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AGENDA ITEM 27

Question of Namibia (*continued*):

(a) **Report of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples;**

(b) **Report of the United Nations Council for Namibia**

1. Mr. JAIPAL (India): The General Assembly is meeting to consider the situation in Namibia caused by the virtual rejection by South Africa of the Secretary-General's plan¹ for implementing Security Council resolution 385 (1976). We should like to take this opportunity to place on record our appreciation for the initiatives of the five Western countries² and for the subsequent efforts made by the Secretary-General to finalize a reasonable and workable plan for the peaceful liberation of Namibia. But now that his plan has been turned down by South Africa, we shall have to devise a new plan of action for recovering the international Territory of Namibia from South Africa, so that its people may freely exercise their right to independence under United Nations supervision. But first it is necessary to examine the role of the United Nations and its Members in regard to Namibia.

2. In this connexion there are certain basic facts and principles that we should always bear in mind. To begin with, we should never lose sight of the fact that the General Assembly terminated South Africa's Mandate over Namibia in 1966, [resolution 2145 (XXI)]. Since then Namibia has become the direct responsibility of the United Nations, and South Africa has no legal right to administer the Territory. The General Assembly also reaffirmed the right of the people to freedom and independence in conformity with resolution 1514 (XV). In doing so, the United Nations reserved the right to implement its decisions in conformity with the Charter.

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

² *Ibid.*, Supplement for April, May and June 1978, document S/12636.

3. How is the right of the people to independence to be exercised freely as long as South Africa continues its illegal presence in Namibia? South Africa's persistent refusal to vacate Namibia is of course a flagrant defiance of the United Nations. South Africa's explanation is that even though Namibia has international status, South Africa claims, from an expired international Mandate, its right to administer it and to make its own arrangements for the granting of independence to it.

4. We cannot either accept this perverse logic or fall into the trap of recognizing its fateful consequences. It is regrettable that some Members have been drifting in that perverse direction, because they seem satisfied whenever South Africa assures them that it has not handed over power to any internal authority. Surely they are playing into the hands of South Africa, because they assume that South Africa has still some sort of right to be in Namibia. We firmly reject this posture of acceptance of South African presence in Namibia.

5. The basic questions regarding Namibia remain unresolved and they are: how to get South Africa to vacate Namibia; how to get the United Nations to exercise its direct responsibility for Namibia; and how to get the people of Namibia to exercise freely their inalienable right to independence. We shall have to find practical and peaceful solutions to these questions within the existing framework of principles and legality, and not on the basis of political expediency or of faits accomplis.

6. However, it might be useful to take stock of what we are up against. First, the United Nations is up against South Africa's policies. South Africa is trying to predetermine the future of Namibia using the methods and trappings of democracy. It is in fact creating an illusion of democracy through elections that are neither free nor fair, and in which the South West Africa People's Organization [SWAPO], the largest political party, did not participate.

7. Clearly the United Nations cannot be a party to this process of eroding democracy, which is becoming a general pattern for the political direction of the black majority by the white minority in southern Africa. Evidently South Africa looks upon southern Africa as a white-dominated region in which blacks will have a subordinate role in all areas of common activity. South Africa may well introduce some cosmetic improvements to its policy without making any basic change in the system of *apartheid* or in the separation of the races. Unhappily, its policy continues to be rooted in the concept of the supremacy of the white minority.

8. Elected assemblies or local governments that may be established by South Africa on the basis of questionable

elections under dubious constitutional arrangements formulated by the white minority are no more democratic and no more representative of the majority than the constitutional devices of former colonial rulers who wanted to perpetuate their domination. Such constitutional arrangements cannot be accepted or recognized by the United Nations; they do not constitute an appropriate basis for the independent statehood of Namibia.

9. Secondly, the United Nations is also up against the policies of some of its Members which seek to prevent the United Nations from employing its full competence to secure the implementation of its decisions. The United Nations Charter has ample powers, both peaceful and non-peaceful, for implementing the decisions on Namibia. If the United Nations does not do so in practice, it is only because some Members use their power to prevent it.

10. It is interesting to examine why some Members prevent action under Chapter VII of the Charter. It is well known that South Africa is dependent on Western economic and political support. But one may ask whether the reverse is equally true; that is to say, to what extent is the West dependent on South Africa? Perhaps the safeguarding of the considerable Western economic interests in South Africa is one reason for rejecting action under Chapter VII. Perhaps also the ethnic factor is a consideration in the formation of parliamentary opinion in some Western countries. To them, Chapter VII action may appear to be cutting off their noses to spite the South African face.

11. However, some Western Governments are sympathetic to some form of Chapter VII action, but unfortunately they do not appear to be supported by their own Parliaments, and this creates a dilemma for them. It would be a pity if in the result their support for undemocratic white minority régimes in southern Africa should become one of the striking ironies of Western democracy. We see in this the apparent sacrifice of principle for protecting sectarian interests: a cause of the acceptance of a general principle in theory and its rejection in practice for domestic reasons.

12. This conflict between principle and practice is not new; it is probably inherent in several such situations. But in the case of Namibia, which after all is international territory and is the clearest test-case of international responsibility, one may well ask the question, Is it not legally as well as morally necessary for Western countries to accommodate and adjust their national interests within the framework of principles and international law? Do they really believe that in the long run Western economic interests would be better served and protected by a minority white-directed Government rather than by a majority Government that is freely elected by the people of Namibia? If the West should be opposed for reasons of principle to the use of armed force, why should it oppose economic sanctions for the purpose of implementing decisions to which the West is a party in Namibia? If the West is determined to oppose sanctions, then the United Nations is entitled to know why, and what effective alternatives the West proposes. The prestige of the United Nations and its role in Namibia have come to depend heavily on the attitude of some Western countries. It is necessary to remind them and ourselves that South Africa has persistently violated the principles of the Charter with a

firmness of conviction that renders it liable to action. South Africa has been in violation of Article 4 of the Charter in failing to fulfil its obligations under the Charter. It has refused to carry out its international obligations in regard to Namibia. It has shown no respect for the principle of equality of the rights of men and women, regardless of race or colour. It has its own peculiar values concerning the dignity and worth of the human person. According to South Africa, the worth of a human being is dependent on his colour or race. Should we allow South Africa to continue to flout with impunity the values and obligations contained in the Charter?

13. What can the United Nations do in these circumstances? It seems to us that the situation in Namibia calls for the moral equivalent of a war against South Africa. Whether this moral equivalent should be sanctions is for the Security Council to decide, and we hope it will do so unanimously. If it fails, knowing that the only alternative is to let the people of Namibia fight their struggle alone, the United Nations will have abdicated its responsibility and betrayed the people. Indeed we shall have betrayed our own Charter. The issues involved are therefore as great and fundamental as the challenges they pose.

14. Namibia is a case where politics should be subordinated to principle. The objective of the United Nations should be to enter Namibia, which is international territory, and lead its people to genuine independence and democratic majority rule. This objective cannot be against the real and long-term interests of South Africa. Unfortunately South Africa has a jaundiced view of its interests and is taking calculated risks in pursuing policies that are based on abnormal and unnatural assumptions. Why would the West underwrite these calculated risks of South Africa by declining to support action under Chapter VII?

15. On the contrary, South African policies should be questioned and corrected by Western countries that have any influence with South Africa. Those countries cannot lightly contemplate any prospect of renewed hostilities and loss of life among the people of Namibia. We would expect further attempts by Western countries to rise above narrow economic considerations and ethnic politics, and in the interests of enduring racial harmony try to prevent the misappropriation by South Africa of what is after all a sacred international trust in Namibia.

16. Half-measures in democracy are no more than a cover-up for illegality. Our common objective should be to try to place this international Territory of Namibia and its ongoing local institutions under the practical control and supervision of the Security Council, so that the United Nations may then lead the people to democratic majority rule and genuine independence. My statement today is inevitably in the nature of an appeal to the West to revive its combined efforts and to use all the influence and persuasion at its command to make South Africa agree to return to legality under the Charter. We have a right to expect South Africa to do so since it is still a Member of the United Nations and has accepted the obligations contained in the Charter. But if the West is certain that South Africa will not respond positively to its efforts, then in all fairness the West should support the imposition of sanctions.

17. Mr. ILLUECA (Panama) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Last December the General Assembly not only decided to declare 1979 as the International Year of Solidarity with the People of Namibia, but it also decided, in resolution 33/182 A of 21 December 1978 on the situation in Namibia resulting from the illegal occupation of the Territory by South Africa, to reconvene the thirty-third session of the General Assembly in order to consider fully the question of Namibia and the implications of South Africa's continued defiance of the resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council.

18. Ever since the beginning of the United Nations, Panama has stood actively with those countries which, inspired by Gandhi's and Nehru's struggle for fundamental human rights in the area, began the battle still being fought against South Africa to eliminate the monstrous régime of *apartheid* and racial discrimination and to terminate its alleged Mandate over the Territory of South West Africa, better known as Namibia, and fully to decolonize the African continent.

19. Panama has its own colonial problem and with the support of the other countries of Latin America and of the non-aligned movement, we have been moving towards a solution to that problem. We hope that it will ultimately be resolved by means of the consistent implementation of the new Panama Canal Treaties with the United States. On the basis of those Treaties, we would like to see the effective establishment of a neutral régime for the interoceanic waterway to which the ships of the entire world would have access without discrimination, subject to due respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Panama.

20. Because of our bitter colonial experiences, and furthermore because we always upheld the ideals of Bolívar as we became an independent country in Latin America, Panama could not be indifferent to the process of decolonization in Asia, Africa and Latin America. Indeed, we have been an enthusiastic supporter of that process. Panama together with other countries of the third world was a sponsor of resolution 1514 (XV), in which the United Nations proclaimed a declaration on the right of the colonial countries and peoples to freedom and independence.

21. Ever since then, Panama has consistently, both in the United Nations and in other international forums, supported all efforts to bring about the full political, social and economic emancipation of the nations of the African continent.

22. As a State member of the Security Council Panama, together with Guyana, actively promoted with Benin, the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya and the United Republic of Tanzania the adoption of resolution 385 (1976) of 30 January 1976. That resolution contained a condemnation by the Security Council of the continued illegal occupation of the Territory of Namibia by South Africa and it demanded the abolition in Namibia of all racially discriminatory and politically repressive laws and practices, particularly bantustans and homelands. It called for the release of political prisoners and insisted that if the people of Namibia were to be able to exercise free choice regarding their future, then it was imperative for free elections to

take place under the supervision and control of the United Nations throughout Namibia, considered as a single political entity.

23. Our solidarity has also been expressed in the Security Council. There, acting in response to a complaint by Kenya on behalf of the group of African States in the United Nations,³ there was a debate on South Africa's acts of aggression against the People's Republic of Angola and on the violation of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of that country.

24. Panama and Guyana, together with Benin, the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, the United Republic of Tanzania and Romania, sponsored the draft which later became resolution 387 (1976) of 31 March 1976, which not only condemned South Africa's aggression against the People's Republic of Angola and demanded that South Africa scrupulously respect the independence, sovereignty, and territorial integrity of that country, but it also demanded that South Africa desist from the utilization of the international Territory of Namibia to mount provocative or aggressive acts against the People's Republic of Angola or any other neighbouring African State.

25. Following the terrible slaughter and acts of violence by the *apartheid* régime of South Africa in Soweto and other areas, Panama and Guyana, together with Benin, the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, the United Republic of Tanzania, Pakistan, Romania and Sweden promoted the adoption by the Security Council of resolution 392 (1976) of 19 June 1976. That resolution strongly condemned the Government of South Africa for its resort to massive violence against and killings of the African people including schoolchildren and students and others opposing racial discrimination and thereby reaffirmed that the policy of *apartheid* was a crime against the conscience and dignity of mankind and seriously disturbed international peace and security.

26. That same resolution 392 (1976) led the Security Council a year later, speaking out with indignation against the fact that the racist régime of South Africa was continuing its criminal policy of violence and large-scale repression, to adopt resolution 417 (1977) of 31 October 1977 demanding that the Government of South Africa put an end to its reprehensible actions; that it release political prisoners; that it cease its indiscriminate violence against the opponents of *apartheid*; that it put an end to the killing of detainees and the torture of political prisoners; that it cease coercing the news media; that it abolish the "Bantu education" system; and that it abolish the policy of bantustanization, abandon the policy of *apartheid* and ensure majority rule based on justice and equality. With the aim of putting a programme of action into effect to that end, the Security Council requested all Governments and organizations to take all appropriate measures to secure the implementation of those objectives.

27. The same attitude of solidarity with the African peoples was adopted by Panama in connexion with Zambia's complaint against South Africa⁴ as a result of

³ *Ibid.*, *Thirty-first Year, Supplement for January, February and March 1976*, document S/12007.

⁴ *Ibid.*, *Supplement for July, August and September 1976*, document S/12147.

repeated acts of aggression and in connexion with Lesotho's complaint against South Africa⁵ regarding the closing of the border between South Africa and the southern border of Lesotho next to the independent Transkei. That led to the adoption, with Panama as a sponsor, of resolution 393 (1976) of 30 July 1976, resolution 402 (1976) of 22 December 1976 and resolution 407 (1977) of 25 May 1977, this last resolution relating to financial, technical and material assistance to Lesotho.

28. My country unswervingly and consistently pursued a policy supporting the non-aligned movement, which strongly condemned the many wanton criminal acts of aggression committed by the illegal minority régime of Southern Rhodesia against Mozambique and by the racist régime of South Africa against Zambia and Angola.

29. Consistent with this policy Panama, with Venezuela and other non-aligned members of the Security Council, shoulder to shoulder with the African countries, promoted the adoption of resolution 418 (1977) whereby the Council, acting under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations, imposed a mandatory arms embargo against South Africa in order to ensure that an end would also be put to all forms of military co-operation between the Pretoria régime and the régime of Ian Smith.

30. Panama was also a sponsor of draft resolutions on the expansion of sanctions against Southern Rhodesia, leading, as a result of unanimous action by the Member States, to the adoption of Security Council resolutions 388 (1976) of 6 April 1976 and 409 (1977) of 27 May 1977, the latter based on Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter.

31. In addition, Panama, together with Guyana, sponsored with Benin, the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya and the United Republic of Tanzania the draft resolution which became resolution 386 (1976) of 17 March 1976. That resolution condemned all provocative and aggressive acts against the People's Republic of Mozambique by the illegal minority régime of Southern Rhodesia. Further, it commended the Government of Mozambique for its decision to sever all economic and trade relations with Southern Rhodesia, and appealed to all States to provide financial, technical and material assistance to Mozambique so that Mozambique could carry out its economic development programme and enhance its capacity to implement fully the system of sanctions against Southern Rhodesia.

32. In response to Botswana's complaint against the illegal régime in Southern Rhodesia concerning violations of its territorial sovereignty, Panama and Venezuela, together with Benin, India, the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Mauritius, Pakistan and Romania, promoted the adoption by the Security Council of resolution 403 (1977) of 14 January 1977. That resolution strongly condemned all acts of provocation and harassment, including military threats and attacks, murder, arson, kidnapping and destruction of property, committed against Botswana by the illegal régime in Southern Rhodesia with the complicity of South Africa. Furthermore, that resolution appealed to all States and

organizations within the United Nations system to give economic assistance to Botswana. Along these lines further measures were adopted in Security Council resolution 406 (1977) of 25 May 1977. Here again the resolution was sponsored by Panama and Venezuela, together with other African countries, Romania and other non-aligned members of the Security Council.

33. Consistent with efforts to isolate and punish the evil régimes of Pretoria and Salisbury politically and economically, Panama, as a member of the non-aligned movement, attended the International Conference in Support of the Peoples of Zimbabwe and Namibia, held in Maputo in May 1977. There we participated actively as Vice-President of the Conference, representing the Latin American countries. We were a member of the Working Group which, under the skilful chairmanship of Mr. Salim Ahmed Salim, drafted the historic Maputo Declaration and the corresponding Programme of Action.⁶

34. The impact of those instruments has been very great at the ninth special session of the General Assembly on the question of Namibia in 1978 and it has helped to promote the armed struggle to liquidate the inhuman régime of Ian Smith and to bring about the total decolonization of Zimbabwe.

35. The contribution of my country to the fight for the complete emancipation of the African continent has not been confined to conference tables and international forums. Panama, as proof of its solidarity with its brother countries of southern Africa, as announced by the commander of our armed forces, General Omar Torrijos, and consistent with our policies supporting Africa, which were officially adopted by the Panamanian executive under the presidency of Mr. Aristides Royo, has decided to provide the United Nations with a contingent of 500 units of the Panamanian National Guard. The Panamanian contingent will be available at any date determined by the Security Council, when a programme of action is put into effect, for deployment to Namibia as an integral part of the United Nations Forces whose mission will be to ensure the holding of free elections under United Nations control, to see to the orderly transfer to the Namibian people of public powers and to guarantee their full sovereignty and independence, as well as to put an end to the illegal occupation by South Africa, which has to make amends to the human race by leaving forthwith the Territory it has exploited so mercilessly.

36. The Panamanian delegation wishes to repeat on this occasion its complete and full support for the aspirations of the people of Namibia and for their national liberation movement, headed by SWAPO, which we deem to be the authentic representatives of the people of Namibia, and for the other African countries which are engaged in the effort to make a reality the inalienable rights of the people of Namibia to self-determination, freedom and independence within a united Namibia.

37. Through me my country would also wish to state that we would join in the appeal which has been made in the

⁵ *Ibid.*, Supplement for October, November and December 1976, document S/12257, and *ibid.*, Thirty-second Year, Supplement for January, February and March 1977, document S/12315.

⁶ *Ibid.*, Thirty-second Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1977, document S/12344/Rev.1, annex V.

statement today by the representative of India, Mr. Jaipal, to the Western Powers to seek a solution which would bring not only peace and relief, but perhaps also full and orderly compliance with United Nations resolutions.

38. The objectives of Panama's foreign policy might be summed up as follows in this connexion.

39. It is our hope that the United Nations bodies will, as a matter of urgency, ensure the exercise of the inalienable rights of people of Namibia to self-determination and genuine national independence in Namibia, which includes Walvis Bay.

40. We believe the United Nations must make effective its direct responsibility for Namibia.

41. We reject the unilateral measures taken by the racist régime of South Africa, which endeavours to continue its illegal occupation of Namibia. We are therefore opposed to any so-called internal settlement aimed at establishing puppet governments which would only serve to perpetuate the illegal occupation of Namibia by South Africa and the continuation of its colonial and racist exploitation.

42. We refuse to recognize the illegal National Assembly, which it is attempting to set up, or any régime imposed by South Africa on the people of Namibia in violation of United Nations resolutions.

43. We insist on the need for a just and lasting settlement of the question of Namibia with the support, first and foremost, of the United Nations and the participation of the people of Namibia, represented by SWAPO, as well as the Government of South Africa.

44. In the United Nations efforts should be made to secure the immediate and unconditional release of the political prisoners, the cessation of acts of repression and an end to acts of violence against the people of Namibia.

45. In accordance with the Charter we must mobilize all United Nations resources to put an end to the illegal occupation of the Territory of Namibia by South Africa, and to ensure that an end be put to South Africa's acts of aggression against the independent countries of southern Africa from bases in Namibia, and to its colonialistic expansion and its policies of *apartheid*, which are a serious threat to international peace and security.

46. We should ensure that the Security Council complies with the resolutions of the United Nations on Namibia by implementing the enforcement measures laid down in Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter.

47. We give our determined co-operation and support to the Secretary-General and the United Nations Council for Namibia, so that progress, can be made in the urgent process of securing early independence for Namibia through free elections under United Nations control and supervision.

48. Finally we should bring to the attention of the media and cultural institutions the programme of action of the United Nations Council for Namibia so that attention may

be focused on the heroic struggle of the people of Namibia under the leadership of SWAPO.

49. South Africa's disrespect and contempt for the resolutions of the Security Council and the General Assembly has brought about a serious crisis within the world Organization. The Secretary-General in his annual reports submitted at the past four sessions of the General Assembly, has said that as a matter of urgency the operations and the peace-keeping capacity of the United Nations must be improved.

50. In his annual reports the Secretary-General has insisted that it is essential to maintain the authority of the Security Council, and to ensure respect for the Council by Governments and peoples. He has expressed concern over the fact that the decisions of the Council have been ignored when its immediate purposes have not been in line with the desires of any Government.

"If this were to be generally conceded," the Secretary-General has said and these are his very words, "the already tenuous role of reason and justice in our affairs would disappear and we return to the age of 'might is right. . .'"⁷

51. To sum up, the Secretary-General maintains, in a way that demands the most serious reflection, that the concept of a world order in the Charter is based on respect for the fundamental principles of the United Nations; law and international principles and procedures.

52. The Government of South Africa, acting at variance with these principles, has been pursuing a policy that disrupts international peace and that has had the effect of upsetting the balanced world order as conceived in the United Nations Charter.

53. My delegation wishes to insist that the overweening arrogance and open refusal of the Government of South Africa to comply with the decisions of the Security Council have created explosive conditions in southern Africa. My delegation therefore believes that the General Assembly, under the authority conferred upon it by Article 11, paragraph 2, of the Charter, should turn, as a matter of urgency, to the Security Council and call on it to exercise its powers under Chapter VII of the Charter by imposing, in addition to an arms embargo on South Africa, economic sanctions as well as an oil embargo against that country.

54. Just as modern societies prevent crime and control offenders so does the international society have no alternative, because of South Africa's persistent desire illegally to occupy the Territory of Namibia, to take the enforcement action provided for in Chapter VII of the Charter. One such action, we repeat, the Security Council is fully entitled to take would be to decree an oil embargo against that country.

55. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): The next speaker is the representative of Democratic Kampuchea.

⁷ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-first Session, Supplement No. IA*, sect. IV.

56. I call on the representative of Czechoslovakia on a point of order.

57. Mr. HULINSKÝ (Czechoslovakia) (*interpretation from Russian*): This session of the General Assembly of the United Nations has been convened to discuss an important issue regarding what future steps must be taken to liberate Namibia. But at present the orderly conduct of the General Assembly's proceedings has been disrupted by provocations by those who thus far have not been able to accept the fact that their feudal Mao-ist experiment with the destiny of the Kampuchean people has suffered defeat.

58. The Chinese delegation is once again trying at this meeting to pass off private persons who are in the pay of Peking as representatives of Kampuchea.

59. The delegations of Byelorussian SSR, the People's Republic of Bulgaria, the Hungarian People's Republic, the German Democratic Republic, the Polish People's Republic, the USSR, the Ukrainian SSR, as well as the delegations of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, Cuba, the Mongolian People's Republic and the Lao People's Democratic Republic, have asked me to state that the representatives of the overthrown Pol Pot régime, a régime of terror and genocide, should not be looked for in this room at this meeting, in which the representatives of the legitimate Governments of States Members of this Organization are taking part. The activities of the representatives of the overthrown Pol Pot régime within the United Nations run counter to the *de facto* situation in Kampuchea and constitute interference in the internal affairs of the Democratic People's Republic of Kampuchea and, at the same time, denote discrimination against that State in the sphere of international relations.

60. The Kampuchean people have placed as head of the country the National Revolutionary Council, which exercises full power throughout the country. It is the only body which is entitled to represent its people and Government in the international arena, including the United Nations.

61. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): I have taken note of the statement regarding the representation of Democratic Kampuchea just made by the representative of Czechoslovakia and it will appear in the records.

62. I call now on the representative of China on a point of order.

63. Mr. LAI Ya-li (China) (*translation from Chinese*): At this resumed session of the General Assembly devoted exclusively to the question of Namibia the representative of Czechoslovakia is wilfully making trouble by raising the so-called question of the representation of Kampuchea in a deliberate attempt to obstruct the normal proceedings of the session. This is utterly intolerable to the overwhelming majority of the Member States.

64. As everyone knows, Democratic Kampuchea is an independent, sovereign State, a State Member of the United Nations and of the non-aligned movement. The Govern-

ment of Democratic Kampuchea is the sole legal Government of Kampuchea, and has been confirmed as such by the General Assembly at its thirty-third session and at previous sessions. The credentials of the delegation of Democratic Kampuchea to the thirty-third session of the General Assembly were examined by the Credentials Committee and its report was approved by the General Assembly itself [*resolution 33/9*]. The credentials of the delegation of Democratic Kampuchea to the Security Council were also considered to be in good order in the Secretary-General's report dated 11 January 1979.⁸ The legal status of Democratic Kampuchea was once again confirmed by the Security Council during its meetings from 11 to 15 January⁹ on the question of Viet Nam's aggression against Kampuchea and from 14 February to 16 March¹⁰ on the situation in South-East Asia. On 22 March, the Secretary-General accepted the credentials of the Permanent Representative of Democratic Kampuchea to the United Nations in accordance with the decision of the General Assembly. The representatives of Democratic Kampuchea have been attending different meetings of the United Nations.

65. Recently, at the meeting of its Co-ordinating Bureau, the non-aligned movement affirmed the indisputable validity and legality of the representative of the Government of Democratic Kampuchea in the non-aligned movement and adopted a decision to invite the representative of Democratic Kampuchea to the meeting of the Foreign Ministers of the Co-ordinating Bureau to be held soon in Colombo, thus upholding justice and frustrating the attempt of the Soviet Union, Viet Nam and other countries to inject the puppet they have fostered into the non-aligned movement.

66. Therefore, no one has any justification for nullifying the decision adopted by the General Assembly and for challenging the legality of the credentials of the representatives of Democratic Kampuchea. The current resumed session of the General Assembly is devoted exclusively to the consideration of the question of Namibia. In defiance of the will of the overwhelmingly majority of Member States, the representative of Czechoslovakia has once again wilfully raised the question of the so-called representation of Kampuchea in an attempt to sabotage the proceeding of this solemn session. Such an attempt must be firmly opposed.

67. As is known to all, the so-called People's Republic of Kampuchea and the People's Revolutionary Council of Kampuchea are mere puppets propped up by the Vietnamese authorities at bayonet-point. They can represent no one in Kampuchea and are agents of the Vietnamese authorities, pure and simple. Without the support of the Vietnamese aggressor troops these puppets could not survive even a single day. In introducing once again the Kampuchean puppet organization, the purpose of the representatives of the Soviet Union and Viet Nam is to legalize the puppets of Kampuchea internationally, thus

⁸ See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-fourth Year, Supplement for January, February and March 1979*, document S/13021.

⁹ *Ibid.*, Thirty-fourth Year, 2108th to 2112th meetings.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 2114th to 2118th and 2129th meetings.

legitimizing their own aggressive crimes of armed occupation and annexation of Kampuchea. This is, of course, futile.

68. The hard fact is that since the end of last year the Vietnamese authorities have dispatched more than a dozen divisions of regular troops for a large-scale invasion of Kampuchea by surprise and have occupied by force the capital of Kampuchea and large tracts of Kampuchean territory in an attempt to swallow up a sovereign State. In so doing, they have grossly trampled upon the United Nations Charter and seriously violated the norms guiding international relations, posing a grave threat to peace in South-East Asia and to international security. Hence they have been condemned and opposed most strongly by the international community.

69. The Security Council considered a draft resolution¹¹ sponsored by all the seven non-aligned member States on Viet Nam's aggression against Kampuchea and then another draft resolution¹² sponsored by all the five countries members of the Association of South-East Asian Nations on the situation in South-East Asia, both calling for the withdrawal of foreign troops from Kampuchea and each obtaining an overwhelming majority of 13 affirmative votes. This fully shows that the Soviet Union and Viet Nam have been most isolated and unpopular in the world for their persistent aggression and expansion. Despite the flagrant Soviet veto of the draft resolutions tabled by the non-aligned member States and the States members of the Association respectively, the justice-upholding voice and views of the people of the world cannot be vetoed in any way. At present, the people of the world strongly demand the immediate withdrawal of all Vietnamese aggressor troops from Kampuchea, so as to compel the Vietnamese authorities to abandon their policies of regional hegemonism and expansionism pursued with the support of the Soviet Union and to put an immediate end to their aggression against neighbouring States and withdraw their aggressor troops therefrom. Herein lies the fundamental way to a solution of the question of South-East Asia.

70. Finally, we maintain that the resumed session should overcome the interference and sabotage by the representative of Czechoslovakia and continue its consideration of the question of Namibia.

71. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): Note has been taken of the statement of the representative of China, which will appear in the records.

72. I call now on the representative of Democratic Kampuchea.

73. Mr. CHAN YOURAN (Democratic Kampuchea) (*interpretation from French*): Before making my statement on the question of Namibia and expressing solidarity with the Namibian people in their just struggle I should like to say once more how vehemently we deplore the fact that the Vietnamese expansionists and elements within their bloc have taken advantage of this resumed session of the General

Assembly devoted especially to the question of Namibia to sow confusion within this forum and try to sabotage the smooth progress of its work. They have thus put their policy of aggression and expansion before the solidarity that all peoples that love peace, justice and independence should show on this occasion with the struggle of the Namibian people.

74. The Assembly must take appropriate steps to prevent them from using this forum to broadcast fallacious propaganda and their perfidious manoeuvres in an attempt to legalize the war of aggression in Democratic Kampuchea and their expansionist policy in South-East Asia, Asia and the Pacific.

75. It is obvious that the main goal of the expansionists is to destroy the independence of countries and peoples that wish to live in national dignity and honour and who refuse to be their satellites.

76. For decades the people of Namibia, under the guidance of their sole authentic representatives, SWAPO, have been pursuing a valiant struggle for the recovery of their independence and freedom in a united Namibia against the colonialist, *apartheid* régime of Pretoria. That just struggle is an integral part of the struggle being waged by all peoples that love peace and justice throughout the world to defend their independence and sovereignty, the territorial integrity of their countries and their right to decide their own futures. That is why all peoples who love peace and justice, particularly the non-aligned countries and the countries of the third world, have unfailingly given their staunch and constant support to the Namibian people.

77. For their part, the people of Kampuchea, which is now struggling to defend and safeguard its independence and ensure its national survival, shared the profound sentiments and aims behind the struggle of the Namibian people. Those sentiments and aims are akin to our own. The people of Kampuchea are sincerely delighted at the successes of the Namibian people both within their own country and at international level. In particular, Kampucheans commend highly the determination and spirit of sacrifice shown by the Namibian people in their indomitable struggle against the colonialist *apartheid* régime to make their noble cause triumph.

78. Faced with the unshakable determination of the Namibian people, the Pretoria régime has stepped up its repressive and oppressive Fascist measures against that people and the leaders of SWAPO. Furthermore, it has plotted perfidious manoeuvres to perpetuate its domination in Namibia and to break that Territory's unity and territorial integrity. That régime, now at bay, has launched barbarous acts of aggression against the front-line States to intimidate them. Contrary to its expectations, however, its acts of aggression and repression only further inflame the hatred of the Namibian people and strengthen their resolve to wage their armed struggle to the end. Similarly, those acts have only served to reinforce the solidarity of the front-line States with the Namibian people.

79. On the international level, the Vorster régime has been driven into unprecedented isolation, whereas the Namibian people, represented by SWAPO, enjoy ever more powerful

¹¹ *Ibid.*, *Thirty-fourth Year, Supplement for January, February and March 1979*, document S/13027.

¹² *Ibid.*, document S/13162.

support. The decision of the non-aligned movement to admit SWAPO as a fully-fledged member constitutes just homage to the struggle of, and the sacrifices made by, the Namibian people and is a recognition of that organization's contribution to the struggle waged by national liberation movements in Africa and the third world. At the same time it is an act of solidarity which redounds to the honour of the non-aligned movement. On 4 May last the United Nations Council for Namibia proclaimed 1979 as International Year of Solidarity with the People of Namibia and inaugurated a new campaign to mobilize international opinion in favour of the cause of the Namibian people.

80. The delegation of Democratic Kampuchea would like to take this opportunity to reaffirm that, as in the past, the Government and people of Democratic Kampuchea continue to give active support to the just struggle of the Namibian people and that they will do so until final victory is won. The Government and people of Kampuchea are firmly convinced that, whatever trials remain to be overcome, the struggle of the Namibian people will surely succeed.

81. The Government and people of Democratic Kampuchea would like to reiterate their position.

82. First, we believe that the colonialist, *apartheid* régime of Pretoria must immediately put an end to its illegal occupation of Namibia and withdraw all its armed forces, as well as its colonial administration.

83. Secondly, the Government and the people of Democratic Kampuchea vehemently condemn once more the perfidious manoeuvres of South Africa designed to create a puppet régime in Namibia by means of a unilateral declaration of so-called independence for Namibia. Never will the Government and the people of Democratic Kampuchea recognize that puppet government in the pay of Pretoria.

84. Thirdly, we condemn again the Fascist measures taken by South Africa against the Namibian people and its acts of aggression committed against the front-line countries, as well as its criminal attempts to destroy the unity and territorial integrity of Namibia.

85. Fourthly, we support the just position taken by the countries which love peace and justice in demanding the implementation of sanctions, under Chapter VII of the Charter, against the Pretoria régime. The Government and people of Democratic Kampuchea consider the situation prevailing in southern Africa—Namibia, Zimbabwe and Azania—as a result of the colonialist and *apartheid* policies of the Vorster and Ian Smith régimes to be a serious threat to international peace and security.

86. The only means of ending this serious situation is to force South Africa to respect Security Council resolutions 385 (1976) and 435 (1978).

87. For all these reasons my delegation is happy to become a sponsor of the draft resolution on Namibia submitted by the President of the United Nations Council for Namibia.

88. Mr. LOHANI (Nepal): The refusal of South Africa to co-operate with the United Nations in carrying out its plan to guarantee genuine and early independence for Namibia has necessitated the reconvening of the thirty-third session of the General Assembly. This brings out the gravity of the situation and poses a challenge to the international community. The Secretary-General has recently drawn our attention to the fact that:

“The rapidly deteriorating situation with its heavy toll of innocent lives is a source of great concern to all of us. We must spare no effort to bring about a settlement as rapidly as possible . . .”¹³

But the continued defiance by South Africa's illegal régime of the widely accepted resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council has already unmasked its sinister designs to perpetuate its racist minority rule and extend the inhuman system of *apartheid* to Namibia.

89. The international community has repeatedly condemned the racist Pretoria régime for its illegal occupation of Namibia and the ruthless exploitation of its resources. Repeated acts of aggression committed by South Africa against neighbouring African States and the continued arrest and detention of Namibian patriots and SWAPO leaders leave us in no doubt that the racist and aggressive mentality of South Africa remains unchanged. We share the concern that the longer the implementation of the United Nations plan leading to Namibian independence is delayed, the more brutal South Africa will be in its policy of aggression, repression and violence. As we all know, the implementation of this plan has now been completely stalled because the racist régime has come up with false excuses and delaying tactics.

90. We commend the Secretary-General and his Special Representative for their untiring efforts and the dedication with which they have sought to expedite the correct implementation of the United Nations plan on Namibia. The Council for Namibia deserves our highest appreciation for its incessant efforts to assist the people of Namibia to exercise their inalienable right to self-determination and independence. The continued readiness of SWAPO, the sole and authentic representative of the Namibian people, to co-operate with the United Nations and to make its plan a success is no less commendable. Nepal has consistently supported the struggle being waged by the people of Namibia, under the leadership of SWAPO, for the restoration of their legitimate rights to self-determination, freedom and national independence in a united Namibia. We reiterate on this occasion that the South African presence in Namibia is illegal and should be immediately and unconditionally terminated, and that Walvis Bay is an integral part of Namibia.

91. The United Nations has already declared the so-called December elections in Namibia null and void. The Council for Namibia, in a recent statement, has denounced the South African move to invest the so-called Constituent Assembly in Windhoek with extensive legislative and executive powers. Namibia being under the direct responsibility of the United Nations, we strongly reaffirm our

¹³ See document A/AC.131/PV.300, p. 8.

position that the legal authority of the United Nations remains unchallenged and that the early accession of Namibia to freedom and genuine independence can only be secured through free elections under the direct supervision and control of the United Nations.

92. While we earnestly hope that the five Western countries, whose initiative led to the acceptance of a settlement proposal on Namibia, will continue their efforts to put maximum pressure on South Africa to comply with all United Nations resolutions on Namibia, it is our firm conviction that the time has come for the world Organization, and in particular for the Security Council, to assume its responsibilities. We support the view that the racist South African régime must be isolated and punished through the adoption of effective and mandatory measures against it under Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter.

93. The representative of SWAPO, in his recent statement on the inaugural day of the International Year of Solidarity with the People of Namibia, has rightly observed that this session of the General Assembly should be:

“... occasions for deciding on adoption of appropriate and effective measures such as economic sanctions and other actions under Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter, to drive the illegal administration of the Pretoria junta out of Namibia. This is what will bring about the long-awaited genuine independence of Namibia.”¹⁴

The President of SWAPO, in his statement before the Assembly yesterday [97th meeting] renewed this call.

94. The unflinching commitment of the United Nations to the goal of securing genuine independence for Namibia has been universally acclaimed. Reports of the missions undertaken by the United Nations Council for Namibia to so many capitals of the States Members of the United Nations have confirmed the important role that body is playing and the responsibility it has borne for the settlement of the Namibian problem. The need for mobilizing further international support for a just solution compatible with the legitimate aspirations of the Namibian people has never been more urgent than it is now. In our opinion, the utmost vigilance on the part of the international community is called for as we continue to receive reports about the persistent attempts of South Africa, through a series of unilateral acts, to undermine efforts for a negotiated settlement on Namibia. The world cannot watch in silence the installation of a puppet régime in Namibia, which is the real aim behind all South Africa's excuses in finding fault with the United Nations plan and delaying its implementation.

95. Finally, as the struggle of the Namibian people under the leadership of SWAPO has reached a crucial stage, we appeal to the international community, to Governments and non-governmental organizations, to increase their moral, material and financial assistance in the achievement of national independence by the people of Namibia without further delay.

96. Mr. ALZAMORA (Peru) (*interpretation from Spanish*): A full year has passed since we last met in this same forum at the ninth special session of the General Assembly on the subject of Namibia, when we adopted the Declaration on Namibia and the Programme of Action in Support of Self-Determination and National Independence for Namibia [resolution S-9/2].

97. Yet with great concern and growing indignation we note that during the interval the situation in Namibia has further deteriorated, because of the intransigent attitude of the illegal occupier. Both General Assembly and Security Council resolutions have been treated as a dead letter by those who stubbornly continue their colonial exploitation of the people and natural resources of the Territory and, in open defiance of the international community, refuse to recognize that Namibia is the direct responsibility of the United Nations and that the legal Administering Authority of the Territory is the United Nations Council for Namibia.

98. It is against this backdrop that we must view South Africa's unilateral acts in the Territory, which it is occupying without any legal right. Disregarding Security Council resolution 439 (1978), which called on South Africa immediately to cancel the elections planned for last December, the South African administration went ahead with the organization and carrying out of those elections, which forced the international community to condemn them unanimously and declare the results of the elections null and void.

99. More recently, in furtherance of this policy of setting up a régime favourable to its aims, the South African administration has hastened to endow the so-called “Constituent Assembly of Windhoek” with legislative and executive powers. Here, my delegation fully associates itself with the Declaration issued by the United Nations Council for Namibia, on May 1979, regarding recent proposals by the illegal administration of Namibia regarding the political future of the Territory, which brings to the attention of the international community “the persistent attempts of South Africa to undermine the efforts for a negotiated settlement on Namibia through a series of unilateral acts...” [A/33/564, annex].

100. It is more than ever necessary, if there is to be an orderly and peaceful transition to independence, for the international community to bring increased pressure to bear to bring about a free, independent and sovereign Namibia, with full enjoyment of its right to self-determination, national and political unity and territorial integrity, including Walvis Bay, and to the legitimate enjoyment of its natural resources.

101. As my delegation stated at the special meeting of the Co-ordinating Bureau of Non-Aligned Countries at the ministerial level, which took place in Mexico in January of this year:

“The present circumstances must not make us lose sight of the fact, however, that certain Western Powers bear a special obligation to see that the unlawful occupier abides by the terms of the United Nations decisions, and we hope that they will not fail to take any of the actions for the maintenance of international peace and security set forth in the Charter of the Organization.”

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 92.

102. We followed with close attention the proposals made by the five Western countries in seeking a possible basis for negotiations based on Security Council resolution 385 (1976). Their efforts encountered major obstacles when it came to inducing South Africa to take a more realistic approach to the Namibian problem that would demonstrate the sincerity of its intentions by its actions, within a framework of trust and honesty.

103. While we support all efforts which, with the necessary guarantees, will serve to promote a peaceful settlement of the problem, we are at the same time well aware of the fact that it is ultimately the international community which must see to it that the political will of the parties directly concerned accepts the process advocated by the United Nations to transfer power to those who, by a legitimate electoral process, have been declared the authentic representatives of the Namibian people.

104. As we view the events which have taken place since the ninth special session of the General Assembly, and with the benefit of hindsight, my delegation feels that we would not be remiss in reminding the General Assembly of the proposal put forward informally by certain Latin American countries at that special session. Our proposal was that the General Assembly embody in a resolution the legal and political framework for the negotiations which had then been suggested. The idea was to commit the international community as a whole to certain political and moral guarantees advocated by the United Nations and to recognition of the pre-eminent role which should be played by the General Assembly and other United Nations bodies in the quest for a solution to the problem of Namibia.

105. Convinced as we are of the value of that approach, my delegation once again wishes to point to the understanding and sense of responsibility shown by SWAPO, which has given more than ample proof of its willingness to negotiate and its constructive approach to the problem.

106. The delegation of Peru, as always, is prepared to give determined support to the struggle of the Namibian people for final emancipation; and we are prepared to support any action which at this resumed session of the General Assembly would yield concrete and positive results that would make possible the earliest possible independence of the Territory and Namibia's incorporation into the international community as a free and sovereign State, free from any pressure of any kind and devoted to the achievement of its own national objectives and to the well-being and happiness of its people.

107. Mr. RABETAFIKA (Madagascar) (*interpretation from French*): We are discussing, and we hope for the last time, the question of Namibia, and in all honesty we must recognize the fact that there are a number of points on which a semblance of a consensus has been found among us. No delegation here could question the right of the Namibians to independence, national unity and territorial integrity. We all agree that the presence of South Africa in Namibia is illegal; that the United Nations has exclusive responsibility for the administration of that Territory; and that the armed conflict between South Africa and SWAPO is only the consequence of the latter's defiance of the principles which are universally recognized as well as of United Nations authority.

108. Thus, a close reading of the Charter would long ago have enabled us to resolve this problem, had not profound differences, stemming from prevailing interests and ideologies, emerged as to the meaning and scope which should be given to the various elements of the consensus which formerly united us. First, the independence of the Namibians can only be conceived by strict respect for free choice of a political, economic and social system. For others, this independence had to be orchestrated in advance, to respond to conditions which satisfactorily met economic and strategic interests.

109. We think that the confirmation of the United Nations responsibility and the granting of means allowing it to discharge that responsibility would have sufficed to ensure the take-over from the colonial South African administration. Others, who claim to be wiser than us, right from the start renounced that trust that they should naturally have had in the United Nations and adduced certain threadbare considerations regarding the legal and administrative vacuum so as to open the way to direct recognition of South African legitimacy in Namibia.

110. We consider that the struggle of SWAPO against South African illegality and to recover its due is part of what the United Nations has granted, *de jure* and *de facto*, whereas others only see here an attack on their prerogatives and their monopolistic tendencies, both economic and political.

111. These differences are not accidental, and some have played at tergiversation and of obstruction in order to minimize them and to impose an approach that the United Nations cannot challenge—that of negotiation supported by a façade of unanimity which show signs of cracking at the first difficulties, to the great satisfaction of South Africa.

112. After two years of imposed negotiations, the United Nations has failed precisely where South Africa wished to avoid it.

113. First, the illegality of South African presence in Namibia is only a fiction to satisfy the pragmatism of some and the Machiavellism of others. How can the United Nations accept that notion, when it was called upon to deal with South Africa on an equal footing?

114. Secondly, the administrative responsibility of the United Nations has been watered down, and the Special Representative of the Secretary-General has been called upon to proceed towards *post facto* verification, and to cloak with his authority operations which are essentially South African.

115. Thirdly, the concession of Walvis Bay renders the idea of territorial integrity null, and the endless juggling act with tribes, ethnic groups and so-called parties and factions continues. Neo-colonialism, obviously, abandons itself to all that readily, and this is blithely put down to the incapacity of the Namibians to preserve their unity, whereas everything is being implemented to divide them.

116. Fourthly, South Africa derives unexpected benefits from the conflict which pits it against SWAPO, namely, the role of arbitrator in southern Africa, the maintenance of a

presence in Namibia, the elimination of SWAPO. The protests of the five Western Powers are purely formal because thus the political, military and economic hegemony of imperialism is maintained.

117. Let us face the facts. Consensus has been destroyed; everything has to be rethought now; and we must, if we are to be realistic, forget these two years of sterile negotiations during which our trust has been betrayed.

118. We might have said much on the imperfections of the proposal of the five Western Powers and the inevitable shortcomings of the plan of implementation. Our position is well known; we have never said that negotiation with a party whose good faith is not one of his striking features would suffice to break the Namibian deadlock.

119. We do not intend to go into the series of pretentious arguments adduced by South Africa and supported tacitly by its allies and partners.

120. Nor do we wish, because we have done so on other occasions, to expatiate on the motives, secret or otherwise, which compelled the five Western Powers to insist on a proposal which betrays, as certain provisions do, the spirit and letter of Security Council resolution 385 (1976).

121. Furthermore, we shall not go overboard in denouncing the obvious collusion of international imperialism and capitalism with South Africa, with a view to maintaining the whole of southern Africa within its sphere of influence and under its domination, under the pretext of a "geoeconomic community of interests" and the concept of "mutual defence against a common enemy".

122. We are no longer surprised by the blatant farce of South Africa's denunciation, in order to give credence to its cause, of the growing interference of the great Powers—which would obviously include the Western Powers—which could aggravate military confrontations in southern Africa.

123. However, in this war of words which we seem to be enjoying, we must exonerate SWAPO from the accusations against it. We have said repeatedly that the negotiations may have the sole aim of extracting, by attrition or other means, ever greater concessions from SWAPO; and events seem to have borne out this view.

124. All the proposals of the Secretary-General for the implementation plan have been accepted by SWAPO, with regard to the external forces, the regrouping of the internal forces, the designation of localities, the observance of the cease-fire and the restrictions placed on activities and movement. Armed with good faith and goodwill, SWAPO heeds the rule of reason, at the risk of seeing itself eliminated militarily, politically and even physically.

125. However, in view of the inconceivable demands of South Africa, that will not do. We have gone beyond the stage of discussing the flouting of General Assembly or Security Council resolutions, and we should not even be surprised if, to save the Western plan at all costs, SWAPO were asked to disarm inside and even outside Namibia, or to give up the positions it occupies in that Territory.

126. It is the height of irony that the South African army and the repressive militia of *apartheid* may be called upon to stay in Namibia to safeguard the forms of freedom and democracy.

127. SWAPO has been accused of preferring a military solution to negotiation, whereas it has been forgotten that negotiation must be the corollary of the national liberation struggle and that SWAPO has given sufficient proof of its desire to negotiate. Must we deliver up SWAPO bound hand and foot? To whom should we entrust it: the United Nations, South Africa or the Western countries?

128. Some people say that SWAPO is not the sole authentic representative of the Namibian people, and are anxious to put forward "Democratic SWAPO", the "Namibian National Front" or the "Democratic Turnhalle Alliance". In these circumstances there is no reason for surprise that South Africa is demanding that its puppets should be consulted. Why should one ask them for an opinion on the conditions to be imposed on SWAPO instead of dealing directly and independently with SWAPO?

129. It is claimed that SWAPO will not honour its commitments, but could not the same be said of South Africa? What serious answer could there be to the decision of South Africa to give the "Constituent Assembly" in Windhoek legislative and executive powers? Let us admit that it is the joining of SWAPO with the progressive African forces that is feared, to such an extent that negotiations could well be sacrificed for the sake of a Rhodesian-type settlement.

130. In the absence of a peaceful solution—and prospects for this are remote—SWAPO, both inside and outside Namibia, will wage a struggle and will strike where it can, as it can, and it is not for those who have reneged on their obligations towards SWAPO and the Namibian people to preach moderation in order to make surrender pure and simple more acceptable.

131. The present negotiations have failed. It is said that South Africa is ready to support a unilateral declaration of independence in Namibia, or more precisely an internal settlement on the Rhodesian model, on the basis of the results of elections which were declared null and void by the Security Council. Faith in the merits of negotiation depends upon the one against whom, and not with whom, one is negotiating and on the existence of common goals.

132. At the beginning of this statement I made an honest effort to give a brief account—and I apologize for its brevity—of the aims that the United Nations adopted. However, the differences marked between the majority and a minority sure of its wealth and power are too marked to allow the continuation of negotiations which have, unfortunately, become unilateral and incomplete.

133. We cannot negotiate *ad infinitum*. All the avenues to a peaceful solution have been explored, but there are limits imposed by political considerations, by respect for certain principles, by contingencies which we cannot always control, and by circumstances which are sometimes alien to the purpose of the negotiations.

134. The only alternative is to go back to Security Council resolution 385 (1976), shorn of all the political, pragmatic and realistic considerations with which it has been surrounded, applied in the light of Article 41 of the Charter and, if need be, Article 42. That is a radical solution, but it is no more radical than the idea of a confrontation between SWAPO and the puppet Windhoek régime or between the Pretoria régime and the whole of Africa.

135. As we see it, this solution may not win the unanimous support of those who have power of decision in the Security Council. That is the real reason for the Namibian deadlock: all measures which could break the deadlock in the situation on the basis of a true interpretation of General Assembly and Security Council resolutions are rejected out of hand, quite openly in the case of Pretoria, and indirectly by its allies and partners. The international community is compelled, despite itself, to accept the inevitable alternative of specious negotiations and an internal settlement, and the danger is that, despite certain purely formal protests, we are proceeding towards a surrender which would enable South Africa to flout the United Nations with impunity.

136. The sad facts are there. Our conclusion is clear: the *fait accompli* of Pretoria will not succeed, and responsibility for having imperilled international peace and security will not rest with the Africans or with SWAPO, or with those who are determined to support them politically, militarily and materially in their just struggle.

137. Mr. DE FIGUEIREDO (Angola): Mr. President, please accept the best wishes of my delegation on your continued presidency and your able handling of what has turned out to be a very lengthy thirty-third session of the General Assembly.

138. Since this resumption is devoted to consideration of the situation *vis à vis* Namibia, I should like to take this opportunity to express also our appreciation to the Council for Namibia. It is the opinion of my delegation that the United Nations Council for Namibia has ably fulfilled its functions within the context of the mandate accorded to it. It is also our considered opinion that SWAPO's friends in Africa and in the international community have always fulfilled their obligations by extending to the Namibian people every support in their liberation struggle.

139. It appears that the United Nations is involved *ad infinitum* with certain political issues on which countless resolutions both of the General Assembly and of the Security Council exist, yet their implementation is either faulty or non-existent.

140. For the past two years we have watched the agonizing slowness of the international negotiations concerning Namibia, punctuated all along by South African sabotage efforts. Despite the constant attacks on the territory and people of Angola, and despite the brutal massacre at Kassinga, the people of the People's Republic of Angola have offered their support, participation and co-operation in these international mediation efforts which led to the presentation of the Secretary-General's report outlining the role of the United Nations Transition Assistance Group and the process by which the Namibian people would achieve genuine independence.

141. The illegal processes whereby South Africa has steadily extended its jurisdiction over Namibia are well-known. All of South Africa's actions have been directed toward the unilateral establishment of a government in Namibia controlled by the racist minority Government in Pretoria. These acts on the part of the South African Government to perpetuate its colonial hold over Namibia include the following: the appointment by Pretoria of an Administrator-General on 1 September 1977, with powers to make laws by proclamation in the *Official Gazette* and to amend or repeal acts of parliament purportedly applicable to Namibia; the continued consolidation of the homeland structures in the territory; the further militarization of Namibia; the arrest and torture of SWAPO members and sympathizers; the torture and detention of Namibian civilians in the northern security districts by South African police and the South African Defence Force; and the use of the Terrorism Act and the Security Act in trials of SWAPO members.

142. In the past few years various laws have been enacted by the racist South African Government which increased the illegal incorporation of Namibia into South Africa by greatly extending the area over which the South West African Administration in Windhoek had no jurisdiction. These acts include the Development of Self-Government for Native Nations in South West Africa and the South West African Affairs Act. In 1977, despite the establishment of a new administrative structure under the aegis of the Administrator-General, many areas of internal policy where questions of human rights are relevant, such as the judicial system and the police, are still subject to decisions made in Pretoria.

143. Under its sponsorship and patronage, South Africa has set up through bogus elections, where votes are either bought or acquired through the barrel of a gun, a so-called Constituent Assembly which has now been given extensive legislative and executive functions. On 21 May 1979, South Africa took another step in the implementation of its own plan for Namibia by formally inaugurating the Assembly, made up of lackeys and puppet groups installed by Pretoria. In fact, this so-called Assembly's first meeting took place during a massive deployment of South African troops to the northern part of Namibia. The development apparently includes 10,000 reservists recently called up from South Africa. In this connexion, I should like to inform the General Assembly of yet another instance of armed aggression by the racist imperialist South African army. On 19 May, almost as a prelude to the resumed session, South African artillery, supported by Mirage aircraft, started firing on our military post on the Calai border. A massive column of ground troops and armoured cars staged a brutal attack across our border. Simultaneously, another column crossed the eastern border of Mucusso village and moved towards the village of Luengue. Such shellings and armed attacks have become routine ever since we won our independence, but our determination to fight the aggressor has not wavered despite the odds.

144. Throughout the international negotiations carried on both in southern African and at the proximity talks in New York, South Africa continued to consolidate its position in Namibia. It reinforced its already massive army of occupation in Namibia with a view to creating favourable

conditions for the imposition of a puppet régime in Windhoek. Large numbers of tanks and quantities of ammunition were shipped into Namibia. New barracks were built in key positions to accommodate the ever-increasing number of troops. Simultaneously, attempts were made to undermine the stability, peace and territorial integrity of neighbouring independent States, especially the People's Republic of Angola and Zambia. In February 1978, at precisely the time when the proximity talks were being held in New York, South African troops were estimated to total 53,200 men, comprising a ground force of 22,600; a further 22,600 as rear ground support units, with 8,000 air force and air commando units. These troops were deployed throughout Namibia in a network of over 20 military bases equipped with sophisticated weapons including tanks, armoured cars, fighter bombers and aircraft. A microwave radio-telecommunications system connects the war zone with the Walvis Bay and Cape Town military centres.

145. During the same period, South Africa intensified its recruitment of separate ethnic units for use in counter-insurgency activities on the border and as means of providing itself with an indirectly controlled, ostensibly autonomous, military force in the territory. Responsibility for recruiting these units was given to General Geldenhuys, Officer Commanding in South West Africa. Recruitment for all tribal units was apparently suspended in February 1978 on the grounds that they were up to full strength and ready to move into the final phase of operational training. Commander J. T. Louw is directly responsible for the military training of these ethnic groups. A parachute battalion was formed in September 1978. In November 1978, units of the Citizen Force, South African Navy, left for Walvis Bay to activate the dormant Naval Command and control facilities in the enclave, this being an important staging post for South African naval units deployed along the Namibian coastline.

146. South Africa has undertaken acts in Namibia that would not have been tolerated anywhere else. Apart from the reign of terror it has let loose upon the majority inhabitants of Namibia, the racist Pretoria régime has forcibly removed hundreds of thousands of civilians from their homes in northern Namibia following the proclamation of emergency rule throughout the area in May 1976. A mass roundup was performed by the security forces with thousands of detainees subsequently missing. Individual houses and entire villages were burned down by troops. The establishment of the one-kilometre wide "no-go zone" along the entire northern border has led to the virtual depopulation of the once-thriving region.

147. Quite some time ago the local police force was incorporated into the South African police, and the latter is accordingly authorized to exercise the powers entrusted to the former under the laws of the Mandated Territory. Four types of police currently operate in Namibia: the South African police units stationed in or seconded to Namibia, the security police, the municipal police, and the so-called tribal police.

148. Namibia has been divided into a "Police Zone" in the south, and the north zone. People in the south are generally not allowed to go north, while people from the north work

in different parts of the country. The bulk of Namibia's majority inhabitants is dependent upon the meagre income available from the subsistence agriculture and the contract labour system. South Africa's policies in the Territory, based on the system of discriminatory laws in force in the Republic of South Africa, and the establishment of homelands for each of Namibia's so-called ethnic groups as a means of ensuring the supply of cheap labour to the mines, farms and factories of the white-owned and white-controlled economy, result in the exploitation of human resources.

149. The economic exploitation of the majority of the inhabitants of Namibia has been analysed in a paper prepared for the United Nations Symposium on the Exploitation of Blacks in South Africa and Namibia and on Prison Conditions in South Africa Gaols, held in Lesotho in July 1978.¹⁵ This paper draws attention to the exploitation of the resources of Namibia by certain transnational corporations, whose presence in Namibia has actually increased in the period since the advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice of 21 June 1971,¹⁶ which stated that States had an obligation to abstain from entering into economic relationships with South Africa on behalf of or concerning Namibia.

150. At the risk of sounding repetitious, I will refer here once more to Kassinga, inside Angolan territory, where over 700 Namibian civilians were killed and some 1,500 wounded during the armed attacks by South African troops in May 1978. This camp housed refugees, mostly women, and old people. The brutal attack by the racist South Africans was launched as a joint operation by the South African army and air force, with paratroops flown across the border from the Grootfontein base in Namibia in Hercules transport planes and Puma helicopters, with air cover provided by Mirage jets and F 1-11 fighters. The same day South African ground troops also launched a three-pronged attack, supported by 60 tanks, on Chetequela, Cuamato and Dombondola in Cunene province. Namibian refugees at Chetequela were attacked, and 100 people killed.

151. On past occasions, whenever my delegation has taken the floor in defence of Namibian independence, we have always presented evidence pertaining to the colonization and political and economic exploitation of the people of Namibia by the racist Pretoria régime, and the extension of that racism and colonialism in the form of close links with Western economic interests, and a still further extension of this imperialism in the form of continuous armed attacks on the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the People's Republic of Angola.

152. What I have tried to do today is to show that even as the discussions of the five Western Powers were taking place, even as they undertook their shuttle diplomacy through southern Africa, even as proximity talks were held in New York, even as the front-line States offered their full

¹⁵ See document ST/HR/SER. A/1.

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

co-operation to the Secretary-General, even as SWAPO accepted the Secretary-General's plan for the independence of Namibia, South Africa throughout simply bought time, strengthened its military and colonial administrative structures, and sought to give them a semblance of legitimacy by holding the so-called "elections" in the Territory, now granting the so-called "Constituent Assembly" executive and legislative powers.

153. In the face of all the facts that I have placed before the Assembly, can anyone doubt South Africa's real motives, South Africa's honest intentions, which were and are merely to set up a Pretoria-controlled "government" in Windhoek, with white privilege safeguarded as before, and with the majority of inhabitants exploited and oppressed, as they have been throughout all these years of colonial rule?

154. If further proof were needed, Mr. Botha has supplied it. The South Africans have publicly and officially announced their new strategy: that of setting up a constellation or confederation of States in southern Africa, with Pretoria responsible for defence and military affairs. The kingpins in this constellation are to be, of course, Namibia and Rhodesia, where South Africa has already seen temporary success in the results of the so-called "elections" held in Salisbury.

155. Africa is in a state of alarm today. For centuries, we have confronted and been victimized by colonialism and racism; we have been through the trauma of divisions, rule and eventual independence. We have suffered neo-colonial armed aggression. But now it appears we are to be witness to something new: the granting of some sort of legitimacy to the puppet groups set up by the West's allies in southern Africa, by Smith and Botha.

156. I cannot too strongly give warning of the terrible consequences if Western countries entirely forsake the third world stand on issues such as colonialism and genuine majority rule. Ultimately we will triumph, but immediate bloodshed, loss and destruction will be intensified a thousandfold if those who could help alleviate the situation in southern Africa now turn out to be our enemies. For the friends of the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance puppets in Windhoek and the Smith puppets in Salisbury can be no friends of ours. They will be compounding a tremendous error if they align themselves with the forces of the past rather than with those of the future.

157. We hear much talk about human rights; indeed, it has been made the corner-stone of foreign policy in some capitals. Then what about the daily and massive violations of human rights that continue to take place with impunity in South Africa, in Namibia and in Zimbabwe? Since the five Western Powers chose to involve themselves in negotiations in southern Africa, it remains their duty to see their project to completion, with results not doctored or subverted by South Africa, but acceptable to the international community and commensurate with various United Nations resolutions on Namibia.

158. South Africa's blatant violations of numerous United Nations resolutions, especially those adopted by the Security Council, must not be allowed to go unchecked. We join

in the demand for the convening of a Security Council meeting to impose economic sanctions against the racist minority Government in South Africa, which is the only way that southern Africa can continue towards total independence, with the stability of neighbouring independent countries guaranteed.

159. We all know the history of attempts to impose sanctions on South Africa. We know who is responsible for the failure of these attempts, and it is they who must ultimately be held equally responsible for the continued massacre of the people of southern Africa.

160. It would be tragic if the West allowed this state of affairs to continue. It would be a sad day for mankind if the cradle of law became the tomb of justice. The struggle continues. Victory is certain.

161. Mr. YANKOV (Bulgaria): Mr. President, I wish also to join the voice of my delegation in expressing our satisfaction and appreciation on seeing you presiding over this resumed session of the thirty-third General Assembly and to extend to you our full support and co-operation.

162. The General Assembly is called upon again to consider the problem of Namibia, one of the most acute political problems at the present stage of international relations. While the process of relaxation of tension in international relations and the struggle of oppressed peoples for self-determination and national independence, for the elimination of racism and racial discrimination, have been scoring new gains since the previous General Assembly session, the critical situation in Namibia remains an alarming one. It constitutes a hotbed of tension and conflict in Africa with far-reaching negative implications. No one could overlook the explosive character of the situation and the urgent need for a speedy and viable solution to the problem of Namibia. I say this, bearing in mind the fact that since last December, when the consideration of the "Question of Namibia" was postponed in the General Assembly until its current resumption, the five Western States which needed, in their own words, more time to find a just settlement, failed to find a solution that would be acceptable to the Namibian people and to its sole and authentic representative, SWAPO, as well as for all the States Members of the United Nations.

163. Moreover, in total defiance of the demands of the international community, the South African régime has, in the last few months, followed a course of upgrading its armed forces in Namibia, of recruiting and training Namibians for tribal armies, of illegally using Namibia's territory for aggressive acts against neighbouring independent African States and, above all, against the People's Republic of Angola.

Mr. de Piniés (Spain), Vice-President took the Chair.

164. The uprooting of Namibians from the northern areas still goes on, in order to allow more manoeuvring space in the perpetration of aggressive military actions by the Pretoria racists. Particularly disquieting are the continued violation of the military embargo to which Security Council resolution 418 (1977) calls and the ongoing collaboration of some Western States with South Africa in the military

and nuclear fields. The Pretoria authorities, in conjunction with Western foreign interests, continue unabated the plundering of Namibia's natural resources and the exploitation of its manpower. All this greatly compounds the problems in that part of the world, and in the final analysis increases the dangers to world peace and security.

165. At the same time, the protraction of the so-called talks and the lack of effective measures to bring about real changes in the *status quo* in Namibia grant more breathing-space and freedom of action for the South African racists further to increase and intensify the brutal repressive actions against the leaders, adherents and sympathizers of SWAPO. In the letter dated 8 May 1979 from the President of the United Nations Council for Namibia [A/33/562], Mr. Lusaka shows unambiguously that the Pretoria Government has started a new campaign of mass detention and persecution of SWAPO leaders and members. Once again the notorious State Law No. 26 is being brutally invoked against the Namibian patriots. All this lays bare the unilateral actions and sinister schemes of the South African racists, designed to promote an "internal solution" of the problem as they understand it, or prefer to see it, which would run totally counter to the genuine interests of the Namibian people. The other day [97th meeting] the President of SWAPO gave sufficient evidence and abundant facts concerning this situation.

166. But repression, detentions and persecutions will not crush the will of the Namibian people to struggle for the attainment of its inalienable right to genuine self-determination, for the total liberation of the country and to live in a free, independent and prosperous Namibia. The peaceful settlement of the Namibian problem is feasible, but not by tactics of protraction and by propping up a puppet régime of docile figure-heads, in contravention of United Nations resolutions, in particular Security Council resolutions 385 (1976) and 435 (1978). Genuine national independence cannot be attained by conducting orchestrated elections the result of which is decided in advance. It can be achieved only by following the path of free elections, under the supervision and control of the United Nations, in the whole of Namibia, as one political entity, in accordance with Security Council resolution 385 (1976).

167. The delegation of the People's Republic of Bulgaria is firmly convinced that any internal solution on the South African prescription, modelled on a Southern Rhodesian pattern or on identical plans, ought to be rejected by the international community as an unacceptable and ill-concealed way of perpetuating the illegal occupation of Namibia.

168. Developments over the past few months have confirmed the validity of our position vis-à-vis the plans of the five Western countries, whose much publicized aim was to find a peaceful solution to the Namibian problem. In our view, behind the so-called good intentions and protracted talks transpired clearly their reluctance and lack of political will to resolve the Namibian problem in accordance with United Nations resolutions. The plan's failure demonstrated that the Western States were pursuing their strategic aim of preserving the *status quo* in that part of the world, of only changing its façade by not altering the essence of their policies as regards South Africa and Namibia. It should be

noted also that, even in implementing the very limited envisaged aims concerning cosmetic changes and participating verbally in the drive to compel South Africa to adopt a more flexible attitude in conformity with the changes that have occurred on the African continent and in the world, the five Western States were not, or rather did not want to be, consistent and insistent enough. Furthermore, their policy for a peaceful solution of the problem did not suffer from any lack of verbal generosity and broken promises.

169. As a result of all this, to summarize it in a few words, the whole propaganda noise and diplomatic manoeuvres were intended chiefly for domestic consumption, to give assurances to public opinion in Western countries themselves of a peaceful settlement of the conflict and gradually to prepare the public for the acceptance of a one-sided settlement of the question of Namibia. Similarly, covert and overt diplomatic offensives have been launched to provide a political excuse for some countries to recognize such a settlement, while manoeuvring others into assuming a neutral stance on the issue and on those cosmetic changes.

170. The South African Government, having thus been granted a much-needed temporary respite, is laying the groundwork for the transfer of the entire legislative and executive powers to the so-called Constituent Assembly in Windhoek. The conciliatory policies of the Western countries as regards the Pretoria régime allow the South African Government to act in total contradiction of the will and aspirations of the Namibian people, world public opinion and the resolutions and decisions of the United Nations General Assembly.

171. The Bulgarian delegation considers that it is high time to denounce emphatically the policies of *faits accomplis*. South Africa has to be compelled to carry out the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council, especially resolution 385 (1976), as it provides the only possibility for a just solution of the Namibian problem. The basic provisions of those decisions require: the cessation of Namibia's illegal occupation by South Africa; the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of all South African army troops, police and administration from all parts of Namibia; that the unity and territorial integrity of Namibia be secured and that the transfer of powers in the country to the Namibian people in the person of its sole and authentic representative, SWAPO, be ensured.

172. Ensuring such a solution to the Namibian problem requires the urgent adoption of efficient measures against the occupiers, namely, the South African authorities. In view of the foregoing we fully support the numerous recommendations 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, including those put forward at its recent meetings in Belgrade [see A/33/563], and the demands of the African countries for immediate implementation of comprehensive sanctions against the South African régime. The speedy adoption by the Security Council of effective measures, including the sanctions provided for in Chapter VII of the Charter, particularly comprehensive economic sanctions, as well as a trade, oil and complete arms embargo, will ensure effective implementation of the

Council's decision by the South African régime. The adoption of those measures will represent a tangible expression of political will by individual States and by the international community, and will be greatly conducive to a quick solution of the Namibian problem, in total harmony with the aspirations of the people of Namibia and in the interests of peace and security not only in Africa but in the whole world.

173. This approach was reaffirmed in the joint communiqué issued on 22 May in Sofia, on the occasion of the official visit to the People's Republic of Bulgaria of the Mission of Consultation of the United Nations Council for Namibia. That communiqué stated that the Bulgarian Government and the Mission

"... are deeply convinced that the only just solution of the problem of Namibia is for all States Members of the United Nations to take effective and efficient steps to ensure the right to self-determination, national independence and territorial integrity of Namibia" [see A/33/574, annex, para. 6].

The communiqué continued:

"The United Nations must take immediate and urgent measures to end the illegal occupation of Namibia by the South African régime; to press the latter to implement the relevant resolutions of the United Nations, including Security Council resolutions 385 (1976) and 435 (1978); and to apply economic and other effective sanctions upon the racist régime of Pretoria" [Ibid.].

174. The ability to put all this into effect is dependent upon a further consolidation of the unity of action of all States Members of the United Nations, including, in the first place, the African countries and peoples. The situation in Namibia calls for strong concerted actions by all peace-loving forces in order to foil the plottings of those forces in certain Western countries and in South Africa, which do everything within their power to break up the unity of the African countries and to impose their neo-colonialist solution to the problem in Namibia. In this connexion we fully agree with the statement made at this session by the President of SWAPO, Mr. Sam Nujoma.

175. Bulgaria's position of principle on the Namibian issue rests on the fact that we long ago declared ourselves in favour of the immediate realization by the people of Namibia of their inalienable right to genuine self-determination and national independence based on respect for the unity and territorial integrity of that country. My Government recognizes SWAPO as the sole legitimate representative of the Namibian people. We support their struggle, under the leadership of SWAPO, against the illegal occupation of their country by the racist régime of South Africa, and we stand for the full transfer of powers in Namibia to the patriotic forces led by SWAPO.

176. The policy of my Government on Namibia was reiterated by Todor Zhivkov, President of the State Council of Bulgaria and First Secretary of the Central Committee of

the Bulgarian Communist Party, in his speech during his State visit to Lagos, Nigeria, last October. He said, *inter alia*:

"Our position is clear; it is manifested in firm convictions and concrete actions. The People's Republic of Bulgaria stands for the complete fulfilment of the United Nations Declaration on decolonization; the liquidation of the last remnants of colonialism and racism in Africa; the right of the people of Zimbabwe to control their own destiny; and the granting of full, and not merely formal, independence to Namibia.

"We are with the people of South Africa in their struggle against *apartheid* and for the right of the majority to rule the country. Together with the other socialist countries, we are actively assisting the African peoples in their struggle for national liberation and independence. In giving assistance we do not pursue any selfish aims, as our common enemies are maliciously trying to assert. We give assistance proceeding from a principled conviction, from a sense of international duty and international solidarity in the cause of humanity, democracy and progress."

177. In conclusion, I should like to express our earnest hope that the current resumed session of the General Assembly of the United Nations, which has contributed so much to the rendering of assistance to the liberation of peoples from colonial oppression, will extend its support for the full and speediest fulfilment of the legitimate aspiration of the Namibian people to genuine self-determination and national independence.

178. Mr. SAMHAN (United Arab Emirates) (*interpretation from Arabic*): The history of the General Assembly and Security Council resolutions regarding the problem of Namibia shows a series of untiring efforts exerted by the international community to put an end to the illegal occupation of that region by the régime of the Government of South Africa. They are aimed at stopping the process of cruel, barbaric and inhuman repression exercised by the Government of South Africa against the Namibian people. Contradictory feelings, hope and disappointment, are emerging within the international community. The hope stems from the possible development of conditions in Namibia which could lead to the creation of an independent State on the basis of truly free elections under the supervision and control of the United Nations. The disappointment stems from the fact that that target has not been reached. The policies of the Government of South Africa have changed the goals and they have been weakened because of that Government's refusal to accept a settlement plan which it had not initiated.

179. At the beginning of 1978 there was a possibility that Namibia would become an independent State. In view of the support given by the majority of the countries of the world to that idea, my country also staunchly and constantly supported it. The aims were clear. There was a need for the withdrawal of the administering military presence of South Africa; for the cessation of military activities; for free elections under the control and supervision of the United Nations; and for the release of all political detainees and the return of the exiles to enable them to participate in the electoral campaign in a complete and effective manner.

180. We are now in the middle of 1979 and the Government of South Africa, that racist Government, continues its intransigence in defying the international community.

181. It is time, we feel, to put an end to all the political manoeuvrings perpetrated by the Government of South Africa, which obviously reflect its disregard and flouting of United Nations resolutions. Within this context it is important that the international community give absolute material, moral and political support to SWAPO, which is considered to be the sole authentic representative of the Namibian people. Because of the refusal of the Government of South Africa to comply with United Nations resolutions, it is essential that urgent effective steps be taken to stop the Government of South Africa from imposing the so-called internal solution. We must force it to implement United Nations resolutions by informing it in the clearest manner and without any confusion that sanctions under Chapter VII of the Charter will be applied if South Africa does not heed the will of the international community. We condemn the racist régime of South Africa for having held unilateral elections. These elections are in fact considered to be null and void from the legal point of view. We also condemn that régime for its acts of repression, detention, and persecution perpetrated against SWAPO leaders. We join our voice to the voices of the peoples and countries of the world in calling for the immediate release of those leaders. South Africa should unconditionally abide by Security Council resolutions. The fact that it flouts these resolutions is a threat to international peace and security. There is a need, therefore, to take steps under the Charter of the United Nations and in particular Chapter VII.

182. Failure to resolve this problem, which is considered to be a dangerous centre of conflict in Africa, would inevitably lead to the creation of new regions of collision, competition and confrontation between foreign interests.

183. The position of the United Arab Emirates concerning this problem can be summed up as follows.

184. First, the only possible political solution for Namibia should be based upon the cessation of the Government of South Africa's illegal occupation of that Territory; the withdrawal of its armed forces, and the exercise by Namibia of the inalienable right to self-determination in an independent manner, free of conditions, within the framework of a unified Namibia.

185. Secondly, free elections should be held, under the control and supervision of the United Nations, in Namibia in its entirety, as one political entity, including the Walvis Bay area, in line with Security Council resolution 385 (1976).

186. Thirdly, SWAPO is the sole representative of the Namibian people. We support any solution which is acceptable to the Namibian people and to their representative, SWAPO, without whose participation no decision can be reached regarding the fate of Namibia.

187. Fourthly, the United Nations, which has direct responsibility for Namibia, should see to it that the people of the Territory enjoy their right to self-determination and

independence—genuine national independence. Until then, we denounce any elections held by the Government of South Africa as being illegal.

188. To conclude my statement I should like to commend the efforts extended by the United Nations Council for Namibia and those made by the Secretary-General of the United Nations to find a solution to this major problem. I should like to reaffirm the position of the United Arab Emirates, both our people and our Government, by stating that we will continue to provide material and moral assistance to the Namibian people and their legitimate representative SWAPO, until they finally triumph in their struggle and take their place in international forums as a free, independent State.

189. Mr. VERRET (Haiti) (*interpretation from French*): The delegation of Haiti is happy to see President Liévano once more presiding over the Assembly when it is dealing with this question of Namibia. We remain convinced that, because of his distinguished personality and his outstanding talents as a diplomat and his proven experience in international affairs, we can be sure that our deliberations will once again be conducted to everyone's satisfaction.

190. Here we are again considering the situation in Namibia, which constitutes today one of the most crucial problems facing the United Nations and the whole of the international community.

191. There is no need to recall at this time the numerous negotiations that have taken place between South Africa and the United Nations with a view to a peaceful settlement of the question of Namibia. We all know that, despite the resolutions of the Security Council and the almost unanimous disapproval of the international community, South Africa is still maintaining its unlawful administration in Namibian territory. On that point my delegation's position is already known. We have always asked for the withdrawal, pure and simple, of South Africa from that Territory, which it has occupied since 1966, because we believe that giving it any kind of role in the settlement of the Namibian question would be to recognize its right as real, or in a way to legalize its presence in Namibia, whereas that presence has already been declared unlawful by the advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice and by resolutions of the United Nations. Because of the dishonesty revealed by its clear design to impose a puppet Government on the Namibian people, we have always believed that South Africa wanted to take advantage of the negotiations as an opportunity to undermine SWAPO's position within and outside the Territory, and so to consolidate its own position. By its constant stalling, South Africa thinks it can lull the vigilance of the international community, which has chosen to see in the plan of the five Western Powers potential for a peaceful settlement of the Namibian problem.

192. The fact is that great hopes were pinned on that plan. A new day seemed to be dawning for the Namibian people. But that hope quickly vanished when, after all the efforts made by the Secretary-General and the representatives of the five Western Powers and of others, South Africa decided to reveal its hand and to defy everyone, including the whole of the United Nations, when, in violation of

Security Council resolutions 435 (1978) and 439 (1978) it attacked SWAPO bases in Angola on 6 March 1979, while the talks were actually taking place. According to the South African Prime Minister, that action was a response to a new situation created by the publication of the Secretary-General's report. What in fact did that report say? Nothing that was contrary to the resolutions I have cited. But according to South Africa, the SWAPO armed forces which were in Namibia at the time of the cease-fire were not to be confined to their bases, in the various Namibian locations that were designated by the Special Representative after due consultations. This surprise attack against the SWAPO bases in Angola once again demonstrates South Africa's refusal to co-operate and its firm determination, no matter what the cost, to maintain its grip on the Territory of Namibia and to deny its people the right to freedom, equality and justice for all men, in keeping with the concepts set forth in the Charter and in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. For saying "no" to the hateful system of *apartheid*, the heroes of SWAPO were mowed down in Angola by the pitiless machine guns of the powerful war machine of the South African Government. It will be remembered that South Africa, despite its acceptance of the Security Council resolution establishing a framework for a settlement of the Namibian problem, decided to hold fraudulent and absurd so-called elections whose sole aim was to exclude the members of SWAPO, the genuine representatives of the Namibian people, from the affairs of the country. Forced to recognize subsequently that these elections were meaningless, under pressure from the five Western Powers and the United Nations, South Africa still did not accept defeat. It made repeated incursions into the territory of Angola, massacring Namibian refugees. In Namibia, it has rounded up and put in prison more than 90 members of SWAPO. The truth is that these so-called negotiations, which have been publicized so much by the Western countries and which take a somewhat soft line towards South Africa, have served only to destabilize SWAPO, which has thus lost ground, to consolidate further the South African régime through the puppets of the so-called Constituent Assembly in Windhoek, to which, broad legislative and executive powers were supposed to be accorded in May 1979 by the illegal South African administration in Namibia. There can be no doubt that this new fact, among all the other flagrant proofs of South Africa's bad faith and its refusal to accept free elections in Namibia under the control and supervision of the United Nations, is yet another slap in the face for our Organization, which seems paralysed and incapable of reacting to a situation about whose solution a general consensus seems to be emerging. In brief, the present situation in Namibia is similar to that in Southern Rhodesia, where Ian Smith, with the aid of shameless and servile tribal collaborators, marginal elements in the Zimbabwean entity, is imperiously trampling on fundamental rights of the black majority—the same Ian Smith whose unequalled cynicism once took the Hymn to Joy of the Ninth Symphony of the genius Beethoven, that immortal piece exalting love and peace, and made it into the national anthem of an enslaved people. Vorster and Ian Smith, those two master sorcerers who reign over the hell in which the blacks live in southern Africa and Southern Rhodesia, will continue to mock the world community until co-ordinated, vigorous and continued action forces them to conform to the rules of law and justice. That is the action that we are

calling for from the peoples of the world and in particular from the competent bodies of the United Nations.

193. We are aware that such action will not always be easy. Some Powers, whose true objective would no doubt be to frustrate the peoples of southern Africa after their many years of bitter struggle and great sacrifices, to deny them genuine emancipation and to concentrate real power in the hands of a criminal and racist minority, are already showing a lack of enthusiasm for such action. Some are even thinking of lifting the sanctions in force against the new Rhodesian Government, which has been patched up by Ian Smith and his following, although in law and in practice only the Security Council can do this.

194. All these complications do not make things any easier. Strong in its alliance with these friendly Powers, South Africa is defying the international community and declares, through its Prime Minister Botha, according to a report of 14 May in *The New York Times*, that it prefers the risk of international economic sanctions to accepting the proposals of the five Western Powers for the establishment of peace in Rhodesia and in South West Africa.

195. At this stage, the Haitian delegation hopes that the present Assembly and the meeting of the Security Council which must of course follow it, will take up in time the challenge to the international community made by South Africa; unless this happens our beloved United Nations will risk losing its *raison d'être* and, if this happens, the Charter will represent nothing more than a scrap of paper destined for the dustbins of arrogant and powerful States.

196. There can be no doubt that the United Nations has the resources to enable it to take up the challenge. We refuse to believe that South Africa, even with its indisputable military and economic power, is capable of facing up to an Organization such as the United Nations. And it is with this strong conviction that we ask all States Members, international organizations and the specialized agencies to strengthen their material, financial, military and other assistance to SWAPO, so that it can intensify its struggle for the liberation of Namibia. We once again reaffirm the inalienable right of the people of Namibia to freedom and independence; we proclaim the direct responsibility of the United Nations in the Territory of Namibia. We reaffirm the sovereignty of the Namibian people over the whole of Namibia, including Walvis Bay, and we call for the unconditional withdrawal of South Africa from the territory of that country. We call for the release of the members of SWAPO detained in the prisons of the unlawful administration of South Africa in Namibia, and we reaffirm that the Government of Haiti, headed with dignity and prestige by His Excellency Jean-Claude Duvalier, President for Life of the Republic, who follows in the footsteps of the glorious procession of the great ancestral founders of the Haitian nation, and aware of its international responsibilities and solidly supporting the peoples fighting for their liberation against colonialism, racism, *apartheid* and foreign domination, will continue to give its every support to the valiant people of Namibia, led by its liberation movement, SWAPO, recognized as its only genuine representative.

197. Finally, the Haitian delegation calls upon the States Members of the United Nations and the whole international

community to associate themselves with the tireless efforts of the United Nations Council for Namibia, as the only lawful Administering Authority of Namibia, to support the patriotic actions of the Namibian people and their genuine representative, SWAPO, until the complete restoration of the lawful rights of the people to freedom, their free development in all fields and their social and economic progress is achieved and until peace is finally restored in a Namibia united, independent and sovereign.

198. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): We have heard the last speaker for this afternoon. I shall now call on those representatives who wish to exercise the right of reply.

199. Mr. PHAM DUONG (Viet Nam) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, thank you for allowing me to exercise my right to reply to the statement by the representative of China, who abused this rostrum to slander my country and to create difficulties for this very important meeting devoted to the Namibian problem.

200. It is a matter of public notoriety that the reactionary leaders of Peking have sent more than a million soldiers to wage a war of aggression against my country. That army of aggressors committed unspeakable crimes against the Vietnamese population in the six provinces on the northern border of my country. The Chinese aggressors, using the most barbarous means of the Middle Ages, killed Vietnamese women and children. They destroyed and looted almost every city and village in their path and every economic and cultural installation, including schools, hospitals and kindergartens. The inhuman crimes of aggression which the Chinese leaders perpetrated against Viet Nam have been condemned by the whole of world public opinion.

201. It is the reactionary leaders of Peking who are the authors of the genocide in Kampuchea. It is they who sent several tens of thousands of military advisers, as well as arms and ammunition so as to make of the Pol Pot régime a political and a military base to satisfy their great Power annexationist and hegemonistic ambitions in South-East Asia. It is they who exported the famous Maoist cultural revolution to exterminate the Cambodian people and make Kampuchea a province of China. It is they, too, who are behind the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique waging a war of aggression on the south-east borders.

202. The people of Kampuchea and their genuine leaders, as well as the United Front for National Salvation, to ensure their own survival, rose up against the Chinese lords and their lackeys. They overthrew the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary régime of genocide and founded the People's Republic of Kampuchea. The People's Council of Kampuchea has exercised its authority over the entire territory of Kampuchea and thus is the sole authentic and legal representative of the people of Kampuchea. The Chinese leaders continue to send arms and ammunition to the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique to create difficulties for the people of Kampuchea in the reconstruction of their country after four years under the tyranny and genocide of the Chinese overlords and to interfere cynically in the internal affairs of the People's Republic of Kampuchea.

203. It is the reactionary leaders of Peking who, after the failure of their attempts at annexation and hegemony in Kampuchea and Viet Nam, are continuing their collusion with the imperialists and still concentrating troops on our borders and threaten to carry out a new war of aggression against my country. On the basis of these realities, my delegation categorically rejects the allegations made by the representative of China against my country.

204. Mr. KHARLAMOV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*interpretation from Russian*): In connexion with the statement of the representative of China and his attempts to distort the revolutionary events in Kampuchea and the situation in South-East Asia, the Soviet delegation would like to make the following statement.

205. The Soviet delegation categorically objects to the presence at this session of, and the granting of the floor to, the person who calls himself the "representative of Democratic Kampuchea" but who in reality represents no one.

206. Almost five months have passed since the Kampuchean people, led by the United Front for the National Salvation of Kampuchea, put an end to the criminal régime of the puppet clique of Pol Pot and Ieng Sary, which, on the orders of its Peking masters, carried out the policy of mass destruction of the population of the country and made aggressive attacks on neighbouring States.

207. Now, when Peking's plans to turn Kampuchea into a tool for the realization of its expansionist and hegemonistic goals in South-East Asia have suffered a complete defeat, the Chinese representatives here in the United Nations are trying to play out a farcé with the help of their puppets and are cynically trying to put forward as the "representatives" of the Kampuchean people their former bloody executioners who were driven for good from Kampuchean soil and found refuge in Peking. The very presence of such people in the United Nations can only impair the prestige of this international Organization and create an abnormal and inadmissible situation which arouses the just indignation of many States Members of the United Nations.

208. It is well known that with the formation of the People's Republic of Kampuchea all power in the country fell completely into the hands of the People's Revolutionary Council, the only lawful representative of Kampuchea. The Kampuchean people, who had endured terrible times of Maoist genocide, finally became the true masters of their country and acquired their own national Government, which serves their interests and is directing the development of the country towards independence, democracy and social progress.

209. During the short existence of this new Government of Kampuchea local organs of power have been set up in all provinces. By the efforts of the Kampuchean people and with the assistance of friendly States, the consequences of the domination of Chinese advisers and their puppets are being removed from the country. Industry, trade, transport, education and health services are being re-established. Culture is being reborn and a new life affirmed.

210. Increasing recognition is being given to the foreign policy proclaimed by the People's Revolutionary Council, a

policy of peace, friendship and non-alignment, and to the determination of the new Kampuchea to make an active contribution to the development of good neighbourly relations and co-operation in South-East Asia and to the strengthening of universal peace.

211. It is quite clear that the People's Revolutionary Council of the People's Republic of Kampuchea is the only legitimate Government of the Kampuchean people and only its representatives can speak on behalf of Kampuchea and its people, and this applies in particular to the resumed thirty-third session of the General Assembly, which is considering the question of Namibia.

212. As has been repeatedly stressed in the official statements of the leaders of the People's Republic of Kampuchea, in particular in the letter of the Foreign Minister of the People's Republic of Kampuchea dated 18 May 1979 addressed to the President of the General Assembly and to the Secretary-General, issued as document A/33/566 of 21 May 1979, no one except the persons appointed by the People's Revolutionary Council of Kampuchea is entitled to act or speak on behalf of Kampuchea in the forums of the United Nations and in other international organizations.

213. The fact that up till now in some United Nations bodies, including the General Assembly at this session, we have seen the so-called "representatives of Democratic Kampuchea", who in fact represent no one, cannot be viewed as anything but a flagrant violation of the sovereign rights of the Kampuchean people.

214. With regard to the attempts of the Chinese representative to turn the well-known facts of recent events in South-East Asia upside down, those attempts will confuse no one.

215. It is common knowledge that the cause of peace in South-East Asia was recently seriously damaged by the aggression committed by the ruling circles of China against the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam. This unprecedented act of crude violence flagrantly demonstrated to all mankind the goals that are pursued by a hegemony saturated with a spirit of militarism and scorn for other peoples, the policy of the present Chinese leadership.

216. Recently the Chinese representatives at various international forums, including here in the United Nations, have tried to join the ranks of the lovers of peace. But it is sufficient to look, for example, at document A/34/255-S/13329 of 16 May 1979, which contains a communiqué of the Viet Nam Committee for investigation into the Crimes Committee in Viet Nam during the War of Aggression by the Chinese Expansionists and Hegemonists, to see what these "lovers of peace" really are.

217. The Chinese aggressors, the document says, engaged in the mass destruction of the population, the victims of their bloody crimes being mainly women and children.

218. The forces of occupation exceeded the Hitlerite Fascists in their crimes, inventing the cruelest methods of destroying people. In fact Viet Nam saw a repetition of the monstrous crimes committed in Kampuchea by Pol Pot's

henchmen from Peking. It is impossible to listen without horror to the evidence of eye-witnesses of the tragedy of the Vietnamese village of Tong Chup, in Cao Bang Province, which took place on 9 March, that is four days after the statement by the Chinese leaders about the withdrawal of their troops from Viet Nam. In that village Chinese soldiers killed 43 people in one day.

219. The communiqué also gives preliminary estimates of the damage caused by the forces of intervention. They completely destroyed four towns and laid waste 320 communities in the zone of their temporary occupation; 350,000 people were left homeless; 735 schools, all kindergartens, were destroyed and out of 430 hospitals only two survived. They destroyed the buildings and property of 79 sawmills, co-operatives and livestock farms and killed or removed to China more than 400,000 head of cattle.

220. Having suffered a shameful defeat in Viet Nam the Chinese leaders were compelled to withdraw. However, having agreed to negotiations, they are doing everything they can to block the holding of those negotiations and continue to use the methods of *diktat* and armed provocation including open threats of renewed aggression against Viet Nam.

221. No attempts by the Chinese representatives to confuse the participants in this session of the General Assembly with respect to the true intentions of China's Maoist leaders can whitewash those intentions. No demagoguery can conceal the militarist aggressive policy of the Peking leaders, which is fraught with danger for general peace and for the cause of the liberation struggle of peoples.

222. It is necessary to possess truly hegemonistic hypocrisy and shamelessness in order to attempt to justify such a policy, as the Chinese representative recently tried to do here.

223. Mr. HULINSKÝ (Czechoslovakia) (*interpretation from Russian*): The representative of the Chinese People's Republic in his statement repeatedly referred to my delegation in a manner that we cannot pass over in silence. However, since we, like other delegations which have spoken in a constructive manner, are concerned to make a positive contribution to the successful outcome of the work of this session of the General Assembly on the question of Namibia, I will only make the following few brief comments.

224. My delegation categorically rejects the attacks made on it and the clumsy description of our actions which the Chinese representative tried to feed to us. Unlike China, Czechoslovakia has always consistently supported and still supports the struggle of the people of Namibia led by its lawful representative, SWAPO, to win freedom. There is therefore no reason for us to try and sabotage this session.

225. The attacks of the Chinese delegation do not surprise us. They are due to the indisputable fact that Chinese great-Power expansionism this year has suffered two defeats, in Kampuchea and in Viet Nam.

226. My country, together with the other socialist States, has been and remains uncompromisingly on the side of those who consistently reveal China for what it truly is in South-East Asia.

227. Mr. CHOU Nan (China) (*translation from Chinese*): The Chinese delegation had no intention of taking the floor again. But in view of the fact that the Soviet Union took the lead in provoking the dispute on the so-called question of the representation of Kampuchea at this solemn session devoted to the consideration of the question of Namibia, and then wilfully slandered China in the name of exercising the right of reply, we are compelled to make a statement to refute them.

228. As everyone can see clearly, the performance of the Soviet representative precisely reveals the features of Soviet hegemonism. In order to whitewash their own crimes of aggression, the representatives of the Soviet Union and Viet Nam, calling black white, did not hesitate to hurl vicious slanders on China and distort the truth about China's attack in self-defence against Viet Nam and about the question of Kampuchea. Nevertheless, in face of the facts, their attempt can only be futile.

229. The Chinese Government and people have always treasured the traditional friendship between the peoples of China and Viet Nam and have made important positive contributions to this end. It is known to the whole world that the Chinese people did not flinch from the greatest national sacrifices to give support and assistance to the Vietnamese people's cause of liberation and national construction. In recent years, the relations between China and Viet Nam deteriorated as a result of the hostile anti-China policy increasingly pursued by the Vietnamese authorities with the backing of Soviet social-imperialism, while they are committing armed aggression against Kampuchea in quest of regional hegemony. The Soviet Union and the Vietnamese authorities regard China as a thorn in the flesh precisely because China firmly upholds justice and opposes the regional hegemonism pursued by the Vietnamese authorities.

230. China was compelled to fight back in self-defence after it had been subjected to innumerable border incursions by Viet Nam and had suffered enormous losses in its people's lives and property and after its repeated warnings had proved to be of no avail. This was a completely just action, on which all countries and people that love peace and uphold justice have drawn a fair conclusion. The Chinese frontier troops have long completed their withdrawal to Chinese territory. The Chinese side has never ceased its efforts for a negotiated settlement of the disputes between the two countries, and it has repeatedly put forward proposals for negotiations. But the Viet Nam side has placed all kinds of obstacles in the way of negotiations.

231. Not long ago, the Chinese representative put forward an eight-point proposal in the Sino-Vietnamese negotiations, pointing to a fundamental way for resolving the disputes and improving the relations between the two countries. This is a further indication of the sincere desire on the part of the Chinese side. But so far the Vietnamese authorities have failed to make a positive response to the above reasonable proposal of the Chinese side. On the contrary, they have stepped up their anti-China clamours

with Soviet support and continued with their armed provocations along the Sino-Vietnamese border. This reveals the hypocrisy of their professed desire for a negotiated settlement of the disputes.

232. It should be pointed out that the source of the current tension in Indo-China and South-East Asia is Viet Nam's active pursuance of national expansionism and regional hegemonism with the support and instigation of the Soviet Union. Viet Nam must have the support of the Soviet Union in order to form the so-called Indo-Chinese Federation and then dominate South-East Asia, while the Soviet Union needs to have Viet Nam as its "reliable outpost" and "strategic base" in order to realize the southward drive in its global strategy, further control the sea route from the Western Pacific to the Indian Ocean and thus link up its strategic deployments in these two oceans. Recently, the war vessels of the Soviet Pacific fleet have openly entered Da Nang and Cam Ranh Bay, using the military bases provided by Viet Nam. This is a grave development indeed.

233. If the Vietnamese authorities really have no intention to seek regional hegemony as they profess, they should declare in earnest at this forum their readiness to withdraw immediately all their armed forces from Kampuchea and other neighbours and their refusal to provide military bases to Soviet social-imperialism.

234. The big and small hegemonists, the Soviet Union and Viet Nam, are working hand in glove in stepping up their armed aggression in Kampuchea and in carrying out military expansion in the whole of South-East Asia and the Pacific region, thus posing a direct threat to the peace and security of many countries in this region.

235. This has naturally aroused the utmost concern and strong dissatisfaction on the part of all peoples of the world who uphold justice and love peace. We are deeply convinced that all countries and peoples that are subjected to the threats, aggression, subversion and control by Soviet hegemonism and its agents will unite and fight together to frustrate the aggression and expansion of the big and small hegemonists and win complete victory in the just cause of defending national independence, international peace and security.

236. Finally, I can only express my profound regret regarding the infamous role played by Czechoslovakia in the Security Council debate held earlier this year on the situation in South-East Asia and in the course of today's meeting.

237. I also wish to take this opportunity to extend our deep sympathy to the heroic people of Czechoslovakia in their current predicament.

238. Mr. CHAN YOURAN (Democratic Kampuchea) (*interpretation from French*): The Soviet and Vietnamese expansionists, the masters and the servants, have had the arrogance again here to slander most odiously, the Government and people of Democratic Kampuchea.

239. My delegation categorically rejects all these slanders, which are only intended to conceal the crimes of genocide

which the Soviet and Vietnamese expansionists are perpetrating daily against the people of Kampuchea.

240. My delegation also wishes to make two points clear.

241. First, the Vietnamese expansionists and their Soviet masters have ignominiously failed in their criminal attempts to take over Kampuchea. In their barbaric aggression against Democratic Kampuchea and against the nation and the people of Kampuchea they have proceeded to wholesale massacres, with destruction and looting everywhere they have been able to penetrate. They have committed crimes of genocide worse than those of Hitler nazism in order to annihilate, the nation and people of Kampuchea and the national identity of Kampuchea. In spite of all these horrendous crimes they have not succeeded in occupying and controlling all of Kampuchea, nor in breaking the resistance of the people of Kampuchea and its revolutionary army. Quite the contrary. They are now completely bogged down in a people's war waged throughout the country under the leadership of the Government of Democratic Kampuchea.

242. Having become mad with rage because of these defeats, they are now provoking Thailand and the countries of South-East Asia and trying to create pretexts for the extension of their war of aggression to all of South-East Asia. And because they have so lamentably failed in the military field they are seeking frantically to deceive world public opinion and secure the "legalization" of their aggression in Kampuchea and of the puppet régime which they have installed in Phnom Penh—a régime which has no roots at all in Kampuchea. They have attempted to force the United Nations and all countries which love peace and justice to recognize that puppet régime born of the flagrant violation of the United Nations Charter by the Vietnamese and Soviet expansionists.

243. By these ignoble manoeuvres they have shown themselves more clearly than ever to be the greatest enemies of peace, the true authors of war, the most dangerous foes, against whom the world and the whole of mankind must adopt measures urgently in order to prevent the continuance of their crimes.

244. Secondly, the Le Duan-Pham Van Dong clique and its Soviet masters are now making the Vietnamese people die of hunger as they make them die in the front line of their war of aggression against Kampuchea. The clique continues to mobilize the resources of Viet Nam and the assistance from abroad, not to improve the living conditions of the Vietnamese people, but to serve its expansionist ambition and its war of aggression against Kampuchea and the countries of South-East Asia. Not content with violating the most elementary rights of the Vietnamese people, hundreds of thousands of whom are dying of hunger and tens of thousands of whom flee their country every day, the Le Duan-Pham Van Dong clique and its Soviet masters are intensifying their aggression against Democratic Kampuchea and trying to extend their barbaric crimes to the whole of South-East Asia. That is why we wish to reiterate here our appeal to all international organizations and all countries which love peace and justice to stop all assistance of any kind whatsoever to Viet Nam, because all that assistance is used by the Le Duan-Pham Van Dong

clique to serve its policy of aggression and annexation and its genocidal crimes against the people of Kampuchea, in order to extend its war of aggression to all of South-East Asia. The cessation of that assistance would certainly contribute to forcing the Vietnamese and Soviet expansionists to put an end to their terrible crimes, to the establishment of zones of peace, freedom and neutrality in South-East Asia and to preserving world peace.

245. Finally, we demand that the 150,000 Vietnamese soldiers at present in Kampuchea be withdrawn immediately and completely from Democratic Kampuchea, that Viet Nam respect the independence and sovereignty of Democratic Kampuchea and that it cease to threaten the peace and security of South-East Asia, Asia and the Pacific. We demand also that the Soviet expansionists stop playing here to mislead international opinion and cover up the war of aggression in Democratic Kampuchea.

246. Mr. SOKALSKI (Poland): This afternoon the representative of Czechoslovakia spoke on a point of order on behalf of a number of delegations concerning a matter which should indeed never have come to this Assembly. He spoke also on behalf of the delegation of Poland.

247. Reacting to his extremely relevant statement, the representative of China had the courage to allege that the statement meant "wilfully making trouble" and sabotaging the proceedings of the session. My delegation is not surprised that by so doing the delegation of China is attempting to rewrite history when it comes to the fate of other nations. After all, attempts like this were best illustrated by the recent aggression against the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam. We may have some reason to be surprised, though, that the representative of China is trying to rewrite the history of his own people, for we did not realize until we heard that representative that demands for legitimate representation in the United Nations—like those most resolutely advanced by the socialist States for many years with respect to China's representation in the United Nations—could ever be defined as wilfully making trouble and sabotaging the proceedings of General Assembly sessions.

248. There is only one truth about Kampuchea's representation in the United Nations. Article 4 of the Charter stipulates that membership in the United Nations is open to peace-loving states able and willing to carry out the obligations under the Charter. The private messenger of a criminal escaper, Pol Pot, is neither a State, much less a peace-loving one, nor is he able or willing to carry out any of the obligations arising out of United Nations membership. It is indeed a blessing that the principles of the Charter take precedence over considerations of rhetoric, duplicity and political convenience.

249. The person usurping the right to be in this room, as a representative of a corrupt régime which no longer exists, has no right to claim any legality whatsoever. There is one Kampuchean people. There is one Kampuchea. There is one Government of the People's Republic of Kampuchea.

250. That only truth has been eloquently substantiated in the message dated 18 May 1979 to the President of the General Assembly and to the Secretary-General of the

United Nations from Mr. Hun Sen, Minister for Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of Kampuchea [A/33/566].

251. The Polish delegation regrets, indeed deplors, the fact that it proved possible for a private person to disturb the spirit of this session and wilfully make trouble by sabotaging its proceedings. But evidently someone in this room wanted it to be that way, to sow discord, deliberately delay progress on the way to Namibia's independence and thus block the transfer of power to the people of Namibia. Along with all the African countries, we shall not allow the sacred cause of Namibia to be used as a vehicle for assisting South Africa in its illegal occupation of the Territory.

252. Mr. HOLLAI (Hungary): My delegation will be speaking in due course to express our solidarity with and resolute support for the just struggle of the Namibian people under the leadership of SWAPO, its sole legitimate and authentic representative.

253. At this time, on behalf of the Hungarian Government and in the light of the accusations of the delegation of the People's Republic of China, I wish to remind representatives that the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique was overthrown by the people of Kampuchea in January 1979. The so-called Government of Democratic Kampuchea, therefore, is no longer in existence on the soil of Kampuchea. The sole legitimate and legal representative of the Kampuchean people is the People's Revolutionary Council of the People's Republic of Kampuchea. Those who are not appointed by the People's Revolutionary Council have no right to act or speak on behalf of Kampuchea here in the General Assembly or in any other forum of the United Nations or any other international organization.

254. Mr. KHARLAMOV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*interpretation from Russian*): We do not want to waste the Assembly's time when it is discussing such an important matter as the fate of the Namibian people. I can say on behalf of my delegation that my country has done, is doing, and will continue to do everything we can to ensure the liberation of the Namibian people and Namibia's attainment of true independence.

255. With regard to the statement which has just been made by the representative of China, let me say that he should not cast any doubts on the friendship between the Soviet Union and Viet Nam. That is a solid, honest and noble friendship. The Soviet Union has been and will be on the side of Viet Nam. Let no one think that we would leave the Vietnamese people in distress if they found themselves threatened by another invasion by the Chinese hegemonists.

256. With regard to the attitude of the Chinese leaders to Viet Nam, this was described very well in the Security Council. The Chinese leaders clearly demanded from Viet Nam complete submission to their hegemonistic aims. They cannot deny that fact. Now they say that Viet Nam attacked China, that it organized border incidents. But who will believe such a lie—that Viet Nam, exhausted after a long war, has attacked China? Viet Nam wants only one thing: after having fought a war of liberation for more than a quarter of a century, it wants only to reconstruct its economy, restore its culture, enable its people to live at a

level of human dignity in conditions of peace and socialism. But it was not allowed to do that; it was attacked; and who attacked it? China. The Chinese leaders wanted to subjugate Viet Nam and to make it into a spring-board for attacking other countries of South-East Asia. The world has seen for itself the much-vaunted ideas of Mao Tsetung in practice. Indeed it was none other than Mao Tsetung who promised to "take over" South-East Asia with its rich resources. This expansionism on the part of the Maoist leaders of China, which prompts them to irrational aggressive actions, cannot be covered up by any lies.

257. As to the attempts of the Chinese representative to take under his wing the ringleaders of the former bloody régime in Kampuchea, which fled to Peking to escape the wrath of the Kampuchean people, these attempts speak for themselves. They have taken under their protection hangers-on whose consciences lie the deaths of 3 million killed and tortured Kampuchean people. The Pol Pot admirers of Maoism have carried that barbaric genocide at the orders of Peking and under the direct guidance of Chinese advisers, who numbered not less than 20,000 in Kampuchea. It was precisely these advisers who led the massive carnage; it was precisely these people who helped to set up a monstrous model of a "Maoist society" on Kampuchean soil. But the deaths of 3 million people was not the limit for the Pol Pot régime. Pol Pot himself said that, of the 8 million population, he needed only 1 million "devoted Kampuchean". Genocide was hardly an end in itself, but it was methodically put into effect so that, as the leaders of the People's Republic of Kampuchea have stressed in their statements, Chinese could be implanted in the future Kampuchea and it could be turned into a Chinese province.

258. These are facts obvious to all. It is only to be regretted that so far only falsehoods come from Peking to the United Nations on behalf of the executioners of the Kampuchean people, but they are being disseminated here at the expense of the United Nations. It is also to be regretted that in the General Assembly and in other organs of the United Nations the Chinese representatives can still act out this shameful farce with their puppets like today's and draw attention away from the consideration of important and vital issues such as the question of Namibia.

259. Mr. HULINSKÝ (Czechoslovakia) (*interpretation from Russian*): I have only two comments to make. The first concerns the role which Czechoslovakia played at the recent meeting of the Security Council, and the second relates to the Chinese representative's concern about our people.

260. The first point concerns the verbal gyrations used by the Chinese representative with regard to the role of my delegation in the Security Council. As everyone knows, the Security Council meeting, which the Chinese representative recalled, was convened as a direct consequence of China's flagrant, bare-faced aggression against Viet Nam. At that meeting our representatives spoke out precisely against that flagrant, premeditated aggression.

261. Touring the United States on the eve of that aggression, the representative of China, like someone speaking for a State in the Middle Ages, said that certain people needed to be taught a lesson. The representatives of

Czechoslovakia spoke out against China's aggression against a friendly country, namely, Viet Nam. This is no shame to us, but a shame to China, that it attacked that country. The Czechoslovakian delegation is proud of the role that it played in the Security Council.

262. With regard to the concern of the Chinese representative for our people I can tell him only one thing: that we know our true friends. Incidentally, the Chinese representative knows better than anyone that his clumsy attempts to sow discord between our people and their allies are in vain, that nothing will come of them and that they are doomed to failure.

263. Mr. FLORIN (German Democratic Republic) (*interpretation from Russian*): I had no intention of speaking today at the end of this meeting but the crude attack made by the representative of China on the Permanent Representative of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, who was speaking today also on behalf of the German Democratic Republic, compels me to reply.

264. The statement of the representative of China was a clear demonstration of the great Power policy of hegemonism. Fortunately the people of Kampuchea have thrown off the yoke of Peking, which committed great crimes against them.

265. The German Democratic Republic has established diplomatic relations with the People's Republic of Kampuchea and now has an embassy in the capital of that country. We really know who really represents the Kampuchean people. We are certain that, despite China's efforts and its aggressive policy, the Members of this Organization will listen to the words of the genuine representatives of the People's Republic of Kampuchea.

266. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): In view of the late hour I should like to make an appeal to representatives.

267. Many delegations have exercised their right of reply. In some cases they have exceeded the time limit. We have even come to a situation in which a right of reply has been exercised two times and I am afraid that if we keep on in this way we will have replies in triplicate or even in quadruplicate and, given the advanced hour, I wonder whether representatives might consider the desirability and even the need for adjourning the meeting.

268. I am, of course, at the Assembly's disposal, but I should like to make an appeal to representatives to confine themselves strictly to the right of reply and not to stray beyond what that term normally means.

269. The next speaker is the representative of Democratic Kampuchea and I urge him to be good enough to see that his statement does not give rise to rights of triple reply.

270 Mr. CHAN YOURAN (Democratic Kampuchea) (*interpretation from French*): I should like to say that my delegation notes that the Soviet representative has not denied at all his country's participation in the war of aggression against Democratic Kampuchea. Further, I formally call upon him and defy him to prove his statements regarding the leaders of Democratic Kampuchea, who, according to him, have said that they prefer to have 1 million reliable Cambodians than 8 million. Obviously, that Soviet statement is pure fiction, a pure invention.

The meeting rose at 7.05 p.m.