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**President: Mr. Indalecio LIEVANO (Colombia).**

***Statement by the President***

1. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): In accordance with paragraph 14 of resolution 33/182 A of 21 December 1978, we are today reconvening the thirty-third regular session of the General Assembly, solely in order to "consider fully the question of Namibia and the implications of South Africa's continued defiance of the resolutions of the Assembly and the Security Council".

2. Before we begin our deliberations, I believe that the General Assembly would wish me to pay a tribute to the memory of Mr. Jamil Baroody, who died while the Assembly was in recess. From the earliest days of our Organization he represented Saudi Arabia with special devotion and with a very individual approach to the problems of the international community, its history and its probable development. Yet his long years of diplomatic service did not make him a sceptic, as nearly always happens after intense and prolonged involvement in international problems. There was in him a kind of essential faith in the goodness of mankind that enabled him to keep intact his faith in the purposes of our Charter. Both for our Organization and for the staff of the Secretariat, who had in him their best and most generous champion, the death of Mr. Baroody leaves a vacuum which will be hard to fill.

3. Lastly, I should like to thank all the United Nations bodies which continued while we were in recess to seek a just solution to the problem of Namibia. Such a solution, of course, can be found only within the frame of reference established by the General Assembly and the Security Council, and it must clearly be one that will bring Namibia to genuine independence. It must also be a democratic

solution which must emanate from the political will of the Namibian people themselves. I should like to mention in particular the patient and vigilant work of the Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, and the United Nations Council for Namibia, and also the collaboration received by the Organization from the front-line States which have committed themselves so generously and at such risk to the cause of Namibia.

**AGENDA ITEM 108**

**Scale of assessments for the apportionment of the expenses of the United Nations: report of the Committee on Contributions (*continued*)\***

4. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): Before taking up our agenda for this morning, I should like to draw the attention of the Assembly to document A/33/551/Add.3, which contains a letter dated 23 May 1979 addressed to me by the Secretary-General and informing the General Assembly that the Dominican Republic has made the necessary payment to reduce its arrears below the amount specified in Article 19 of the Charter.

***Organization of work***

5. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): During the consultations held in regard to the resumption of the session it had been envisaged that the Assembly would meet during five working days and, taking into consideration the fact that 28 May is an official United Nations holiday, would conclude its work on Wednesday, 30 May. However, in view of the large number of speakers already included in the list it now appears that it will not be possible for the Assembly to finish its work on that date. Accordingly, I should like to propose that the closing date of the thirty-third session be set for Friday, 1 June. If I hear no objections, it will be so decided.

*It was so decided.*

**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

6. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): I call first on the President of the United Nations Council for Namibia, Mr. Paul Lusaka of Zambia.

\* Resumed from the 95th meeting.

\* Resumed from the 91st meeting.

7. Mr. LUSAKA (Zambia), President of the United Nations Council for Namibia: The General Assembly, in its wisdom, decided by resolution 33/182 A to reconvene its thirty-third session in order to resume full consideration of the question of Namibia and the implications of South Africa's continued defiance of the resolutions of the United Nations. South Africa, by its recent decision to bestow extensive legislative and executive powers upon the fraudulent Constituent Assembly, contrived on the basis of illegal and bogus elections, declared null and void by Security Council resolution 439 (1978), leaves no doubt as to its true intentions with respect to the future of Namibia. The Pretoria régime is in the process of setting up its tribal and racist puppets as a so-called provisional government in a major manoeuvre to create a pseudo-independent entity of Namibia. This major manoeuvre, in total contempt of the resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council, not only defies the authority of the United Nations but also constitutes an act of political *diktat*, the consequences of which will greatly increase the threat to international peace and security in southern Africa.

8. South Africa's disruption of the efforts to reach a negotiated settlement clearly reflects its fears that the South West Africa People's Organization [SWAPO], firmly supported by the overwhelming majority of Namibians, would gain power in the Territory and thereby prevent the perpetuation and consolidation of the neo-colonial exploitative policies of South Africa in Namibia. It appears that only if it could be assured that its puppets would win in any elections would South Africa accept a United Nations presence in the Territory. South Africa therefore wishes to preserve political and military control of Namibia in order to continue its massive exploitation of the economic resources of Namibia in collaboration with the transnational corporations, which are contributing to the depletion of the mineral wealth that constitutes the birth-right of the Namibian people.

9. In its efforts to pursue its neo-colonialist and racist objectives South Africa has not hesitated to promote and support the creation of political groupings to divide the Namibian people and mislead them with respect to its neo-colonialist imperialist objectives in the Territory.

10. During the past two years the United Nations has witnessed efforts towards a negotiated settlement of the question of Namibia. The Security Council has endeavoured to guide these efforts further through its resolutions 431 (1978), 435 (1978) and 439 (1978). The negotiations among the parties concerned were difficult and complex. SWAPO, the sole and authentic representative of the Namibian people, displayed an admirable spirit of political responsibility and statesmanship throughout the negotiations.

11. Unfortunately, as has now become clear, South Africa at no point participated in those negotiations in good faith. Early in the negotiations it acted to undermine the role of the United Nations through the appointment of an Administrator-General for Namibia when the very issue of United Nations supervision and control of general elections in the Territory was under discussion. In another step which further contributed to undermining the negotiations the so-called Administrator-General of South Africa in Namibia

organized an electoral registration in absolute disregard of the discussions according to which such measures were to be carried out under direct United Nations supervision and control. Subsequently, the Pretoria régime instructed its Administrator-General to carry out so-called elections for a constituent assembly in Namibia, in complete contravention of resolution 439 (1978) of the Security Council. Throughout the talks, members of SWAPO were being arrested arbitrarily, and South African troops were carrying out acts of aggression against neighbouring independent States.

12. And now, by its most recent decision, South Africa has declared its intention to attribute legislative and executive powers to the fraudulent Constituent Assembly, which for all practical purposes gives it a semblance of legality as a provisional government of Namibia. Thus, the United Nations plan for a negotiated settlement of the question of Namibia has been thwarted by the duplicity of and the defiant and arrogant stand taken by the South African racist régime, whose underlying aims are now apparent. South African manoeuvres reflect that State's attempt to perpetuate its colonialist and racist control of the people and resources of Namibia.

13. The United Nations followed with deep concern and misgivings South Africa's hesitation in accepting the proposals for a negotiated settlement. The difficulties encountered after the thirty-second session of the General Assembly led the Council for Namibia to request the convening of a special session of the General Assembly—the ninth—on the question of Namibia. At the special session the General Assembly adopted the Declaration on Namibia and Programme of Action in Support of Self-Determination and National Independence for Namibia [resolution S-9/2], in which it stressed its commitment to end South Africa's illegal occupation of Namibia by ensuring its complete and unconditional withdrawal, to enable the Namibian people, under the leadership of SWAPO, to exercise freely their right to self-determination and independence.

14. Shortly after the special session, South Africa unleashed its brutal attack against innocent women and children in the Namibian refugee camp at Kassinga, Angola. Military units of the South African army ruthlessly massacred approximately 1,000 men, women and children. Similar acts of murderous brutality, with the killing of many SWAPO refugees, resulted from further South African attacks against Zambia and Angola. Such acts of barbarism have strengthened the misgivings of the international community regarding the good faith of the South African administration in negotiating a peaceful settlement of the question of Namibia. The false starts of the negotiating process have now definitely confirmed that the insistence of the Western countries on a negotiated settlement of the question of Namibia with South Africa have not led to any fruitful result. The lack of sufficient pressure by the Western countries on South Africa was certainly a factor in allowing the plan to fail. On the other hand, I wish to put on record our deepest appreciation to the Secretary-General of the United Nations for his painstaking efforts in trying to solve the problem of Namibia.

15. The failure of the attempts at peaceful negotiation of the question of Namibia are clearly related to South

Africa's over-all hegemonistic aims in southern Africa. Through its acts of aggression, South Africa has attempted to destabilize neighbouring countries and weaken and destroy SWAPO. South Africa's statements of support for the racist minority régime in Southern Rhodesia and its acts of aggression against neighbouring independent States for the obvious purpose of intimidating Governments are part of its broad policy to establish a neo-colonial racist sphere of influence in southern Africa. Thus it is important that the United Nations review the issues of southern Africa in the light of concerted South African attempts to impose its domination on the region.

16. The General Assembly at its thirty-third session proclaimed 1979 the International Year of Solidarity with the People of Namibia [resolution 33/182 C]. At the solemn meeting of the Council for Namibia formally initiating the programme of activities for the International Year of Solidarity, more than 30 messages from Heads of State or Government and Ministers of Foreign Affairs were received, firmly aligning the international community with the struggle of the Namibian people for self-determination and independence and demanding the unconditional withdrawal of the illegal South African occupation from the Territory.

17. During the first half of 1979, the Council for Namibia, in conformity with its programme of work, has continued to hold consultations with Member States in Asia, South-East Asia, Eastern Europe and Western Europe, the results of which reflect a strengthening of international solidarity with the Namibian people and a strong denunciation of all manoeuvres through which South Africa has attempted to frustrate the will of the international community and perpetuate its colonial exploitation of the people and resources of Namibia.

18. The increase in the membership of the Council for Namibia from 25 to 31 further underlines the firmness of the commitment of the international community to participate actively in the efforts of the United Nations to obtain the withdrawal of the illegal South African administration and to support the Namibian patriots in their struggle to achieve self-determination, freedom and national independence in a united Namibia.

19. The General Assembly recently established the Nationhood Programme for Namibia under the responsibility of the Council for Namibia [resolution 32/9 A]. The Nationhood Programme has rapidly mobilized additional resources, particularly from the United Nations family of organizations, and will certainly become a major programme of support for the legitimate aspirations of the Namibian people.

20. The General Assembly must now take stock of its responsibilities in the light of the solemn commitment assumed in 1966 when, by resolution 2145 (XXI) it terminated the Mandate exercised by South Africa over the Territory and established the United Nations direct responsibility for Namibia until independence.

21. The people of Namibia have suffered under the scourge of colonialism for more than a century, their population decimated by the brutal colonial oppressor.

They have been denied their fundamental rights and subjected to massive arrests, trumped-up trials, and executions. This immense suffering has been aggravated by the inhuman policies of *apartheid* and bantustanization. The dislocations caused by these practices have been compounded by the cruelty of the system of contract labour; husbands have been separated from wives, fathers from their children. In order to enforce its domination, South Africa has massively increased its military presence in Namibia: the Territory has become a huge armed camp through which South Africa represses the Namibian people and launches its acts of aggression against neighbouring States. This is meant to feed the exploitative practices and ruthlessness of the racist supporters of *apartheid*. Not content with its exploitation of Namibia as a colonial territory, South Africa has engaged in systematic manoeuvres to incorporate Namibia into the South African heartland of *apartheid*. The General Assembly has prevented all the attempts of South Africa to legalize and perpetuate its cruel exploitation of the Namibian people.

22. Namibian patriots in their darkest hours have never given up their struggle for self-determination, freedom and national independence in a united Namibia. Their struggle has indeed been heroic. Namibian patriots, whether organizing protests against the system of contract labour or mobilizing the people against the merciless oppressor, have suffered many losses for their commitment to a just and independent state of Namibia. The illegal South African administration has enacted increasingly repressive legislation to smother the aspirations of the Namibian people for self-determination and national independence. Waves of arrests of peaceful men, women and children, followed by indescribable torture, mutilation and death, have pervaded the daily lives of those who dared challenge the illegal occupation of the colonialist and racist troops of South Africa. This brutal machinery of terror and death continues to pervade Namibian life to this very day. And those cynical colonial masters dare proclaim that they are in Namibia to protect the Namibian people and to help them attain independence! Is there anyone in the world today who, in his right mind, would accept such bizarre rationalization?

23. The international community is firmly committed to supporting the liberation struggle of the Namibian people, under the leadership of SWAPO, their sole and authentic liberation movement, against the colonialist and racist oppressor. All forms of assistance are being rendered in large amounts to a cause for which victory is certain. The refusal of South Africa to comply with the decisions of the United Nations and South Africa's intensified repression of SWAPO require a reaffirmation of the international community to assist Namibian patriots in their struggle for self-determination and independence.

24. The United Nations Council for Namibia, created by resolution 2248 (S-V) of 19 May 1967, was given the mandate to administer the Territory until independence. The refusal of South Africa to abide by the resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council led the Council for Namibia to devise a wide range of initiatives to mobilize international support for the struggle of the Namibian people against the illegal occupation of the Territory by the colonialist and racist administration of

South Africa. The efforts of the Council have also centred on obtaining the support of Member States to press for the **withdrawal of the illegal occupation régime in Namibia**. The Council has also undertaken several initiatives to render assistance to Namibians to enable them to prepare themselves for the future tasks of building a free and independent Namibia. All the initiatives of the Council were taken in close co-operation with SWAPO.

25. The Council for Namibia has carefully monitored the repressive actions of the illegal South African administration in Namibia and has vigorously denounced them to the international community. The Council has also condemned the decisions of Pretoria to separate Walvis Bay from Namibia and administer it as part of its own provinces. The annexation of Walvis Bay, the main port and economic centre of Namibia, is a treacherous act which undermines the territorial integrity of Namibia and serves no other purpose than to perpetuate South African control over a weakened Namibia. The General Assembly has repeatedly declared that the annexation of Walvis Bay is illegal, null and void, and that Walvis Bay is an integral part of Namibia, with which it is inextricably linked by geographical, cultural, economic and historical bonds.

26. The Council has vigorously sustained the mandate given to it by the General Assembly during this long period of continuous challenge to the authority of the United Nations by the colonialist and racist South African régime. The decision of South Africa to proceed with the creation of a puppet régime in Namibia must be effectively counteracted by the international community through all available resources of the United Nations. Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations contains the instruments to bring South Africa effectively to its senses. The Security Council must therefore give full consideration to ensure that the authority of the United Nations is not undermined to a degree which can only increase the threat to international peace and security in southern Africa.

27. The machinery of the United Nations has contributed to profound changes in the perceptions and the values of the international community. It is now necessary to supplement these positive changes by decisive action against the most abominable political disease of contemporary civilization, that is, the colonialist and racist *apartheid* régime of South Africa.

28. The Council for Namibia draws the attention of the resumed session to the crucial issues that should now be emphasized in its deliberations regarding a draft resolution on Namibia. In this respect, the Council is convinced of the need to denounce South Africa strongly for its intransigence and deceit, which led to the failure of a negotiated settlement on the question of Namibia. Secondly, the General Assembly should specify with clarity and firmness the need for enforcement measures in accordance with Chapter VII of the Charter to obtain the compliance of South Africa with the resolutions of the General Assembly.

29. It must be made absolutely clear that the United Nations is solemnly committed to ensuring self-determination, freedom and national independence for the Namibian people. For this purpose the General Assembly should solemnly reaffirm the direct responsibility of the

United Nations for Namibia, renew its determination to ensure the effective and complete discharge of this responsibility, and to this end should call upon all Member States, United Nations bodies and organizations, to support fully the United Nations Council for Namibia in the implementation of its mandate as the legal Administering Authority for Namibia until independence.

30. In the view of the Council it is necessary that the General Assembly reaffirm that a just and durable settlement of the question of Namibia is possible only with the direct and full participation of SWAPO, the sole and authentic representative of the Namibian people, and that the parties to the conflict in Namibia are, on the one hand, South Africa, which is illegally occupying the Territory and committing aggression against the people, and, on the other, the people of Namibia under the leadership of SWAPO, supported by the United Nations which has direct responsibility for the Territory until independence.

31. The General Assembly must condemn arrests of SWAPO members by the illegal South African administration as an act of intimidation contrary to the efforts of the United Nations in promoting self-determination, freedom and national independence for the Namibian people.

32. The armed struggle of the Namibian people under the leadership of SWAPO is fully in conformity with the ideals of the Charter of the United Nations and the aspirations of all peoples in the world to live in peace and justice in order to build a prosperous society able and willing to contribute to the progress of humankind.

33. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): I now call on the 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, Mr. Salim Ahmed Salim of the United Republic of Tanzania.

34. Mr. SALIM (United Republic of Tanzania), 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: Since this is the first meeting of the General Assembly since the untimely passing of our dear friend, colleague and elder brother, Ambassador Jamil Baroody, I should like to take this opportunity, on behalf of all the members of the Special Committee, and on my own behalf, to endorse fully the sentiments expressed by you, Mr. President, on the tragic loss we have all suffered. Ambassador Baroody was not only an outstanding diplomat and statesman; he was, above all, a great human being endowed with outstanding knowledge and experience of the working of the United Nations. He was in many ways a true embodiment of what our Organization stands for. All of us are the poorer because of his untimely passing, and we shall greatly miss him.

35. For the second time in 13 months the General Assembly is meeting specifically to consider the question of Namibia. This resumed session comes at a moment of crisis, at a time when the efforts of the international community to bring about genuine independence for Namibia continue to be obstructed by the intransigent attitudes of the

minority régime in Pretoria. In this context, therefore, this session is appropriately timed, for in addition to underscoring our common concern at the current situation in and with regard to the Territory, it clearly demonstrates our continued determination to find a solution to a problem which, if left unresolved, will continue seriously to endanger international peace and security and at the same time to undermine the very principles on which the United Nations was founded.

36. As the United Nations body entrusted with the task of ensuring the full implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples [resolution 1514 (XV)], it has been the Special Committee's consistent position that, given the refusal of the South African authorities to comply with the demands of the international community with respect to Namibia, given their continued resort to force to perpetuate their illegal domination of the Territory, and given their repeated acts of aggression against their neighbours, the full and effective application of measures under Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter will be the key to the speedy restoration of peace, justice and freedom to the people of the Territory. The validity of this position of the Committee, which is based on its conviction that the United Nations is in duty bound to do everything possible to terminate South Africa's illegal occupation, has, I trust, been amply demonstrated. Indeed, the well-known developments of the last 12 months or so in respect of Namibia, characterized by South Africa's devious and dilatory tactics and by its obdurate stonewalling, have given eloquent proof of what is to be expected when dealing with a Government that has not the slightest intention of heeding any resolution, decision, recommendation or other measure of the world body. As has been shown beyond the shadow of a doubt, the South African authorities are determined to perpetuate their stranglehold over the Territory, and at all costs to block the transfer of powers to the people of Namibia.

37. There is indeed absolutely nothing new in South Africa's defiant attitude towards the United Nations or in its contemptuous disregard of world public opinion. Not once in the 30 years of the history of the dispute over the Territory has South Africa shown any respect for the authority of the world Organization; not once has its attitude been one of co-operation or conciliation; rather, it has been a history of inflexibility and confrontation, of broken promises, false assurances and outright duplicity. The developments of the last 12 months come merely as a confirmation of what we already know—that is, that there is no real prospect that South Africa will ever willingly accede to the genuine aspirations of the people of Namibia to true independence and liberation.

38. It is unnecessary to recapitulate in detail the nature of these developments. Suffice it to say that the *apartheid* régime has with deliberation and calculated cunning exploited the efforts to achieve a negotiated withdrawal of South Africa's illegal occupation in order to consolidate its domination over Namibia and bolster its puppets. Consequently, we have all been witness to South Africa's dilatory manoeuvres—its pretending to negotiate, on the one hand, while on the other hand it adopts measures calculated to defeat the very essence of the negotiations. Such measures

have included the creation of one *fait accompli* after another in the international Territory, and the escalation of repression and of the oppression of Namibians, including, in particular, the massacre of Namibians in refugee camps, the arbitrary detention and imprisonment of SWAPO leaders and cadres, and the intensification of acts of aggression against Zambia and the People's Republic of Angola.

39. To put it mildly, South Africa's actions during this period have been those of an unrepentant aggressor defying the international community at will and with calculated cynicism. To crown it all, after a series of talks culminating in the adoption of Security Council resolution 435 (1978), and subsequent to the presentation of the Secretary-General's plan,<sup>1</sup> the *apartheid* régime has now chosen to show its contempt for the United Nations—and, as indeed one may venture to suggest, for those Western Governments that undertook the initiative that culminated in the adoption of Security Council resolution 435 (1978)—by proceeding with the creation of the so-called National Assembly, thus taking yet another step towards its own internal settlement, a sort of unilateral declaration of independence for Namibia *à la* Pretoria. In sum, the South African régime has used the negotiations merely as another platform to demonstrate their defiance of and to affront the international community while carrying on with their obnoxious measures to consolidate their occupation in Namibia. Put differently, as far as South Africa's actions in Namibia are concerned, it has been "business as usual": more ruthless repression of the Namibian patriots, the continued plunder of the Territory's natural resources, the escalated militarization of the Territory, and its use as a spring-board for aggression against independent African States, while at the same time South Africa continues the grand conspiracy to transform Namibia into another bantustan with the Turnhalle clique at its nominal helm.

40. It is against this background of intransigence and arrogance, and also against the background of increasing violence in and around the international Territory, that we in the United Nations must view the present crisis. If we are not to compromise our fundamental principles and undermine the obligation we have accepted as a sacred trust, it is imperative that the United Nations reassert its authority by ensuring that the resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council are strictly implemented without further delay. In this regard, the only course of action commensurate with the present situation is for this Assembly to recommend, and for the Security Council to consider adopting as a measure of urgency, a comprehensive programme of economic sanctions which will signify to South Africa that its stalling tactics and manoeuvres will no longer be tolerated. Equally important at this juncture is the need for all concerned to provide all possible assistance to the people of Namibia under the leadership of their national liberation movement, SWAPO, in this, the most crucial stage of their gallant struggle for the restoration of their rights. That the course of action which will be taken in this regard at the present session will have far-reaching consequences for the people of the Territory as well as for the peace and security of the whole region is clearly self-evident.

<sup>1</sup> See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-third Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1978*, document S/12827.

41. The considerations I have just outlined, together with other equally important measures, were duly taken into account by the Special Committee during its recent series of meetings in Belgrade, Yugoslavia. As members are aware, the Committee concluded its consideration of the questions of Southern Rhodesia and Namibia by unanimously adopting a text entitled "Final Document on the Decolonization of Zimbabwe and Namibia", the relevant sections of which have been placed before the General Assembly in document A/33/563, in which it sets out its views and recommendations as regards the implementation of the Declaration with respect to the two Territories. Containing, as it does, a number of fundamental principles which, if faithfully implemented, would undoubtedly bring about the total and speedy decolonization of the two remaining colonial Territories in southern Africa, I am confident that the Special Committee's Final Document will in turn serve as a solid basis for the formulation by the Assembly of its own recommendations in this regard. On behalf of the Special Committee, I therefore commend it to the serious attention of the members of the Assembly.

42. Before concluding my statement, I should like, on behalf of the Special Committee, to acknowledge with appreciation the important work carried out by the United Nations Council for Namibia, under the outstanding leadership of Ambassador Lusaka of Zambia, in the discharge of the mandate entrusted to it. The role of the Council as the legal Administering Authority for Namibia until its independence cannot be overemphasized. At the present stage of the struggle of the Namibian people it is essential that the Council be given the utmost co-operation by all Member States so that it can continue to discharge its responsibilities with even greater effectiveness.

43. Speaking from the General Assembly rostrum in April last year,<sup>2</sup> I observed that the liberation of Namibia would not be achieved merely by appealing to the South African Government, nor would that Government be induced to change its policies by the application of half-hearted measures. That view, I submit, remains as valid today as it was a year ago. We, the members of the international community, have the means to solve the problem created by the illegal South African authorities occupying Namibia. All that is required of us is that we summon the will to address ourselves squarely to the problem and that we persevere in the only course open to us—that of support for the people whose future we have taken in our hands and whose cause we would betray should we further hesitate in bringing full and effective force to bear on the oppressors.

44. As we observe this year's Week of Solidarity with the Colonial Peoples of Southern Africa Fighting for Freedom, Independence and Equal Rights during the current week, let us rededicate ourselves to the objectives of the Declaration and the Charter of the United Nations and redouble our efforts in support of the people of Namibia for the achievement of their long-awaited liberation.

45. Mr. President, I should like on behalf of the Special Committee to reiterate our satisfaction and confidence that, under your acknowledged leadership and guidance and

with the skill, wisdom and diplomacy which you so abundantly demonstrated during the first part of this session, the work of this Assembly at this resumed session will make a further positive contribution towards the achievement of the long-sought solution of the situation in Namibia and by extension, of the problems of southern Africa in general.

46. I should like to pay a particular tribute to our Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, for his tireless search for a satisfactory solution of the problem of Namibia. I am confident that we shall continue to have the benefit of his experience and dedication in whatever further efforts may be made to bring this vexing problem to a just solution.

47. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): Before calling on the next speaker, I should like to propose that the list of speakers in the debate be closed on Thursday, 24 May, at 6 p.m. If there is no objection, it will be so decided.

*It was so decided.*

48. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): I should like to request those delegations which intend to submit draft resolutions to do so as soon as possible. This is particularly important inasmuch as it would give time for adequate consideration of any administrative and financial implications which might arise out of those draft resolutions. I would, therefore, suggest that any proposal be submitted no later than Tuesday, 29 May.

49. Pursuant to General Assembly resolution 31/152 I now call on the President of SWAPO.

50. Mr. NUJOMA (South West Africa People's Organization): To say, at this stage, that the situation in Namibia is critical and deteriorating is an understatement. Actually, throughout Namibia there is currently an ominous spectre of war, more bloody than ever before and bearing ghastly consequences not only for our people and country but also for the rest of southern Africa, for Africa as a whole, and indeed for the world at large.

51. Today more than nine months after this Assembly held the first meeting in its thirty-third session on the question of Namibia [*52nd meeting*], the aggressive and ever-escalating massive military and paramilitary build-up and deployment by the illegal Pretoria junta has now reached alarming proportions. During the last 12 months, since the Kassinga massacre, more lives and property have been destroyed as a result of the colonial policy of that junta to utilize brute force and the method of overkill of innocent and defenceless Namibian children, women and the aged.

52. Inside Namibia the Fascist Botha régime has felt the need to resort to the most vicious and brutal acts of escalated violence against SWAPO and those Namibians suspected of or entrapped into being collaborators or supporters of SWAPO.

53. At the same time, throughout the last 12 months, as always, the racist Pretoria junta has maintained a belligerent

<sup>2</sup> See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Ninth Special Session, Plenary Meetings*, 1st meeting, paras. 64-75.

and provocative policy of armed invasions into the People's Republic of Angola and the Republic of Zambia that have resulted in the loss of human life and the destruction of property in those sovereign States.

54. The Boer régime has, true to type, remained ever intransigent and its leaders and spokesmen have continued to be callous warmongers who will stop at nothing to perpetuate their colonial occupation and racist domination over Namibia and further imperialist expansion in the region.

55. Every day the minority white racist rulers in southern Africa talk and act with such clarity and determination that it is unmistakably clear that their interests are alien to Africa and that there is no basis for cohabitation, accommodation or reconciliation between them and us. Clearly, the conflict is one in which the fundamental question of survival contains inherently antagonistic elements. On the one hand the racist ruling cliques in Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa believe and have convinced themselves that the only way for them to survive in the "hostile" sea of the black masses is to monopolize power and perpetuate dominance. That has been their policy and practice since the colonization of our countries began.

56. On the other hand, the African majority, the indigenous people, seriously and legitimately believe and are convinced that the only way to redeem their own history, which has been so negated and falsified, is to reassert their human dignity and reclaim their rights of ownership and control over their land and its resources. To achieve those ends we are waging a multidimensional struggle, with armed struggle as the principal instrument, for the singular purpose of seizing power, thus eliminating the scourge of colonial dominance and eradicating the cancer of racial injustice, which has for so long prevented the Africans from enjoying the full range of their fundamental rights, the foremost of which is the right to self-determination.

57. This Assembly, the Security Council, the International Court of Justice and the rest of the international community have repeatedly condemned the Pretoria junta for its atrocities against and repression of the Namibian people. Actually, the international community, led by the General Assembly, has since 1966 been demanding the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of the racist South African colonial administration from Namibia so that our country may accede to independence and social liberation. The régime, as has been amply documented by us and by the United Nations since the termination of its Mandate over Namibia, has remained obstinate, intransigent and defiant, both with regard to the demands of the United Nations and in the face of the expressed opposition of the Namibian patriots under the leadership of SWAPO.

58. Consequently, the challenge being posed today by the continued intransigence and aggression of the Pretoria junta is not only against the valiant fighters of the Namibian revolution but also against the United Nations itself, in contravention of its Charter and the noble principles upon which it is founded.

59. It is in this context that I should like to express, on behalf of the SWAPO delegation, our appreciation and

gratitude to the Member States represented in this Assembly for having taken the wise decision in resolution 33/182 A of 21 December 1978 to reconvene the thirty-third session in order to assess the situation in Namibia and to adopt or recommend effective measures in accordance with the Charter and relevant resolutions and decisions of the United Nations.

60. I should also like to express our thanks and appreciation to the United Nations Secretary-General for his faithful efforts in implementing the United Nations resolutions on Namibia.

61. In this vein, I should like most sincerely to thank the President personally and the other representatives for having accorded us this opportunity once again, pursuant to the relevant resolution of the Assembly, to present our views on the question of Namibia.

62. The demands of the oppressed Namibians for liberation and the continued commitment of the United Nations to ensure the decolonization of all the oppressed and colonized peoples and countries everywhere have cast us all in the position of allies and partners in a common struggle against a common foe—the colonial and illegal régime of racist South Africa in Namibia.

63. That régime does not care about the political rights or fundamental economic demands of the oppressed Namibians. It does not pay any serious attention to the directives, whether as appeals or threats; it does not understand the language of reason and logic; it does not believe in peaceful or negotiated solutions; and it is incapable of accepting the principle of racial equality. It believes in and understands only the language of violence and brute force as a way to deal with political or social problems. That is the Boer mentality, well known to all those who have had any dealings with it.

64. The choice before this Assembly and the rest of the international community is whether this Fascist group of today's "Hitlers" in southern Africa will be allowed to plunge the whole world into a holocaust, or whether will they be stopped and told in clear and straightforward language that enough is enough. We say they must be stopped. They must be isolated and punished with severe economic sanctions. That is the action that this Assembly is called upon to undertake. Just as most of the world stood up in unity and opposed nazism during the Second World War, so must the world now rise up against the Boer fascism and menace in southern Africa. All means necessary were used to defeat Hitler; the same must be done against the Boer fanatics.

65. This resumed session should seriously address itself to the prevailing situation in Namibia, which constitutes a threat to peace and security.

66. During the five-month period since the thirty-third session was first suspended the Fascist junta has escalated acts of violence, deceitful manoeuvres, unilateral actions, sinister schemes, political terror and, above all, military build-up, armed attacks and acts of aggression inside and outside Namibia.

67. Quentin Peel of the *Financial Times*, writing from Johannesburg on 21 May 1979, reported:

“Observers in Windhoek and Pretoria believe South Africa may be planning a major military operation in northern Namibia or southern Angola, following a big build-up of troops in the border area.

“Several thousand men from South Africa’s standby Citizen Force have been called on for border service in recent weeks. Observers in Windhoek estimate that the latest reinforcements total some 4,000 to 5,000 men, as well as large numbers of armoured vehicles.”

68. This latest military build-up has increased the number of enemy troops in our country to well over 75,000 combat troops and military personnel. This means that for every 10 Namibians there is one Fascist soldier holding his deadly bayonet over their heads.

69. This build-up, coupled with the introduction of new military hardware, is a pointer to the Fascist junta’s reactionary efforts to perpetuate its colonial domination and imperialist expansion in the region. This development must be seen in the light of the existing Fascist law under which the régime arrogated to itself the right to attack and occupy any African State south of the Equator.

70. Only two days ago, the Fascist régime’s armed forces, backed by Mirage fighter bombers, armoured cars and helicopters, invaded the Kwando-Kubango Province of the People’s Republic of Angola, causing loss of innocent lives and destruction of valuable property. The same consistent and sustained armed attacks and military provocations are being committed daily by the same Fascist occupationist force in Namibia against the Republic of Zambia.

71. In Namibia itself the Fascist occupationist troops and Gestapo police continue to perpetrate brutal acts of generalized terror and torture against the Namibian civilian population. These include planting of mines on roads leading to churches, wells, community centres, schools and other public places.

72. Furthermore, the same Fascist forces continue to carry out inhuman acts such as incarceration and torture in concentration camps at Ogongo, Mariental, Runtu, Windhoek, Ngwezi and other torture centres all over Namibia.

73. These numerous and pervasive acts of military terror are buttressed by a chain of repressive proclamations being enacted by the bellicose colonial agent in Namibia, M. T. Steyn, who has proven himself, since his illegal installation, more as an executioner than a “neutral” administrator. Latest in the series of these Draconian proclamations is the one imposing martial law and the state of emergency on two thirds of Namibian territory. Under this martial law trigger-happy troops and police of the Fascist régime are empowered to shoot and kill Namibian patriots indiscriminately for political reasons.

74. On 27 April 1979, Steyn, in cahoots with racist settler Dirk Mudge and their tribal quislings, masterminded the arrest, detention and torture of SWAPO leaders and members throughout Namibia. So far, about 100 have been

rounded up and some others are still on the enemy wanted list. Names of some of these comrades are contained in General Assembly document A/33/562 of 1979.

75. To maintain this state of discord and violence, the Pretoria Fascist junta has organized gangs of neo-Nazi elements, such as the so-called White Resistance Movement, which is on a terroristic rampage against the Namibian patriots, particularly in the urban areas.

76. The primary target of the Fascist junta’s actions, schemes and machinations is SWAPO, the vanguard of the Namibian revolution. The objective is to undermine and destroy SWAPO in order to pave the way for a neo-colonial solution in Namibia. In this regard, the régime has spent large sums out of “slush funds” on an anti-SWAPO campaign of bad information, misinformation, character assassination, blackmail, infiltration and general destabilization.

77. When the Assembly recessed, there were some expectations and lingering hopes that a political solution could be found to the Namibian problem through elections supervised and controlled by the United Nations. Throughout, SWAPO had done everything to facilitate the realization of this objective. It is on record that SWAPO made substantial concessions, proposed a cease-fire agreement with the enemy, and offered to co-operate in the implementation of the United Nations plan on Namibia.

78. On the other hand, racist South Africa has throughout engaged in obstructionist actions and fraudulent schemes to sabotage the process. Racist South Africa’s duplicity and bad faith have been exemplified by the unilateral appointment of its colonial agent, Steyn; the Kassinga massacre of Namibian refugees, the sham December elections, the creation of the so-called Constituent Assembly, and now the installation of an illegal National Assembly or “interim government”. In other words, we have a Rhodesian-type of unilateral declaration of independence in Namibia today. This is a serious challenge to the authority, responsibility and credibility of the United Nations.

79. Much as it is a challenge to the United Nations in general, it is a direct challenge to the Western Powers which started the diplomatic initiative on Namibia; they are the mentors, supporters and protectors of this intransigent and defiant régime. Now, will they show the courage of their convictions to lead, or, at least, support punitive action in the form of economic sanctions and an oil embargo against the Pretoria junta? Or will they, once again, engage in hypocritical pretense and hide behind such verbal rubbish as the statement that “the latest move does not mean an end to international negotiations on the territory’s independence”.

80. Obviously, as things stand now, racist South Africa has not been, and is not, interested in a political solution of the Namibian problem. Hence the massive military build-up, escalated violence, political repression and naked aggression both within and outside Namibia.

81. Therefore, what is called for is action by the international community against the Fascist régime.



82. Against this background, the people of Namibia expect this Assembly to adopt and to recommend effective action and programmes to meet the present challenge posed by the racist junta in Namibia. These measures should include, first, the reaffirmation and endorsement by all States Members of this Organization of the legitimacy of the armed liberation struggle of the Namibian people, led by SWAPO; secondly, the rendering of increased and sustained support and of material, financial, military and other assistance to SWAPO in order to intensify the liberation struggle in Namibia; thirdly, the declaration of the so-called National Assembly as illegal, null and void and of no consequence to the achievement of genuine independence in Namibia; fourthly, the urging of all Member States and the rest of the international community to refrain from according any recognition to, or co-operating with, the illegal National Assembly or with any régime that racist South Africa may impose upon the Namibian people; fifthly, the categorical condemnation of racist South Africa for its escalated violence, arrests and detentions and acts of repression and intimidation against the Namibian people and a demand for the immediate and unconditional release of all SWAPO members; sixthly, a demand, as a matter of urgency, for the immediate and unconditional end to racist South Africa's illegal occupation of Namibia and the transfer of power to the Namibian people through SWAPO; seventhly, the condemnation of the Fascist junta's military attacks and acts of aggression committed against the front-line States and the provision of support to these States which bear the burden of rendering assistance to the fighting forces in southern Africa on behalf of the international community; eighthly, a solemn reaffirmation of the ongoing responsibility of the United Nations for Namibia, through the United Nations Council for Namibia, whose President, Mr. Paul Lusaka, has just delivered an important address before this Assembly, and the commending of the Council's work in support of the struggle of the Namibian people led by SWAPO, ninthly, a recommendation to the Security Council to meet urgently to take effective enforcement measures against the Pretoria junta in Namibia, including comprehensive and mandatory economic sanctions, an embargo on trade, arms and oil and the severance of all commercial and diplomatic links in order to isolate the intransigent and defiant régime.

83. These are measures which the present situation in Namibia calls for. It is our sincere hope that this Assembly and the Security Council will adopt them.

84. Before I conclude, I should like to refer to the dangerous precedent being set in Zimbabwe. The bogus elections recently held in Zimbabwe through which the rebel Ian Smith is attempting to perpetuate his colonial control were neither fair, free or democratic. They are null and void and must be rejected.

85. Both Namibia and Zimbabwe are being used as trade-offs by the minority racist régimes and the imperialist Powers and their business interests in southern Africa to impose neo-colonialist so-called moderate régimes in southern Africa as vehicles for the continued exploitation of the African masses. SWAPO condemns these intrigues and manoeuvres and urges the international community to render increased and sustained support and assistance to our comrades-in-arms of the Patriotic Front.

86. Finally, neither the martial law just declared throughout Namibia, nor generalized reactionary violence nor the arbitrary arrests and incarceration of our colleagues and supporters nor the impending unilateral declaration of a sham independence will intimidate or deflect SWAPO in its resolve to fight and defeat the Boers. We expect and trust that the United Nations and the rest of the international community will persevere in their support of and solidarity with our struggle.

87. The struggle continues and victory is certain.

88. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): I now call on the representative of the Sudan, who will speak on behalf of the Organization of African Unity.

89. Mr. SAHLOUL (Sudan) (*interpretation from Arabic*): When my delegation took part in the debate on Namibia at this session—to be exact, on the morning of 7 December [73rd meeting]—it drew the attention of the international community to the deterioration of the situation in Namibia in light of the frauds, intrigues and plots undertaken by the racist Government of South Africa, and we attempted to deduce their results and consequences. At that time we said that the international community could never place its trust, no matter how minimally, in the racist régime of Pretoria for the fundamental and simple reason that that régime has accustomed us always to its defiance of all resolutions of the international community, whether they be of the General Assembly or the Security Council. At that time we clearly indicated that the protectors of the racist régime of Pretoria were conducting unilateral elections in Namibia in order to establish a puppet régime similar to that created in Zimbabwe by means of bantustanization so as to launch a series of puppet régimes and build a *cordon sanitaire* around South Africa and erect a wall so as to hinder the rising of those who struggle with their brothers, the freedom fighters, in other parts of the African continent.

90. We also explained that, in carrying out such policies, the racist junta of South Africa was determined to place the international community in a situation of *fait accompli*, which would enable the Pretoria Government to devote itself entirely to colonizing and dominating the southern part of the continent through its agents who pretend to represent blacks but are unwittingly fully engaged in implementing racist objectives and plans, which involve violations and deprivations of the most elementary human rights, and an enslavement of man by man unparalleled in modern history.

91. Recent developments in South Africa have confirmed our fears and those of all African representatives, because everyone knows now that the Pretoria Government is still carrying out its plans in defiance of all the efforts of the international community to bring about peaceful and acceptable solutions. The situation became even worse when the Government of South Africa carried out unilateral elections in Namibia, following which legislative and executive bodies will be established, and the Government of South Africa will try to win international recognition of the powers that emerged from these puppet bodies on the pretext that the Namibians, victims of deceit, have voted and elected their legitimate representatives freely and

voluntarily. In recent weeks, a similar plan has been carried out by the racist régime of Ian Smith in Salisbury, thus proving that there is total co-ordination between the two racist régimes.

92. While all the circumstances surrounding these elections in Namibia and Zimbabwe, require no attention or comment from us, what is certainly distressing is that some people are calling for the recognition of the results of these elections, or at least for an acknowledgement of their positive aspects. What positive aspects can there be in elections carried out under the control of régimes that we all know to be parties to the disputes in Namibia and Zimbabwe? What positive aspects can we find in elections in which voters were led like a herd of sheep with strict orders to vote in favour of certain groups? What positive aspects can there be in elections in which foreigners and children took part and in which the enlightened majority were prevented from taking part? All those calling for recognition of those elections in Namibia and Zimbabwe are very well aware that this is an unprecedented farce. Their voices are raised only in defence of their own narrow interests. They have always disregarded the policies of violence, repression, genocide and massacre carried out by the racist régime of Pretoria against innocent people in South Africa. They are the same people who still see South Africa as a bastion of freedom, democracy and the free world in the African continent, forgetting that freedom has never meant slavery or that democracy has never meant the segregation of *apartheid*, or that the free world is not a world that forgets repression or ignores exploitation and slavery, if its interests so require.

93. It is our duty to silence those voices once and for all. The international community, represented by the Secretary-General of the United Nations and the five Western Powers, whose efforts to bring about a peaceful settlement in the region we have praised, now more than ever before have the responsibility to take every possible action to prevent the situation in South Africa from deteriorating. We must prevent that Government from carrying out its despicable plans in South Africa. The facts are clear now, and all the testimony, proof and indications show that Pretoria is continuing to pursue a well established plan. All that long series of manoeuvres is designed only to gain time in order to falsify and take the heat out of the situation which, however, cannot be improved unless we take the very drastic measures provided for in Chapter VII of the Charter, and execute them vigorously and unless there is a whole-hearted international commitment against South Africa. Recently we learned that Pretoria is trying to stabilize the situation in Namibia in accordance with its original plans, which are in keeping with its objectives: to establish a *cordon sanitaire* of weak States which would be effectively governed from Pretoria and to transform the fraudulent Constituent Assembly resulting from the recent elections into a legislative assembly, which will form a fictitious government which would declare sham independence for the region.

94. The same reports tell us that the Constituent Assembly, at the orders of Pretoria, is trying to outlaw SWAPO, in order to bring about its dissolution beginning with its isolation in the international community, which now recognizes it and supports it. In our statement to the

thirty-third session of the General Assembly [74th meeting], we already issued a warning about such possible developments in the situation. That our predictions have come true does not mean that we were prophets but rather that this was the inevitable result of a logical analysis of the course of events which reflects the thinking of the people in power in Pretoria, apt students of colonialism, who have thus showed themselves to have profited from the lessons they received from their masters.

95. That is why the question of colonialism is still for us a burning issue which has its own logic and which draws its existence from the most odious forms of exploitation and slavery, because the *apartheid* régime is only the up-to-date version of a community dominated by a minority of foreign whites whose work is done by a majority of Africans reduced to the status of slaves. We find little difference between the treatment meted out in cotton and sugar plantations a century and a half ago in the Western Hemisphere and what is happening now in the gold and diamond mines of the African plateau. If black slavery aroused the international conscience in the nineteenth century to the point where it was eradicated, we now call for the international community to take inspiration from that nineteenth-century philosophy and to strive also to eliminate the *apartheid* community, so that the African man can take his place in the sun and hold his head high with pride, just like his brothers throughout the African continent.

96. We, as the African community, have always expressed our wish to see peace in the region and we have always affirmed to the five Western Powers that we were in favour of a peaceful settlement and that we deplored all efforts to interfere with negotiations which might bring about such a peaceful settlement and the establishment of an independent State in Namibia under the control of SWAPO as the only legitimate organization recognized by the United Nations.

97. At the same time, we shall never agree to the policy based on fait accompli which the Pretoria Government is attempting to impose upon us. We, the African community, constantly condemn the refusal of South Africa to abide by Security Council resolutions 385 (1976) and 435 (1978), which lay the foundations for free and regular elections in Namibia under United Nations control.

98. We also condemn the arbitrary measures taken by the Pretoria authorities just before the resumption of this session when they arrested the SWAPO leaders in the region, and we wish to warn the South African authorities not to do anything whatsoever to harm those whom they have arrested, for this will provoke, not a mere protest from Africa nor an appeal to the world conscience, but an African reply commensurate with the events. That is why Africa insists that these meetings culminate in decisive and effective measures taking due account of the United Nations Charter and in conformity with the commitments undertaken by the international community to bring about genuine independence in Namibia under United Nations control. This attitude by the United Nations should be accompanied by a clear and strong condemnation of the racist régime in Pretoria for having disregarded the resolutions of the international Organization and for attempting

to arrive at what it calls an internal settlement in the region. The international community must be always careful not to give any recognition whatsoever to the so-called Constituent Assembly, which has been set up in Namibia as a result of the fraudulent elections organized by Pretoria, or to co-operate with it.

99. The international Organization must make strong representations to the Government of South Africa concerning the immediate release of the SWAPO militants it has arrested, and we call upon the Security Council to meet immediately after this resumed session of the General Assembly to consider the question of the imposition of sanctions on the racist régime in Pretoria in accordance with Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter, for having tried to prevent the birth of a new, free State in Namibia, and for having established in the region a régime in its pay which is linked to the interests of the white minority and the other interests that support it. That is the very least the international community can do if it wants to preserve the prestige and authority of the United Nations and its ability to settle international disputes in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations.

100. Mr. BONILLA-ARAGON (Colombia) (*interpretation from Spanish*): The delegation of Colombia wishes to express to the United Nations Council for Namibia its appreciation of the work the Council has done as summed up in its report [A/33/24]. The Council has effectively fulfilled the mandate of the General Assembly. In particular, it has ably represented the people of Namibia at numerous international gatherings and has continued its delicate task of planning for the future and training the future administrative leaders of the country so that when it becomes completely and truly independent its inhabitants will be able to assume full control of its political and economic destiny.

101. My delegation wishes to reiterate what it has so often said both here and in other forums—namely, that we support the policy of decolonization and the inalienable right of peoples to self-determination. By fighting heroically over the years, Namibia has shown an unswerving determination to become an independent nation. But that independence must arise from the will of the people and must not be imposed by foreign Powers or Governments. Moreover, when the painful process of the accession to independence of Namibia reaches its normal culmination with the installation of a popular and freely chosen government, the task of the United Nations must be limited to protecting the new nation from external dangers while leaving the political decisions which will express the historic identity of the country in the hands of its inhabitants. The freedom and independence of peoples can only be won by the peoples themselves, and it would be foolhardy to believe that unpopular legal standards can be imposed upon them from outside. The history of the world and the history of our Organization are full of examples of the invariable failure of foreign encroachments based on geopolitical strategies or economic interests. Policies of that kind have created whole regions of instability which have become sources of conflict and a constant threat to international peace and security.

102. My delegation also wishes to reaffirm its conviction that the inhabitants of Namibia are the sole owners of the

natural resources of the country. The greedy exploitation of those resources by the occupying State and transnational corporations merits the condemnation of the international community and, of course, the legitimate owners deserve compensation for the riches taken from them.

103. Further, my delegation wishes to reiterate that it considers Walvis Bay to be an inseparable part of Namibia which must remain under its sovereignty, for it represents its major natural resource. It is fitting to repeat that it would be irresponsible to try to wrest this natural port from Namibia, for that would deprive the country of its means of communication with the rest of the world. It would be wrong knowingly to create what would in effect be a land-locked country without its own access to the sea, for that would create a permanent source of future conflicts. Moreover, to accept the demands of the South African Government concerning control of Walvis Bay would be to legitimize the principle of the conquest of territory by force, a principle which has been rejected by the United Nations in many documents.

104. My delegation also wishes expressly to condemn the policy of *apartheid* which has been imposed by the Government of South Africa on the inhabitants of Namibia. We consider that policy, with the consequent prevention of the free movement of people throughout their own territory, discrimination in education and the exploitation of native labour by paying miserably low wages, to be a disgrace to mankind. The occupation of Namibia by the Pretoria Government and the practice of *apartheid* against its inhabitants represents arrogant defiance of the principles of the United Nations Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

105. Finally, my delegation wishes to reaffirm its devotion to the Namibian cause, which we consider to be a vital undertaking of the United Nations. We believe that that undertaking will be successful only when Namibia becomes truly independent—that is to say, when the nation has chosen the government it wants and when the inhabitants have made that choice freely and without foreign interference. Only then will the United Nations be able to consider that it has fulfilled for a people, that of Namibia, one of the tasks for which it was created, that of giving all men the chance to live in accordance with their own political destiny and under the institutions and leaders which they have freely chosen.

106. Mr. KOMATINA (Yugoslavia): The resumed session of the General Assembly as the first action of international solidarity within the framework of the International Year of Solidarity with the People of Namibia, proclaimed symbolically on 4 May 1979, the anniversary of the massacre of innocent victims in the SWAPO camp of Kassinga, is taking place at an exceptionally complex, and I could even say without exaggerating, crucial moment in the development of the situation in southern Africa. Owing to intensified internal repression and outside aggression practised by the racist régimes, this region has been turned into one of the most dangerous focuses of crisis directly threatening peace not only in Africa but also in the world at large.

107. The peoples of Namibia and Zimbabwe are prevented from realizing their human rights and freedom. The racist

régimes are constantly enlarging their arsenal of oppression against the peoples of Namibia, Zimbabwe and South Africa and resorting to terrorist interventions against the independent African front-line States, labouring under the illusion that they can in this way break the will of peoples to achieve freedom and dignity.

108. The most recent developments in Namibia have rendered the whole complex of southern Africa even more acute. The recent decision of the South African racist régime to convene a so-called "National Assembly" clearly shows that South Africa has decided irrevocably to impose a puppet régime in order to prolong its neo-colonialist subjugation and exploitation, while endeavouring to cover the unilateral proclamation of independence with a cloak of legality. This is the real substance of "internal solutions," which are aimed at perpetuating racist domination. The racists are now pushing their plans still further. They want to transform the whole of southern Africa into a colonial and racist stronghold consisting of Namibia and Southern Rhodesia which would be transformed into "bantustans". In this connexion, the South African racist régime counts on the assistance and understanding of various monopolistic circles and corporations in the West, which are striving to preserve their vast economic interests.

109. As a result of all this, the world public is becoming increasingly conscious of the absolute necessity definitively to settle scores with the protagonists of racism and racial discrimination, *apartheid*, colonialism and neo-colonialism, which pose a direct threat to international peace and security. The problem of Namibia has been one of the top priority issues on the agenda of the world Organization ever since the historical session of the General Assembly in 1966, when Namibia was proclaimed a Territory under the exclusive Mandate of the United Nations and when the racist rulers were deprived of the right to continue to administer it. This is best illustrated by the holding of many international conferences and gatherings devoted to this problem with a view to finding a durable solution on the basis of the unconditional withdrawal of the South African racist régime from the Territory, the realization of the right of the Namibian people to self-determination and the ensurance of the territorial integrity of Namibia. All actions designed to reach this goal have gained wide international support, no matter whether they have taken the form of a search for a peaceful settlement through the mediation of the United Nations or that of political, moral and material support to the liberation struggle waged by the people of Namibia by all available means under the leadership of SWAPO. The ninth special session of the General Assembly, held on Namibia, made an all-round assessment and analysis of the situation, calling upon all States to take resolute action, including the imposition of sanctions under Chapter VII of the Charter, so as to ensure the complete and unconditional withdrawal of South Africa from Namibia.

110. The non-aligned movement has within the framework of its fundamental objective, the elimination of colonialism throughout the world, focused its attention on the liberation of Namibia. Last year's Conference of Ministers for Foreign Affairs of Non-Aligned Countries in Belgrade expressed its full solidarity with the struggle of the people of Namibia for independence [see A/33/206, annex I, paras. 102-108], which was confirmed subsequently at the

Extraordinary Ministerial Meeting of the Co-ordinating Bureau of Non-Aligned countries, held in Maputo from 26 January to 2 February.

111. South Africa's racist régime has definitively rejected the plan of the United Nations which provided a basis for a peaceful solution to the problem and announced a policy of fait accompli to which the United Nations must react resolutely in order to prevent racist oppression from being legalized and to contribute to the liberation of Namibia and Zimbabwe. This is the duty of the world Organization not only under the Charter, but also by virtue of its immediate responsibility resulting from the mandate.

112. At the present stage it is necessary to take concrete actions, primarily to render support to the legitimate liberation struggle of the people of Namibia headed by SWAPO, its sole legitimate representative. The United Nations must lend full support to the Council for Namibia and enable it to discharge and fulfil its function. The action of the world Organization must be clearly and unequivocally aimed at an urgent and unconditional realization of the inalienable rights of the Namibian people and national independence of Namibia, including Walvis Bay; at strongly condemning the South African racist régime for its illegal occupation of the Territory of Namibia and repressive war waged against the people of Namibia; at preventing the terrorist acts of aggression perpetrated against independent and sovereign African countries; at checking South Africa's expansion and policy of *apartheid* and at denouncing its insolent attempts, in defiance of condemnation by the entire international community, to subject the people of Namibia and to perpetuate colonial and racist occupation and exploitation of the Territory by imposing so-called internal settlements. It is imperative in the view of the Yugoslav delegation for the United Nations to exert influence on all States to refrain from recognizing and co-operating with the illegal "National Assembly" or with any other régime established by South Africa contrary to the decisions of the United Nations, and to refuse to assist the South African racist régime in any way. The highest priority is to implement the measures and sanctions provided for under Chapter VII of the Charter.

113. At its recent plenary session in Belgrade, the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples considered the developments in Zimbabwe and Namibia. That body examined and assessed the most recent developments in southern Africa with a particular sense of responsibility, and called on the international community to mobilize further in giving support to the liberation movements of this region and in isolating the racist régimes.

114. Yugoslavia deems it its obligation, and the obligation of the United Nations as well, to work actively for the liquidation of colonial and racist rule.

115. We feel the international community is in duty bound to give all possible assistance to the liberation movements and peoples of southern Africa who are fighting for national liberation and independence. To this end we are lending, and will continue to lend, political and diplomatic support and material assistance to SWAPO, the sole legitimate representative of the people of Namibia.

116. In his message addressed to the participants of the session of the Special Committee on decolonization held in Belgrade, President Tito stated *inter alia* the following:

“It is with the United Nations that the responsibility rests for the liquidation of colonialism in all parts of the world, irrespective of the size of the Territory involved or the number of people oppressed by it.

“The attention of the international community is justifiably focused nowadays on the acute crisis in southern Africa. The United Nations, the non-aligned countries and all other peace-loving and freedom-loving countries, as well as all progressive forces in the world, should render full support and assistance to the peoples and liberation movements in southern Africa fighting for their freedom. The eradication of colonialism is not only a matter for the conscience of mankind but is also a prerequisite for the relaxation of tension in the world, for the strengthening of relations of equality among countries and for the safeguarding of peace in the world.”<sup>3</sup>

117. The Yugoslav delegation considers the time has come to prevent once and for all the manoeuvres of South Africa aimed at circumventing the clear decisions of the United Nations and resolutions of the Security Council, in particular resolutions 385 (1976), 431 (1978), 435 (1978) and 439 (1978).

118. At this stage it is imperative for the United Nations, and the Security Council in particular, to take concrete measures and actions. The implementation of Chapter VII of the Charter, and the imposition of mandatory economic sanctions, including an oil embargo, are the first measures the Security Council should take against the South African racist régime.

<sup>3</sup> See document A/AC.109/PV.1138, p. 3.

119. If the Security Council is not capable of taking concrete measures and actions, in keeping with the recommendations of this session, with a view to putting an end to the repressive policies by South Africa in the Territory aimed at perpetuating its illegal occupation and legalizing the neo-colonialist system of the Turnhalle group, then the General Assembly itself should take measures in the spirit of the Charter and resolutions of the United Nations.

120. To conclude, everything that has been happening in Namibia, and what we are discussing today, has been clear for a long time and has been discussed repeatedly. The occupation of Namibia was proclaimed illegal; racism and *apartheid* were proclaimed to be a crime; the inalienable right of the Namibian people to self-determination, national independence and territorial integrity was recognized; SWAPO was recognized as the sole authentic representative of the Namibian people; the United Nations has its own plan for a peaceful solution; and so on and so on. Therefore it only remains to implement all this. There lies the special responsibility of the United Nations and all of us individually, particularly those Western countries which maintain close economic, political and military ties with South Africa and which, by their influence and pressure, can restrain the racist régime. Actually in the present situation a passive attitude borders on complicity, which brings into question the value of every action, even when it is well-intentioned.

121. We consider developments have reached a phase when we cannot wait any longer without running the risk of being confronted tomorrow with a situation we shall not be able to control, a situation fraught with the danger of a further broadening of the conflict.

*The meeting rose at 1.05 p.m.*