

United Nations
**GENERAL
ASSEMBLY**

THIRTY-THIRD SESSION

Official Records



**103rd
PLENARY MEETING**

Tuesday, 29 May 1979,
at 11.05 a.m.

NEW YORK

CONTENTS

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 . . . 1759

Page

President: Mr. Indalecio LIEVANO (Colombia).

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. The **PRESIDENT** (*interpretation from Spanish*): I call on the representative of Zambia to introduce the draft resolution [A/33/L.37].

2. **Mr. LUSAKA (Zambia)**: This session of the United Nations General Assembly takes place at a moment of critical developments in southern Africa. The racist minority régimes have, once again, frustrated the efforts for negotiated settlements in Namibia and Zimbabwe on the basis of United Nations resolutions. The writing on the wall for the entire region of southern Africa indicates more turmoil, more deaths and destruction as the current wars in Namibia and Southern Rhodesia must inevitably escalate.

3. The responsibility for this state of affairs and its grave consequences for international peace and security must be placed squarely on the shoulders of the Pretoria Fascists, personified by the Vorster-Botha clique. It is these die-hard racists and believers in perpetual white minority rule and domination who have opted for continued and escalated confrontation with the oppressed people, with Africa as a whole, with the United Nations and indeed with all the peace-loving, democratic and progressive forces in the world. The Pretoria régime does not, any longer, make a secret of its decision to use Namibia and Southern Rhodesia as the battleground for its wars in defence of the vicious and abominable system of *apartheid*. To this end, South Africa has decided to forge a new military and economic alliance with its clients in Southern Rhodesia, Namibia and the so-called bantustans. This so-called "Fortress Southern Africa" concept, intended to shield and perpetuate *apartheid*, is responsible for the collapse of the efforts at negotiated settlements in Zimbabwe and Namibia on the basis of United Nations resolutions.

4. This session is called exclusively to consider the question of Namibia. Let there be no doubt that Namibia is going the same way as Southern Rhodesia. The facts are very clear. The architects are the same and their manoeuvres are the same. South Africa, which has always been the force behind the actions of Ian Smith in Southern Rhodesia, has demonstrated, in its typical defiant and arrogant manner, that it will not co-operate with the Secretary-General in the implementation of United Nations resolutions, in particular Security Council resolutions 385 (1976) and 435 (1978), which, *inter alia*, provided for free and fair elections in Namibia under United Nations supervision and control.

5. In accordance with its aggressive "Fortress Southern Africa" concept, South Africa needs Namibia in order to be able to continue fighting wars in defence of *apartheid* therefrom. For fear of a victory by the South West Africa People's Organization [SWAPO] against its puppets in a free and fair election under United Nations supervision and control, South Africa has opted for a so-called internal settlement in Namibia for which Southern Rhodesia served as a trial balloon. South Africa is now frantically pursuing efforts to this end.

6. In fact, the imposition of its puppets on the people of Namibia through the so-called internal settlement scheme has always been the aim of South Africa. The Pretoria régime was interested in the negotiations on the basis of Security Council resolutions 385 (1976) and 435 (1978) only to the extent that it could use them as a cover for its real motive in Namibia. Thus, concurrently with the initiative to give effect to these resolutions, we witnessed a series of incompatible and inherently contradictory unilateral moves by South Africa in Namibia. The major ones included the unilateral appointment of the so-called Administrator-General, the so-called registration of voters, the holding of so-called elections in December 1978, the setting up of a so-called National Assembly with legislative and executive powers and thus the ushering in of a so-called interim government to pave the way for a unilateral declaration of independence. South Africa is in all probability about to complete the process of presenting the United Nations and the entire international community with a fait accompli situation in Namibia, which it hopes that some will, in time, accept.

7. South Africa has used the past two years of negotiations not only to disguise its internal settlement scheme but also to seek to weaken the position of SWAPO in Namibia and internationally. To this end, South Africa has encouraged the emergence of puppet political parties solely committed to defending its interests, dividing the Namibian people and discrediting SWAPO. These puppet groups are now being paraded by South Africa and its imperialist

supporters as democratic parties which must be accepted as the alternative to SWAPO, which is depicted as anathema to the Namibian people. During the past two years we have also witnessed systematic and relentless South African harassment, torture and imprisonment of Namibian patriots, particularly members of SWAPO. This month alone, more than 50 SWAPO leaders inside Namibia were rounded up and detained by South Africa in order to pave the way for the so-called internal settlement. Within this context, the next South African move could very well be the banning of SWAPO as an organization inside Namibia.

8. No fair-minded and objective person can fail to give credit to SWAPO for the political maturity and statesmanship it demonstrated throughout the period of negotiations. In order to facilitate the negotiations, SWAPO time and again made major and far-reaching concessions. I must stress that these concessions were made by SWAPO in spite of the bad faith repeatedly demonstrated by South Africa through its actions on the ground, its procrastination and prevarication in the negotiations and its provocations such as the Kassinga and other massacres of Namibian refugees in Angola and Zambia. Africa and the United Nations also fully co-operated and in fact rendered encouragement to the initiative to give effect to Security Council resolution 385 (1976) and subsequent resolutions.

9. The United Nations and the entire international community have once again been taken for a ride and deceived by South Africa. But perhaps the negotiations of the past two years have not altogether been in vain. They have, it is to be hoped, served as an important lesson to those Members of our Organization that hitherto entertained illusions about the intransigence of South Africa and believed that the Pretoria Fascists could be persuaded to see reason and agree to the settlement of the question of Namibia by peaceful means.

10. It is highly significant, in this regard, that the initiative South Africa has frustrated was championed by its traditional allies of the Western world. These are the countries that have always shouted loudest about the need for peaceful change in southern Africa. In not going along with their plan for the settlement of the question of Namibia, which was supported by the United Nations, South Africa has, first and foremost, thrown a challenge at Canada, France, the Federal Republic of Germany, the United Kingdom and the United States. Can these countries any longer profess support for the inalienable rights of the oppressed people of southern Africa to self-determination and independence and at the same time continue to protect South Africa from well deserved punitive measures? Can they, in good conscience, still argue that the freedom fighters are unreasonable in taking up arms to attain the liberation of their countries?

11. We certainly have reached the moment of truth in southern Africa. The carrot has been used to no avail. What is now required is for the major Western countries to stand and be counted on the side of freedom and justice by agreeing to use the stick against South Africa. They can no longer argue, with a sense of decency, that their massive economic, military and other special relations with South Africa could be used as a positive factor for change in southern Africa. They must now rise above economic greed

and join with the rest of the international community in punishing and ostracizing the Pretoria régime for its intransigence.

12. The foregoing brief comments represent the position of my delegation. I now have the honour to introduce formally draft resolution A/33/L.37. The very large number of sponsors, representing all but one of the regional groups, is indicative of the grave concern of the international community at South Africa's continued illegal occupation of Namibia and its persistent deceptive manoeuvres designed to perpetuate its stranglehold over the territory. The list of sponsors, moreover, reflects the strong collective will of the majority of States Members of the United Nations that effective measures should now be taken to put an immediate end to South Africa's illegal occupation of Namibia and to bring about freedom and genuine independence for the Territory, whose people have suffered for a very long time indeed.

13. The draft resolution I have the honour to introduce on behalf of the sponsors is a well-considered and carefully drafted document. Due consideration was given to the need to have the widest possible support for it. The strength of their feelings notwithstanding, the sponsors made an earnest effort to accommodate the various viewpoints and positions of Member States without, of course, sacrificing basic principles. Seen against the background of the present critical situation in Namibia, the draft resolution is certainly mild and represents the very minimum possible.

14. In its preambular part, the draft resolution recalls various United Nations resolutions which reaffirm the right of the people of Namibia to self-determination and national independence. It also expresses the conviction that South Africa is seeking to establish a puppet régime in Namibia in contravention of United Nations resolutions and reiterates support for SWAPO in its struggle for the liberation of Namibia.

15. The draft resolution has 12 operative paragraphs which constitute a clear analysis of the situation. These paragraphs address principles and are action-oriented.

The speaker then read out the text of operative paragraphs 1 to 12 of draft resolution A/33/L.37.¹

16. These are the minimum measures that need to be taken by the General Assembly in the light of the extremely serious situation in Namibia. International public opinion must awaken to the harsh realities of South Africa's illegal occupation of Namibia, which undoubtedly constitutes a serious threat to international peace and security. This session of the General Assembly must not only arouse international public opinion but also galvanize support for the struggle of the Namibian people for their national liberation, and the General Assembly, as the conscience of mankind, should bring pressure to bear on the Security Council to take enforcement measures against South Africa. The United Nations cannot avoid moving in that direction, having fostered peaceful negotiations and having been treated with arrogance and defiance by the Pretoria Fascist régime.

¹ For the text, see *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-third Session, Annexes, agenda item 27.*

17. The Pretoria régime has left the United Nations no option but to evoke measures against it under Chapter VII of the Charter and to support fully and unreservedly the struggle of the Namibian people by all means at their disposal for freedom and national independence. Indeed, South Africa has left the people of Namibia no option but to intensify their struggle by all means at their disposal, and South Africa has left Africa and all other freedom-loving and progressive forces in the world no option but to support fully this struggle of the Namibian people.

18. On behalf of the sponsors, I commend draft resolution A/33/L.37 to the unanimous support of the General Assembly.

19. Mr. LAI Ya-li (China) (*translation from Chinese*): The Namibian question is one of the important issues about which the people of the world are most concerned. Recent developments in Namibia and in southern Africa as a whole show that it is fully necessary and timely to call this resumed thirty-third session, as decided by the General Assembly, for the exclusive consideration of the Namibian question.

20. Over a long period, the Namibian people, advancing wave upon wave, have carried on a brave and tenacious struggle against illegal occupation and colonial rule by the racist régime in South Africa and for national independence and liberation. In recent years, the Namibian people have waged armed struggle under the leadership of SWAPO. Their armed forces have started from scratch and have continued to make progress and score gratifying victories. Their just struggle has won the vigorous support of the African States and people as well as extensive sympathy among the people of the world and international opinion. Their struggle and those of the people of Zimbabwe and Azania have supported each other and combined to form a torrent of national-liberation movement pounding at the remaining fortresses of colonialism and racism in southern Africa.

21. In this situation, the South African racist authorities are bogged down in increasing difficulties both at home and abroad. However, the handful of white racists are still putting up a desperate struggle and resorting to more cunning and insidious counter-revolutionary dual tactics to maintain their domination in Namibia. Armed force remains the major means by which they attempt to extinguish the flames of the Namibian people's struggle. Continuing with their warlike policy, they have recently sent reinforcements to, and built more military installations in, Namibia and intensified their armed suppression of the Namibian people. They have wilfully detained or arrested many nationalist leaders. Moreover, they have made armed incursions into neighbouring countries in southern Africa more frequently and unscrupulously than before. On the other hand, they have been engaged in political intrigues and have tried painstakingly to bring about an "internal settlement". Last year they were compelled to voice "acceptance" of the United Nations plan for the independence of Namibia.² But in no time they went back on their

own word and refused to implement the United Nations resolutions by creating artificial difficulties in defiance of world opinion. In the meantime they hurriedly staged a farce of phoney elections to set up a puppet régime which they attempt to legalize by a bogus "legislative assembly" and "interim government" which they recently claimed they would rig up. They are even scheming to establish a so-called "constellation of States" in southern Africa made up of South Africa, Southern Rhodesia and Namibia. So they not only want to perpetuate their illegal occupation of and colonial rule in Namibia but also to bring the whole of southern Africa under the prolonged and tight control of a handful of white racists. These evil doings of theirs fully show that they are ferocious and inveterate enemies of the people of Namibia and the whole of Africa. Such abhorrent actions will not save the South African racist authorities from their doom but will only further wake up the Namibian people and arouse them to a more determined fight. They will again teach people to see that the few thick-headed white racists will never step off the stage of history of their own accord and present independence to the oppressed and enslaved people on a silver platter. A resolute fight is the only means of breaking the fetters of colonialism and winning genuine independence and liberation. In the present circumstances, the people must strengthen their armed struggle besides continuing with the necessary political struggle. Historical experience shows that negotiations must be based on fighting and that armed struggle is the reliable guarantee for the people to win liberation. This is precisely the Namibian people's reply to the reactionary South African authorities.

22. At present, southern Africa is gaining increasing importance in the intense rivalry between the super-Powers. The outside hegemonist forces have long cast a covetous eye on Namibia and the rest of southern Africa with their rich resources and strategic importance. They are intensifying their infiltration and expansion into this area and attempting to bring the area under their own control so as to strengthen their own positions in the rivalry for world domination. Therefore, the Namibian and southern African people who are fighting for national independence and liberation have the serious task of guarding against and preventing super-Power meddling and sabotage. One African State leader rightly pointed out that "Africa does not wish to get rid of one kind of colonial fetter only to be chained by another." This is an expression of the just position of all the African States and people.

23. The Chinese Government and people have always strongly condemned the South African racist authorities for their illegal occupation of and colonial rule in Namibia and their political scheming for an "internal settlement". We firmly support the Namibian people in their just struggle for national independence and liberation. It is our consistent position that Namibia must attain genuine national independence on the basis of territorial integrity and unity free from external interference. The South African racist régime must immediately stop its illegal occupation of Namibia, and unconditionally withdraw all its military and police personnel and its administration from Namibia. The United Nations bears a special and unshirkable responsibility for the realization of the independence of the Namibian people. The South African racist authorities, by defying the relevant resolutions of the United Nations

² See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-third Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1978*, document S/12827.

General Assembly and Security Council and persisting in their illegal occupation of and colonial rule in Namibia, are scorning and challenging the United Nations Charter and posing a serious threat to the security of Africa as well as the security and peace of the whole world. Under such circumstances, should the United Nations tolerate the wilful acts of the South African authorities and fail to take any effective measures, it would only pamper and encourage the South African authorities. We consider it fully reasonable and just for many African States to demand that the Security Council apply effective measures against South Africa, including mandatory sanctions as provided for in Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter. We firmly support this demand, and we hope that at its resumed session the General Assembly will adopt relevant resolutions in this regard.

24. Although the Namibian people will meet with many obstacles and difficulties on their way to national independence and liberation, we are convinced that, with the support of the people of Africa and the world, the valiant Namibian people will strengthen their unity and struggle, exclude super-Power meddling and sabotage, frustrate the intrigues of the South African authorities and win genuine independence.

25. Mr. DASHTSEREN (Mongolia): The very fact that at this resumed session the General Assembly is dealing solely with the question of Namibia shows that the issue is becoming still more grave. As is known, this issue has been and remains today a subject of discussion in the United Nations and in many other international forums. The 1977 Maputo Conference on Namibia and Zimbabwe,³ the ninth special session of the General Assembly in 1978 and the present resumed session as well as other major meetings and wide-ranging measures adopted at national, regional and international levels clearly testify to the urgency of solving this problem.

26. Despite unstinting efforts, by the international community and the United Nations, the situation in Namibia remains extremely tense and very critical at this juncture. The indigenous people of that country are still suffering under the colonial domination and racial oppression of the South African racists, who continue to refuse to withdraw from that Territory. The Pretoria régime not only clings to the illegal occupation of Namibia but also tries to extend to that country its obnoxious policy of *apartheid*, which has been repeatedly condemned by the United Nations as a crime against humanity. Moreover, the South African régime is pursuing a policy aimed at the annexation of Walvis Bay, the only deep-water port of Namibia, and thus the racists are attempting to destroy the unity and territorial integrity of the country.

27. Confronted with the determined resistance of the Namibian people under the leadership of their national liberation movement, and faced with strong pressure from the world's public, the racist régime of South Africa, along with the intensification of its repression against the Namibian people and their patriots, has come to resort to deception and other means in order to mislead world public opinion.

³ International Conference in Support of the Peoples of Zimbabwe and Namibia, held in Maputo from 16 to 21 May 1977.

28. The so-called internal settlement of the question of Namibia and the endless negotiations which were initiated by the Western Powers, have yielded no positive result. On the contrary, they have been instrumental in delaying the attainment by the Namibian people of independence and freedom, and in providing the South African racists with ample time to undertake different manoeuvres, aimed at strengthening their position in Namibia.

29. The so-called elections held in Namibia last December were nothing but a treacherous act, undertaken by the racists in order to install a puppet régime there, designed to serve as a tool for the implementation of the colonial and annexationist policy of South Africa. Furthermore, the Pretoria régime has openly followed a course towards a unilateral proclamation of Namibia's bogus independence under its auspices, which would mean the creation of another "Rhodesia".

30. This manoeuvre of South Africa and the so-called elections which were held recently by the racist minority régime in Rhodesia represent fresh attempts by the racists to perpetuate their domination in Namibia and Zimbabwe. In this connexion, my delegation fully endorses the views expressed in the final document which was adopted by the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples at the end of April 1979 at its Belgrade meetings.⁴

31. While having recourse to the aforesaid manoeuvres, the racist régime of Pretoria has recently embarked upon a broad campaign of military preparations in the country, as well as wholesale persecution of patriots, which has led to the arrests of more than 40 leaders and active members of SWAPO during the last month, as has been reported in the press. We demand the immediate release of those members of SWAPO and of all other political prisoners and detainees, who are being subjected to torture and mistreatment at the hands of racists.

32. We express our deep concern over the recent massive transfer to Namibia of military equipment, including aircraft and tanks. This equipment is being used for the suppression of Namibian patriots and for launching armed aggression against neighbouring independent African States. The most typical example of such acts of naked and cowardly aggression perpetrated by the racists against the independent African countries are those that were committed several times this year alone by the Pretoria régime against Angola. The delegation of the Mongolian People's Republic condemns in the strongest manner these and other wanton acts of aggression by South Africa, and demands that an end be put, once and for all, to its criminal actions against independent Africa.

33. My delegation, on behalf of its Government and people, wishes also to reaffirm our unflinching support of, and militant solidarity with, the Government and people of Angola, which time and again have been victims of cowardly aggression, blackmail and collusion between racist, imperialist and other reactionary expansionist forces.

⁴ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-fourth Session, Supplement No. 23*.

34. My delegation is particularly alarmed at recent information that has appeared in the world press with regard to South Africa's intention of soon carrying out a nuclear explosion. According to these sources, the explosion will constitute a major step by the Pretoria régime on the way to the manufacture of a nuclear weapon. South Africa's refusal to sign the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons legitimately arouses further suspicion and anxiety in the world community. Thus, the Pretoria authorities are posing an open challenge to the peoples of the world—a challenge which must be immediately removed before it is too late.

35. Speaking of the crimes perpetrated by the racist régime of South Africa, one cannot but mention the overt and covert support which the racists enjoy from some Western Powers and their transnational corporations, which maintain huge economic and other activities in Namibia for the purpose of extracting fabulous profits therefrom. According to press reports, last year alone Western transnational corporations operating in Namibia made profits of \$350 million from their investments in that Territory. This figure, by itself, testifies to the very reason for and origin of the support given by the Western Powers and their multinational corporations to the racists in Africa.

36. It is against this background that my delegation deems it necessary for the General Assembly to demand once again that the Western Powers cease forthwith their support of, and collaboration with, the racist authorities. It is also imperative that the General Assembly again urge the Western Powers to take the most strict administrative and legislative steps against their nationals and companies which have financial, economic and other operations in Namibia, Zimbabwe and South Africa. In addition to this, all other available means and instruments should be fully utilized, within the United Nations framework, as well as in the international arena, so that more meaningful and powerful pressure may be exerted on the racists and their protectors.

37. The adoption of the most effective measures by the United Nations against South Africa is especially long overdue. The racists must be forced into complete and all-around isolation and they must be boycotted. That would create favourable conditions for the collapse of the racist régime of Pretoria and the ultimate victory of the national liberation movement. In this regard, my delegation joins in the appeal to the Western members of the Security Council not to obstruct the adoption by that Council of enforcement measures against South Africa. Such measures must include, first and foremost, the comprehensive mandatory sanctions provided for in Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter. My delegation fully supports the arms embargo against South Africa, in accordance with Security Council resolution 418 (1977), and attaches the utmost importance to the strict observance of that embargo by all countries, particularly the major Western Powers, which have supplied the racists with ultra-modern weapons. At the same time, we continue to hold the view that an arms embargo will not be sufficient in itself and should be supplemented and complemented by comprehensive economic and other sanctions.

38. Turning to another aspect of the problem, I note with satisfaction that the Namibian people and their patriots,

under the leadership of SWAPO, continue to score fresh victories in their battle against colonial and racist oppression and for freedom and independence. In this connexion, the Mongolian delegation once again welcomes most warmly the delegation of SWAPO, the only genuine and authentic representative of the Namibian people and recognized as such by both the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity. We wish SWAPO and, through it, all its compatriots, all the indigenous Namibian people every success in their struggle. It may also be noted with great delight that the international prestige and authority of SWAPO has grown further, as was evidenced by the participation of that organization, as a fully-fledged member of the non-aligned movement, in the special meeting of the Co-ordinating Bureau of the Non-Aligned Countries, held in Maputo. In these circumstances the international community and the United Nations are in duty bound to render increased moral, political and other assistance and support to the national liberation movement of Namibia, SWAPO, so that the attainment by the Namibian people of their freedom and independence may draw closer.

39. In conclusion, my delegation expresses its hope that the current resumed session of the General Assembly will make another important contribution to the furtherance of the Organization's efforts and endeavours effectively to assist the Namibian people in their struggle to attain genuine independence and freedom.

40. Mr. CORREA DA COSTA (Brazil): The thirty-third session of the General Assembly is once again convened, with the purpose of considering exclusively the question of Namibia. The systematic repetition throughout the years of the debate on the destiny of the Territory and the progressive accumulation of resolutions and decisions on the subject may lead us to the impression that our efforts are ineffective in bringing to an end an essentially unjust and illegal situation which, despite unanimous condemnation by the international community, continues to violate one of the fundamental principles of the United Nations Charter, that of self-determination. This is a view shared by States belonging to all continents, East, West, North and South, indeed the view held by the international community as a whole.

41. And yet, nothing would be more contrary to the ideals we stand for as sovereign nations than to relinquish our endeavours for the independence of Namibia, as a single territorial unit, however gloomy the perspectives may seem. The legal responsibility over Namibia and its people entrusted to the United Nations is neither a matter of choice nor a matter for discussion. It cannot be eluded on the grounds that its exercise is allegedly blocked by too many difficulties. The responsibilities of the United Nations are clearly outlined in numerous resolutions adopted by the General Assembly and by the Security Council.

42. On 12 December 1978, under item 27 of the General Assembly agenda, I had the opportunity to comment on what we perceived as the essential requisites for a just and peaceful settlement of the question of Namibia, as well as

on the obstacles confronting genuine and concrete steps in that direction. On that occasion I stated:

“The intention to establish a framework for an internationally acceptable settlement of the question of Namibia, through free elections, under the supervision and control of the United Nations, which is the only source of authority concerning the Territory, now risks being disrupted by manoeuvres aiming at the creation of internal political conditions that would run contrary to the decisions taken by our Organization.” [80th meeting, para. 438.]

43. Our misgivings regarding the future of the negotiations with a view to implementing Security Council resolution 385 (1976) have increased as a result of the refusal by the racist South African authorities to demonstrate good faith and sincerity in their purposes, giving little hope that Pretoria will ever agree to an internationally accepted settlement providing for the independence of Namibia. Not only has the South African Government publicly announced its rejection of fundamental provisions of the Secretary-General's proposal for Namibia, making it impossible to set them in motion, but in addition the Pretoria régime has attempted to consolidate the situation arising from last December's internal elections, the results of which had already been considered null and void by the Security Council. The decision to establish an interim government in Namibia, to transform the existing Constituent Assembly into a National Assembly and to appoint advisers of the Administrator-General—a first step in the direction of the creation of an illegal executive power in Namibia—are measures aiming at preserving its domination over the Territory, under the guise of an apparently free and democratic framework, which nevertheless cannot deceive those who are truly committed to the cause of freedom, racial equality and independence.

44. Through a message addressed to the opening ceremony of the International Year of Solidarity with the People of Namibia, Brazil's Minister of External Relations recently reaffirmed my country's support for the relevant Security Council resolutions on Namibia. Brazil is deeply convinced that the free expression of the will of the Namibian people, through the holding of general elections, under the supervision and control of the United Nations, is the only acceptable essential premise for the attainment of independence. For the realization of this goal, Brazil firmly supports the reaffirmation of the United Nations legal responsibility in the Territory, through the strengthening of the role of the Council for Namibia. It is our sincere hope that this resumed session will take decisive steps to help bring about the necessary conditions for the cessation of the illegal South Africa domination over Namibia.

45. Mr. LEPRETTE (France) (*interpretation from French*): In their joint statement in the General Assembly On 8 December 1978 [76th meeting, paras. 9-19] the nine members of the European Community stressed that, as Security Council resolution 385 (1976) requests, the people of Namibia must be allowed, without further delay, to determine their own future by means of free elections under the supervision and control of the United Nations in accordance with the settlement plan adopted by the Security Council in resolution 435 (1978).

46. Today we are bound to note that the implementation of the plan has not yet begun. We regret this particularly because many efforts have been made to overcome the few remaining objections or differences of interpretation. After thorough consultations with the parties concerned, directly or through his Special Representative, the Secretary-General, in his report to the Security Council of 26 February 1979,⁵ proposed solutions making it possible to resolve the outstanding difficulties, particularly in connexion with the restriction to base during the transitional period of armed elements of SWAPO in Namibia or outside the Territory at the time of the cease-fire. The five Western countries, which took the initiative in promoting negotiations on Namibia, considered that the recommendations of the Secretary-General were in line with the proposed settlement accepted by South Africa and SWAPO. That judgement is shared by the delegations of the nine countries without any reservations.

47. In the course of the ministerial talks which took place in New York on 19 and 20 March last the five Western Ministers received from the front-line States and from SWAPO the assurance that they would respect scrupulously the cease-fire provisions. The five Ministers, moreover, worked out a series of practical suggestions to guarantee tranquillity in the Territory and along the borders during the transitional period.

48. However, the South African Government, for its part, has thus far maintained its objections to the arrangements envisaged by the Secretary-General for SWAPO forces, thus delaying the sending of the United Nations Transition Assistance Group to Namibia. The Governments of the nine members of the European Community are extremely concerned by this situation and wish to point out to the South African Government the consequences which could ensue, for any further delay in the implementation of a peaceful and internationally acceptable settlement might increase tension in the area and give free rein to the inevitable course of violence and oppression in Namibia.

49. The nine countries members of the European Community vigorously condemn the arbitrary arrests of which the members of SWAPO in Namibia have recently been the victims. Those measures, which are designed to stifle the voice of an important political party, endanger the objective pursued by the United Nations—namely, the participation of all Namibians in a free and democratic political process.

50. We also condemn the attacks on neighbouring countries and the acts of intimidation and violence which are taking place in the Territory. It is essential that all the parties concerned refrain from recourse to violence and show restraint in order to create an atmosphere suitable for the implementation of the United Nations plan.

51. The Governments of the nine countries reaffirm their support for the efforts being made by the five Western countries, the front-line States and the Secretary-General to carry out the United Nations plan. There is no other way to

⁵ See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-fourth Year, Supplement for January, February and March 1979*, document S/13120.

lead Namibia to independence in peaceful conditions which are acceptable to all and put an end to the illegal occupation of the Territory.

52. The nine Governments reject any attempt to impose an internal settlement on Namibia. They have refused to recognize as valid the elections organized unilaterally in the Territory in December 1978. The Security Council, for its part, has declared those elections "null and void." The decision of the South African Government to transform the body which resulted from the consultations in December into a National Assembly and possibly to enlarge its membership cannot make it in any way legitimate. It is simply one more measure which is incompatible with an internationally acceptable settlement.

53. Once again South Africa is faced with a decisive choice. The South African Government maintains that it accepts the settlement proposed by the five Western Powers. Thus it can no longer delay the arrival of the United Nations Transition Assistance Group in Namibia without increasing the doubts about its intentions. The international solution advocated by the United Nations has the support of a broad segment of public opinion in Namibia. The front-line States and other African countries support the plan. The international community as a whole calls for its implementation.

54. The nine countries members of the European Community remain firmly opposed to any settlement plan which is not internationally acceptable and which would condemn Namibia to isolation. We do not believe that the differences which remain are enough to justify the risks which would be involved in any further delay in implementing the United Nations plan. We urge the South African Government to agree to the immediate implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978) and to the installation of United Nations Transition Assistance Group in Namibia. It is high time the Namibians were allowed to exercise freely their right to self-determination and to rejoin the community of independent nations.

55. Mr. FOLI (Ghana): When it adopted its resolution 439 (1978) the Security Council warned that South Africa's failure both to cancel the forbidden elections in Namibia and to co-operate with the Security Council and the Secretary-General in the implementation of the Council's resolutions 385 (1976), 431 (1978) and 435 (1978) would compel the Security Council to initiate appropriate measures, including action under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations "... so as to ensure South Africa's compliance with the aforementioned resolutions".

56. Thus, the stage was set for the United Nations not only to recover its full rights over Namibia and ensure that South Africa respects the authority of the world Organization but also to remove the growing threat to international peace and security inherent in the *apartheid* régime's illegal occupation of the Territory.

57. Although it came after a great deal of hesitation, South Africa's agreement to co-operate with the United Nations in its quest for a negotiated settlement on the basis

of the Western plan⁶ represented a hopeful turn of events, faint though our hopes might have been. However, the Pretoria régime lost no time in proving to the world that even that assurance was merely another landmark on its path of deception. While the negotiations were in progress that Government proceeded to appoint an Administrator-General for Namibia, to hold spurious elections under the illegal Turnhalle Constitution and to set up a so-called National Assembly as an integral part of its design to create a puppet State out of Namibia. South Africa's aggression against neighbouring States displayed its most virulent barbarism during the period. Pretoria intensified its policy of intimidation and repression against SWAPO, incarcerating that Organization's internal leadership and many of its members for no just cause.

58. These degradations culminated in Foreign Minister Botha's recent revelation of his Government's intention to found a constellation of States hinged on South Africa as the context within which its solution to the Namibia question becomes merely incidental. This posture constitutes South Africa's answer to the Security Council's warning. The answer is: South Africa will not co-operate with the United Nations. Instead, it now affronts the world with a counter-proposal aimed at the perpetuation, expansion and international acceptance of *apartheid*.

59. The Western plan, already considered moribund by some of its architects, has meant no more to South Africa than a recommendation for its self-destruction. To dissipate every doubt as to the régime's intentions, the South African Government has announced its readiness to face international economic sanctions rather than abide by the plan. Pretoria is prepared to forgo international recognition and popularity in order to ensure its survival. But how can one be secure by declaring oneself the enemy of all? What more proof, what weightier evidence, does the human race need in our time to understand that our world is in the presence of one of the gravest dangers that has ever befallen mankind?

60. It is regrettably self-evident that the adamant attitude shown by Pretoria is but a reflection of the support it is promised and given by its friends, which are among those very nations which occupy leading roles in the world today. That any form of leadership should elect to identify itself with evil is a pointer to disaster, to that self-destruction which the South African leaders dread so much. The repercussions of such arrogance of power will not be confined to Africa alone. Thus, it is the clear duty of all, especially those who greatly influence the course of our history, to ensure that this evil does not dwell among the nations undefeated.

61. The one persistent effort which seems to be exerted in certain important quarters is not to make South Africa conform to the noble principles of the United Nations but to cajole the United Nations into accommodating the *apartheid* régime and its works. We all believe that this Organization represents the last hope for mankind, but probably nowhere more than in the handling of the Namibian question has one discovered such a strong determination to make the United Nations irrelevant.

⁶ *Ibid.*, *Thirty-third Year, Supplement for April, May and June 1978*, document S/12636.

62. The contrivances of the recent past have resulted in a weakening of SWAPO's position both internally and externally. Such a state of affairs ought to be put to rights by the international community, especially as SWAPO is, in the terminology of the United Nations, "the sole and authentic representative of the people of Namibia", a Territory which, in turn, is the direct responsibility of the United Nations.

63. One irony which confounds my generation is that those who have granted independence to their erstwhile colonies and whose very names were once synonymous with honour, now conspire to rob others of their freedom, aiding and abetting in Namibia, as in Rhodesia and South Africa itself, such treatment of innocent and defenceless Africans as their own municipal laws will not permit them at home to mete out to convicted criminals.

64. In his statement on Wednesday last [97th meeting] the President of the United Nations Council for Namibia reported that consultations held in Asia, South-East Asia, Eastern Europe and Western Europe had revealed a strengthening of international solidarity with the people of Namibia. He also emphasized the firmness of the commitment of the international community to active participation in the efforts of the United Nations to obtain South Africa's withdrawal from Namibia and ensure the Territory's achievement of self-determination, freedom and independence.

65. Falling as it does in the International Year of Solidarity with the People of Namibia and in view of South Africa's incorrigibility, this resumed session on Namibia offers all States Members of the United Nations a welcome opportunity to execute the long-overdue act of putting an end to South Africa's illegal occupation of the United Nations Territory of Namibia thus enabling its people to accede to freedom and independence without further delay. The opportunity calls for a strengthening of SWAPO in all possible ways—militarily, materially, economically, financially—so that the organization is placed in a state of full preparedness to match the oppressor's might and to take over the reins of government soon in Namibia. We must not lose sight of the unalterable truth that the conflict in Namibia is between the minority régime in South Africa, on the one hand, and the United Nations and the rest of humanity, on the other. It is time for Member States to demonstrate, without qualifications, pretence or equivocation, their individual and collective abhorrence of *apartheid*. We must all reaffirm the direct responsibility of the United Nations for Namibia and restate our complete support for the United Nations Council for Namibia. We are obliged to condemn South Africa for all the atrocities it perpetrates against the people of Namibia. We must move forward in the name of justice which demands that wrongs must be righted and we must act together now to ensure the triumph of good over evil.

66. In conformity with the warning sounded during the adoption of resolution 439 (1978), the Security Council should meet urgently in order to adopt the fullest range of enforcement measures with the aim of ensuring South Africa's compliance with the United Nations resolutions and decisions on Namibia. South Africa expects that those

measures will be adopted. Let us not disappoint the *apartheid* régime.

67. Mr. VARELA-QUIROS (Costa Rica) (*interpretation from Spanish*): The question of Namibia is once again before the Assembly. My delegation would not like to miss this opportunity to restate at this plenary meeting that our clear position is one of condemnation of the arrogant and lawless attitude of the Government of South Africa. That Government is without any right continuing to occupy the Territory of Namibia, thereby ignoring the repeated resolutions of the General Assembly and, what is even more serious, violating the most fundamental rights of the people of Namibia as it implements the detestable practice of *apartheid* in the occupied territories.

68. The rebellious attitude of the Government of South Africa not only affects the legitimate rights of the people of Namibia, but it also is an affront to the international community and a sign of lack of respect for our Organization. More than 10 years ago the United Nations ordered the termination of the South African Mandate over the Territory of Namibia in General Assembly resolution 2145 (XXI), adopted on 27 October 1966.

69. Since that time, responsibility for the full, absolute independence of Namibia has rested with the United Nations. It is to be regretted for that reason that after so much time a satisfactory solution to the problem has not yet been found. Proof of that is that there are difficulties in implementing the plan of action which was proposed by the United Nations Council for Namibia, a plan adopted by the General Assembly at the ninth special session held a year ago [resolution S-9/2]. Proof also is that there have been obstacles raised to the efforts of the Secretary-General to pursue the plan of the five Western Members of the Security Council in compliance with its resolution 435 (1978).

70. Namibia is one of the last great colonial bastions, the independence and self-determination of which must be guaranteed by the international community, without any further delay. That independence must be guaranteed because occupation of the country, in addition to being unlawful, hampers the ability of the United Nations to resolve the major problems confronting mankind and obstructs the political will of the major Powers which wish to give effect to the resolutions of our Organization.

71. Costa Rica not only supports self-determination for the people of Namibia in the achievement of their independence and the form of government which they deem appropriate; we also support the principle of territorial integrity, and that means that no concessions to South Africa can be considered legal, and, therefore, that it would be wrong to hold negotiations on Walvis Bay, for that is an integral part of the Territory of Namibia and constitutes one of its main natural resources. For that reason we regret the unlawful annexation by South Africa of that integral part of the Territory of Namibia.

72. The independence of Namibia is a legitimate right and it should be the result of the self-determination of the people. The United Nations must guarantee that independence using all the resources provided for in the Charter; it

must implement effective and immediate sanctions against the South African régime and even use enforcement actions as set forth in Chapter VII of the Charter, if that is necessary. Any further delay by our Organization in implementing the various resolutions which it has agreed upon will only lead to violence in Africa, with unpredictable consequences for international peace and security.

73. My delegation deplores and openly condemns the constant violations of the essential rights of the Namibian people. We maintain that no just and lasting settlement can be agreed upon without the participation of SWAPO, which is the legitimate representative of the people of Namibia.

74. The task of achieving independence for Namibia must be the immediate, priority goal of the United Nations so as to give effect to one of the principles and fundamental tenets of the Charter, namely that all peoples may have the right to self-determination. Only then can there be international peace; only then will succeeding generations be saved from the scourge of war.

75. Mr. HOLLAI (Hungary): The final elimination of the racist South African régime's domination over Namibia, the liquidation of this last stronghold of the colonial system of imperialism in Africa, represents one of the most urgent problems of our day and is a challenge to the United Nations.

76. The situation in Namibia is going from bad to worse. As the United Nations Council for Namibia stated on 11 May 1979:

"... the illegal South African administration in Namibia intends to bestow upon the so-called Constituent Assembly in Windhoek extensive 'legislative and executive powers'...."

"... South Africa is clearly bent upon imposing a puppet régime on Namibia through which it intends to perpetuate its colonial exploitation of the people and resources of Namibia...". [See A/33/564-S/13325, annex, paras. 1 and 2.]

77. These moves on the part of the South African régime made it obvious—as the statement by the Council for Namibia also indicates—that the proposal of the five Western Powers for a Namibian settlement, introduced on 10 April 1978, in document S/12636, has failed, and the Namibian people need urgent help.

78. In this connexion, I should like to reiterate that, from my Government's standpoint, a just solution for the question of Namibia cannot be conceived except on the basis of the total and unconditional withdrawal of the occupying troops and police forces of South Africa, the abolition of the administration imposed by Pretoria, the formation of a SWAPO-led government and the guarantee of Namibia's territorial integrity, or, in other words, the preservation of Namibia's sovereignty over Walvis Bay. Any other approach would serve to deceive the Namibian people, to prolong the domination of South Africa and to escalate and widen the conflict.

79. The South African régime keeps on moving towards an illegal independence in Namibia of a Southern Rhodesian type, and this is going on in a climate of escalation of raids, a military build-up and armed aggressions against Angola and the neighbouring countries. These steps and even the mere presence of the racists in Namibia constitute a serious threat to independent African States and to peace and international security.

80. The racist régime can and does dare to do so because it enjoys the massive support of the leading Western Powers. The communiqué adopted by the Ministerial Meeting of the Co-ordinating Bureau of the Non-Aligned Countries in Maputo lists the names of those countries and multinational corporations which patronize the racists and help them to perpetuate their colonial domination. The communiqué states that the racist armies, with the support of mercenaries and technology from those States, are stepping up their attacks and acts of aggression against the front-line States. It also states that the persistent military build-up by the racists, as well as the technology they are receiving in the nuclear field, constitutes an open challenge to the United Nations, which is striving to slow down the arms race and strengthen international peace and security and détente.

81. What is needed now is: to put an end to any economic, military and nuclear collaboration with South Africa; to make the United Nations Council for Namibia's direct responsibility over Namibia effective; to end South Africa's illegal occupation of Namibia; to enable the Namibian people, under the leadership of SWAPO, to exercise freely their right to self-determination and independence; to dissolve the so-called tribal armies in Namibia created by South Africa as a measure to ensure its control of the Territory after independence; to ensure that Walvis Bay remains an integral part of Namibia, because the illegal annexation of that main port, the vital economic avenue of Namibia, is a deliberate attempt to undermine the territorial integrity, economic independence and national security of Namibia; and to give full support to the armed struggle of the Namibian people under the leadership of SWAPO, its sole and authentic representative, since the intensification of the armed liberation struggle continues to be a decisive factor in the efforts to achieve self-determination, freedom and national independence in a united Namibia. The United Nations should continue to carry out its responsibilities in regard to the Territory until genuine independence has been attained.

82. As a first step towards the fulfilment of those requirements, it is of the utmost importance to apply the comprehensive mandatory sanctions against South Africa provided by Chapter VII, particularly Article 41, of the Charter of the United Nations. I can assure you that the Hungarian People's Republic will do its utmost to ensure that those sanctions are applied as soon possible. Furthermore, as in the past, we will assist the people of Namibia in their just struggle for final and complete liberation from colonial bondage, that is, from the rule of the racist South African régime.

83. Mr. BOUAYAD-AGHA (Algeria) (*interpretation from French*): The General Assembly is resuming its thirty-third session to consider the question of Namibia, which has been

a matter of concern to our Organization ever since its creation. Of all the Territories under the Trusteeship of the United Nations, only that of Namibia remains under colonial domination. It is an unprecedented fact that the Namibian people have been colonized and recolonized by one Power after another. At this crucial point in our debates on the future of Namibia, it should be recalled that the United Nations bears a particular and special responsibility with regard to Namibia. Indeed, in 1966, by a decision of the General Assembly, confirmed by the Security Council, South Africa's Mandate was terminated, and its presence in that Territory thus became illegal. Since that time Pretoria has constantly defied our Organization in spite of the unanimous condemnation expressed throughout the world. Over the years the General Assembly has taken the view that the occupation of Namibia by South Africa is not only illegal but is also dangerous to the whole region. Several measures designed to exert pressure on the racist minority South African Government were also adopted by the Security Council. All those measures are far from having been ineffective; they were, however, finally infringed by certain members of the Security Council, whose close links with South Africa undoubtedly constitute for them something of such importance that they go so far as to forget their obligations to the international community as a whole.

84. At this resumed session, are we going to come up against the same hesitations, the same signs of reluctance, which we have noted in the past? We believe it is time to put an end to this situation which is so injurious to the dignity of our Organization. It is high time to adopt at this session effective measures to compel South Africa to comply with decisions already taken and decisions to be taken at this session, because the presence of South Africa in Namibia has become a presence fraught with peril for the whole southern zone of the African continent and represents an immediate danger to all neighbouring African countries which are finding their own security threatened. The repeated interventions on the part of the South African racists in these countries are based upon military power the extent of which is a secret to no one. So we have Namibia transformed into a gigantic military base, while it is also a testing-ground for the odious policy of *apartheid*. It is clear that the South African plan for Namibia consists in installing a régime in its pay and taking control of the exploitation of the wealth of the country for its own exclusive profit. This plan forms part of an over-all strategy designed to control the whole of southern Africa. It is a plan that is being carried out in Zimbabwe following the fraudulent elections. It is also highly advanced in South Africa itself. This bantustanization of the southern part of our African continent is being carried out with impunity in the secret offices of the police and of the racist South African Government and is the cause of the indescribable suffering which has been ceaselessly inflicted for decades now upon the Namibian people. We have witnessed here flagrant attempts by Pretoria to claim the right to oppress and enslave the peoples of Namibia, as they have sought to consolidate the hold of the white minority over that Territory.

85. From the Territory of Namibia the racist régime has been launching attacks of unparalleled cruelty against the independent front-line States which the South African propaganda machine reports as being directed against the

training camps of SWAPO. The main goal of the murderous and savage actions on the part of the Pretoria Fascists is the destabilization of the neighbouring countries, which are making it their duty to come to the help of the Namibian people in their just struggle to recover their independence. In the face of this strategy on the part of the Pretoria régime, the international community should apply itself with ever greater energy and determination to condemning the *apartheid* system which forms the basis of the South African régime and to implementing more effective provisions which exist to enforce respect for international law. We can no longer understand the hesitations on the part of some members of the Security Council about resorting immediately to the extreme measures provided for in the Charter.

86. The prime responsibility for this belligerent and racist policy of Pretoria lies with those States which, in spite of all the decisions of the United Nations, continue to support South Africa and to provide it with economic and military aid in unprecedented proportion while associating themselves with us in condemning *apartheid*. What we should have preferred would have been to see them associating themselves with us in demanding immediately the evacuation by South Africa of the Territory of Namibia. Those countries pretend not to understand that the problem of Namibia is connected with the internal colonial situation in South Africa itself, as well as with that of the whole of southern Africa and, in particular, with Southern Rhodesia. The illegal presence of South Africa in Namibia forms part of the defensive strategy of the racist South Africa régime. We cannot even think, therefore, of solving the problem of Namibia if we overlook this "policeman" role which South Africa has assigned to itself in the region. The statements made by Pretoria in favour of the fraudulent racist régime of Southern Rhodesia illustrate this policy, which aims at establishing in southern Africa not only a colonial and racist sphere of influence but also a condominium of which the transnational corporations are already important partners.

87. In 1978, efforts were made outside the framework of the United Nations to negotiate with South Africa a so-called "peaceful solution" to the problem of Namibia. It was claimed that those efforts were based upon Security Council resolution 385 (1976). We believe that their initiators wanted rather to extract whatever advantage they could from the close political and commercial links between them and South Africa and also to attempt to use their prestige in our Organization. It should be pointed out that the leaders of SWAPO, while harbouring no illusions about South Africa, did show themselves ready to consider a peaceful settlement, and made important concessions. For our part, we always believed that those initiatives and actions should be judged by their results. Our doubts were confirmed, because, as was the case with the three previous attempts, the efforts which were begun in 1978 came up against the same obstacle, namely, the obstinate refusal of South Africa to consider anything which would ever lead to true independence for Namibia. It is now clear that South Africa was never interested in a political solution to the Namibian problem; it is sufficiently uninterested now to continue the massive reinforcement of its military power,

which it is using brutally in Namibia and, indeed, outside that Territory.

88. Thus those efforts, however praiseworthy they may have been, only aimed at bringing about an additional respite for Pretoria, which it has incidentally put to good use by laying the foundations of a phoney internal settlement in Namibia.

89. It is within this context that the whole question of Namibia is to be viewed, now that its evolution has reached an explosive stage which might call into question much more important elements in the international balance. The Namibian people, under the leadership of SWAPO, have demonstrated their maturity by attempting to seek a negotiated settlement. They have also shown themselves capable of demonstrating their will to recover their freedom and take over control of their own destiny. Their heroic combat, their more and more decisive armed struggle, and also the mature political sense of their leaders—and first and foremost, President Sam Nujoma—have given rise to the greatest respect and have aroused the greatest consideration.

90. Algeria is in favour of the total and immediate withdrawal of the troops and the South African administration and of the transfer of power to SWAPO, recognized by our Organization as the only authentic and legitimate representative of the Namibian people. For this purpose, it is imperative for the United Nations and, in particular, for the Security Council at once to take concrete action within the framework of Chapter VII of the Charter. The imposition of binding economic sanctions, including an oil embargo, is the first measure which the Security Council should take against the South African racist régime.

91. If the Security Council were to fail to act once again, it would be for the General Assembly to take the necessary measures called for by the deterioration of the situation in Namibia, that is a result of the attempts on the part of Pretoria to circumvent the process of national independence of the country, including Walvis Bay.

92. Before concluding my statement, I should like to stress the important role of the United Nations Council for Namibia as Administering Authority for Namibia until independence. As the present stage of the struggle of the Namibian people, it is indispensable for the Council to enjoy the greatest possible co-operation and support from all Member States. This support is necessary for the Council if it is to continue to discharge its responsibilities with increasing effectiveness. In that connexion, in the course of the visit of a mission of consultation which recently went to the socialist countries, that support was reaffirmed sincerely and unequivocally by those countries and I should like to extend to them my warm gratitude for their hospitality and the warm welcome they gave to that mission of the Council, which I had the privilege and honour of leading.

93. Finally, I should like to stress that Algeria, faithful to its principles of total commitment to the peoples fighting to recover their right to self-determination and independence, would like to proclaim once again today its willingness to increase its assistance to the armed struggle

being waged by SWAPO against the illegal presence of South Africa in Namibia. We shall maintain that solidarity as long as the tireless struggle is being waged by the people of Namibia for the restoration of their rights.

94. Mr. SINCLAIR (Guyana): Namibia is unique in the history of the United Nations. In the Organization's long struggle against colonialism and imperialism, it is the first and only Territory for which the United Nations has assumed direct responsibility. It is the first and only Territory for which an administering body was created by the General Assembly to administer it until independence. The Assembly assumed this unusual responsibility in response to the unusual challenge placed before it by South Africa when it refused to place the former League of Nations Mandated Territory under the International Trusteeship System or to acknowledge the jurisdiction of the United Nations as successor to the League. That action by the Organization was taken in keeping with the spirit and the principles of our Charter, in which the Members of the Organization have committed themselves to respect the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples.

95. It is in the unique nature of this question that when we speak of Namibia we are speaking about several interrelated issues all at once. We are speaking of the rights of peoples to self-determination and independence, and to ownership and control of their natural resources and of the credibility of the United Nations. We are examining the extent to which our Organization can act in defence of the purposes and principles of our very own Charter in the face of perceptions by a few of their strategic and commercial interests. To speak of Namibia is to address ourselves to the situation wherein, among the membership of an Organization dedicated to the reaffirmation of faith in fundamental human rights, and in the dignity and worth of the human person, one Member is allowed utterly to ignore and defy the will of the overwhelming majority in respect of the human rights and fundamental freedoms of so many millions. Yes, Namibia is principally about freedom, the freedom of the people of that Territory to exercise their right to self-determination with their territorial integrity intact and their freedom from oppression and tyranny. These are the crucial and vital issues at stake in the Namibia question. It is a recognition of these factors, and of their grave implications for international peace and security and for the future effectiveness of our Organization, that gives special importance to any consideration by this Assembly of the question of Namibia, especially at this resumed session, taking place as it is at this particular time.

96. For, since we last addressed ourselves to this matter, we have witnessed some very disturbing developments in and in relation to the Territory, developments on which the General Assembly must pronounce itself at this stage. The Botha régime has most recently declared its intention to give legislative and executive powers to the illegal Constituent Assembly, that same Assembly created by the illegal elections of December last, which the Security Council justly declared null and void, and the results of which it called on States not to recognize. It is that illegal Assembly which South Africa is now seeking to transform into a national assembly, and to legitimize and legalize as a provisional Government of Namibia. The writing on the wall is so clear that he who runs may read it. We are

witnessing a gradual but sustained momentum towards a unilateral declaration of independence in Namibia, even as Botha seeks to give us the assurance that the doors are still open for dialogue with the United Nations on the plan adopted by the Security Council in resolution 435 (1978). That has been his method throughout the period of contact with the five Western countries on the implementation of that plan: to use negotiations as a means of displaying reasonableness and of seeking to regain respectability, while proceeding with his scheme for Namibia. What does it mean therefore to say that doors are still open? The doors were open when the illegal elections were held in the Territory last December, were they not? The truth is that so-called "open doors" are irrelevant to the development of the scheme conceived by the racist Pretoria régime for the future of Namibia.

97. The most recent actions of the Pretoria régime in respect of Namibia move yet farther away from the prescriptions contained in the decisions of the Security Council and the General Assembly on Namibia and from the wishes of the people of the Territory as expressed through SWAPO, their legitimate representative. The people of Namibia wish only to be able to exercise their right to live as free men and women in their own Territory under their own freely chosen administration. Botha and his clique must recognize that to seek to build a future for Namibia on a basis which ignores the wishes and the rights of the people of the Territory is to make an investment in insecurity, the returns on which will be bountiful indeed. The lesson of history is that, however long freedom may be denied to a people, their desire for it never dies. Indeed the persistent denial of freedom serves only as a driving incentive for the forces of liberation.

98. In a larger sense, we cannot speak of Namibia in isolation from its southern African context. In this regard, the efforts of the Pretoria régime to maintain power in Namibia through the establishment of the Turnhalle puppet administration must be seen as its attempt to create yet another bantustan, so extending the northern frontier of *apartheid* to Cunene. It is in that context also that we must consider Botha's vision, undoubtedly fortified in his mind by the recent so-called elections in Rhodesia, of a "constellation of States" around South Africa offering what he sees as security to white minorities in the region. The purpose of that constellation would be nothing if not to serve as a defence perimeter of *apartheid* against the onslaughts of the forces of freedom and justice, against the tide of nationalism sweeping Africa, and against the collective emotions of black Africa and of progressive peoples throughout the world.

99. The security envisaged in the "constellation of States" will be an illusion. Botha and Smith have left the peoples of Namibia and Zimbabwe with no alternative but to take up arms to fight for their freedom. When they so take up arms, the cadres of SWAPO and the Patriotic Front are branded as "terrorists"; they are left with no alternative but to turn to those who are willing to offer them help. When they seek that help they are branded as agents and peddlers of alien ideologies. What does that mean, then? Does the concept of freedom have a special meaning when applied to the

peoples of Namibia and Zimbabwe? Namibians and Zimbabweans are as zealous in the pursuit of their freedom as any people of any age have been and they have been unafraid to give up their very lives in order to win that freedom. Botha and Smith must recognize that they cannot make militants of thousands of Namibians and Zimbabweans and still express concern about the security of white minorities in southern Africa.

100. The present situation in Namibia presents our Organization with one of the most serious challenges to its authority and credibility, a challenge to which we must all respond, collectively as well as individually, with firmness. For its part, my delegation reaffirms its support for the armed struggle of the people of Namibia under SWAPO, their legitimate representatives. We call on the international community to render increased moral, material and financial support to SWAPO for the prosecution of this armed struggle. We categorically condemn the racist régime for its continued illegal occupation of Namibia; call upon it once more to withdraw from the Territory; and condemn it for its acts of violence and intimidation against the people of Namibia and for its armed aggression against neighbouring States. We call for the total isolation of South Africa by the international community.

101. My delegation considers that this Assembly must reaffirm the authority of the United Nations Council for Namibia. It must declare the so-called National Assembly to be null and void and call upon all States not to accord any recognition whatsoever to it or to any body which South Africa may seek to impose on Namibia. This Assembly must also call on the Security Council to meet urgently for the purpose of instituting against South Africa the enforcement measures provided for in Chapter VII of our Charter.

102. It is the hope and expectation of my delegation that when the Security Council does meet again it will go beyond the ritual of condemnation and of seeking to quicken the conscience of the international community. It can do much more for Namibia than simply condemn over and over again and issue veiled threats. It possesses the means and the authority to take effective, indeed decisive, action against what it condemns, but unfortunately it has been prevented from doing so. Looking back, we see that the history of the Security Council's dealings with South Africa has been predominantly a story of accommodation with the régime in that Territory. The Council, as a body, has striven to find options which would allow it to postpone delivery of the fatal blow against South Africa. That is accommodation. When we postpone the fatal blow we give Botha yet another chance—and he is careful to use every chance we give him—to create new situations. Eventually we will be faced with a *fait accompli* in Namibia which will be infinitely more difficult to deal with than any previous situation has been.

103. My delegation knows very well that the pace of the Security Council is always that of the slowest and most conservative mover. On the question of Namibia the pace has been determined by those who feel unable to subordinate considerations of commerce to considerations of principle and of justice. Botha has in no uncertain terms

turned his thumb down on the Security Council's proposal for the liberation of Namibia, a proposal which was based on the plan devised by his five major trading partners. The kind of action they take next in the Council will therefore be the real litmus test, on the one hand, of the level of their

commitment to the objectives of that plan, and, on the other hand, of their feelings about white minorities oppressing black majorities.

The meeting rose at 12.55 p.m.