, which is a striking description of our population. We are proud of this, and equally proud of what our Constitution states in its article 4: "The State of Ecuador condemns all forms of colonialism, neo-colonialism and racial discrimination or segregation. It recognizes the right of peoples to free themselves from those oppressive systems."

95. That is precisely the concept applicable in the situation now being discussed by the General Assembly: the right of the people of Namibia to free themselves from the oppressive system which overwhelms them, a system imposed by a régime whose only reason is that of force and which blatantly mocks any appeals and decisions made by the organized international community.

96. This attitude is intolerable and must be given due consideration by the competent bodies of the Organization, since it has clearly been demonstrated that the Government of Pretoria has not the slightest intention of arriving at agreements that would make it feasible to implement the United Nations plan for the independence of Namibia.

97. In the light of the foregoing, the delegation of Ecuador, in accordance with its unswerving position on this issue, will support resolutions of the Assembly the aim of which is to require the régime of South Africa to implement and observe resolutions of the General Assembly and Security Council and of other bodies in the international system concerning Namibia and which also embody the commitment of States Members of the United Nations to impose sanctions on the régime which obdurately ignores the voice of the peoples and the call of history for the only contemporary forms of coexistence and the right of majorities which wish to express themselves in freedom and democratically to assume responsibility for their own future.

98. Mr. AL-ALI (Iraq) (*interpretation from Arabic*): Twenty years have already passed since the international Organization adopted resolution 1514 (XV), which contains the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. During these 20 years of unremitting labour the United Nations has welcomed a number of countries which

<sup>1</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.*

have won their independence and are now exercising their full sovereignty.

99. During the past year the Organization welcomed two new States, Zimbabwe and Saint Vincent and the Grenadines, which can play their role in international affairs. We welcome those two new Members and wish them every success in their work, particularly in the Organization.

100. Although we are aware of the considerable progress made by the Organization, we cannot be unaware of the bitter truth that a number of countries are still struggling to bring about their independence and sovereignty and to free their lands from foreign occupation, in order to put an end to racial discrimination and to destroy the forces of reaction.

101. There is a considerable paradox here that has claimed our attention: despite the fact that we recently celebrated the twentieth anniversary of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, we see that the people of Namibia continues to struggle for its independence and sovereignty under the leadership of SWAPO, and the people of South Africa is also still struggling against racial discrimination and for its total independence. The Arab people of Palestine also continues to struggle against racism, and against expansionist Zionists who have occupied its territory after its expulsion therefrom. That people is now struggling to recover its inalienable rights and to regain its homeland, under the leadership of the Palestine Liberation Organization.

102. Despite the numerous resolutions in which the General Assembly demands that an end be put to colonialism and racism in South Africa, that régime continues to defy all those resolutions and to resort to various means of terrorism and repression to perpetuate its illegal presence in Namibia, thus attempting to stifle the will of the Namibian people, which is struggling to recover its legitimate rights, in particular its inalienable right to self-determination, freedom and independence. The support given to the racist régime of Pretoria by colonialist nations, particularly the United States of America, which have close political, economic and military ties with that régime is precisely what is encouraging the latter to continue its violations of human rights, the Charter of the United Nations and resolutions of the OAU and of the non-aligned movement, to defy world public opinion, to continue its illegal occupation of Namibia and to oppress its people and deprive it of its legitimate rights. The assistance given to the racist régime of South Africa is not offered only by the colonial countries but also by transnational corporations which have laid hold on the wealth of Namibia, its mineral and maritime resources.

103. This enables the régime to continue its expansionist and racist policies and to extend the limits of its territorial waters, declaring the zone adjacent to the Namibian coast its own economic zone. Together with the transnational corporations, it has plundered the human and natural resources of the region. All that is in contradiction with Decree No. 1, enacted by the United Nations Council of Namibia in September 1974.

104. Despite oppression and racial discrimination, the people of Namibia is continuing to struggle unhesitatingly and with determination, under the

leadership of SWAPO, to preserve its national interests and to prevent that organized drain of its resources, so that full independence can be achieved.

105. The military and nuclear co-operation with the racist régime of South Africa offered by certain imperialist countries and the Zionist entity—which have violated Security Council resolution 418 (1977) concerning an arms embargo against South Africa—has provided the racist régime with an improved military potential that threatens international peace and security. We must emphasize the close relationship between South Africa and the Zionist entity, which is essentially based on colonization and expansionism in the territories of two other peoples. Both those countries daily practise racial discrimination against those dwelling in those territories. That is why those two entities are the main obstacle to the liberation of the Palestinian people and of the Namibian people.

106. The delegation of Iraq fully supports the report of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. We are also pleased that productive consultations were held by a visiting mission which was in the Territory from 9 to 11 June 1980, consultations which are dealt with in the report of the United Nations Council for Namibia.

107. We wish to call on the international community to implement the resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council regarding the racist South African régime. We support the struggle of the heroic people of Namibia under the leadership of SWAPO, its sole authentic representative, to bring about freedom, self-determination and the liberation of all its lands. We also pledge our total moral and material support to SWAPO and to all its decisions.

108. A short time ago, the entire world witnessed the failure of the Geneva talks because of the intransigence of the racist régime of South Africa and its insistence on adopting an arbitrary policy, its refusal to recognize the right of the Namibian people to independence and national sovereignty under the guidance of SWAPO and its refusal to abide by any of the resolutions of the United Nations.

109. For all these reasons, the decision to expel the racist régime of South Africa from the Organization was warmly welcomed. The delegation of Iraq hopes that the General Assembly will shortly be able to expel from the international community the other racist colonialist régime, which is allied with that of South Africa, namely, the Zionist entity, given the very strong resemblance between these two regimes based on oppression, intransigence and the exploitation of peoples. We must emphasize the importance of the resolutions adopted by the Conference of Ministers for Foreign Affairs of Non-Aligned Countries at New Delhi, which supported the struggle of the people of Namibia and condemned the Pretoria régime, which has adopted the cruel and aggressive policy of *apartheid* and is entirely opposed to all the aspirations of the Namibian people. All those resolutions confirm the legitimacy of the struggle being waged by the people of Namibia, under the leadership of SWAPO, for freedom and independence.



110. Mr. OYONO (United Republic of Cameroon (*interpretation from French*): Three months ago the Assembly, in a constructive and realistic spirit, took the wise decision to postpone its debate on the question of Namibia. In doing so, it intended to give every chance for success to the Geneva meeting, whose purpose was to set the date for a cease-fire in Namibia and for the setting up of UNTAG in accordance with Security Council resolution 435 (1978). The Assembly was the more justified in doing so since that meeting was the culmination of a long series of difficult consultations and negotiations, during which the Secretary-General finally gained the agreement of the two interested parties, namely South Africa and SWAPO, to reach some settlement this year of the decolonization problem which has been a concern of the Organization for more than three decades.

111. But we had more than one reason to harbour doubts about the sincerity and political will of South Africa, since we have grown accustomed to its perfidy, its recantations and its arrogant cynicism with regard to the United Nations.

112. Indeed, since the Assembly terminated South Africa's Mandate for Namibia in 1966, a decision which was confirmed by the advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice in 1971, and in spite of numerous resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council, the Pretoria régime has persisted in its illegal occupation of that international Territory and has strengthened its presence there by violence and terror.

113. There is no need to recall that the brunt of this repression falls essentially on the black population, reduced, as in South Africa itself, to sub-human status because of the colour of their skin.

114. Despite our scepticism—which could not have been more justified—we thought that the Secretary-General's initiative had some chance of succeeding, especially as it had the backing of the five Western countries which drafted the plan for the settlement of the Namibian question. Surely it was they, with the weight of their economic, military and other interests with South Africa, who held the strong cards and had effective means of pressuring the Pretoria régime into collaborating with the international community so that an end could be put to the war which is raging in Namibia and to the dangerous tension and instability which are developing in the area threatening international peace and security.

115. Besides, three of those countries are among those in which the Charter vests special responsibility in the field of the maintenance of international peace and security.

116. All these considerations were to carry very little weight, in view of Pretoria's arrogance and its determination to perpetuate its domination over Namibia and to conceive of the accession of that country to independence not by means of free and democratic elections under the supervision and control of the United Nations, but through an internal process ensuring that Namibia remained in its clutches through men devoted to it, such as those of the DTA Democratic, whose foolish and peculiar behaviour at Geneva outraged the international community.

117. It is clear and incontrovertible that the responsibility for the failure of the Geneva meeting is entirely that of South Africa, which, with its back to the wall, no longer even felt the need to use its usual subterfuges but stated clearly that it was not prepared to implement the settlement plan to which it had solemnly agreed.

118. This meeting will at least have had the merit of clarifying South Africa's true intentions. It is surprising that the Pretoria régime, which has deliberately made itself an outlaw from the international community by basing its policies on the systematic violation of the purposes and principles of the Charter, suddenly felt the need to come and participate in the deliberations. It is quite obvious that that manoeuvre was pure propaganda—a sorry skill—and was intended solely to sabotage the work of the Assembly and to mislead the international community, South Africa passing itself off as the victim of the Organization for whose decisions it has had nothing but contempt and whose authority it has undermined since its creation.

119. We are pleased to congratulate the overwhelming majority of delegations which did not fall into this trap when they rejected the credentials of the representatives of the illegal and illegitimate régime of Pretoria.

*Mr. Marinescu (Romania), Vice-President, took the Chair.*

120. We should also like to take this opportunity to congratulate SWAPO, whose wisdom and political maturity have impressed the international community. The Geneva meeting once again gave it an opportunity to display its lofty sense of responsibility and its constant willingness, which we should encourage, to negotiate a peaceful settlement of the Namibian question, despite the provocations and the barbaric repression which are meted out daily to its leaders and militant members by the racist authorities of Pretoria.

121. The question that now arises, after this new impasse resulting from the failure of the Geneva meeting, is how to compel South Africa to co-operate with the United Nations.

122. For the United Republic of Cameroon, which is a member of the Co-ordination Committee for the Liberation of Africa and of the United Nations Council for Namibia, the reply is quite clear and unambiguous. It is well known. We support in various ways the legitimate struggle being waged by the Namibian people, which is a struggle we share and which is embodied in SWAPO, the sole authentic representative of the Namibian people. We appeal to the international community to rise above its ideological differences and to give decisive support to this struggle so that human rights may triumph, in particular, the right to freedom, self-determination and independence in a united Namibia, including Walvis Bay.

123. We reject any unilateral solution dreamed up and imposed by South Africa and we reaffirm our concurrence with the settlement plan adopted by the Security Council in its resolution 435 (1978) and the practical ways and means of implementing it. Hence the United Republic of Cameroon will support the draft

resolutions submitted by the United Nations Council for Namibia which, in essence, coincide with those adopted by the OAU and the non-aligned movement.

124. We take pleasure in congratulating, Mr. Lusaka and the United Nations Commissioner for Namibia, Mr. Ahtisaari, for the authority, competence and devotion with which they have assumed the responsibilities that the Organization has entrusted to them with regard to the Namibian people.

125. That people has not yet acceded to independence and sovereignty because South Africa, strengthened by its friends—not the least of which are within the Organization—and exploiting its geostrategic position in the East-West rivalries, has always been able to create confusion. The subject of our debate, that is, the problem of decolonization and human rights that makes up the question of Namibia, should not be viewed solely from the viewpoint of ideological confrontations, as some would have us believe in order to justify their procrastination and laxity towards the *apartheid* régime.

126. If we are all genuinely convinced of the need to induce this régime to change its ways and co-operate with the United Nations, we must recognize that all the methods that have been utilized to date have been ineffective and that it is time to impose comprehensive mandatory economic sanctions in accordance with the provisions of Chapter VII of the Charter.

127. We appeal in particular to those Powers which in the past have seen fit to use their right of veto not to promote and strengthen the aims and ideals of the Charter in southern Africa but to defend their own selfish interests, even when these interests tended to strengthen the *apartheid* régime which they have condemned in principle. In the long run this ambivalence will not serve their interests either in that area, from which, after colonialism, *apartheid* must necessarily disappear, or throughout the world, where the ideals of freedom and independence must necessarily triumph.

128. Mr. SIMBANANIYE (Burundi) (*interpretation from French*): This debate on the question of Namibia is doubly significant to the delegation of my country, Burundi. First of all, we have to see what progress has been made in the struggle being waged both by the Namibian people and the international community to prepare the way for the achievement of genuine independence in Namibia. Then we shall have to determine what specific action is called for by the current situation in order to compel the racist South African régime immediately to leave the Territory of Namibia, which is the responsibility of the United Nations.

129. In other words, what is called for is an objective analysis, as exhaustive as possible, of the important events that have marked more than 30 years of the history of Namibia, a country so dear to us. Such a procedure should, we believe, lead to a future strategy which the United Nations must develop, through the General Assembly, the Security Council and the Secretary-General, without further delay in order to rid Namibia of the illegal Power that commits aggression against its people.

130. It goes without saying that our consideration of the subject will in essence have two chapters:

victories and defeats. This dialectic will of necessity lead us to seek the causes underlying our bitterness and disappointment. This diagnosis will indicate the effective remedies to be prescribed.

131. Just now we mentioned the victories gained in the Namibian people's struggle for dignity and freedom. My delegation would like to be more specific. Out of a desire for clarity I should like to mention three areas in which the results of the struggle of which we are so proud can be seen.

132. The first is the domestic front. To our mind the most important victory in which Namibia can glory is that of its historic resistance to the criminal régime of racist South Africa. Indeed, despite a systematic policy of general repression, taking the form of arrests, banishments, acts of terrorism and assassinations committed by the colonial occupying Power, the people of Namibia have organized themselves politically and militarily to drive from fatherland the odious racist régime of South Africa, to the point that today racist South Africa is afraid of free and equitable elections under the supervision and control of the United Nations.

133. The thorough work done by SWAPO inside Namibia in town and countryside and the mobilization of the Namibian masses by the liberation movement, which is the sole representative of the Namibian people, have enabled that people to attain a political maturity that has won our admiration. Fighter planes, helicopters, an army of repression numbering more than 60,000 men armed to the teeth, measures of intimidation and reprisals cannot turn that valiant people from the objective it has unswervingly pursued: reconquest of its independence and freedom. It is this invincible strength of a people that is resolute, and thus certain of its victory, which enables its legitimate leadership, SWAPO, to adopt a constructive and responsible attitude at the negotiating table.

134. It is also that inevitable victory of the people of Namibia which explains the disarray and the strange, thoughtless behaviour of racist South Africa. It is aware of the sound drubbing it would get should free and equitable elections be organized under the supervision and control of the United Nations in conformity with, *inter alia*, Security Council resolutions 385 (1976), 435 (1978) and 439 (1978). This fear of the morrow is also felt by the horde of mercenaries and turncoats who are wondering about their future. Convinced that the process of liberation is irreversible, they have thrown themselves, sick at heart and hands tied, into racist South Africa's chains of slavery. The wicked Turnhalle Alliance is wondering how to get out of the cage of treachery, but it is incapable of calling for help.

135. The second area where victory is to be found is at the subregional and regional levels. The triumph of the peoples of Mozambique, Angola and Zimbabwe over the racist and colonialist Powers has fundamentally changed the geopolitical situation of the region and of the whole African continent. With the collapse of the colonialist régimes regarded as the natural allies and bastions of racist South Africa, the régime of Vorster or Botha has entered a long and dangerous era of isolation and agony.

136. The supreme sacrifices made by the front-line States victims of acts of aggression by the racist South African régime bear eloquent witness to the active solidarity of those free peoples with the people struggling in Namibia. We cannot but welcome such an example of generosity and courage. Of course, this strengthens and consolidates the gains of the revolution of the Namibian people. The commitment of all free and independent Africa side by side with the people of Namibia and their liberation movement, SWAPO, is another source of encouragement for the people of Namibia in their war of liberation for their independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity.

137. The support given by the States members of the OAU has found a favourable echo in the international community. Thus the peoples that love justice and freedom have come to the assistance of the people of Namibia in different ways to help them recover their freedom. More specifically, some countries have supported the people of Namibia in their struggle through humanitarian assistance, and others have supplied the weapons of liberation. International organizations such as the OAU and the United Nations have granted SWAPO observer status, thus expressing their willingness to co-operate with that liberation movement. The Conference of Non-Aligned Countries went further; it admitted SWAPO as a full member.

138. These diplomatic successes have certainly irritated racist South Africa, which was driven out of the General Assembly at the session of 1974—which is rightly regarded as a historic event—and which has at least twice since unsuccessfully tried to resume its place in the General Assembly.

139. On 2 March 1981, the day on which agenda item 27, "Question of Namibia", was to be taken up, the self-styled delegation of South Africa had the audacity to enter the General Assembly Hall, thus flaunting its arrogance and its constant defiance of the Organization's resolutions and decisions. Again, and by an overwhelming majority, the General Assembly refused to be an accomplice to the policy of undermining and violating the provisions of the Charter, thus safeguarding the very bases of the Organization. In so doing it did not seek to enclose itself in puritanical legalism operational only when certain well-known material or strategic interests need to be protected.

140. How, indeed, could it be otherwise since that same reasoning is applied by the defenders of the legality and prerogatives of the Security Council only when it is a matter of the interpretation, for example, of the legal consequences deriving from the continued presence of South Africa in Namibia, in defiance of Security Council resolution 276 (1970) and of the advisory opinion of 21 June 1971 in which the International Court of Justice declared that the continued presence of South Africa in Namibia was illegal and that South Africa should immediately withdraw its Administration from Namibia.

141. May we ponder a moment the soundness of that legal argument, which was an attempt to get the credentials of the racist South African delegation accepted, while the advocates of that argument do not express any indignation at the plunder of Namibia's natural resources organized by South Africa in full complicity with the transnational corporations under

their jurisdiction and in flagrant violation of Decree No. 1 of the United Nations Council for Namibia.

142. The question of Namibia has been a concern of the Organization for 35 years. Member States are thus well acquainted with the true reasons why this crucial question for the Organization has become bogged down and is now in a deadlock.

143. The matter that we propose to take up is that of the persistence of the racist colonialist régime in Namibia, despite its almost unanimous condemnation by the international community and the intensification of the struggle for liberation by the people of Namibia. More precisely, what are the reasons for the obstacles encountered by the international community in its search for a solution to the question of Namibia? The reasons for the continued illegal presence of South Africa in Namibia are essentially, in our opinion, of two kinds. The first relates to its policy of maintaining in Africa, by force, its racist system of *apartheid*; the second reason, we believe, is the policy of some Powers seeking to safeguard their strategic interests in the region, whatever the means employed. Racist South Africa uses any means it can to bar the road to liberty and equality to the peoples in that part of Africa.

144. In that way, Namibia would become a buffer state between racist South Africa and the other neighbouring countries. That is South Africa's position. The tactic is similar to that of the colonial Powers: dismemberment of a territory in order to create a border problem among neighbouring countries, manoeuvres to create deep divisions within a nation, when it is not a question of pure and simple annexation, the creation of puppet groups benefiting from the largesse of the colonial Power in order to combat the forces of progress of the country, imprisonment of the leaders of the movement or party that is struggling for independence, a policy of obstruction vis-à-vis the United Nations, an aversion to any supervision of just elections likely to determine the future of the country and, finally, alliance with all other colonialist and imperialist forces. That colonial pattern can be applied, *mutatis mutandis*, to the policy followed by South Africa in Namibia.

145. Thus, for example, the illegal colonialist régime, fearing the implementation of Security Council resolution 385 (1976) providing for free elections to be organized under the supervision and control of the United Nations, took a decision to annex Walvis Bay, the unconfessed aim of which was to make the economy of independent Namibia highly vulnerable. My delegation reiterates its condemnation of that colonial move, which it regards as null and void, and reaffirms that Walvis Bay and the off-shore islands are an integral part of Namibia.

146. It was also to appease its annexationist and colonialist appetite that racist South Africa in 1978 organized the masquerade of so-called internal elections. Those illegal and fraudulent consultations demonstrated South Africa's bad faith in that it went back on its acceptance on 25 April 1978 of the proposed settlement of the Namibian question.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>2</sup> See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-third Year, Supplement for April, May and June 1978*, document S/12678, annex.

147. In the Security Council, on 31 October 1978,<sup>3</sup> the delegation of Burundi clearly condemned South Africa's duplicity. Before the Assembly, Burundi again firmly condemns all the manoeuvres whereby South Africa seeks to transfer power in Namibia to illegal groups serving its interests, in order to maintain its policy of domination and exploitation of the people and natural resources of the Territory.

148. In the question of the implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978), the international community has witnessed many acts of obstruction by South Africa. We do not have the time to list them all.

149. To have an idea of the extent of this deliberate policy of procrastination by the racist colonialist régime, we need merely mention the following demands.

150. South Africa first of all raised the question of the size of UNTAG, while specially emphasizing the military element of UNTAG. On that point, South Africa won the day. Subsequently, South Africa laid down conditions for the demilitarized zone on both sides of the northern border of Namibia which had been planned in order to facilitate the implementation of resolution 435 (1978).

151. In a constructive spirit, the new demands of South Africa were met by the other parties concerned. Thus, in a document annexed to the letter dated 29 August 1980 addressed to the Secretary-General by the Minister of Foreign Affairs and Information of racist South Africa, we read that the racist South African Government

"... has taken note of the fact that South Africa will be entitled to retain a total of 20 bases in the demilitarized zone during the first 12 weeks after the cease-fire comes into effect. It has also noted that Angola and Zambia together will have seven bases in the demilitarized zone on their sides of the border."<sup>4</sup>

152. It should also be pointed out that at the request of South Africa further details were given about the way that UNTAG would carry out its responsibilities in the demilitarized zone. So, according to the further report submitted by the Secretary-General on 31 March 1980<sup>5</sup> concerning the implementation of Security Council resolutions 435 (1978) and 439 (1978) on the question of Namibia, agreements were concluded between the South African delegation and General Prem Chand concerning liaisons, communications, the line of demarcation and logistical arrangements. This special treatment for South Africa prompted it to echo the demands of a telegram allegedly emanating from a band of terrorists, traitors to the Angolan people and mercenaries in the service of the racist South African régime. In a letter addressed to the Secretary-General on 12 May 1980, the representative of the criminal régime of racist South Africa wrote, "The implications of this communication should not be underestimated."<sup>6</sup> This ill-conceived attempt to embroil the Organization

in the plan to dismember and destabilize Angola, diabolically prepared by racist South Africa, was disregarded and rejected with contempt by the Secretary-General.

153. But South Africa continued to place other obstacles in the way of a peaceful settlement of the question of Namibia. Thus, the matter of the impartiality of UNTAG was raised. Assurances were given by the Secretary-General. South Africa then turned on the Organization and the Secretariat, saying that those assurances proved that to date the United Nations family had not been impartial.

154. Subsequently, South Africa made inappropriate and insulting comments about the United Nations, about the Secretary-General and about SWAPO. South Africa was thus clearly calling the proposed settlement in question. The racist South African régime thus dismantled what had been conceived and built up by its allies with the assistance of the international community under the fallacious argument, first, of the absence of good faith and mutual trust between the United Nations and South Africa, and, secondly, of the recognition by the United Nations of SWAPO as the sole genuine representative of the people of the Namibian Territory.

155. In a spirit of great responsibility and broad political imagination, the Secretary-General, following the usual necessary consultations, organized the Geneva meeting on the question of Namibia the aim of which was the implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978), which was to lead Namibia to independence in 1981. One of the major conditions was, of course, the cease-fire to be observed by all concerned parties. That meeting was also designed to create the desired climate of confidence and understanding. Everyone knows what followed. Because of South Africa's intransigence and constant defiance, the delegation of racist South Africa bears the heavy responsibility for the regrettable failure of the Geneva meeting.

156. The delegation of Burundi wishes to pay a tribute to the Secretary-General for his untiring efforts, courage and determination at this crucial time for the future of the Namibian people. I also take this opportunity to pay a well-deserved tribute to SWAPO and its President, Sam Nujoma, for the political maturity and sense of responsibility they have shown throughout these arduous negotiations, despite many humiliations.

157. My delegation also congratulates the front-line States and Nigeria for their efforts to see to it that the just cause of the Namibian people triumphed.

158. This failure must not discourage the United Nations or the international community. As the Secretary-General recommended in his report of 19 January 1981, "the United Nations will not relax its efforts to ensure for the people of Namibia their right to self-determination and independence through free and fair elections under United Nations supervision and control."<sup>7</sup>

159. It is precisely in order to find such ways and means that the thirty-fifth session of the General Assembly has again been convened by its President

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, *Thirty-third Year*, 2092nd meeting.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, *Thirty-fifth Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1980*, document S/14139.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, *Supplement for January, February and March 1980*, document S/13862.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, *Supplement for April, May and June 1980*, document S/13935.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, *Thirty-sixth Year, Supplement for January, February and March 1981*, document S/14333.

160. At the 103rd meeting, in his masterly statement, the President of the United Nations Council for Namibia, Mr. Lusaka of Zambia, clearly showed us what has to be done and how we should proceed. My delegation first of all wishes to pay a tribute to him for the remarkable work he has carried out at the head of the Council, of which my country, Burundi, has the honour to be a member.

161. As for the specific measures to be adopted, my delegation fully supports the recommendations of the Council contained in its report.

162. Furthermore, my delegation wishes to draw the attention of the General Assembly to the timeliness and necessity of endorsing the appeal made by the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of Non-Aligned Countries at the New Delhi Conference and by the Council of Ministers of the OAU at Addis Ababa, concerning the convening of the Security Council to consider the situation in Namibia and, pursuant to Chapter VII of the Charter, to impose comprehensive binding sanctions on racist South Africa in order to compel it to implement United Nations decisions and resolutions on Namibia.

163. The time has come for the Security Council fully to discharge its responsibilities for maintaining international peace and security in the case of racist South Africa's ongoing aggression against the Namibian people. A whole people has been gagged and taken hostage on the pretext of barring the way to communism in Africa. In the name of anti-communism acts of aggression are being continually carried out by that criminal régime against Namibian refugee camps set up in Angola, Zambia and other countries in the region. In the name of anti-communism, the people of Namibia live in one huge concentration camp of the kind familiar to the world from the terror of fascism and nazism. In the name of safeguarding strategic, economic and material interests, some Governments which proclaim freedom and equality are assisting racist South Africa in its pernicious plans and designs to acquire nuclear weapons so as to make threats and if necessary use those weapons to wipe out peoples in the region that refuse to be enslaved, that refuse the wretched domination by the advocates of *apartheid*, that refuse the shameless plunder and exploitation of their natural and human resources.

164. We believe this language is out of date.

165. How can peoples that formerly faced the criminal régime of Hitler remain insensitive to the situation prevailing in Namibia? How can Governments that called upon the communist countries to ensure their survival in the past today oppose the assistance of those same countries, which the people of Namibia requires in order to drive the usurper, South Africa, from its land?

166. Racist South Africa has itself created the conditions required by the Charter for the application to it of the comprehensive, binding sanctions provided for in Chapter VII of the Charter.

167. The persistent violation by South Africa of Security Council and General Assembly resolutions, the bloody repression constantly imposed by the illegal South African régime on the Namibian people and the ongoing policy of aggression advocated by that régime,

which takes the form of repeated attacks and air raids against the sovereign States of Angola, Zambia and Mozambique, are all, within the meaning of the Charter, acts which pose a truly serious threat to international peace and security, whether in the region, in Africa or in the world.

168. My delegation, therefore, would like to take this opportunity to make an urgent appeal to the contact group of Western countries to exert real pressure on the racist régime of Pretoria in order to induce it to abide by the provisions of Security Council resolution 435 (1978). As the promoters of the proposed settlement which we have talked about so much, the contact group of Western countries cannot shirk its responsibilities at this critical stage in the question of Namibia. We sincerely hope that the right of veto will no longer be exercised in the Security Council to prevent that body from adopting comprehensive binding sanctions against South African régime, which stands condemned by history.

169. Meanwhile, the international community has the solemn duty to increase material, military, financial, political and diplomatic support for the valiant people of Namibia through SWAPO. By the same token, it is indispensable that greater assistance be given to the front-line States in order to strengthen their defence capacity.

170. If this is done, the international community will not have betrayed the Namibian people, whose eyes are on the Assembly.

171. Mr. HOUNGAVOU (Benin) (*interpretation from French*): Our discussion of agenda item 27, "Question of Namibia", after the breakdown of the Geneva meeting, provides us with a natural opportunity to take a sober look at how things stand in regard to the decolonization of Namibia.

172. May I, at the very outset, identify certain responsibilities in order to bring out clearly the ambiguous attitude and duplicity displayed by certain Western powers whose political, military, strategic, economic and financial interests in southern Africa are closely linked with the preservation of the hideous *apartheid* régime of Pretoria, which seeks by every means at its disposal, including primitive savage brutality and machiavellian cunning, to maintain its illegal domination of Namibia and to turn that Territory into its "fifth province" by using puppets in its pay, either grouped together in the DTA or in tribal units.

173. Actually, the international community, which stands solidly behind the legitimate struggle being waged in the field by SWAPO, has for years reiterated the precise terms it laid down for Namibia's accession to independence by peaceful means. The numerous resolutions of the General Assembly, those of the Security Council—in particular, resolutions 385 (1976) and 435 (1978)—and those of the OAU and the non-aligned movement have amply underlined the conditions that must be met if there is to be genuine decolonization and authentic independence for Namibia under democratic conditions that will make it possible for its sorely-tried and oppressed people to exercise freely its right of self-determination and to rid itself of the horrors of the racist régime of Pretoria—a régime which is humiliating, oppressing,



assassinating and massacring an entire people, the Namibian people.

174. In other words, my country, the People's Republic of Benin, and the overwhelming majority of the members of the Assembly, are fully aware of our collective responsibility in the face of the turn of events in the decolonization of Namibia.

175. When, in 1977, the five Western Powers set up a contact group "to facilitate the process of the liberation of Namibia", my country, the People's Republic of Benin, was one of those which clearly indicated their scepticism and unequivocally denounced that concerted action as yet another manoeuvre on the part of the imperialist forces of domination to hold up the decolonization of Namibia and to foil in the field the armed struggle being waged by SWAPO. Our position was dictated by our objective and vigilant far-sightedness. As it turned out, the five Powers, in varying degree, have a common cause in Namibia with the colonial occupying régime of Pretoria. Indeed, according to the report of the United Nations Council for Namibia:

"Latest available information indicates that there are as many as 88 transnational corporations operating in Namibia. Of this number, 35 are based in South Africa, 25 in the United Kingdom, 15 in the United States, 8 in the Federal Republic of Germany, 3 in France and 2 in Canada." [A/35/24, vol. I, para. 358.]

Those Powers, therefore, are accomplices in the over-exploitation of Namibia's resources. The hearings organized by the United Nations Council for Namibia enabled us to collect evidence of the complicity of those Western Powers in the illegal exploitation of Namibian uranium. The transnational corporation Rössing Uranium, Ltd., which is responsible for the illegal exploitation of uranium in Namibia, is backed by American, British, German and other capital. All of those Western capital sources, linked with the system of oppression practised under *apartheid*, are, in this particular case of uranium exploitation, a closed club of flagrant violators of international law and the right of peoples to self-determination. All those Powers, it must be understood, will not easily give up their many interests and great profits made on the backs of the Namibian people without achieving their neo-colonialist designs.

176. The responsibility of certain of those Powers for the acquisition of nuclear technology by South Africa, which is using the Namibian territory of the Kalahari to carry out its nuclear experiments, is considerable. Those Powers must be held responsible for the nuclear threat posed by South Africa, which is a threat to the entire African continent. No one, particularly among the African States, can be surprised by the nuclear role being played by the racist régime of Pretoria in the global imperialist strategy which is to dominate Africa through terror—the fear of arms, including nuclear weapons.

177. Militarily and strategically, the Pretoria régime has been presented with Namibia by the countries of the West, as part of their general strategy of encircling Africa and controlling the neighbouring sea lanes in order to ensure the supply of oil and other commodities designed to serve their economies. South

Africa, which dominates Namibia, is part of the complex system of provocation, conspiracy, armed attacks and aggression of all kinds which are daily visited on the defenceless African countries.

178. Politically and diplomatically, the Western Powers are the sole patrons of the racist régime. In other words the Western Powers involved have the means of exerting enormous pressure, which they refuse to apply to the racists of Pretoria to force them to understand that their days are numbered, that their colonialism in Namibia is unacceptable and that inevitably they will be compelled willy-nilly to withdraw from the Territory in even more humiliating circumstances because, despite the power of their deadly arsenal, they will never be able to overcome the determination of the Namibian people to achieve complete freedom and independence.

179. The ambiguous attitude and the duplicity of the Western Powers are characteristic of a brazen policy of imperialism and domination under which, over the last three years, machiavellian ruses and pressure have been used to extort concessions from the United Nations, from the OAU and from the front-line States in favour of the racists of Pretoria who, for their part, have given nothing in return but have merely resumed their original irrational intransigence, the only rewards they have given being in the form of aggression and daily armed raids against Angola and Mozambique, front-line States which have played a crucial role in the acceptance of the plan outlined in Security Council resolution 435 (1978). That resolution was already a major concession by the African States, which freely agreed to the democratic process that was rejected by the Pretoria racists with unjustifiable perfidy.

180. Why do the Pretoria racists refuse democratic methods? As we see it, the refusal is a sign of the failure of their policy of domination in Namibia, which would inevitably be thwarted by the democratic process.

181. SWAPO, which is waging a legitimate armed struggle, has displayed a great deal of understanding towards the United Nations, but South Africa has not budged and has made no change in its arrogant attitude. What specific pressure has been exerted on the Pretoria régime since 1977 by the Western Powers in order to secure the independence of Namibia? We should like to know.

182. It has thus been clearly demonstrated, and the facts I have mentioned support us in this, that the failure of the Geneva meeting marks the point at which we must do away with working methods which are too often at variance with the essential conditions for the independence of Namibia as stated in the resolutions and decisions of the General Assembly and the Security Council and the advisory opinions of the International Court of Justice.

183. The international community should never lose sight of the fact that the sole driving force towards liberation in Namibia is SWAPO, the sole representative of the oppressed Namibian people. We must turn to SWAPO, we must assist and strengthen it by lending it material, military and financial assistance on a larger scale, to force the racists in Pretoria to withdraw from the Territory as quickly as possible. Our diplomatic support for SWAPO necessarily entails the taking of

measures against South Africa as laid down in Chapter VII of the Charter. The Council of Ministers of the OAU, meeting at Addis Ababa, was clear on this point. The Security Council must meet in mid-April 1981 to enact comprehensive and mandatory sanctions against Pretoria, under Chapter VII. The Council of Ministers has also planned other action, including, in particular, the holding this year of an emergency special session of the General Assembly on this matter.

184. We should act quickly, since the situation in southern Africa is a potential threat to international peace and security. The independent countries of Africa will never accept the diktat of *apartheid* in South Africa, and Namibians will not remain silent in the face of the policy of repression and the strategy of the domination of Namibia by Pretoria.

185. We should like to pay a well-deserved tribute to the United Nations Council for Namibia and in particular to its President, Mr. Lusaka, for the comprehensive reports it has submitted to the General Assembly. We should also like to praise the efforts made by the Secretary-General to find a peaceful solution to the Namibian problem. We should like to pay a revolutionary tribute to SWAPO, to its militant members, its fighters, its diplomats and its leaders who are guiding the armed struggle of the Namibian people. We wish to pay a special tribute to the true sons of Namibia, who have been massacred, assassinated and imprisoned for the cause of the liberation of their homeland. Glory forever to SWAPO! Ready for the revolution—the struggle continues!

186. Mr. AL-HAMZAH (Democratic Yemen) (*interpretation from Arabic*): The General Assembly has resumed its thirty-fifth session to consider agenda item 27, entitled "Question of Namibia", following the obstruction by the racist Government of South Africa of all international efforts to bring about the independence of Namibia. This resounding failure of the pre-implementation meeting held at Geneva makes patently clear the intransigence of the racist régime in Pretoria, its defiance of international opinion and its determination to continue to benefit from the unlimited support from Western Powers, despite the repeated appeals of the Security Council, the General Assembly and other international bodies.

187. The minority racist Government in South Africa, which is opposed to the unanimous international will refuses to implement United Nations resolutions and has resorted to racist colonialist domination and the illegal occupation of Namibia. It is now continuing to perpetrate all sorts of crimes against the people of Namibia, namely, the killing, expulsion and imprisonment of Namibian citizens, to say nothing of torture. The Pretoria Government has also stepped up its policy of aggression and military attacks against independent African States, particularly Angola and Zambia. It has also expelled Namibians to prevent them from taking part in their struggle for national independence and sovereignty and the end of the illegal occupation of the Territory by South Africa. It is truly regrettable that all those acts of aggression perpetrated by South Africa have so far been encouraged by certain Western Powers, as well as by Israel. Those countries continue to have close links with South Africa in the economic, commercial and military spheres. That has enabled the white minority to strengthen its hold over

the Territory, pursue repression of the Namibian people and perpetrate acts of aggression against the front-line African States which have resulted in a threat to peace and security in Africa and, indeed, throughout the world.

188. This failure of the Geneva talks shows the intransigence of the South African racists and their determination to continue their occupation of Namibia and to impose new illegal administrative measures. The failure also shows that the Western Powers were not serious in their efforts to bring about genuine independence for the Namibian people.

189. My country has always supported the legitimate struggle of the people of Namibia under the leadership of SWAPO in its fight to achieve independence, sovereignty and self-determination. In reaffirming our active support for the Namibian people in its struggle, we would also say that it is necessary to secure international support for SWAPO, the sole authentic representative of Namibia, and to provide material, moral and military support so that it can bring about the independence of that Territory. Severe sanctions must also be imposed on the racist régime in South Africa by the United Nations. In reaffirming the legitimacy of the struggle of the Namibian people under SWAPO's leadership, and our opposition to all measures adopted or imposed by the racist régime in Namibia, we must also condemn the countries which maintain relations with the racist régime, as well as the Western transnational companies which are pillaging the Territory's natural wealth.

190. We must also condemn all oppression of the Namibian people and secure the release of the politicians who have been imprisoned, allow the return of exiled Namibians and transfer power to the indigenous peoples of the Territory under the leadership of the Territory under the leadership of SWAPO. Comprehensive economic sanctions should be imposed, as well as a binding arms embargo on all weapons offered to South Africa so that the Namibian people can achieve independence and regain its complete sovereignty over its territory.

191. The New Delhi Conference expressed its full support for the right of the Namibian people to freedom, national independence and sovereignty over its territory. It also supported the heroic struggle of the Namibian people under the leadership of SWAPO, its sole authentic representative. It also condemned the racist South African régime's refusal to withdraw immediately and unconditionally from Namibia. South Africa bears full responsibility for the failure of the talks at Geneva, despite the positive attitude shown by SWAPO. Following that failure, the Conference called for the urgent convening of the Security Council to impose comprehensive sanctions on the racist régime under Chapter VII of the Charter and to reaffirm the need to strengthen material and moral support for SWAPO in order to achieve freedom and independence for the Namibian people.

192. We recall that appeal of the non-aligned movement with regard to the urgent convening of the Security Council to consider the question of imposing economic sanctions on the racist régime in South Africa.

193. It is therefore necessary for the United Nations to take those measures very speedily, to carry out its responsibility and confront the white racist minority in Pretoria.

194. We should like to pay a tribute to the United Nations Council for Namibia for the constructive role that it has played. We consider it to be the legal Administering Authority for Namibia until that Territory achieves independence. We should like also to pay a tribute to the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples and to the Special Committee against *Apartheid* for the efforts they have made.

195. Mr. KIRCA (Turkey): In 1966 the General Assembly took the important decision to terminate South Africa's Mandate for Namibia. In 1967 it established the United Nations Council for Namibia, of which Turkey is one of the founding members, as the sole legal Administering Authority for the Territory until Namibia attains independence.

196. Since then the question of Namibia has continuously engaged the concern of the international community, within and outside the United Nations, through the activities of the United Nations Council for Namibia, the United Nations Commissioner for Namibia and, during the last three years, through those of the five Western countries. The Security Council, in the discharge of its primary responsibility for maintaining international peace and security, has on several occasions considered the prevailing situation in Namibia and the future of that Territory. In the annals of the United Nations, both General Assembly and Security Council resolutions concerning Namibia clearly indicate the determined and dedicated efforts of the international community to terminate South Africa's illegal occupation of the international Territory of Namibia, to end South Africa's cruel and inhuman suppression of the Namibian people, to prevent South Africa's attempts to install a puppet régime in that Territory and, above all, to ensure that the people of Namibia achieves its inalienable right to self-determination, freedom and genuine independence.

197. During this period, however, South Africa has always managed to flout those resolutions and to challenge the will of the international community through its defiant and intransigent attitude. South Africa has not only continued its illegal occupation of Namibia, but has also continually stepped up its brutal repressive measures against the people of Namibia and has imposed on it its policy of *apartheid*. Detentions and arrests of patriotic Namibians have continued. Members of SWAPO have been sentenced. South African aggression against the front-line States in Africa has continued in an escalating manner. This attitude of South Africa certainly violates the principles and purposes of the Charter of the United Nations and of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, as well as those of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, and constitutes a serious threat to international peace and security.

198. Since early 1978, we have had before us the United Nations plan for an internationally acceptable

settlement of the question of Namibia. The international community welcomed the plan, initially prepared and produced as a result of intensive work on the part of the five Western countries, in consultation with and with the co-operation of the parties concerned. The initial proposals, presented in March 1978, which foresee transition to independence after elections held under the supervision and control of the United Nations, were adopted by the Security Council in its resolutions 435 (1978) and 439 (1978). The plan, which is the result of an unprecedented effort to achieve a negotiated settlement, has involved the Secretary-General, high-ranking officials of the Secretariat, the Secretary-General's Special representative and the representatives of the front-line States and Nigeria, in addition to those of the five Western countries and the parties directly concerned.

199. In spite of all efforts, the plan has unfortunately not been implemented to date because of the numerous questions and problems raised by South Africa at each and every phase of this peace initiative. The international community is well aware of the duplicity and lack of responsibility which have underlain the South African attitude since the very beginning. We have frequently seen the efforts for a negotiated settlement undermined by the unilateral measures resorted to by South Africa, and by its manoeuvres. Those measures culminated in the elections held unilaterally by South Africa and in the legislative powers later conferred upon the Assembly with a view to installing an illegal régime in Namibia in full defiance of Security Council resolution 439 (1978), which declared the elections and their results null and void.

200. In spite of this background and the impasse caused by the intransigent attitude of South Africa as far as the implementation of the United Nations plan is concerned, the concept of a demilitarized zone on the northern frontier of Namibia was proposed in mid-1979 by Angola in the hope of solving the last remaining problems concerning the implementation of the plan. That proposal seemed to constitute a sound basis for further negotiations. The establishment and monitoring of a demilitarized zone were accepted by SWAPO and the front-line States. The Secretary-General succeeded in bringing the parties together at Geneva in November 1979 to clarify their positions on this question. The other parties having given their approval at that meeting, it was only South Africa whose definite response was still to come. In fact, several responses have come from the South African officials to the Secretary-General in the meantime. However, they were all conditional and inconclusive.

201. While sending those responses and giving the impression to the international community that South Africa was still interested in the negotiating process, the South African régime continued its unilateral measures with a view to enhancing its position in Namibia. During the course of 1980, in addition to the legislative powers it had already conferred on the National Assembly, South Africa created a so-called council of ministers in Namibia, thus attempting to enlarge the scope of competence of the illegal régime installed in Namibia, in full defiance of the relevant Security Council resolution. Furthermore, South Africa, during this period, resorted to conscripting and training additional tribal troops in the Territory.

202. In spite of all these developments, which certainly raised new serious doubts about the true intentions of South Africa, the discussion of the question of Namibia during the thirty-fifth session was postponed until after the pre-implementation meeting. That meeting was recently held at Geneva, with the participation for the first time of all parties concerned around a negotiating table, between 7 and 14 January 1981, with a view to solving the remaining questions and determining the modalities for immediate implementation of the United Nations plan. When the decision to postpone the debate was taken, the international community was under the impression that the meeting to be held under the leadership of the Secretary-General and his high-ranking aides—and with the participation of parties directly concerned, such as the delegation of SWAPO and that of South Africa, as well as the representatives of the front-line States and Nigeria, of the five Western countries and of the OAU in an observer capacity—would constitute the long-awaited and long-desired breakthrough in the negotiating process. In other words, the international community's expectation was that the meeting would establish clear-cut dates for a cease-fire and for UNTAG to move into the Territory in preparation for the United Nations-supervised elections. Unfortunately, the meeting fell short of fulfilling those expectations because of the usual intransigent attitude of South Africa, and it could not come to grips with the essential issues on its agenda on account of the unjustified and unnecessary demands which the South African delegation deliberately put forward at that late stage of the peace initiative for further guarantees of the impartiality of the United Nations during the transitional period as well as of that of the elections to be held in Namibia.

203. Thus, contrary to the aspirations of the international community, the Geneva negotiations ended in total failure, with the delegation of South Africa declaring that it was premature for the United Nations plan to be implemented. This has no doubt been interpreted as a deliberate attempt on the part of the South African régime, which is the only party responsible for the failure of the Geneva meeting, to obstruct the peace process and to gain more time to enhance its position vis-à-vis the internal régime installed in Namibia at the expense of SWAPO. In fact, the deliberate measures resorted to by South Africa since then, in terms of further arrests and detentions of SWAPO patriots and an escalation of attacks against the front-line States, are ample evidence of the true intentions of South Africa in this regard.

204. In paragraph 21 of his report of 19 January 1981 on the pre-implementation meeting,<sup>7</sup> the Secretary-General sums up in an excellent manner the current situation with which we are confronted with regard to the question of Namibia. In that paragraph he refers to the most serious international concern that the outcome of the recent Geneva meeting should cause. Furthermore, the Secretary-General also refers to members of the Security Council and all those concerned as wishing to consider the proceedings and the situation which has now arisen. Again in that context the Secretary-General makes an urgent appeal to South Africa to review with utmost care the implications of the Geneva meeting and to reconsider its

position with regard to the implementation of resolution 435 (1978) at the earliest possible time.

205. My delegation fully associates itself with the pertinent remarks of the Secretary-General contained in that particular paragraph of his report. We sincerely hope that all parties concerned will heed the message it contains and do their utmost to implement the United Nations plan before it is too late and before the last chance for a peaceful solution is completely lost.

206. At this juncture, I find it a pleasant duty to commend the statesmanship, sense of understanding, responsibility and flexibility displayed by SWAPO, as well as the untiring and devoted efforts and constructive role played by all the other participants in the Geneva meeting, with the exception, of course, of the delegation of South Africa.

207. While associating our delegation with the urgent appeal made by the Secretary-General to South Africa to reconsider its position with regard to the implementation of the United Nations plan, we should like all other parties not to lose hope and to continue their constructive efforts to save the peace process and all their previous endeavours from going to waste. While making this appeal, we are keeping in mind the historic example of the independence of Zimbabwe, which was recently achieved, and remembering the difficulties encountered all along before its independence. Now, shortly after its independence, what we see in that young State of Zimbabwe is responsible leadership and balanced and statesmanlike policies worthy of the confidence of the international community, in spite of the several difficulties it faces. What has been achieved in Zimbabwe is certainly not any easier than what it is hoped will be accomplished in Namibia. Given goodwill, determination, foresight and common sense, as well as a spirit of accommodation and co-operation on the part of all parties concerned, there is no difficulty that cannot be overcome, especially when the alternative is more bloodshed and more human suffering.

208. My delegation is convinced that every effort should be made and the necessary pressure exerted on South Africa during this phase of the peace initiative, and we would like to emphasize, as we also did last year, the need for Security Council action at the proper time by way of mandatory economic sanctions against South Africa, as provided for in Chapter VII of the Charter. We feel that parallel action in the Security Council in this regard, along with the continuation of peace efforts, may serve to provide the necessary pressure on South Africa to ensure its co-operation with all the other parties concerned in the prompt implementation of the United Nations plan, which, we hope, will be forthcoming from this point on. We feel that this is a must, not only because of the nature of the critical situation prevailing in Namibia but also because the credibility of the organization could be at stake if the plan should be doomed to failure at this late stage.

209. I should like to seize this opportunity to reiterate our full support for the people of Namibia in its just struggle, under the leadership of SWAPO, for national independence based on democratic majority rule. We recognize SWAPO as the sole and authentic representative of the Namibian people. We commend

SWAPO, as we have done before, for its brave and courageous struggle for its just cause as well as for the constructive and flexible attitude it has assumed in the negotiating process all along. Furthermore, we believe that the territorial integrity of Namibia should be reaffirmed, and we unequivocally condemn the illegal annexation of Walvis Bay by South Africa.

210. I should also like to avail myself of this opportunity to stress the great importance we attach to the successful efforts of the United Nations Council for Namibia to protect and promote the legitimate interests of the Namibian people. I should like at this point to pay a special tribute to the President of the United Nations Council for Namibia, Mr. Lusaka of Zambia, for his inspiring and dynamic leadership, as well as his sincere and dedicated efforts for the cause of the Namibian people.

211. As a member of the United Nations Council for Namibia, we are happy to take an active part in its work. We associate ourselves with the report before us and the recommendations contained therein. In this connexion we are pleased to co-sponsor the draft resolutions on the United Nations Institute for Namibia [A/35/L.54 and Add.1], on the Nationhood Programme for Namibia [A/35/L.55 and Add.1], the United Nations Fund for Namibia [A/35/L.56 and Add.1] and the work programme of the United Nations Council for Namibia [A/35/L.52 and Add.1].

212. Finally, I find it a pleasant duty also to pay a special tribute to the United Nations Commissioner for Namibia, Mr. Ahtisaari, for his untiring and constructive efforts in preparing and implementing the Nationhood Programme for Namibia, which is of significant importance for the training of the Namibian patriots who will be assuming their responsibilities—soon, we hope—in an independent Namibia. In this context we should like equally to welcome the valuable support provided by UNDP, FAO, UNESCO and other international organizations and specialized agencies for the successful implementation of this Programme.

213. Mr. JAMAL (Qatar) (*interpretation from Arabic*): The struggle of the Namibian people for freedom and independence has entered a decisive and critical stage. At this juncture, our delegation cannot but express its solidarity with the struggling Namibian people. We also wish to express our great admiration for the heroic struggle being waged by SWAPO, the sole authentic and legitimate representative of the Namibian people. We wish to express our strong denunciation of the barbaric *apartheid* régime of Pretoria and its illegal presence in Namibia.

214. However arrogant the racist régime of South Africa may be, and regardless of the support it receives from the colonialist Governments and transnational corporations, that régime will not be able to achieve its sinister aims. It will not be able to halt the march toward freedom in the great African continent. The independence of Angola, Mozambique and Zimbabwe has given new impetus to the glorious struggle of the people of Namibia; it has brought it closer to ultimate victory and the attainment of its freedom and independence.

215. The failure of the Pretoria régime to put out the flame of struggle of the liberation movements of

Zimbabwe has infuriated that racist régime and has made it resort to manoeuvres and barbaric repressive measures in order to perpetuate its illegal presence in Namibia and to impede the inevitable attainment of independence by that Territory.

216. The racist South African régime has stepped up its military activities in the Territory of Namibia. It has carried out a barbaric and repressive policy against its people. It has escalated its aggression against the front-line States. The frantic military escalation carried out by the racist régime clearly demonstrates its aggressive intentions and the fact that it has no intention whatsoever of co-operating in the implementation of Security Council resolution 385 (1976), on transition to independence through free elections under the supervision and control of the United Nations. These actions clearly indicate that the racist régime does not intend to co-operate in the implementation of the United Nations plan for Namibian independence, which has been approved by SWAPO and the African front-line countries and endorsed by the Security Council in its resolution 435 (1978).

217. It is even clearer that the Pretoria régime has been evasive about its willingness to enter into negotiations in order to cover up its attempt to tighten its grip on the Territory, to set up puppet institutions there and to disrupt its national unity. Recent events, particularly the collapse of the pre-implementation talks, have demonstrated that the racist South African régime is determined to defeat the United Nations plan for Namibia worked out on the basis of Security Council resolution 435 (1978). The racist régime, which has no wish to implement that resolution, is wholly responsible for the breakdown of those talks. The position of the South African régime is based on its determination to continue exercising its illegal military power in Namibia and to continue its economic plunder and exploitation of the fighting Namibian people.

218. Our delegation cannot but pay a tribute to SWAPO for the prudent position adopted by it during the talks, which reflects its firm faith in the justness of its cause. It has proved that it is worthy of the trust placed in it by the Namibian people.

219. Following the collapse of the talks at Geneva, it is now clear that it is time to satisfy the demands of the overwhelming majority of Member States for the complete isolation of the *apartheid* régime of Pretoria. This requires that the Security Council adopt mandatory sanctions against that régime in accordance with the provisions of Chapter VII of the Charter.

220. The international community, as represented in the General Assembly, has a special responsibility with regard to the Territory. The Assembly terminated South Africa's Mandate for Namibia in 1966. The United Nations assumed direct responsibility for the administration of the Territory. It set up the United Nations Council for Namibia as the only authority legally entitled to administer the Territory until it achieves independence.

221. Thus South Africa's defiance of Namibia is in fact defiance of the authority of the United Nations and of the advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice on Namibia of 1971. This challenge has



assumed grave dimensions now that it is clear to the whole world that the racist Pretoria régime is seeking to develop and possess nuclear armaments in order to perpetuate its illegal presence and occupation and its aggressive racist policies through persecution and intimidation. Its aggressive attitude is all the more serious now that it has become clear that the Pretoria régime is collaborating with another racist régime in an attempt to possess nuclear armaments. I am referring to the Zionist régime in occupied Palestine, which shares with South Africa expansionist and aggressive aims and a racist character.

222. Our delegation expresses its concern and indignation upon reading the part of the report of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples which pertains to the continuing activities of foreign interests in Namibia. The Governments and transnational corporations which collaborate with the Pretoria régime in plundering the economic and human resources of that Territory are participating in inhuman crimes and are supporting that régime in its violation of the principles of the Charter. They are impeding the achievement of independence by the people of Namibia and fulfilment of its legitimate national aspirations. Our delegation expresses its support for the relevant resolutions of the Committee and urges all parties concerned to comply with the provisions of General Assembly resolutions 2621 (XXV) and 34/41 and to implement Decree No. 1 for the Protection of the Natural Resources of Namibia.

223. Our delegation wishes to pay a tribute to the President of the United Nations Council for Namibia, Mr. Lusaka, for the great efforts he has exerted. It expresses its appreciation of the Council and confirms its support of the Algiers Programme of Action on Namibia adopted by the Council on 1 June 1980. I would also pay a tribute to the International Conference in Solidarity with the Struggle of the People of Namibia, held in Paris from 11 to 13 September 1980, for the Declaration it adopted [A/35/539-S/14220, annex].

224. In view of the obstinate attitude of the racist Pretoria régime with regard to Namibian independence, an attitude that disregards the legitimate national rights of the Namibian people and the will of the international community that supports such rights, Qatar wishes to denounce the methods of terror and oppression pursued by South Africa in Namibia. It requests the international community further to isolate the Pretoria régime until it ends its illegal presence in that Territory in compliance with the resolutions of the United Nations, which is responsible for that Territory's transition to independence. In view of South Africa's disregard for all the relevant resolutions of the United Nations, Qatar believes that that régime will be deterred by one action alone: namely, the adoption by the Security Council of economic sanctions against it, since all the reports of the United Nations Council for Namibia confirm that the transnational corporations are in fact the mainstay of the occupation of Namibia and that their activities, which are nothing other than plunder, reveal the two-faced policies of certain States which have economic interests in that Territory and which have thus far prevented the Security Council from taking effective action.

225. In view of the escalation of barbaric actions and inhuman practices by the imperialist, racist, illegal Administration of South Africa against the Namibian nationalists, our delegation urges the international community to step up its moral and material support of the people of Namibia in order that it may carry on its legitimate struggle, under the leadership of SWAPO, until it achieves its freedom and independence.

226. Our delegation wishes to reaffirm the authority of the United Nations Council for Namibia and the necessity of providing it with all possible assistance and co-operation so that it will be able to discharge its task until the people of Namibia is able to achieve its independence and victory over oppression and colonialism.

*The meeting rose at 7.15 p.m.*