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NOTE

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2088th MEETING

Held in New York on Saturday, 30 September 1978, at 10.30 a.m.

President: Mr. Ilja HULINSKY (Czechoslovakia).

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

Provisional agenda (S/Agenda/2088)

1. Adoption of the agenda
2. The situation in Namibia:
Report of the Secretary-General submitted pursuant to paragraph 2 of Security Council resolution 431 (1978) (S/12827)

The meeting was called to order at 11.25 a.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The situation in Namibia:

Report of the Secretary-General submitted pursuant to paragraph 2 of Security Council resolution 431 (1978) (S/12827)

1. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Russian*): In accordance with the decision taken at the 2087th meeting, I invite the representatives of Benin, Botswana, the Sudan and Zambia to take the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Boya (Benin), Mr. Tlou (Botswana), Mr. Bakr (Sudan) and Mr. Mwale (Zambia) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber.

2. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Russian*): In addition, I have received a letter from the representative of Guinea, in which he asks to be invited to participate in the discussion. In accordance with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite him to participate in the discussion without the right to vote, in conformity with the provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the provisional rules of procedure.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Yansane (Guinea) took the place reserved for him at the side of the Council chamber.

3. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Russian*): In accordance with the decision taken at the 2087th meeting, I invite the President of the United Nations Council for Namibia and the other members of the delegation to be seated at the Council table.

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

4. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Russian*): I also invite Mr. Nujoma, to whom the Council extended an invitation at the 2087th meeting under rule 39 of the provisional rules of procedure, to take a place at the Council table.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Nujoma (President of the South West Africa People's Organization) took a place at the Council table.

5. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Russian*): The first speaker is the President of the United Nations Council for Namibia, on whom I now call.

6. Miss KONIE (President of the United Nations Council for Namibia): Allow me initially to express the sincere appreciation of the delegation of the United Nations Council for Namibia for this opportunity to address the Security Council in its deliberations on Namibia at this critical stage of the efforts of the United Nations in fulfilling the solemn commitment made in 1966. On that occasion, the General Assembly terminated the Mandate exercised by South Africa over Namibia and assumed direct responsibility for the Territory until independence.

7. I should like, Mr. President, to congratulate you on your presidency on the occasion of this meeting of the Council, the consequences of which may so profoundly affect the destiny of the Namibian people. I am certain that your wise and experienced guidance will contribute to a solution in full conformity with the aspirations of the Namibian people to self-determination and genuine independence in a united Namibia.

8. Before I go further, allow me to take this opportunity on behalf of the United Nations Council for Namibia to express our deep sorrow at the death of His Holiness Pope John Paul I.

9. The question of Namibia has had a long and frustrating history in the United Nations. The refusal of South Africa to abide by the decisions of the General Assembly and of

the International Court of Justice have posed the Organization a continuous challenge to its authority and prestige. The refusal of South Africa to respond to the initiatives of the United Nations regarding its withdrawal from Namibia led the General Assembly in 1966 to terminate the Mandate exercised by South Africa under the League of Nations. The Assembly, by its resolution 2145 (XXI), assumed direct responsibility for the Territory until independence. In the following year the question of Namibia assumed the status of a major question in the United Nations by virtue of the convening of a special session of the General Assembly devoted to the question of Namibia. By its resolution 2248 (S-V), the Assembly established the United Nations Council for Namibia with the responsibility of administering the Territory until independence. From 1967 until 1978, when the General Assembly convened another special session to deal exclusively with the question of Namibia, South Africa has continuously refused to accept the demand of the United Nations that it should withdraw from the Territory to enable the United Nations to supervise and control elections in order to transfer power to the legitimate representatives of the Namibian people.

10. At its ninth special session, the General Assembly adopted a Declaration on Namibia and a Programme of Action in Support of Self-Determination and National Independence for Namibia [resolution S-9/2] in which it reiterated that Namibia was the direct responsibility of the United Nations until genuine self-determination and national independence were achieved in the Territory and, for this purpose, reaffirmed the mandate given to the United Nations Council for Namibia as the legal Administering Authority for Namibia until independence. The Assembly reaffirmed, furthermore, the inalienable rights of the Namibian people to self-determination, freedom and national independence in a united Namibia, in accordance with the Charter and as declared in its resolutions 1514 (XV) and 2145 (XXI), as well as in its subsequent resolutions and those of the Security Council relating to Namibia, and the legitimacy of their struggle by all means at their disposal against the illegal occupation of Namibia by South Africa.

11. The General Assembly has thus clearly condemned the illegal occupation of Namibia by South Africa and has recognized the threat to international peace and security posed by South Africa's continued defiance of the decisions of the United Nations.

12. What the international community has witnessed from 1967 to 1978 is the contempt of South Africa for the considered decisions of the United Nations. During this period, both the General Assembly and the Security Council reiterated demands for the withdrawal of the illegal occupation of Namibia by South Africa. The Council, by its resolution 264 (1969), recognized that the General Assembly had terminated the Mandate of South Africa over Namibia and assumed direct responsibility for the Territory until its independence; it also decided to remain actively seized of the matter. Subsequently, by its resolution 309 (1972), the Council invited the Secretary-General, in consultation and close co-operation with a group of the Security Council, to initiate as soon as possible contacts

with all parties concerned, with a view to establishing the necessary conditions so as to enable the people of Namibia, freely and with strict regard to the principle of human equality, to exercise their right to self-determination and independence, in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations. At the same time, the Council called on the Government of South Africa to co-operate fully with the Secretary-General in the implementation of the resolution. The efforts of the Secretary-General were not successful and, by its resolution 342 (1973), the Council decided to discontinue further efforts on the basis of resolution 309 (1972).

13. The efforts of the United Nations throughout the decade to obtain the withdrawal of the illegal presence of South Africa from Namibia have continually met with failure as a consequence of the intransigence of South Africa. During the same period, the Namibian people, frustrated in all their attempts to achieve self-determination and national independence by peaceful means, had no alternative but to resort to armed struggle, initiated in August 1966 under the leadership of SWAPO.

14. The armed struggle of the Namibian people under SWAPO has imposed on Namibian patriots enormous sacrifices. These sacrifices have been recognized throughout the years by the Namibian people, whose support for SWAPO has constantly increased. In spite of all the destructive propaganda by the enemies of the people of Namibia, Namibians, other Africans and all peace-loving peoples of the world have increasingly come to recognize SWAPO as the sole and authentic representative of the Namibian people in their struggle to achieve self-determination, freedom and genuine independence in a united Namibia. However, even today there are still those who, for unclear ends, attempt to deny to SWAPO the credentials which have been given to it by the Organization of African Unity and by the United Nations in recognition of the tremendous sacrifices made by SWAPO for the self-determination and independence of Namibia.

15. The General Assembly, in recognizing SWAPO as the sole and authentic representative of the Namibian people, has also been guided by the considered view of the majority of the Members. The Declaration adopted at its ninth special session, reaffirmed its full support for the armed liberation struggle of the Namibian people under the leadership of SWAPO, its sole and authentic representative. It further expressed its conviction that the intensive armed struggle by the Namibian people continues to be a decisive factor in the efforts to achieve self-determination, freedom and national independence in a united Namibia. The Assembly commended the valiant people of Namibia, under the leadership of SWAPO, for having intensified the armed struggle for the liberation of their country from illegal occupation by South Africa. It also supported the political and diplomatic efforts of SWAPO to secure genuine independence for Namibia in accordance with all the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council, and commended that organization for its willingness to enter into negotiations for the achievement of genuine independence for Namibia in conformity with resolution 385 (1976) in its entirety. The Assembly has

thus recognized SWAPO and South Africa as the interested parties in negotiations for the achievement of a negotiated settlement in Namibia.

16. The United Nations Council for Namibia is convinced that the leadership of SWAPO has shown great statesmanship and moderation in its discussions with the representatives of the five Western members of the Security Council regarding a negotiated settlement of the question of Namibia. While carrying on the armed struggle, SWAPO has always maintained the position that, whenever possibilities arise for a meaningful negotiated termination of the illegal occupation of Namibia by South Africa, SWAPO will not hesitate to lend its support to such efforts. SWAPO encouraged and supported the efforts of several member States in the Security Council which culminated in the adoption of resolution 385 (1976). While remaining firm and unswerving in defence of the inalienable rights, legitimate aspirations and true interests of the oppressed people of Namibia, SWAPO has also demonstrated flexibility and a spirit of compromise in order to ensure progress in the negotiations.

17. Unfortunately, South Africa has not responded in good faith. After prolonged negotiations, the South African Government has now officially informed the Secretary-General that it intends to carry out so-called elections on its exclusive responsibility in Namibia, thereby ensuring that its own supporters will be manoeuvred into power through fraudulent practices in the registration and in all stages of the electoral process.

18. The report which the Security Council has approved reflects a careful evaluation by the Secretary-General and his staff of the complex political and administrative conditions related to the presence of the United Nations in Namibia. The clarifications presented by the Secretary-General further emphasize the careful consideration of all details of the report. The international community has followed the efforts of the Secretary-General fully conscious of the complexity of his task and of the extraordinary demands which it has placed on his diplomatic skills and judgement. The approval of this report is additional proof of the profound confidence of the members of the Security Council and of the Members of the United Nations in the ability of the Secretary-General to fulfil his responsibilities within the limits of the possible.

19. South African intransigence may well lead to the failure of the efforts of the Security Council and of the Secretary-General to resolve the question of Namibia and thereby strengthen international peace and security in southern Africa. Such a development would constitute a grave and ominous turn of events. The international community certainly will not tolerate for ever the total contempt expressed by the Pretoria régime towards the decisions and proposals put forth in good faith by the United Nations. The aspirations of the peoples of southern Africa for self-determination and independence must not be treated lightly. The winds of freedom and national integrity have on many occasions throughout history become cyclones of popular indignation. Let us hope against hope that the Pretoria régime will be brought to its senses and

renounce its schemes of unilateral action by recognizing the just proposals contained in the report of the Secretary-General.

20. The General Assembly declared at its ninth special session that it would continue to carry out its responsibilities in regard to the Territory of Namibia until genuine independence had been achieved. These responsibilities will be discharged through the United Nations Council for Namibia in its capacity as the legal Administering Authority for Namibia.

21. The United Nations therefore has thus unequivocally stated its position on the question of Namibia. It is clear that the full extent of the political commitment of the General Assembly to the people of Namibia is recognized by the overwhelming majority of its membership. The commitment of the United Nations to the Namibian people is not a technical one. It is not simply a question of the supervision and control of elections in Namibia. The General Assembly, by its solemn commitment assuming direct responsibility for the Territory until independence, established political obligations of the highest order which the United Nations is bound to meet.

22. The Security Council must therefore, at all stages of its consideration of the question of Namibia, bear in mind the solemn commitment which is expressed not only in the resolutions of the General Assembly but also in resolutions of the Security Council itself. The need for scrupulous adherence to principles enunciated therein and in the documents now before the Council cannot be over-emphasized if the United Nations is to bring about genuine independence for the people of Namibia.

23. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Russian*): The next speaker is the Administrative Secretary-General of the Organization of African Unity, Mr. Edem Kodjo. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

24. Mr. KODJO (*interpretation from French*): It is a very pleasant duty for the Secretary-General of the Organization of African Unity to be able to bring to the Security Council the point of view of our organization concerning the problem which is the subject of the deliberations in the Council today. But, first of all, I should like to tell you, Mr. President, how pleased I am to see the work of the Council presided over today by you, a brilliant representative of a country which is close, for many reasons, to the hearts of the peoples of Africa. I should like to take this opportunity to thank you, and through you your country, for the assistance that you have always granted to the liberation movements in Africa.

25. I am likewise pleased to express my great appreciation to all the members of the Council for the unanimous and positive response that they have given to our request to participate in the debates of the Council. In so doing, the members of the Council have merely followed the course of reason, wisdom and realism, because the Organization of African Unity is an active party in the problem that is preoccupying us today.

26. It is not my intention to inflict upon the members of the Council the catalogue of the numerous actions, political as well as diplomatic, which the Organization of African Unity has undertaken since its establishment in order to demonstrate to them the interest, and especially the high responsibility, which OAU has assigned to itself and is committed to for the achievement of the effective independence of Namibia within the framework of its territorial integrity and of its sovereignty fully assumed. It will be sufficient for me to recall the case brought before the International Court of Justice by the representatives of Africa, and supported subsequently by OAU.

27. The Council will be equally pleased to know that the diplomatic action conducted by the Organization of African Unity has been crowned by the recognition of SWAPO as the authentic representative of the Namibian people. Finally, the Council will also be interested to know that, at its most recent meetings, the summit of the Organization of African Unity adopted two important resolutions on the question of Namibia. The texts of those resolutions have been communicated to the Secretariat and have already become official documents of the United Nations [See S/12837]. I shall therefore not go into them now. However, simply in order to explain my position better, I should like to recall some of the passages. After having taken note of the agreement of 12 July 1978 between SWAPO and the representatives of the five Western members of the Security Council, with a view to negotiating the settlement of the Namibian problem, the Assembly of Heads of State and Government expresses its satisfaction, in paragraph 1, with the signing of this agreement by the parties concerned. In paragraph 4, the Assembly

“Requests the Security Council and the Secretary-General of the United Nations to proceed expeditiously towards giving effect to resolution 385 (1976) as a follow-up to the Luanda agreement”.

Further, in paragraph 5, it

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

28. I have highlighted these particular provisions in order to tell the Council that we in the Organization of African Unity had perceived the Luanda agreement as the dawn of a new era, one of effective, sincere and loyal co-operation between the United Nations and the representatives of the Pretoria régime.

29. Hence, having found within ourselves the necessary strength and resolve, we accepted the proposals of the five Western Powers. In conformity with the political philosophy of our Organization which advocates negotiated solutions whenever possible to conflicts which so often set peoples and nations against each other, we also at that time supported the decision of the Security Council empowering the Secretary-General to send an emissary to Namibia to study ways and means for the effective implementation of

the proposals for a settlement made by the Western members of the Council. Today the Council has before it the Secretary-General's report, which he lost no time in preparing, in spite of the difficulties and the short time at his disposal.

30. With regard to this report, I should like to say at the outset that, in spite of its imperfections, the Organization of African Unity fully and unconditionally supports it, particularly the provisions relating to the personnel and the date of the elections, provisions which in themselves should present no problem for men of goodwill.

31. We have studied the various proposals contained in the report and wish to express our conviction that only the acceptance and the implementation of the concrete measures it contains will, at the present stage of the development of the Namibian problem, allow the international community to fulfil its historic mission in Namibia.

32. In the face of the systematic state of crisis which the Pretoria régime would like to create in order to immobilize the Organization, and more specifically the Council, in a dubious impasse, there is a great temptation to denounce the delaying manoeuvres, the diversionary tactics, the red herrings and the oblique attitudes of the Pretoria régime. Nevertheless, I shall not speak of this; I shall say no more for the hour is grave and it is not the time to engage in invective.

33. We consider that at this crucial moment no Government, no State Member of the United Nations, can afford or should allow itself to commit an affront to the international community as a whole. The Council has already gone too far to be able to backtrack. And, precisely, the hasty proposals for an internal settlement, the Pyrrhic solutions being mentioned here and there, are meant to block the positive action that has already been taken by the Council. The Council, the chief guardian of international peace and security and the conscience of the world with regard to respect for the Charter, ought not to tolerate such a situation.

34. As for the Organization of African Unity, it first of all wishes to express its complete readiness to participate as such in the implementation of any measure advocated by the Council. It then sincerely hopes that common sense and reason will prevail, that the process described in the Secretary-General's report—and here we take the opportunity to congratulate and encourage him—will be respected and that the outline proposed will be accepted and implemented by all the parties concerned. For if this were not to be the case, OAU would reserve its right to continue and to increase its assistance of various kinds to SWAPO so as to enable it to intensify the armed struggle which it has been waging for more than 14 years. This struggle has been long and bloody, but SWAPO, which has so far shown a spirit of understanding, co-operation and conciliation, will pursue it if it must and will win it because it is struggling for the most just and noble of causes: the cause of freedom.

35. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Russian*): The next speaker is the representative of Botswana, who wishes

to make a statement in his capacity as Chairman of the Group of African States for the month of September. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

36. Mr. TLOU (Botswana): I should like, on behalf of the African Group, to preface my remarks by expressing our profound grief at the passing of Pope John Paul I. Our condolences go to all concerned.

37. Mr. President, in my capacity as Chairman of the African Group for the month of September, I should like, on behalf of the Group, to congratulate you on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for this month. We most sincerely thank you and the other members of the Council for affording us the opportunity to participate in this very crucial debate. Your immense diplomatic skill and experience and your well-known commitment to the liberation struggle in southern Africa enabled you wisely to steer these deliberations to the adoption of the Secretary-General's report yesterday.

38. This debate is being held pursuant to resolution 431 (1978), which requested the Secretary-General to submit at the earliest possible date a report on how he proposed to implement the proposal for a settlement of the Namibian situation contained in document S/12636, in accordance with resolution 385 (1976). The Council now has before it that report in document S/12827.

39. The Secretary-General and the team he dispatched to Namibia, headed by his Special Representative, Mr. Martti Ahtisaari, ought to be congratulated for the expeditiousness and impartiality with which they carried out the mandate entrusted to them by this august body.

40. The Secretary-General's report, which has benefited from the input of experts and professionals of international renown, has indeed been prepared in the light of objective realities on the ground in Namibia and conforms to the proposals of the five Western members of the Security Council which initiated this exercise. Everyone concerned, except of course *apartheid* South Africa, the occupying colonial Power in Namibia, accepts the Secretary-General's report.

41. We, for our part, consider that the Secretary-General's report provides a sound basis for the decolonization of Namibia in accordance with resolution 385 (1976). There is no need for me to comment on the substance of the report since the concerns of the African Group, especially on such matters as the unilateral registration of voters by South Africa, have already been brought to the attention of the Secretary-General. We have taken note with satisfaction of the Secretary-General's explanatory statement of yesterday. Besides, paragraph 6 of the resolution adopted yesterday by the Council covers this matter. We have, as always, full confidence in the Secretary-General, and we know that, if adequately equipped by the Council for the task ahead, he will execute his mandate with his characteristic brilliance and commitment.

42. The Council is meeting at a very critical time to deal with the issue of the decolonization of Namibia, an issue which has a great bearing not only on the peace, stability and prosperity of Namibia, of southern Africa and of Africa, but also on international peace and security. But, just as the international community, through the agency of the Security Council, was poised to put into effect the Secretary-General's decolonization plan, South Africa once again demonstrated its arrogant challenge to and defiance of the international community. It has rejected the Secretary-General's report, which is based on the Western proposals which aim to implement resolution 385 (1976).

43. In its proper perspective and historical context, then, the rejection by South Africa, which is now clearly bent on further entrenching itself in Namibia, should not so much surprise us as in fact confirm Africa's sceptical belief based on historical and bitter experience, that the racist rulers at Pretoria, whose double-dealing and unparalleled recalcitrance should be well known to all of us by now, have never at any time meant to see a genuinely free and fair democratic election in Namibia. They are scared stiff of such an election since it is bound to put in power the true leaders of the Namibian people, whose interests could never be the same as those of the colonizers.

44. The primary aim of South Africa in Namibia is, as we all know, to keep the popular vanguard party, SWAPO, from achieving power, to install a pliant client régime which will dance to Pretoria's tune, and thus, in geopolitical terms, to turn Namibia into an outpost of South Africa from which attacks similar to the ones often launched against Angola and Zambia could be staged. After all, South Africa has proclaimed that its zone of military operations extends right up to the equator. In the eyes of the South African rulers free and fair democratic elections would easily thwart this iniquitous plan. The Secretary-General's report is rejected, therefore, precisely because it guarantees such an election.

45. Purely and simply, then, these are the real reasons for South Africa's rejection, notwithstanding all the spurious explanations and hollow justifications on the part of the South African Government.

46. The most important point about South Africa's rejection and its declaration that it is now proceeding unilaterally with sham elections aimed at presenting the United Nations with a fait accompli is that we are reminded very clearly—and we can ignore this reminder only at our peril—first, that the word of the South African rulers on matters of human freedom must never be taken at its face value, for it is invariably calculated to hoodwink those who are gullible and, secondly, that despite apparent deceitful cosmetic changes the age-long dominant theme of South African politics remains unchanged, and that is the aim to dominate Africans in perpetuity, be they in South Africa itself or in Namibia.

47. The South African white rulers have always held the black man in utter contempt, and this unscientific and deliberately distorted view of the African has been used to deny the Africans in South Africa itself and now those in

Namibia the inalienable right to rule themselves or to participate meaningfully in politics at all. Their warped view of African participation in politics is that manifested in the Pretoria-dominated and Pretoria-led so-called bantustans, which are anathema to the international community. South Africa has sought throughout to turn Namibia into a number of bantustans through its so-called Turnhalle formula, which it is now pursuing with renewed vigour. Until Namibia is truly independent in line with the provisions of resolution 385 (1976), we should not relax our vigilance lest we allow the *apartheid* régime to implement its treacherous schemes.

48. Failure to exercise vigilance can only open the way for the enemies of the Namibian people to sabotage the efforts of the international community to effect a smooth transition to genuine independence. The lessons of history instruct us that, because the interests of the colonizer and the colonized are invariably irreconcilable, during the decolonization process every step, every act and every utterance of the colonizer should be cautiously analysed for its true implications. Only in this way can we separate myth from reality. South Africa, like any other colonizer, should not escape this rigorous treatment, especially now that it has again made its defiance manifest.

49. The fact that we have travelled this far along the road towards the decolonization of Namibia is in itself a tribute to SWAPO, the vanguard movement in the valiant struggle of the Namibian people for self-determination and independence. The tenacity of SWAPO on the battlefield and its steadfast statesmanship and political realism on the diplomatic front have not only won it the admiration of all peace-loving and freedom-loving peoples but have also enabled the negotiating process to progress this far. And all this SWAPO has been able to do despite unending serious provocations by South Africa.

50. If this exercise, the last chance for a negotiated settlement in Namibia, should fail—and we must not allow it to fail—then the blame should be placed squarely on South Africa. SWAPO has fulfilled all that is required of it. It has accepted the Secretary-General's decolonization plan, although quite rightly it expressed certain concerns, especially with regard to the illegal unilateral registration of voters by South Africa. However, it has left this matter to be dealt with by the Secretary-General. SWAPO has also declared in the clearest terms its preparedness to enter into a cease-fire agreement with South Africa—all this is in the interest of peace. Hereafter no one can point an accusing finger at SWAPO.

51. I shall not go here into the history of the struggle of the Namibian people, which has entailed a lot of sacrifice and suffering on their part. Many of their finest sons and daughters have fallen for their just cause. All this is well known and needs no repetition. It remains for me on behalf of the African Group to pay a high tribute to the Namibian people, led by their vanguard movement, SWAPO, for their steadfast statesmanship in their quest for independence despite the overwhelming odds against them. By taking arms against the usurper rather than be slaves in their own land, the people of Namibia are fulfilling the historic

mission entrusted to them by their forebears, who also, at the turn of the nineteenth century, took up arms against their colonizers. Because their cause is just their efforts will be crowned with victory.

52. As far as Africa is concerned, on the question of Namibia we speak with one voice of solidarity, for this issue occupies a special place in our hearts and minds. For Africa, Namibia, with its port, Walvis Bay, which the colonizers have annexed, must be free in its entirety. The unanimity of Africa on this question was clearly demonstrated by the two comprehensive resolutions adopted by our Heads of State and Government at Khartoum. They have now been circulated as the annex to document S/12837. Here I must add that the statement of the OAU Administrative Secretary-General that we have just heard confirms and strengthens that position of OAU. Thus we come before the Security Council under the supreme mandate of our Heads of State and Government to participate in a meaningful search together with others equally concerned for a final and durable solution to the Namibian problem. For, indeed, only through collective effort can we hope to achieve the desired end.

53. We are now embarking on a very delicate sacred mission to decolonize Namibia. Our success will ultimately depend on our collective efforts and the political will to act in the name of justice and fair play. The co-operation of everybody, and most especially of the authors of the proposals on which the Secretary-General's report is based, is imperative. We take note of the statements of the Foreign Ministers of the five Western members of the Security Council and we shall now await the matching of words with action. In large measure, the success of our efforts will depend on the faith we have in each other and in the United Nations ability to act forcefully when occasion demands. Without such faith and the political will to live up to that faith, no matter how good the proposals may look on paper, they will not go very far beyond the drawing board.

54. The adoption by the members of the Council of the Secretary-General's report reflects their concern for the emancipation of the Namibian people. Any hesitation on their part would only have succeeded in giving encouragement to South Africa. But this is only the beginning of a difficult task yet to be undertaken. We urge that the concern demonstrated here by the adoption of the report of the Secretary-General continues to be manifested as the Council takes follow-up action to carry out its sacred mandate.

55. But we must be realistic in the light of the actual situation occasioned by South Africa's rejection of the Secretary-General's report. We should unequivocally call upon South Africa to give way to the United Nations transition team in Namibia and make it abundantly clear that South Africa will bear the full consequences of the catastrophic situation that is bound to arise should it not comply.

56. If South Africa stands in the way of the Secretary-General, then the Security Council should convene speedily and adopt swift measures to implement its own decisions.

Indeed, such action on the part of South Africa would not only be a challenge to the credibility of the Council and its five Western members in particular, but it would also constitute a threat to international peace and security. The whole region of southern Africa would be thrown into yet deeper turmoil and the oppression of the Namibian people would continue.

57. That impending disaster can be averted only by implementing the plan of decolonization just adopted. As a first step, the Council should in fact declare null and void any unilateral action taken, or about to be taken, by the racist South African régime, and we note with satisfaction that paragraph 6 of the resolution adopted yesterday says just that. The entity that arises out of a Pretoria-enforced mock election, should South Africa proceed with that election, must be ostracized by the international community. The Security Council should be consistent and reject South Africa's "internal settlement" as it rejected that of Ian Smith in Southern Rhodesia. We are pleased to note that paragraph 6 of the resolution already provides for this.

58. In the meantime, however, the international community should rally behind SWAPO until such time as the people of Namibia are allowed freely to choose their rulers in a free and fair election. In his statement [2087th meeting], the President of SWAPO reaffirmed SWAPO's readiness to participate in such an election. SWAPO should be given political, diplomatic, moral and material support so as to be able to carry on the struggle should South Africa remain defiant. Africa, for its part, will not be found wanting in that respect.

59. To the people of Namibia, those who are inside the country and whom South Africa is trying to turn into unwilling or willing instruments of its ill-conceived "internal settlement", I say: "Do not be deceived. Look at the turmoil in Zimbabwe following the so-called internal settlement. South Africa's Turnhalle formula is a recipe for trouble in Namibia. No settlement which excludes SWAPO can work. There is still time for you to draw back from the precipice by co-operating with the United Nations rather than with South Africa."

60. To those who have influence over South Africa I say: "Use the leverage at your disposal to avert the impending catastrophe". Even at this late, eleventh hour, South Africa can still retreat from the brink of disaster if it so desires. South Africa would be well advised not to spurn the hand of peace extended to it. The alternative is too ghastly to contemplate.

61. To the Security Council I say: "The battle lines are drawn at the instigation and choosing of South Africa and the Council must now defend its prestige and credibility with all the means at its disposal as provided for in the Charter." We are now standing precariously on the edge of a precipice, between chaos and peace, and it is for South Africa to choose which way we go.

62. Members of the Council, let your subsequent activities in the decolonization process in Namibia, like the decision

you adopted yesterday, be worthy of the trust that the Namibian people have always placed in the United Nations.

63. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Russian*): The next speaker is the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Zambia, His Excellency Mr. Siteke G. Mwale, who wishes to make a statement on behalf of the front-line States. I welcome him and invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

64. Mr. MWALE (Zambia): I would begin by expressing my delegation's shock and grief at the untimely death of Pope John Paul I. Although the late Pope's tenure of office was but a brief one, we have been made aware that he had already begun to gain admiration and to capture the imagination of many millions of his followers throughout the world.

65. Mr. President, I now wish to congratulate you most warmly on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council. Your country, Czechoslovakia, has for many years consistently supported the just struggle of the people of Namibia, Zimbabwe and South Africa for freedom and independence. I am confident that under your wise guidance this meeting of the Council will make a major contribution towards the fulfilment of the aspirations of the Namibian people.

66. My delegation is deeply honoured to participate in this important meeting of the Council on behalf of the front-line States of Angola, Botswana, Mozambique, the United Republic of Tanzania and, of course, Zambia. The front-line States have continued to fulfil a solemn mandate in support of the liberation struggle on behalf of the Organization of African Unity. In that regard, our countries decided to make a joint intervention on this all-important issue of the independence of Namibia now before the Council.

67. The Security Council is currently faced with a most critical and challenging situation concerning Namibia. Consequently, there is an urgent need for the Council and the United Nations as a whole to undertake effective measures to resolve the Namibian problem and thereby enable the people of Namibia to exercise their inalienable right to self-determination and genuine national independence.

68. It is our considered view that the report of the Secretary-General constitutes a suitable framework for an internationally acceptable solution of the Namibian problem. Over-all, we find the report to be in conformity with the proposal contained in document S/12636, which indeed is the basis for the adoption of resolution 431 (1978).

69. On behalf of the front-line States, I wish to commend the Secretary-General for his concise, clear and important report. I also pay a tribute to the Special Representative of the Secretary-General and United Nations Commissioner for Namibia, Mr. Martti Ahtisaari, for the serious and dedicated manner in which he and his team carried out their task.

70. The front-line States welcome the balanced manner in which the report has been presented. It is of particular significance that it contains adequate provisions for military and civilian personnel to comprise the United Nations Transition Assistance Group (UNTAG). It cannot be over-emphasized that the successful implementation of that report and the fulfilment of resolution 385 (1976) are contingent upon those provisions. It is quite evident to us that the implementation of the report provides a viable formula for resolving the Namibian problem. It is also of vital significance, therefore, that the Council has adopted the report.

71. In view of the foregoing, I wish to address myself to two elements which are essential to the fulfilment of the United Nations mandate in Namibia.

72. First, there is need for a peaceful, orderly and irreversible transfer of power to the oppressed people of Namibia. The fulfilment of that fundamental need can only be guaranteed by the United Nations peace-keeping force and the supporting civilian component of UNTAG, with the co-operation of the international community. Those of us who genuinely espouse the principles and objectives of the United Nations with regard to Namibia ought to welcome the measures proposed by the Secretary-General.

73. Secondly, there is need for free, fair and genuinely democratic elections. That requirement demands not merely peaceful and orderly conditions but also proper registration of voters organized and conducted by an impartial organ. That is a vital precondition if the transition is to be orderly and fair.

74. In this connexion, it is a source of profound indignation and grave concern that the Pretoria régime has embarked on a series of manoeuvres calculated to frustrate the process of the peaceful transition of Namibia to genuine independence. The following serve as vivid examples of South Africa's acts of bad faith:

(a) South Africa proceeded with its unilateral appointment of an "Administrator General" before the proposals of the five Western members of the Security Council were considered by the other party;

(b) South Africa has gone ahead with the registration of voters in defiance of the United Nations and in utter disregard of objections raised by the other party;

(c) South Africa attacked Angola and massacred SWAPO refugees at Kassinga while negotiations were being conducted here in New York;

(d) South Africa only recently carried out an attack on Zambia resulting in the regrettable loss of human life and extensive damage to property in the Sesheke district;

(e) South Africa continues to intensify its repression of the people of Namibia, as characterized by its illegal arrests of the members of SWAPO designed to wipe out the party that has been acclaimed by the United Nations and the

international community as a whole as the sole and authentic representative of the people of Namibia.

75. Such acts of bad faith are evidently detrimental to the attainment of United Nations objectives in Namibia. Acts of aggression and unilateral measures perpetrated by South Africa can only aggravate the already explosive situation. We demand a fresh registration of voters under United Nations supervision. We must not accept any measures or processes initiated by South Africa unilaterally and in defiance of the United Nations for the sole purpose of prejudicing the electoral process, thus rigging elections and defeating the purpose of the United Nations to which SWAPO and Africa have remained ever so faithful. The Special Representative of the Secretary-General has an obligation to ensure the fulfilment of this requirement.

76. Ideally, SWAPO would have demanded a proper census before the registration of voters but, in the spirit of compromise and in the interests of United Nations objectives, it has set aside that vital demand. I wish to stress in this regard that the registration of voters exercise cannot be divorced from the over-all duties of the Special Representative, which must start upon the conferment of necessary authority by the Security Council.

77. Within the context of ensuring a fair and free electoral process in Namibia, the front-line States also feel that the role of the police will be vital. We have taken note of the provisional figure of 360 police officers that the Secretary-General has recommended for secondment by Member States to UNTAG. In our view, that figure is clearly inadequate for the effective monitoring of a large contingent of prejudiced South African police envisaged to perform a key and active role in guaranteeing a peaceful and orderly electoral process. Furthermore, in the view of the front-line States, the United Nations Council for Namibia remains the legal Administering Authority of the Territory until independence. We hope and expect that the Council will continue to be consulted at the various stages of the present process.

78. In his report, the Secretary-General has stressed the need for the neighbouring countries to co-operate in enforcing the cease-fire and the surveillance of the borders of Namibia. I wish to assure him that, as in the past, our countries will continue to co-operate with him in this common endeavour.

79. The countries which I am privileged to represent continue to make tremendous sacrifices in support of the just struggle of the people of southern Africa. Our objective is to secure genuine independence. If meaningful independence can be achieved through negotiations, we will continue to give full support to those negotiations. However, should a peaceful settlement of the Namibian problem remain elusive, we, the front-line States, on behalf of the Organization of African Unity, will be left with no choice but to continue to play our noble duty as reliable rear bases in the struggle to liberate southern Africa.

80. The armed struggle waged by the people's liberation army of SWAPO and SWAPO's phenomenal successes on

the political and diplomatic fronts are the prime factors which have led to the present phase in the protracted struggle to liberate Namibia, a stage favourable to a negotiated settlement. Without SWAPO's victories, South Africa would not have contemplated negotiating the termination of its illegal occupation of Namibia. Rightly, and deservedly so, SWAPO has over the years won international recognition as the sole and authentic representative of the Namibian people.

81. The actions of racist South Africa, on the contrary, clearly demonstrate that the Pretoria régime is not serious about negotiating the independence of Namibia. The opportunity is not yet lost for South Africa to leave Namibia honourably and peacefully. It must desist forthwith from its frantic attempts to install and impose a non-representative puppet régime in Namibia.

82. Members of the international community, in particular those countries which wield influence over South Africa, have the grave responsibility of compelling the Pretoria régime to relinquish its stranglehold on Namibia. We remain convinced in this regard that the Western countries should continue to use their leverage to ensure South Africa's peaceful compliance with the demands of the United Nations and the will of the international community.

83. In this connexion, I should like to state our view regarding the special responsibility of the five Western members of the Security Council in respect of the prevailing situation. It is our sincere hope and expectation that the Five will not consider the adoption of the Secretary-General's report as an end in itself. The adoption of the report by the Council should be considered as a means of enabling the contact group of five to persuade South Africa to withdraw from Namibia while the opportunity remains.

84. The adoption of the report has symbolized the determination of the international community to secure the peaceful resolution of the Namibian question. By that act, the bargaining position of the Western members of the Council in their negotiations with South Africa should be enhanced. The Five have therefore a particular responsibility to ensure the effective and speedy implementation of the report. The international community will, quite naturally, eagerly await the fulfilment by the Five of that which they set out to do.

85. In conclusion, I would state that we have a unique and timely opportunity to resolve the problem of Namibia and thereby open a new chapter in the history of our beleaguered region of southern Africa. The people of that region have suffered far too long. The front-line States hope that this opportunity will not be permitted to slip by, and that all Member States will co-operate fully in the present endeavour to resolve this vexing problem of Namibia and thus avert the escalation of the already existing grave threat to international peace and security, in the interests of the goals and objectives of the United Nations.

86. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Russian*): The next speaker is the Vice-President and Minister for Foreign

Affairs of the Sudan, who wishes to make a statement as representative of the current President of the Organization of African Unity. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

87. Mr. BAKR (Sudan): First of all, I should like to extend to you, Mr. President, my sincere congratulations on the able manner in which you have conducted the deliberations of the Security Council this month. I should like also to thank you and the members of the Council for according me this opportunity to address the Council on the question of Namibia. It is indeed a great privilege and honour to speak on behalf of President Nimeiri in his capacity as the current President of the Organization of African Unity.

88. When the Secretary-General submitted his report on 29 August, we expected that all the parties concerned would approve it and authorize the Security Council to set up the United Nations Transition Assistance Group to guide the new State towards self-determination and independence. However, the South African régime resorted to delaying tactics, which in effect stalled the efforts of the international community to bring this question to a positive conclusion. In resorting to such tactics, Pretoria may have suddenly realized that Namibia was in fact going to gain its full independence, and that naturally raises an ominous spectre for the *apartheid* régime in South Africa itself; hence, the reaction of the South African authorities was only too understandable.

89. On the other hand, the jockeying for power of the South African régime makes it imperative on all candidates concerned to pose as the true standard-bearers of the white supremacist attitudes and prejudices. Be that as it may, the international community must not allow such posturing to thwart the plans already laid down in order to bring to an end the illegal presence of South Africa in Namibia.

90. It has now become clear that none of us should ignore the fact that the South African régime will continue to harbour designs which may ultimately have an adverse effect on the progress of the Namibian people towards their most cherished goal of independence and self-determination. In spelling out these doubts, we are in effect referring to certain activities undertaken by the South African authorities to influence the outcome of the forthcoming election. Those illegal activities are specifically illustrated by the unilateral and unauthorized registration of voters carried out by those authorities, which in our view is designed to boost the ranks of would-be voters for the so-called Democratic Turnhalle Alliance, a body which, as the Council well knows, is closely tied to South African interests. This particular activity by South Africa could be instrumental in frustrating the aim of the Council to set up a truly independent State in Namibia. We therefore request the Council to do its utmost, in its turn, to frustrate the South African move. That, in our view, could be achieved by scrapping the registration of voters so far undertaken and proceeding with it anew under the direct auspices of the Special Representative of the Secretary-General. The Special Representative should set up an electoral commission for that purpose. We wish also to propose to the

Council that the single-member constituency system should be adopted for the purpose of the election. We believe that that system would ensure the emergence of a strong political force representing the mainstreams of genuine nationalist sentiment in the Territory, which would ensure stability and unity of purpose in the critical period which would follow the elections and the assumption of power by the nationalist movement.

91. There are certain conditions which must be ensured before the elections can be held. Paramount among these would be the establishment of a cease-fire in the Territory; but a cease-fire can only be established between the two contingent military forces, namely the nationalist forces of SWAPO and the colonial forces of the South African régime. This means that a cease-fire agreement should be hammered out between the two parties directly involved to permit a true cease-fire to take effect immediately after the signing of a formal agreement between the two sides and the authentication of that agreement by the Special Representative on behalf of the Security Council. Then and only then would a state of peace be established and the authority of the Council be recognized, especially by the colonial Power in question. The problem we feel the Council should resolve at this juncture, and before the United Nations moves into Namibia, is how to define clearly and beyond any reasonable doubt the functions, duties and powers of the Special Representative. This we believe would ensure that the Special Representative would be in a position effectively to supervise and control the transitional administration, security, including the maintenance of law and order, and the organization and conduct of elections.

92. The international community is fully aware by now of the constructive role that the Organization of African Unity has played in the affairs of Namibia, a role which has enabled the United Nations and all peace-loving forces to guide this newly emerging nation towards the fulfilment of its most sacred aspiration, namely, the attainment of self-determination and full sovereignty. Consequently, we feel that OAU should be assigned a more active role in the critical period which lies ahead of us. This active role could be concretely reflected in the following measures.

93. First, senior Africans should be recruited for both military and civilian components of UNTAG; in particular, the deputy commander of the military force which would be deployed in the Territory must hail from an African country member of OAU. This criterion should also be applied to the commander and deputy commander of the police force. I do not have to elaborate on the reason behind this proposal because I am sure it will be obvious to all concerned.

94. Secondly, in our view, the number of 7,500 men proposed by the Secretary-General is adequate for the purpose, but we again believe that the African countries members of OAU should be called upon to supply most of the contingents required. The presence of African troops in the Territory during the critical period ahead will crown the achievement of OAU in playing the major role within the international community to secure the independence of

Namibia. The presence of African troops will of course help greatly in securing the confidence of the African population of the Territory, and in particular that of the freedom fighters, and will help to establish more firmly the credibility and seriousness of purpose of the final solution being worked out during the transitional period. The presence of African troops will also act as a deterrent to any would-be trouble-makers who may try at the last minute to frustrate the aims and purposes of the international agreement.

95. Thirdly, the figure of 360 policemen proposed in the report in our view is not adequate for the purpose especially if we have in mind the future stability of the Territory after the United Nations military presence has been gradually reduced. We should aim now at a more adequate figure and this we believe should be no less than 1,000. Of course, the new State could build on this figure in the future in accordance with its needs, but at least it would have an adequate basis to establish the force which would enable it to maintain law and order in the Territory

96. Fourthly, as we have previously stated, nationalist sentiment should be adequately reflected in all arrangements pertaining to the process of nation-building in Namibia and in this respect we feel that SWAPO, in its capacity as the genuine representative of the struggle of the Namibian people, should always be recognized as such and should be consulted on every aspect and associated with every measure undertaken in accordance with the resolutions of the United Nations. We all recognize that the next few months will be a particularly critical period and we have to be always on the alert against any move further to complicate the situation or to block progress towards the independence of Namibia. I assure you, that this will continue to be the attitude of OAU and its member States. At the same time, we shall always remain most willing to co-operate with all concerned, if the end result is to be the full and unqualified implementation of United Nations resolutions. However, we shall not hesitate to face up to any challenge from whatever quarter, if it is designed to block the path of the African struggle in general or to frustrate the sacrifices of the heroic Namibian people under the leadership of SWAPO.

97. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Russian*): The next speaker is the representative of Benin, whom I invite to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

98. Mr. BOYA (Benin) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, the delegation of the People's Republic of Benin wishes to congratulate you most warmly on your accession to the presidency of the Security Council for this month. Your country, Czechoslovakia, and mine, the People's Republic of Benin, maintain excellent relations. The recent co-operation agreements between our two countries reflect the sincere desire of our two peoples and of our two Governments further to consolidate the good relations of friendship and of solidarity which so fortunately exist between them. This friendship and solidarity are natural, since our two peoples have suffered in their own flesh the atrocities and crimes of foreign occupier

and domination. New threats of aggression still hang over my country, and we are convinced that your country will continue as in the past to lend its support to the cause of the liberation of oppressed peoples and will oppose the imperialist policy of colonial reconquest. Remembering your personal qualifications as a skilful diplomat, my delegation is certain that this debate will be conducted with determination and responsibility.

99. On 27 July [2082nd meeting] my delegation spoke in the Council on the question that we are now debating. Our position was clearly stated. It is that the Namibian people must recover its total independence and enjoy territorial integrity. We bluntly reaffirmed, taking into account the gluttonous appetite of the Pretoria régime, that Walvis Bay was an integral part of Namibia. No one doubts that the heroic Namibian people, under the guidance of SWAPO, will consent to every sacrifice to continue its sacred struggle for freedom and independence until complete victory is achieved.

100. What we denounced in our statement was the guilty complicity, the manoeuvres, the delaying tactics of certain Powers which today claim to be the friends of the Namibian people. In fact, for nearly two years the five Western Powers have been undertaking certain diplomatic activity with a barrage of publicity. All kinds of pressures have been put on the Africans and in particular on SWAPO, and, as President Sam Nujoma so rightly said in his statement yesterday, the Western plan for a negotiated settlement of the question of Namibia would never have seen the light of day without the major concessions and important compromises agreed to by the SWAPO leaders. That plan was presented to us as having received the agreement and blessing of the Pretoria régime. But on 27 July, after the five Western Powers had used every subterfuge and contrivance and all their diplomatic skill to ensure that the Council would adopt resolution 432 (1978), in which the principle of Namibia's national unity and territorial integrity was supported, the representative of the Pretoria régime did not give up the claim to Walvis Bay; before his masters he categorically rejected resolution 432 (1978) on the status of Walvis Bay.

101. Given that arrogant and intransigent attitude of the Pretoria régime, and given the splendid promises and honeyed words of the five Western Powers, my delegation stated that all that was happening that day was the performance of a scenario astutely stage-managed by the strategists of the Western Foreign Ministries, who well knew how to choose their actors. My delegation clearly indicated that any resolution hastily adopted would be nothing but a snare, a trap cunningly placed on the path that was to lead to the real independence of Namibia.

102. My delegation listened closely to the statements of the five Western Powers, but not once did I hear mention of any effort by them to make the Pretoria régime heed the voice of reason regarding its obligation to recognize the territorial integrity of Namibia and the necessity for that régime to take a closer look at and adopt the position in the Western plan regarding Walvis Bay. The excuse is clear: it is the Secretary-General who must now take the initiative and if the whole matter fails the international community is

responsible. That is a crafty way out of a political embarrassment at little cost. My delegation understands that Machiavellian game perfectly and vigorously denounces the hypocrisy of the Western Powers.

103. One must be really naïve or thoroughly dishonest to seek to persuade anyone that 24 days would be sufficient for the Secretary-General to make the Pretoria régime see reason, a régime that has not only stepped up its repressive measures against the SWAPO leaders and supporters, whom it arbitrarily imprisons, but has made public its hostility to the Secretary-General's report, its categorical refusal to co-operate with him and its intention to proceed to hold elections in December this year. In this it is consistent with its policy of so-called internal settlement, which is nothing but a unilateral declaration of independence, as was the case in Rhodesia—a method well known to the imperialists of putting in power puppet régimes which are totally devoted to their cause.

104. Mr. Sam Nujoma has analysed perfectly the situation that follows from the arrogant and intransigent attitude of the Fascist and racist Pretoria régime. He said that the situation "clearly constitutes a serious threat to international peace and security in terms of Chapter VII of the Charter" [2087th meeting, para. 144].

105. Therefore, what is needed from those who wish to be considered the friends of the Namibian people is no longer prayers and hollow appeals addressed in profusion to the inhuman Pretoria régime.

106. The truth is that the Pretoria régime would be nothing without the massive support given by the Western Powers, in particular military and economic support. Thus, if the Western Powers want to honour their commitments—the proposals for a negotiated settlement of the question of Namibia contained in the Secretary-General's report in no way differ from those in the Western Powers' plan—they must stop subjecting the SWAPO leaders to blackmail and inadmissible pressures and, on the contrary, must face the facts of life and take the energetic measures needed to prevent South Africa from carrying out its diabolical design: the unilateral declaration of independence. It would be unseemly to come back to the Council to shed crocodile tears. The only effective way to spare us this melodrama is by taking a courageous decision to apply the provisions of Chapter VII of the Charter, in particular mandatory economic sanctions against South Africa.

107. My delegation hopes that the five Western Powers will not be unfaithful to their own commitments and that they will succeed in persuading the Pretoria régime, which proceeds further each day along the path of sheer madness, to see reason.

108. As for the Namibian people, Mr. Sam Nujoma has clearly explained its position. Namibia and its people are not and will never be prepared to commit national suicide. They have learnt during the long struggle that independence is not served on a silver platter, and that it is only by intensifying the armed struggle and by inflicting decisive defeats on the Fascist, racist, inhuman Pretoria régime that it will be compelled to come to the negotiating table and recognize the independence of Namibia.

109. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Russian*): I thank the representative of Benin for his kind words addressed to my country and his appraisal of its role in supporting the national liberation movements throughout the world. Czechoslovakia, together with the other socialist countries, is playing this role as a full member of the socialist community. I wish to thank him also for the kind words addressed to me personally.

110. The next speaker is the representative of Guinea, whom I invite to take a place at the Council table and to make a statement.

111. Mr. YANSANE (Guinea) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, the delegation of the State-party of Guinea has the honour to congratulate you on your accession to the presidency of the Security Council for the month of September. The relations between your country, Czechoslovakia, and the Republic of Guinea are the pride of our two peoples, and this is *par excellence* the right time and place to recall that after Guinea's accession to independence in 1958 it was precisely the aid we received from your country, among others, which made a major contribution to giving the lie to all the prophets of doom according to whom the new State that came into being at Conakry against the will of the imperialists would not last more than three months. Today in this chamber, exactly 20 years later to the day, we can take legitimate pride in saying that it was the refusal of Guinea in the referendum of September 1958 that spelt the doom of colonial empires and foreign dependency in Africa.

112. The question on the agenda of this meeting of the Council is closely linked to this process of decolonization, all the more so since in southern Africa it is quite simply a matter of decolonizing Namibia and Zimbabwe and allowing the people of Southern Africa freely to decide their own destiny.

113. We learned without surprise that Botha had come to power in that region. Allow me to recall that this well-known torturer and author of genocides in southern Africa, is the product of a situation that has existed for a long time. That man alone bears on his conscience the deaths of hundreds of schoolchildren in Soweto, the cold-blooded assassination of Namibian people and of Angolans, Zambians and Mozambicans. This heir to Hitler is the author of the famous law giving him the right of intervention in any African country south of the equator to preserve the *apartheid* régime. You will understand the rage of the people of Guinea at seeing that all future negotiations to be carried out by the United Nations concerning Namibia must be carried out with that man.

114. Nevertheless, in July 1978 the Security Council adopted two very important resolutions regarding Namibia. In resolution 432 (1978) the Council recognized the principle of the territorial integrity of Namibia, including Walvis Bay. Resolution 431 (1978) called on the Secretary-General to submit as early as possible a report containing his recommendations for the implementation of the Western plan in accordance with resolution 385 (1976).

115. The "intransigence" of SWAPO has often been stressed, as it had expressed certain reservations regarding certain aspects of the plan. Africans have frequently been invited to make concessions, while being given to understand that the South African wolf had become a calm sheep which would accept the Western plan. What a surprise! They want to have us believe that the South African tactical retreat is a victory for the Western Powers. In fact the thousand and one initiatives taken by people of goodwill in an attempt to find a peaceful solution have regularly come up against obstacles raised by Pretoria.

116. This explains the growing scepticism in the international community with regard to the good faith of the South African régime in the matter of arriving at a peaceful solution, because it would seem today that we have simply succeeded in granting Pretoria the additional delay it essentially requires to implement its so-called internal settlement plan in Namibia. That is why today we must recognize that the Secretary-General has fulfilled his mandate in accordance with the Security Council resolutions. SWAPO, through its President, our brother Sam Nujoma, has clearly explained the reservations of its party; however it had to endorse the Secretary-General's plan, with all the confidence that the circumstances warranted.

117. Throughout the diplomatic processes, SWAPO and all Africa have fully respected the stipulations of the intermediaries of goodwill. Who can now speak of intransigence, after proof has been given a thousand and one times that Pretoria is still faithless and lawless? The South African Government, furthermore, has simply resorted to its old tactic, and once again the Western Powers have facilitated that attempt to win time in the hope of hanging on indefinitely. During that time, no country of the subregion has been free from threats or attack. In Botswana, Angola, Mozambique, Zambia and Lesotho we daily register the atrocious consequences of aggression perpetrated by the Fascist Pretoria régime.

118. The Namibian decolonization process begun under United Nations auspices has been betrayed. Those responsible are known. The proof is there that South African soldiers are already proceeding to intimidate the people, in order to hasten fixed elections prepared in all haste to precipitate Namibia into the straitjacket of a so-called internal settlement that would undoubtedly lead to the most terrible confrontations ever known in Africa.

119. The full implications of the refusal of South Africa to co-operate with the Secretary-General and the Security Council are now quite clear. South Africa again challenges the Organization, a challenge that is all the more decisive in that no hypocrisy can now prevent the application of Chapter VII of the Charter, unless it is desired to prolong the farce in order to tire us out. In any case, we face a flagrant threat to peace and security, and no artifice will be able to persuade us that anything can prevent the implementation of radical measures, which will require concessions, no longer from SWAPO, but from those who have never wished to yield anything to the peoples in chains: that is to say, South Africa and its allies. As was so rightly stated by the President of SWAPO, brother Sam Nujoma:

"We have been too patient. For goodness' sake let us not be asked any longer to destroy ourselves by forsaking, in an inexplicable breach of faith, thousands upon thousands of martyrs."

120. The situation in Namibia is clear. The Security Council is well aware of what has to be done, and the world will judge the United Nations on the basis of the decisions that result from these debates. May these debates fully meet the expectations of our peoples, not only in Africa but throughout the world, and quench our common thirst for justice and legality for the exclusive benefit of the fraternal people of Namibia. We ardently desire the happy decision of a peaceful solution, even though we have every right to remain sceptical. Historical examples of colonial and criminal obstinacy have progressively led us to believe that the freedom of peoples is always gained at gun-point when they are confronted by Fascists and racists like those who hold power in Pretoria. That is what history has taught us.

121. Therefore, no forum, no circumstance, seems to be more appropriate forum in which and no more appropriate circumstance than this, to join the Christian community throughout the world, in short, the international community, and pay a tribute here to the deeply respected memory of the late Father of the Churches, His Holiness Pope John Paul I. It is our sincere hope that his valuable lessons in human charity and brotherhood will be finally and properly understood by those in southern Africa who incessantly demand the defence of Western values and Judeo-Christian ideas while they kill and assassinate, by day and by night, in order to dominate the peoples and continue to exploit them.

122. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Russian*): I thank the representative of Guinea for his kind remarks about my country.

123. As there are no other speakers inscribed on the list, I shall now make a statement in my capacity as the representative of CZECHOSLOVAKIA.

124. It was with a feeling of profound sorrow that we learned of the sudden death of His Holiness Pope John Paul I. In the name of the Czechoslovak delegation, I should like to express our condolences to the Permanent Observer of the Holy See to the United Nations.

125. The Czechoslovak Socialist Republic has always consistently supported the just struggle of colonial and dependent peoples for freedom, self-determination and independence. Socialist Czechoslovakia, together with the other socialist countries, has always supported and will continue to support the full and final liquidation of all the remnants of the shameful system of colonial domination.

126. As for the Namibian question, the position of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic has been stated on a number of occasions both in the Security Council and in other organs of the United Nations. In brief, it consists in the support of the inalienable right of the Namibian people to self-determination and independence on the basis of full

and scrupulous compliance with the relevant decisions of the Security Council and the General Assembly. Those decisions contain both the basic principles for a just solution to the problem and the necessary concrete measures for the speedy ending of the unlawful occupation of the Territory by the *apartheid* régime of South Africa and the transfer of authority to SWAPO, the organization recognized by the United Nations as the sole lawful and authentic representative of the people of Namibia.

127. The Czechoslovak delegation supports a peaceful political solution of the Namibian problem, which must be in accordance with the legitimate interests of the people of that country. However, we could never agree to any so-called settlement were it to by-pass the basic provisions of the resolutions adopted by the United Nations so far and which, in substance, would be aimed at forcing upon the Namibian people a neo-colonialist solution. The age-long heroic struggle of the people of Namibia for peaceful independence and freedom must end with total victory. My delegation shares and subscribes to the following comments made at the meeting of the Security Council on 27 July of this year by the President of SWAPO, Mr. Nujoma:

"We want only to make absolutely certain, while we can, that the independence that finally comes to our troubled Namibia, as it inevitably must, will be the genuine and complete independence for which our people—the past generations and the present ones—have suffered, sacrificed and died." [2082nd meeting, para. 103.]

128. Having doubts concerning the plan for the settlement of the Namibian question which is contained in document S/12636, the Czechoslovak delegation considers it necessary to emphasize the need to prevent a re-emergence of a situation where the United Nations would be utilized as a cover for a neo-colonialist approach to the solution of the problem.

129. Only a strict and consistent implementation of those resolutions which have been adopted during the discussion of this problem in the United Nations over a number of years can frustrate the plans of the Pretoria régime to institute a "decolonization" in Namibia in accordance with its own designs and those of its henchmen or by means of the so-called internal settlement or any other means in fact tantamount to the retention of power in the country in the hands of the South African racists. The fact that in regard to Namibia South Africa is pursuing precisely this purpose is something which we can substantiate with a vast body of facts.

130. Those who not in words but in deeds come out in support of the right of the people of Namibia to independence must agree that to achieve it it is necessary to put into practice—I repeat, to put into practice—the most basic principles which have already been formulated in the relevant decisions of the Organization. That means, in the first place, the immediate cessation of the occupation of Namibia by South Africa, the immediate withdrawal of all troops, police and administration of the Pretoria régime from all parts of Namibia, including Walvis Bay, and the

guaranteeing of the territorial integrity and unity of Namibia. Those are precisely the principles which guide all the activities of the United Nations with regard to Namibia, a Territory over which the Organization has a special responsibility.

131. While acting on the basis of the actual situation which has arisen in Namibia as a result of the unlawful actions of the South African administration, it is vital at the same time to take into account all the comments made by SWAPO which were formulated in the letter of its President dated 8 September 1978 [see S/12841]. By its presence in Namibia, the United Nations must bring about a situation where the Namibian people can freely exercise their lawful rights without any hindrance and interference on the part of the South African authorities.

132. The foregoing considerations determine our attitude towards the plan for the settlement of the Namibian question, which is at the core of the proposed United Nations action in Namibia. The point is that the provisions

of the plan *inter alia* presuppose the presence in Namibia of South African troops and all South African police forces; they also give excessively great powers during the transition period towards independence to the so-called Administrator-General, in other words, in essence to South Africa. These provisions as well as certain other provisions of the plan do not correspond to the decisions of the United Nations, and it is clear that the recommendations contained in the Secretary-General's report do not represent the best variant for the transition of Namibia to genuine independence.

133. However, taking into account the position of SWAPO and the African countries, the Czechoslovak delegation did not object to the adoption of resolution 435 (1978) and abstained in the vote on it. We must repeat for the record, however, that the earlier position of my Government on the question of the financing of the operation of the United Nations in Namibia remains in force.

The meeting rose at 1.25 p.m.