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*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. Mr. KOROMA (Sierra Leone): Mr. President, the Sierra Leone delegation views with tremendous satisfaction your presiding over this resumed session of the General Assembly on Namibia, for you not only bring to your high office impeccable credentials but also represent a country, Colombia, whose respect for this Organization is an example worthy of emulation.

2. One of the underlying causes for the perceptible decline in the authority of our Organization and for the cynicism with which it is increasingly viewed is the manifest contempt which the régime in Pretoria has been allowed to heap on it, while at the same time it has been allowed to retain its membership in this Organization.

3. The racist régime in Pretoria persists in its violation of the principles and purposes of the Charter, represses the indigenous peoples of South Africa and Namibia, violates their basic human rights and fundamental freedoms on a massive scale, routinely practices torture and murder as State policy, consistently violates the territorial integrity of neighbouring States, and carries out aggressive acts against them. But in spite of all this, and through the aid and succour of its friends and collaborators in the Security Council, it has been allowed to remain a Member of this noble Organization, an Organization dedicated to the maintenance of international peace and security, and the upholding of human rights and fundamental freedoms throughout the world, an Organization with which South Africa has nothing in common.

4. Therefore, the decision of this Assembly last week [99th meeting] to reject the credentials of the Pretoria

usurpers, masquerading as the genuine representatives of the South African people, should go some way in reassuring those who still have faith in this Organization that one day the necessary measures will be taken to restore its credibility by excluding that régime from our Organization. A decision such as the one taken here last week will be not only legal but just.

5. On the question of Namibia, the racist régime in Pretoria, for more than 30 years, has callously defied and ignored the numerous resolutions of the General Assembly, and the decisions of the Security Council, the International Court of Justice and, indeed, of the international community as a whole, to the effect that its occupation of Namibia is illegal and unacceptable and that it must withdraw from the Territory. The rejection, therefore, by that régime of the settlement proposals on Namibia came as no surprise to us.

6. Last year, in the course of the General Assembly's ninth special session<sup>1</sup> on this question the Sierra Leone delegation expressed reservations concerning the fact that the negotiations to bring independence to Namibia were being pursued outside the United Nations. Our scepticism arose from the nature and notoriety of the régime in Pretoria, which make it impossible for that régime to undertake any meaningful negotiations or to act in any good faith in reaching a peaceful solution to this problem. Nevertheless, my delegation was hopeful that the proposals which the five Western nations had presented<sup>2</sup> would open a final path towards the solution of the problem and that they would mark a true deliverance of the Namibian people.

7. With the adoption of Security Council resolution 435 (1978), and given the concurrence of the five Western members of the Council, hopes had been raised that at last the problem of Namibia would be settled peacefully. To all fair-minded observers, the adoption of that resolution could only have come about as a result of the significant concessions made and the good faith eloquently displayed by the South West Africa People's Organization [SWAPO], the sole and authentic representative of the Namibian people. But it has now turned out that such hopes were misplaced because of the racist régime's prevarication and determination not to grant genuine independence to Namibia.

8. In the circumstances, and with the rejection by South Africa of the Security Council resolutions, this Organization is left with no alternative but to take action under

<sup>1</sup> See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Ninth Special Session, Plenary Meetings*, 11th meeting, paras. 76-98.

<sup>2</sup> See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-third Year, Supplement for April, May and June 1978*, document S/12636.

Chapter VII of the Charter to get South Africa to comply with the decision of this Organization that its occupation of the Territory is illegal and that it must withdraw from it.

9. The situation in Namibia now is not much different from that in Rhodesia in December 1966 when the Security Council decided, in its resolution 232 (1966), that "the present situation in Southern Rhodesia constitutes a threat to international peace" and ordered Member States to impose sanctions against that Territory. The whole purpose of South Africa's seizure and occupation of Namibia, the whole *raison d'être* of that occupation, like Smith's unilateral declaration of independence in Rhodesia, is to perpetuate its economic exploitation of the Territory in co-operation with its economic collaborators and to preserve the wretched system of *apartheid* which has been introduced into the Territory.

10. South Africa not only has chosen to defy the United Nations and the authority of the Security Council, but has also, since the beginning of this year, carried out a series of aggressive air raids and military attacks against Angola and lent such support to the illegal régime in Rhodesia in their barbarous attacks against the Patriotic Front, neighbouring Zambia and Mozambique. Now that Ian Smith has pushed through his internal settlement in Rhodesia, South Africa intends to do the same in Namibia, hoping to ensure its continued occupation of the Territory, and to use it as a buffer State and a jumping-off point for carrying out further aggression against the front-line States and the liberation movements.

11. In order to justify its decision to wreck the implementation of the plan for peaceful independence for Namibia, South Africa has asserted that the provisions to exclude the monitoring of SWAPO bases outside Namibia constitute a violation of the terms of the settlement proposal. It also contends that it would be a violation of the settlement proposals to establish designated locations for the armed forces of SWAPO inside Namibia. We submit that those are untenable assertions and that they cannot genuinely constitute the main reasons for South Africa's decision to renege on its undertaking and duty to carry out faithfully the settlement proposals which were agreed upon.

12. SWAPO had throughout the negotiations made clear its position that it would allow its forces to be monitored and confined in bases within Namibia. There is therefore no question of throwing thousands of SWAPO liberation forces into Namibia upon the declaration of a cease-fire, as South Africa has alleged. On the other hand, South Africa has of late been pouring in troops and tanks throughout Namibia, and in particular into the northern regions. Therefore, the effort by South Africa to abort the settlement proposals for the reasons given, flimsy as they are, cannot be accepted.

13. In the circumstances, this body is left with no alternative but to take punitive action now against the occupying régime of Pretoria. The Foreign Minister of that régime is reported to have stated that it is no longer interested in achieving internationally acceptable settlements in both Namibia and Zimbabwe and that South Africa envisages the establishment of a South African "power bloc of moderate States", in which South Africa would no doubt be the linchpin. It is therefore very

appropriate and timely that action be taken that will forestall South Africa's intention to remain in Namibia after the installation of its puppet régime.

14. On 20 September of last year, in his last public pronouncement before retiring from office as Prime Minister, Johannes Vorster finally set the seal of failure on a year and a half of diplomatic efforts by the five Western nations when he announced his Government's rejection of proposals formulated by the United Nations Secretary-General<sup>3</sup> and its intention to press ahead unilaterally with elections in the Territory without delay. Those elections, fraudulent as they were in the absence of participation by SWAPO and supervision by the United Nations, were designed to serve the interests of South Africa, whose sole objective is to ensure the installation of a client State in Windhoek that would willingly and faithfully comply with the perpetration of the odious policies of *apartheid* and the continued exploitation of the resources of Namibia and its people. The Turnhalle formula, which is essentially a modified version of South Africa's bantustan policy, has continued to form the basis of the régime's strategy for Namibia.

15. The Namibian people have never submitted meekly to the foreign occupation of their Territory. The South African rule in Namibia has been maintained through military might with the deployment of up to 60,000 troops in the Territory, in addition to the ruthless South African police and security forces, who use torture on a routine basis in the interrogation of political detainees to extract so-called confessions from them. Last week [97th meeting] President Sam Nujoma catalogued the immense sufferings which are daily inflicted upon the Namibian people by the forces of the occupying Power. Illegal detention, torture and genocidal massacre are the means by which they have been able to hold the Namibians in subjugation. The people of Namibia have suffered for too long under the yoke of that régime.

16. In short, my delegation is fully convinced that the time has come for decisive action on the part of the Security Council to compel South Africa to cease its efforts to thwart the will of the international community and to comply with all the decisions of this Organization regarding the Territory of Namibia. In this connexion, we therefore wish to reiterate our position and support for immediate economic sanctions against South Africa by the Security Council, as provided for under Chapter VII of the Charter. As the Organization entrusted with the responsibility of leading Namibia to independence, our duty is clear; there is no more room and no more time for further equivocation; the situation in the Territory has become highly explosive. Steps should be taken urgently to defuse it and to ensure that the oppressed people of Namibia are allowed to exercise their legitimate right to freedom and independence.

17. In conclusion, my delegation would like to acknowledge the increasingly important role being played by the United Nations Council for Namibia in bringing freedom and independence to the people of Namibia. We salute

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, Supplement for July, August and September 1978, document S/12827.

Ambassador Lusaka of Zambia and the Council for the successful mobilization of international political support for the cause of the Namibians and to bring nearer the day of their independence.

18. Mr. TROYANOVSKY (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*interpretation from Russian*): The present discussion by the General Assembly of the question of Namibia is taking place at a time when the long and heroic struggle by the Namibian people, under the guidance of SWAPO, to liberate their homeland from colonial and racist oppression by the Pretoria régime is coming to a decisive stage. The powerful wave of the national liberation movement has swept as far as southern Africa, which not long ago was considered to be an unshakeable bastion of imperialism and oppression on the African continent. That stormy process of historical reforms is now manifest, that process during which dozens of African peoples have won independence over the last 25 years.

19. Notwithstanding the difficulties facing them, the young African States are ever more energetically striving to consolidate their independence, to increase the standard of their social, economic and cultural development, and to fight against imperialism and neo-colonialism by upholding their legitimate and inalienable rights. They are trying to strengthen peace and reaffirm the principle of equality in international political and economic relations.

20. The Soviet Union has unfailingly supported the just cause of liberation of the peoples of Africa from colonial and racist oppression. On 25 May we celebrated Africa Liberation Day, and the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, congratulated the States and peoples of Africa on that occasion. Allow me to read out the text of that message of congratulation:

"On behalf of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, the Government of the Soviet Union, the Soviet people and on my personal behalf I cordially congratulate the Governments and peoples of the African States on the occasion of the Africa Liberation Day.

"On this significant day, the Soviet people hail the successes of the African peoples in their struggle for the triumph of the ideals of freedom, independence and social progress, for strengthening sovereignty and for the economic development of their States. Great significance is attached in the Soviet Union to strengthening and further developing the relations of friendship and fruitful co-operation with the independent African States.

"The just struggle being waged by the peoples of Africa with the support of the progressive forces of the world for complete and ultimate eradication of the vestiges of the system of colonialism and racism has now entered its decisive stage. The day is not far off when these disgraceful phenomena will ultimately and forever disappear from African soil.

"Free Africa is developing in an atmosphere of sharp struggles between the forces of national liberation and progress and the forces of imperialism and reaction

striving to impede this irreversible process and even launch a counter-offensive. This is seen from the situation which has today emerged in the south of the African continent, where the racists, supported by the imperialist circles, are making desperate efforts in order to break the will for victory of the patriots of Zimbabwe and Namibia, install puppet neo-colonialist régimes there, achieve international recognition of those régimes and turn that area into a preserve of racism and oppression, into a permanent source of threat to independent Africa.

"Foiling the schemes of the enemies of Africa is not only the task of the African peoples, but also the duty of all peoples of goodwill. The Soviet Union unswervingly speaks out in favour of the immediate exercise of the inalienable rights of the peoples of southern Africa to self-determination and independence, of turning over all power to the peoples of Zimbabwe and Namibia, whose genuine representatives are the Patriotic Front and SWAPO, and of the liquidation of the disgraceful *apartheid* system in the Republic of South Africa. We resolutely condemn the manoeuvres of neo-colonialists in southern Africa, the aggressive actions of racists against the forces of national liberation and the independent neighbour countries, support the demand for the use against the racist régimes of effective and all-embracing international sanctions in conformity with the United Nations Charter.

"Africa's powerful weapon in the struggle against imperialism and colonialism is, as before, its unity. That is precisely why the enemies of the African peoples are trying to shatter it, to divide Africa into confronting groups, to distract the attention of its peoples from the resolution of vital problems of national construction and topical international problems. In these conditions, the Organization of African Unity has an important role to play both in the development of good-neighbourly relations and mutually beneficial co-operation in the African continent and in pooling the efforts of the African countries in the struggle against imperialism, colonialism and racism.

"The realization of the strivings of the peoples of the African countries as well as of the countries of other continents is possible only in a situation of lasting peace and international security, for which permanent, joint efforts by all the peace-loving States and peoples are necessary. We welcome the efforts of the African countries, which are taking an active part in the activity of the United Nations and, playing an increasingly positive role in the international arena. The Soviet Union consistently fights for deepening international détente and spreading it to all parts of the world, for ending the arms race and passing over to real disarmament. An important step in this direction will be the forthcoming conclusion of a new agreement between the USSR and the United States of America on the limitation of strategic offensive weapons.

"I wish the peoples of the African countries fresh successes in the struggle for the speediest and full liberation of the continent from colonialism and racism, for the implementation of the objectives of national development in conditions of lasting peace all over the world."

That message of 25 May 1979 from the Kremlin, Moscow, is signed by Leonid I. Brezhnev.

21. Over the many years of the consideration of the question of Namibia in the United Nations, the illegal occupation of that country by South Africa has been repeatedly condemned as an act of aggression against the people of Namibia and a threat to international peace and security. Although the deadlines established by the United Nations for the exercise by the Namibian people of their right to self-determination have long since passed, the forces of imperialism and neo-colonialism are making desperate efforts and engaging in various manoeuvres to hold back that irreversible process. They are setting up new obstacles on the Namibian people's road to freedom and independence.

22. After a period of nearly a year the General Assembly is meeting once again especially to examine the situation which has been created in Namibia and which, as has been quite rightly noted by representatives of many African States, is a further exacerbation of the threat to international peace and security.

23. This was eloquently emphasized in the statement made at this session by the President of SWAPO, Mr. Nujoma:

“Actually, throughout Namibia there is currently an ominous spectre of war, more bloody than ever before and bearing ghastly consequences not only for our people and country but also for the rest of southern Africa, for Africa as a whole and indeed for the world at large.”  
[97th meeting, para. 50.]

24. The situation has really seriously worsened. The racists of the Republic of South Africa impudently ignore the many decisions taken by the Security Council and the General Assembly to halt the illegal occupation of Namibia. They are stepping up their repression of the Namibian people and their genuine representative, SWAPO.

25. Recently, the Pretoria régime has imprisoned more than 100 leaders of SWAPO. The South African racists are perpetrating constant acts of aggression against neighbouring sovereign African States, and, without success, are trying to intimidate the “front-line” countries that are supporting the Namibian people in their struggle for the liberation of their homeland. Now there can be no doubt that the Republic of South Africa has adopted a policy of establishing neo-colonialist régimes in Namibia and Southern Rhodesia in order to try to build up with their participation a politico-military bloc under their aegis. According to the testimony of the President of SWAPO, Mr. Nujoma, the number of South African troops in Namibia has increased to more than 75,000 men. While the military forces are being increased in size they are also being equipped with ever new military technology.

26. It is well known that the Republic of South Africa is intensifying its work on the manufacture of nuclear weapons. It is clear that the manufacture in South Africa of nuclear weapons is fraught with the most serious consequences for international peace and security.

27. We fully share the opinion of African States that the actions of the Republic of South Africa are an open defiance of the world community, and an attempt to undermine United Nations efforts to support the struggle of the people of Namibia for self-determination and independence.

28. Over the past two years the world witnessed the emergence of the well-known plans for a negotiated settlement of the Namibian problem; but in this case, as indeed in the past, the efforts undertaken within the United Nations ended without any results, as they met the obstinate strivings of the authorities in the Republic of South Africa to continue their illegal occupation of Namibia at any price.

29. It has now become clear to all that the Republic of South Africa used its participation in those talks only to gain time and to prepare conditions which would exclude the possibility of SWAPO coming to power, although SWAPO has been recognized by the Organization of African Unity [OAU] and the United Nations as the sole and authentic representative of the Namibian people. Experience has shown, as we and many others have said at the very outset, that the racist authorities of the Republic of South Africa never took the negotiations seriously, but used them to cover up their own plan for the so-called internal settlement of the Namibian problem—in other words, for the establishment of a puppet régime in Namibia and for the consolidation of neo-colonialist régimes in that Territory.

30. We consider that certain voices which allege that South Africa could go along with the settlement in Namibia on the basis of the “United Nations plan” are sowing harmful illusions and are playing into the hands of the racist régime of Pretoria, which is trying further to gain time and to protract things. The United Nations and the African States in particular, should exercise extreme vigilance here.

31. It is no secret to anybody that the situation is the result of connivance with the South African racists by those in the West, and first and foremost the United States and the United Kingdom, which protect the régime of the Republic of South Africa. The main responsibility for the continuing occupation of Namibia by South Africa is to be borne by those countries which, despite many United Nations resolutions, have given and are still giving political, economic and military support to South Africa.

32. Over these last two years the Western Powers undertook multifarious manoeuvres which were to demonstrate the strivings of those Powers to proceed to what was known as a just political settlement of the Namibian problem. High placed emissaries were sent to Pretoria; “proximity” and long-distance talks were held. But all this hullabaloo was a smoke-screen, under the guise of which practical steps were taken to implement a neo-colonialist decision of the Namibian issue. While talks were going on about elections under United Nations supervision, the South African racists held their rigged elections and dredged up a handful of their henchmen from the notorious Democratic Turnhalle Alliance. It is characteristic that, when in November of last year the Security Council took up the question of the

Republic of South Africa's intention to hold the elections, at that time the Western members of the Security Council not only refused to take effective measures to disallow that defiant action by the Pretoria authorities, but by abstaining in the vote on the draft resolution which became Security Council resolution 439 (1978) virtually encouraged them along that path.

33. The reasons for the support which the Western Powers give to the South African racists are well known. First and foremost, they lie in the profound concern of the Western transnational monopolies with exploiting the natural resources in Namibia, both directly and jointly with the South African racists. It is impossible not to see how closely interrelated are the economic links between South Africa and the United States of America, the United Kingdom and other Western Powers. There is no doubt that the presence in Namibia of major deposits of useful fossils explains the insistent strivings of those Powers to maintain in one or another form the colonial régimes in that part of the continent of Africa.

34. The Soviet Union has always advocated and now advocates the Namibian people's enjoyment of their inalienable right to self-determination and independence on the basis of maintaining the unity and territorial integrity of the country. We are in favour of an immediate and complete withdrawal of the South African troops and administration from Namibia, including Walvis Bay. We are in favour of transferring power to SWAPO, which has been recognized by the United Nations as the sole legitimate and authentic representative of the people of Namibia. SWAPO has sufficient experience and the necessary personnel and enjoys the full trust of its people and is capable of running the government of the country.

35. During the visit of the mission of the United Nations Council for Namibia to the Soviet Union, which took place from 16 to 20 May, the Soviet side once more expressed its decisive support for the people of Namibia and United Nations efforts, including those undertaken by the United Nations Council for Namibia, to ensure the independence and territorial integrity of Namibia, to mobilize international efforts and to provide support of all kinds for the Namibian people in their just struggle.

36. The Soviet side expressed solidarity with the struggle of the people of Namibia for their independence and stated its resolve to continue multifarious assistance and support for that struggle.

37. We consider that the basis for a solution to the Namibian problem is enshrined in the well-known resolutions of the Security Council and other United Nations bodies which speak of an immediate cessation of the occupation of Namibia by the Pretoria régime. The only reliable way to fulfil the United Nations resolutions is unswerving observance of sanctions against the racist régime of Pretoria, which have already been implemented by the Security Council. In addition to this, the Council should take further practical measures fully to isolate that racist régime internationally and to boycott it on the basis of the sanctions in the economic, commercial, financial and other spheres, under Article 41 of Chapter VII of the Charter. That is the only way that one can force the Pretoria régime

immediately to stop its illegal occupation of Namibia, in accordance with the well-known decisions taken by the United Nations.

38. We have joined in sponsoring the draft resolution drawn up by the group of African countries—I am referring to document A/33/L.37. We hope that the adoption of that draft resolution by the General Assembly will serve the speedy achievement of genuine independence for Namibia under SWAPO's leadership.

39. Mr. KIKHIA (Libyan Arab Jamahiriya) (*interpretation from Arabic*): More than a year has elapsed since the convening of the ninth special session of the General Assembly, devoted to the question of Namibia, a Territory where the situation today has deteriorated to the point where international peace and security are threatened. This is the result of the obstinacy and intransigence of the South African racist régime and its defiance of United Nations resolutions, all of which affirm the legitimate and inalienable rights of the people of Namibia to freedom and independence under the guidance of their popular organization, SWAPO.

40. The General Assembly at that session confirmed the inalienable rights of the people of Namibia to self-determination, freedom and independence under the United Nations Charter, General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) of 1960, and other resolutions of the Security Council and the General Assembly concerning Namibia. The General Assembly also strongly condemned the racist and colonialist régime of South Africa for its continued illegal occupation of Namibia and its draining of its natural resources.

41. Everyone recalls that when the ninth special session on Namibia was scheduled, the five Western countries submitted what was termed a plan for a peaceful settlement of the Namibian issue, but many delegations, among them that of my country, viewed that plan as doomed to failure from the moment of its presentation for many reasons, some of which are the following.

42. First, with regard to the date on which the plan was presented—less than one month before the opening of the ninth special session, devoted to the review of the deteriorating situation in Namibia—many delegations, among them my own, warned that the choice of that date—less than a month before the special session—gave rise to doubts and brought into question the true intentions of the authors, because the purpose appeared to be to prevent the holding of the session, or at least to reduce its efficacy and impact.

43. Secondly, the objective of the plan was to attempt to weaken SWAPO's position both inside and outside Namibia, and to make it appear intransigent and to be rejecting a peaceful settlement. Thus, the plan would have an effect on the attitude of the United Nations, world public opinion and all those who supported SWAPO, the sole legitimate representative of the Namibian people.

44. Thirdly, the content of the plan in itself is rather vague and general and is open to various interpretations. Although the plan gives the appearance of having come into being as a result of Security Council resolution 385 (1976),

it preserves the illegal South African administration in the Territory and allows South Africa to maintain about 1,500 armed troops in Namibia, besides the police force of the racist régime.

45. Fourthly, the plan makes no mention of Walvis Bay, which is considered to be an integral part of Namibia. The fact that the plan ignores Walvis Bay allows the racist régime of South Africa to maintain its forces there. This constitutes a blatant threat to the rest of the Namibian Territory.

46. Fifthly, the official spokesman of the five Western Powers who sponsored the plan, the Secretary of State for External Affairs of Canada, announced at the end of the statement he delivered at the ninth special session<sup>4</sup> his satisfaction with the statement of Vorster, who was then Prime Minister of the racist régime, when the latter declared in the South African Parliament his acceptance of the Western plan—overlooking the fact that Vorster himself had proclaimed in the same statement that his régime would intervene in Namibia if it were deemed necessary.

47. For all these and other reasons, my delegation has maintained from the outset that the plan, when it was discussed by the General Assembly at its ninth special session, was doomed to failure. This is yet another act in the drama which began with the collapse of Portuguese colonialism in Africa and the accession to independence of Angola and Mozambique. The consequences of those acts are known and other acts will follow so long as those who present the drama find an audience willing to listen and be deluded by their deceitful intentions and methods, which are no more than a mirage to those who see it as a thirst-quenching source.

48. The Namibian people, under the leadership of their legitimate representative, SWAPO, proved their intention to find a peaceful settlement of their just cause. Their goodwill, however, was met each time with disdain and obstinacy on the part of the South African racist entity, which invoked false criteria and created obstacles that would prevent any peaceful settlement of this issue. The last of those obstacles has been the South African attitude towards the plan submitted by its Western allies and its rejection of the plan after having accepted it. The truth is that the racist régime has shown its bad faith from the beginning by rejecting every effort made to bring about a solution. The same day Vorster, the former South African Prime Minister, declared that he would accept the Western plan, he announced that he would intervene militarily in Namibia if he deemed it necessary.

49. While negotiations on the Western plan were under way in New York among the parties concerned after the ninth special session of the General Assembly, which was devoted to Namibia, that racist régime committed aggression against the Namibian refugee camps in Kassinga, inside Angola. As a result, hundreds were killed or wounded, among them defenceless women, children and old people.

50. During 1978, the racist South African régime, which for over 60 years has imposed its oppressive rule upon the

Namibian people, has never ceased to threaten and terrorize them. It ignored the ongoing negotiations to find a solution to the Namibian problem as it has rejected Security Council resolutions, including resolutions 385 (1976) and 435 (1978). Last December, it organized what it called a “referendum” in Namibia, under its supervision. This was strongly condemned and declared null and void by the United Nations.

51. That régime intensified its savage and blatant acts of aggression against neighbouring African States. The most recent attack committed on 6 March 1978 was against a Namibian refugee camp within the territory of the People's Republic of Angola, a country which is a Member of the United Nations and a member of OAU. This attack, which resulted in hundreds of dead or wounded, including defenceless women, children and elderly persons, was no less brutal than the aggression this régime committed a year ago against the Namibian refugee camps in Kassinga, in the People's Republic of Angola. The Security Council strongly condemned this aggression in its resolution 447 (1979) and considered it to be a flagrant violation and interference in the People's Republic of Angola, using the Territory of Namibia, which is considered to be a United Nations responsibility, as a base from which that attack and other acts of aggression against the neighbouring States were prepared.

52. Lately, South Africa has increased its threats and acts of terrorism against Namibia by isolating all active and strongly committed nationalists from the political field. It has persecuted the leaders and members of SWAPO. It has detained scores of them in prison without trial so as to liquidate SWAPO inside Namibia and to instil fear among the heroic Namibian people, who believe in the SWAPO movement and in its leaders, in order to pave the way for South Africa and its collaborators to establish what it calls democratic parties and to impose an internal settlement upon Namibia similar to that which the racist régime has set up in Southern Rhodesia. The South African régime forgot that peoples struggling for their freedom and independence do not yield to any threat. SWAPO, the sole legitimate representative of the Namibian people, has expressed this in a statement which was distributed as an official document at the request of the President of the United Nations Council for Namibia. In that document it is stated:

“SWAPO wishes to state that if South Africa thinks that it will destroy SWAPO by detaining SWAPO leaders and members, it is completely mistaken. The detention would not stop our advanced struggle. You can detain people, but not SWAPO, not the ideas embodied by SWAPO.

“We challenge Steyn to explain to the world why he has detained these highly committed Namibian patriots. It won't suffice to hide behind verbal rhetoric of maintaining law and order and security,

“The fact that Steyn does not bring these people to court is tangible proof to us that they have committed no crime. We therefore demand their immediate release.

“The detention poignantly proves to us what South Africa has in store for Namibia—not freedom or inde-

<sup>4</sup> See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Ninth Special Session, Plenary Meetings*, 3rd meeting, paras. 76-106.

pendence as it promises, but arrest, detention and annihilation of the Namibian nation.

“Our struggle for genuine freedom and independence will continue in spite of AG 26, or any actions perpetrated against us. Detention would not stop the powerful march of history—SWAPO will liberate Namibia very soon.” [See A/33/562-S/13310, annex.]

53. While the actual Prime Minister of that entity was preparing to take over his new functions, he declared to *The Star* on 9 September 1978, that he would never allow SWAPO to seize South West Africa and that his régime would fight those he termed “merciless terrorists”.

54. Those were the statements of Botha while he was preparing to assume his new post as Prime Minister of the racist régime of South Africa. That racist shamelessly described the members of SWAPO as terrorists, forgetting that the crimes and acts of terrorism committed by his régime against the Namibian people were the two distinguishing traits of the racist régime. It was with this logic that the South African Prime Minister assumed power. That logic, of course, differs totally from the point of view of all the other peoples of the world, of the OAU and of the General Assembly, which regard SWAPO as the sole genuine representative of the Namibian people, and see the Botha presence in Namibia, like that of his predecessor Vorster, as totally illegitimate, being based on terrorism and crime, being contrary to the will of the African people in Namibia and being a challenge to the Charter of the United Nations and the resolutions of the General Assembly and of the Security Council.

55. Everyone knows that the South African racist régime could not by itself have defied world public opinion and United Nations resolutions, including those of the Security Council, had it not enjoyed the moral and material support of certain racist organizations and of colonialist countries whose ideological and economic interests are closely linked with the interests of that racist entity. The Western colonialist countries headed by the United States of America and the United Kingdom, both of which claim to be friendly towards the people of Africa, have, by their huge and continuous investments, enabled that racist régime to develop its economy and its ability to produce its most sophisticated weapons which have become a threat and a source of concern to neighbouring States and to international peace and security in Africa and in the world.

56. The attitude of the Western colonialist capitalist countries which support the racist régime and prevent the Security Council from adopting the necessary deterrent measures against that régime is dictated by their community of interests, since this régime protects their interests in South Africa and Namibia.

57. The investments of those countries and their spoliation of the national resources of the Namibian region, in defiance of United Nations resolutions, are the only reason for their attitude to, and their support of, the racist régime.

58. With goodwill, those countries should be able to put pressure on the racist régime of South Africa to make it comply with United Nations resolutions so that an

equitable solution of the problem of Namibia may be found.

59. The blatant challenge the United Nations is being faced with by the racist régime, which has for more than 10 years imposed its illegal rule upon the people of Namibia, must come to an end. South Africa's persistent use of Namibia's territory as a base for repeated attacks on neighbouring countries, particularly Zambia and Angola, must be taken seriously. Effective and urgent steps must be taken to end the aggressive plans of that régime. The policy of terrorism against the people of Namibia and the detention of political leaders of SWAPO, which is the only legitimate representative of the Namibian people, require that the United Nations take effective measures to expel the administration of that illegal régime from Namibian territory.

60. The South African racist régime, by deciding to grant the so-called Constituent Assembly at Windhoek extensive “legislative and executive powers”, proves beyond any doubt that régime's rejection of Security Council resolutions 385 (1976) and 435 (1978), which call for free and fair elections under the supervision of the United Nations for the attainment of true independence by Namibia.

61. That flagrant defiance of the Security Council resolutions must be met by the Council with deterrent measures that will force this racist régime to comply with the Security Council's resolutions relating to Namibia.

62. The racist régime is now trying to establish a puppet régime and impose it by force upon the Namibian people, so as to guarantee the maintenance of its interests and those of its allies and to continue to drain the natural wealth of that Territory and exploit the manpower and cheap labour provided by its population.

63. In this regard, the United Nations Council for Namibia confirmed, in a statement issued in document A/33/564-S/13325, that any unilateral measure taken by the racist South African régime is to be considered a threat to international peace and security and immediately and unconditionally opposed.

64. It is strange and deplorable that this racist régime still persists in its defiance of the United Nations Charter and of General Assembly and Security Council resolutions. But it is more strange that this régime finds States which were among the first signatories of the United Nations Charter willing to defend and support it in its defiance of the Charter and the resolutions of this Organization.

65. It is deplorable indeed that this régime, after having committed so many aggressions and violations of human dignity and human rights, still finds supporters from among those who, on every occasion and even without any occasion, shed false tears about the violation of human rights as though those human rights whose violation is deplored do not also belong to the African man who has been chased from his homeland, whose wealth has been despoiled and whose rights have been violated in their entirety.

66. And now, after the lapse of more than a year of delaying tactics and futile promises from the Western

Powers which submitted what was termed the “plan for a peaceful solution of the Namibian issue” the delegation of my country considers that the General Assembly should take the following steps.

67. First, it should clearly declare the failure of the racist South African régime to comply with United Nations resolutions, particularly Security Council resolutions 385 (1976) and 435 (1978) and make it responsible for the failure of all United Nations efforts to find an equitable solution to the problem of the Namibian people in compliance with the resolutions of the United Nations and of the Security Council in particular that I have mentioned above.

68. Secondly, it should denounce the manoeuvres and attitude of the racist South African entity in attempting to set up in Namibia a puppet régime which would safeguard the interests and ambitions of that entity and its allies in the Western colonialist capitalist countries and allow them to continue to exploit the natural riches of the people of Namibia. It should state that all unilateral measures taken by the South African régime are null and void, unless SWAPO the only legitimate representative of the Namibian people, participates in such measures and it should not recognize any régime set up as a result of such unilateral measures.

69. Thirdly, the current discussions which began over a year ago should be declared as being aimed at lessening the authority of SWAPO and weakening its position inside and outside Namibia. Therefore, the South African racist and colonialist régime and its allies must be held responsible for defiance of the United Nations and for preventing it from fulfilling to the best of its ability its role in implementing the plan for a peaceful settlement. For South Africa accepted that plan and later on reneged on its commitments when the implementation was to start. The Western countries which submitted the plan should join other Member States of the United Nations in adopting a deterrent measure with a view to putting an end to the intransigence of the South African racist régime and its defiance of the resolutions and of the Charter of the United Nations.

70. Fourthly, after this resumed session of the General Assembly, the Security Council should be convened so as to adopt measures of dissuasion against the racist régime, to implement the provisions of Chapter VII of the Charter and to expel the administration of the racist South African régime from Namibian territory so as to provide the people of that Territory with an opportunity of obtaining self-determination and independence under the leadership of SWAPO, the only legitimate representative of the Namibian people.

71. Fifthly, the Assembly should call on Member States and the international community not to recognize or co-operate with the illegal National Assembly of Windhoek or any other puppet racist régime set up by South Africa and imposed upon the Namibian people, thereby disregarding United Nations resolutions.

72. Sixthly, it should strongly condemn the South African racist régime for terrorizing the Namibian people and for

detaining the leaders of SWAPO, the sole legitimate representative of the people of Namibia, for that régime aims at liquidating SWAPO inside Namibia in order to be able to impose upon it a so-called internal settlement by establishing a puppet régime that would safeguard South Africa's interests and those of its allies in Namibia. The Assembly should also call for the immediate and unconditional release of the detainees.

73. Seventhly, it should provide moral and material support to SWAPO so that it may continue to lead the Namibian people in their struggle to recover freedom and independence. In this respect, the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the OAU decided at the thirty-second ordinary session of the OAU Council of Ministers, held in Nairobi from 23 February to 4 March 1979, to increase the volume of their material, financial and moral support for SWAPO in order to enable it to intensify its armed struggle until victory.

74. The African Ministers for Foreign Affairs called upon the African States and all other friendly States that support African causes not to recognize any régimes issuing from elections unilaterally organized by racist régimes.

75. The African Ministers for Foreign Affairs, at that same Conference, also confirmed that the OAU would co-operate with the United Nations in an effort to find an equitable solution to the Namibian problem and support all efforts made by the United Nations Council for Namibia for the fulfilment of its responsibilities in accordance with General Assembly resolutions.

76. In conclusion, I should like to confirm that the people of the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya will continue—by every means available—to assist and support their brothers, the Namibian people in their struggle for independence and freedom, under the leadership of SWAPO, their only legitimate representative. I should also like to express the appreciation of my delegation for the efforts which the Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, has made and continues to make, but which were met only with disdain and obstinacy on the part of the racist régime.

77. My delegation also wishes to express its gratitude and appreciation for the great efforts exerted by the United Nations Council for Namibia, in fulfilling the responsibilities entrusted to it by the General Assembly.

78. Mr. FRANCIS (New Zealand): The General Assembly is resuming its consideration of the question of Namibia at a time when the situation facing the people of that Territory is grave indeed. South Africa, which is illegally occupying the Territory in defiance of the United Nations, appears to be taking steps to impose on the people a government of its own choosing. Recently, the South African Government announced that it would confer legislative and executive powers on the so-called Constituent Assembly, which arose out of internal elections held in defiance of the Security Council last December. Perhaps the next step, once an internal settlement has been imposed, will be the granting of a spurious independence to Namibia.

79. These retrograde developments are taking place despite the unprecedented efforts made over the last two



years by a number of States, Western and African, and by the Secretary-General, to bring about a negotiated solution to the question. We pay a tribute to those efforts. Under the United Nations solution the people of Namibia would exercise their right to self-determination and independence through internationally supervised elections. South Africa has apparently rejected the United Nations plan, despite its intimate involvement in the negotiations. It is difficult not to conclude that it has done this for no other reason than that it fears it will lose control of the Territory when the people of Namibia achieve their freedom. The obstructionist tactics adopted by South Africa raise the most serious questions about the good faith in which it participated in the negotiations.

80. South Africa's refusal to proceed with the implementation of the plan does violence first to the people of Namibia and to the international community. It violates the right of the people of the Territory to a free and fair choice of their own government from among all the political parties in the Territory. In this connexion we condemn the recent arrests of SWAPO leaders by the illegal administration in Namibia; they must be released. Had South Africa accepted the United Nations plan, all the people of Namibia would today be preparing for elections under United Nations auspices. Their hopes and those of the international community have, after years of illegal occupation, again been dashed. The long, patient process of negotiation especially over the last two years has again foundered on the intransigence of the South African Government.

81. Secondly, South Africa's refusal to participate in a peaceful constitutional solution to the Namibian problem does violence to the United Nations. Since the first session of the General Assembly in 1946 the question of South West Africa has been considered by the United Nations. In 1966 the General Assembly terminated South Africa's Mandate. In 1969 the Security Council called for South Africa's withdrawal from the Territory. In 1971 the International Court of Justice ruled that South Africa's presence in Namibia was illegal. All these resolutions and opinions have been ignored by the South African Government. Last week my delegation opposed the report of the Credentials Committee, because we believe that South Africa, which is at present a Member State has the right to be heard. That does not in any way alter our view that South Africa has violated its obligations under the Charter and repeatedly thrown defiance in the face of the United Nations with regard to Namibia. We can only take the gravest view of that situation, as indeed does the Charter itself. South Africa may seek to interpret the refusal of the majority of the Assembly to accept its credentials as an excuse for further non-co-operation with the United Nations. In our view, precisely the opposite conclusion should be drawn: South Africa must cease defying this Organization and co-operate in accordance with its Charter obligations.

82. New Zealand has supported the efforts over the last two years to achieve a peaceful solution of the Namibian question in accordance with internationally recognized principles. We will continue to support such efforts. It does appear to us, however, that the determination of the United Nations to achieve such a solution needs to be brought

home to the South African Government with greater force. In this respect, the widest possible measure of agreement should be the aim of this resumed session. In a statement on Namibia during the earlier part of this session in December [91st meeting], we expressed the view that, if South Africa rejected the United Nations plan, the Security Council might well be obliged to meet to consider action against South Africa under Chapter VII of the Charter. If South Africa's recent actions amount to a rejection of the United Nations plan, as it appears to us they do, then my delegation is of the view that measures under Chapter VII of the Charter would be an appropriate course of action for the Council to consider.

83. Finally, I should like to reaffirm New Zealand's support for the people of Namibia in their struggle for self-determination, independence and freedom in a united Namibia. We restate our support for United Nations efforts to achieve a peaceful solution which allows the Namibian people to exercise their legitimate and sovereign rights.

84. Mr. HULINSKÝ (Czechoslovakia) (*interpretation from Russian*): The entire turn of events in Namibia since the last time the question was discussed in the General Assembly of the United Nations shows that the sole aim of the South African régime vis-à-vis Namibia is still to maintain, in whatever form, its domination over that country. The Pretorian authorities change their tactics, but they will never willingly agree to satisfy the legitimate rights of the people of Namibia to freedom and independence.

85. The successes of the national liberation struggle of the Namibian people under the leadership of SWAPO have frightened the racists. Therefore, they have started looking for fresh ways to perpetuate their illegal occupation of Namibia and their colonial, racist exploitation. Who today still doubts that in the light of those very facts the racists once stated their ostensible readiness to agree to a negotiated settlement in Namibia? Who today can challenge the fact that, since talks started, South Africa has not fulfilled any of the provisions of the relevant Security Council and General Assembly resolutions on Namibia but has gone further in pursuing its colonialist policy in that country? All the actions of the racists and their protectors have served only virtually to wreck the liberation struggle of the Namibian people and have created conditions for implementing plans for a so-called internal settlement.

86. In order to bring about exactly such a result of the "negotiations" on a peaceful settlement in Namibia, the racists held illegal elections in December. On the basis of those elections they set up a so-called Constituent Assembly, which now has a new name, the "National Assembly", and consequently they are intending to bestow on it broad "legislative and executive powers". Their protégés in that "Assembly" are being styled "democratic representatives of Namibia".

87. At the same time, SWAPO, the authentic representative of the people of Namibia, has fallen victim to the gigantic military machinery unleashed against it, its specially created police units and gangs of mercenaries. A policy of blackmail and mass arrests, arbitrary detentions and other repressive measures against the people of Namibia have taken on huge proportions. Since 27 April of this year

the illegal occupation authorities have arrested more than 100 SWAPO leaders, and the number continues to grow all the time.

88. The objective of the junta, as was quite rightly noted in his statement by the representative of SWAPO, Mr. Nujoma, "is to undermine and destroy SWAPO in order to pave the way for a neo-colonial solution in Namibia" [97th meeting, para. 76]. All its actions are aimed at perpetuating "its colonial domination and imperialist expansion in the region" [ibid., para. 69].

89. A component part also of the policy of the South African racists in Namibia is a sharp escalation in aggressive attacks against the territories of neighbouring independent African States which give all-round assistance and support to the struggling people of Namibia and their liberation movement.

90. Many facts testify that certain Western circles bear the major responsibility for the present critical situation in Namibia since, notwithstanding the many decisions taken by the United Nations, they continue to give the South African racists all-round political, economic and military support. Without that support could racist South Africa have created its huge military and industrial potential? Could it have begun preparations to produce its own nuclear weapons? Throughout lengthy negotiations, the Western countries did not exert effective pressure on the occupation régime. They virtually made it possible for it to gain the time it needed to prepare implementation of a neo-colonialist decision in the country. Now even they cannot deny the fact that none other than the occupation régime of South Africa is wrecking attempts to bring about a negotiated settlement of the question of Namibia.

91. The liberation of Namibia from colonial, racist occupation would be a major contribution to eliminating that constant threat hovering over southern Africa. The Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, together with the majority of United Nations Members, has always consistently striven, and is still striving, to achieve a settlement in Namibia, especially on the basis of decisions previously adopted by the United Nations providing for the immediate cessation of South Africa's occupation of Namibia and the immediate withdrawal of all troops, police and administrative personnel of Pretoria from all parts of Namibia, thus ensuring the unity and territorial integrity of the country, including Walvis Bay, and securing the immediate transfer of power in the country to the Namibian people under SWAPO, which has been recognized by our Organization as the sole authentic representative of the people. Here we take as a basis the fundamental provision that the United Nations is directly responsible for Namibia until it achieves independence.

92. Our position was reaffirmed during the recent talks the mission of consultation of the United Nations Council for Namibia held in my country. In the communiqué which was adopted, the representatives of the Government of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic and the mission of the United Nations Council for Namibia stated, *inter alia*:

"The situation in Namibia has reached a turning-point. The time has come for elaborating effective means and

measures which would ensure Namibia's gaining independence without any further delay."

93. The Czechoslovak delegation, from the rostrum of this session of the General Assembly, decisively advocates support for the efforts to draw up further effective measures to open the shortest and most effective way to the speedy and victorious attainment by the Namibian people of their freedom and independence and the cessation of aggressive actions by the racists against African States. We fully support the demand voiced at this session of the General Assembly by the President of the United Nations Council for Namibia, the Permanent Representative of Zambia Mr. Lusaka, that:

"The decision of South Africa to proceed with the creation of a puppet régime in Namibia must be effectively counteracted by the international community through all available resources of the United Nations." [97th meeting, para. 26.]

94. As has been noted by the majority of United Nations Members, this means, on the one hand, that comprehensive sanctions must be imposed immediately against the racist régime of the Republic of South Africa under Chapter VII of the Charter, and on the other hand, that political, material and military support as well as assistance to the liberation struggle of the Namibian people under the guidance of SWAPO must be stepped up. In addition, it is necessary to provide assistance to the front-line African States.

95. Consistently advocating the total elimination of the vestiges of colonialism, racism and the policy of *apartheid*, we are authorized to assure the representatives of SWAPO that the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic will continue to give all-round support to the heroic people of Namibia in their just struggle for freedom and genuine independence.

96. On the basis of the principles enunciated in this statement, my delegation has joined in sponsoring draft resolution A/33/L.37, which, although it is a minimum, could, if it were to be consistently implemented by all the Members of this Organization, become an important contribution towards the speedy settlement of the Namibian problem in accordance with the will of the people of that country and the demands of the international community.

97. Mr. KLESTIL (Austria): General Assembly resolution 33/182 C proclaimed 1979 the International Year of Solidarity with the People of Namibia and, in so doing expressed the conviction of the international community, that this year would be of decisive importance for the Namibian people in achieving independence and self-determination based on the United Nations transition plan. To our profound dismay and disappointment, the General Assembly has now had to resume its thirty-third session to review the situation in Namibia in the light of the most recent developments.

98. Austria has fully associated itself with the United Nations plan for Namibia's peaceful and negotiated transition to independence. In the view of the Austrian Government, any political settlement which aims at stability and

durability has to rest on the broadest possible basis, including all the parties engaged in the problem. The plan put forward by the five Western Powers and later endorsed by the Security Council meets these basic requirements, as it provides for democratic and internationally supervised elections. The internal elections staged by the South African Government in December 1978 certainly did not meet the standards laid down by the United Nations.

99. Austria continues to regard the United Nations transition plan as the most promising and probably the only way to discharge the responsibility of the United Nations and arrive at a genuine and peaceful transfer of power to the Namibian people.

100. In this context we wish once more to express our appreciation and gratitude to the five Western Powers, the Secretary-General and his Special Representative for their untiring efforts to implement the plan, as well as to SWAPO and those African nations most directly concerned which in a spirit of co-operation and understanding have participated in this endeavour. Appreciation is also due to the United Nations Council for Namibia, which represents the interests of the Namibian people with skill and devotion. A delegation of the Council for Namibia visited Austria recently. That visit provided an opportunity for a detailed discussion of the present state and the future prospects of the Territory, as well as of the appropriate action to be taken at this stage.

101. In recent months the negotiations with the South African Government have reached a stalemate. Instead of appreciating fully the long-term advantages of an internationally recognized peaceful transition of Namibia to independence based on democratic principles, South Africa has introduced new elements which obstruct the implementation of the United Nations transition plan. At the same time South Africa has re-embarked upon a course of unilateral action, which started with the elections in Namibia and led to the imposition of a Constituent Assembly, which presents a further obstacle to the implementation of the United Nations plan. The military presence of South Africa has increased and was accompanied by a new wave of detention and imprisonment of SWAPO personnel. South Africa's policy towards the front-line States has become even more aggressive and blatantly overbearing.

*Mr. Kikhia (Libyan Arab Jamahiriya), Vice-President, took the Chair.*

102. In the view of the Austrian Government those recent steps undertaken by South Africa reflect a wrong assessment of the political situation which will have grave and far-reaching consequences. They will not lead to stabilizing the area nor to establishing an atmosphere of peaceful and mutually fruitful coexistence in southern Africa. On the contrary, they will inevitably initiate further violence and further bloodshed in the military struggle, and will rightly increase the impatience of those who for so long have been deprived of the right of self-determination and independence. The South African Government should be well aware that it cannot dissociate itself from the responsibility resulting from its actions in Namibia.

103. This resumed thirty-third session of the General Assembly provides an opportunity for international action which once again will impress upon South Africa that a solution to the Namibian question can only be found in an internationally recognized settlement. The world community is united in the basic principles which will have to govern this settlement. We deem it important that this unity find renewed expression in a resolution which can call upon the widest support of Member States and which concentrates on the main issues. A resolution which at this stage of our endeavours introduces controversial issues will not serve this purpose and, on the contrary, may very well prove counter-productive.

104. The Austrian Government also appeals to the five Western Powers, the initiators of the transition plan, to continue in their effort and to exert all their influence with the South African Government to achieve a solution for the outstanding problems and to ensure South Africa's compliance with the resolutions of the United Nations.

105. Every possible avenue which may lead to a peaceful solution will have to be explored. A particular responsibility in this respect lies with the Security Council, which will be called upon to examine the situation. The Charter of the United Nations, in Chapter VII, contains provisions for international pressure, which the Security Council will have to consider when deliberating appropriate action.

106. Mr. SOURINHO (Lao People's Democratic Republic) (*interpretation from French*): The delegation of the Lao People's Democratic Republic wishes, through you, Sir, to express its sincere satisfaction at seeing Mr. Liévaro once again presiding over the General Assembly to guide its debates on the question of Namibia, which it dealt with last in December, when the discussions also proceeded impeccably under the President's wise and enlightened direction. Once again my delegation wishes to assure the President that it will, as in the past, co-operate with him fully in the discharge of his important mission, which will consist, in our opinion, in using his excellent qualities as a statesman and diplomat to persuade, not South Africa, but the so-called civilized Western Powers, the allies of South Africa, of the urgent need to put an end, as early as possible, to the inhuman exploitation and oppression of the Namibian people by the racist minority and colonialist régime of South Africa.

107. The delegation of the Lao People's Democratic Republic is pleased to have been one of the numerous delegations that sponsored General Assembly resolution 33/182 A, which was the origin of this resumed thirty-third session to review the grave situation prevailing in Namibia. Indeed, since this question was last considered by the General Assembly, almost six months ago, the situation in that part of southern Africa, far from having improved or having evolved in accordance with the premises of the Western plan, has but deteriorated, and today we witness a highly disquieting and explosive situation because of the intransigent attitude of the racist and colonialist Pretoria régime, which obstinately continues illegally to occupy Namibia and arrogantly to defy the United Nations and the entire international community.

108. It has come to pass that, while SWAPO, the only genuine representative of the Namibian people, demon-

strating moderation and responsibility, seriously sought to co-operate with the international community to implement the United Nations plan, South Africa, on the contrary, resorted to every kind of delaying tactic to make a mere illusion of the application of the plan which, notwithstanding, it had also accepted.

109. The racist, colonialist régime of South Africa, while continuing to claim that it accepts the United Nations settlement, and acting with the utmost cynicism and with the most obvious bad faith, quite recently proceeded to establish at Windhoek a so-called National Assembly—the result of elections which were declared null and void by Security Council resolution 439 (1978)—to the indignation and condemnation of the entire world, thus taking a new and dangerous step on the path towards an internal settlement for the Namibian question on the Zimbabwe pattern. But it is patently obvious that this kind of settlement will have no more chance than the one that is being imposed on Zimbabwe by the rebel racist Salisbury clique of being accepted by the international community, which is determined to support to the end—that is to say until final victory—the just struggle of the Namibian and Zimbabwean peoples under the leadership of their national liberation movements, SWAPO and the Patriotic Front respectively, which will totally eliminate from their countries every vestige of colonialism and neo-colonialism.

110. While being perfectly aware of the untenable nature of its position and of the futility of its actions, the *apartheid* régime of South Africa, with blind obstinacy, refuses to depart from its intransigent attitude. In so doing it naturally expects to gain time to consolidate its system of inhuman exploitation and bloody repression in Namibia against the Namibian people. In this context, everyone is aware, except perhaps certain Western, imperialist circles, that by illegally proceeding to extend so-called legislative and executive powers to the so-called Constituent Assembly at Windhoek, the Pretoria racist and colonialist régime seeks solely to accelerate the establishment of the Turnhalle puppets to perpetuate its domination over Namibia and increasingly to transform that country into a base for aggression against neighbouring independent African States, and particularly against the People's Republic of Angola.

111. Given these premises, and given the grave threat which the *apartheid* régime represents to the peace and security of southern Africa and to the entire African continent, the question is whether the emotional attitude supporting the fruitless efforts to persuade the racist and colonialist South African régime to associate itself with a negotiated settlement of the Namibian question is still valid. In this respect we must emphasize that one can hope to convince only rational and responsible people, not impenitent and intractable elements in the category of the criminal racists of Pretoria.

112. Be that as it may, it is perfectly clear to the delegation of the Lao People's Democratic Republic and to the vast majority of the members of this Assembly that the time lost in trying to exercise such an influence is a time of respite for the *apartheid* régime which, together with the transnational corporations of the Western imperialist circles, has embarked intensively upon a criminal exploita-

tion of the natural wealth of Namibia and a most cruel repression *en masse* against the Namibian people, in particular against SWAPO militants and members. In that atmosphere of terror that prevails in southern Africa in general and in Namibia in particular, it is absolutely astonishing that the legionnaires who have noisily undertaken a campaign in favour of respect for human rights still seem to hesitate about ways and means of putting an end to the suffering of the Namibian people. It is now high time for them to join the vast majority of the international community to tighten the grip on the racist colonialist South African régime, forcing it immediately and unconditionally to withdraw from Namibia, which since 1966 has been the direct responsibility of the United Nations.

113. The history of the decolonization of Namibia, if it can be summarized, is the history of blatant violation of the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter and arrogant and incessant defiance of the United Nations since 1966 by South Africa with the complicity of Western imperialist circles. It is perfectly clear that, without the political, economic and military support of those circles, the *apartheid* régime would immediately wither away in Namibia.

114. Bearing in mind what we have just said and the grave threat that the *apartheid* régime represents to the peace of the world, in order that the result of the work of this resumed thirty-third session shall not lead once again to a simple recording of flagrant violations of relevant United Nations resolutions by the South African Government and that it shall not be limited simply to verbal condemnations of the *apartheid* régime, a game that has been going on for a long time to the detriment of the credibility of the United Nations and of the cause of the liberation of the Namibian people, it is imperative that the General Assembly should, *inter alia*: first, adopt measures to counter the attempts made by the racist, colonialist régime of South Africa to create *de facto* situations and obtain recognition of puppet elements in Namibia; secondly, reaffirm the resolute support of the General Assembly for the Namibian people in the struggle it wages under the direction of SWAPO until it accedes to the most absolute sovereignty and independence; thirdly, clearly tell South Africa that the international community will no longer tolerate its shilly-shallying and delaying tactics in this just and internationally acceptable settlement of the Namibian problem, which can be achieved only by the total, immediate and unconditional withdrawal of all South African forces of exploitation and aggression from Namibia, respect for the unity and territorial integrity of the country, including Walvis Bay, and the transfer of complete powers to SWAPO, the only legitimate representative of the Namibian people.

115. But, so that those wise warnings shall not fall, as in the past, into the dustbin of the *apartheid* régime, the General Assembly should expressly demand that the Security Council meet without delay so as to take effective measures, including the comprehensive economic sanctions provided for in Chapter VII of the Charter, to compel South Africa if need be, to comply with all relevant United Nations decisions, in particular Security Council resolution 385 (1976). Should the Council prove powerless, then the Assembly should find appropriate means to have its own decisions concerning Namibia applied.

116. For more than a century the Namibian people have been painfully suffering from servitude and exploitation. Today great hopes are placed in our deliberations, which, we hope, will be the last in our long and patient efforts to put an end to the illegal occupation of Namibia. We cannot fail in our historic mission without gravely undermining the profound and legitimate aspirations of the Namibian people and at the same time striking a serious blow against the credibility of the United Nations, which has direct responsibility for the destiny of Namibia.

117. Before concluding, the Lao People's Democratic Republic wishes to announce that it has joined in sponsoring draft resolution A/33/L.37 which is now before the General Assembly. We have done so not because we are impressed by the long list of countries which are already sponsors, but because, like them, we believe that this draft resolution represents common sense and includes sufficient elements which will powerfully contribute to the attainment of the fundamental national rights of the Namibian people.

118. Mr. DE PINIES (Spain) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Support for the right of the people of Namibia to self-determination and accession to independence with complete territorial integrity is already a constant element of the foreign policy of Spain.

119. Our concern over the situation in southern Africa has been expressed in this very Assembly and on various occasions by our Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr. Oreja. Thus, at the thirty-second session he declared:

"The situation in southern Africa also seriously endangers peace and security and constitutes an open defiance of the entire international community. The *apartheid* system... and the illegal occupation of Namibia by South Africa are... aspects of the same reality of oppression and injustice which has prevailed for such a long time in that part of the world, where the situation is progressively deteriorating."<sup>5</sup>

120. Our interest in finding a solution to the problem of Namibia has been reflected in successive statements both in the Assembly and in the Security Council when we were members of that body.

121. We already have a long history of attempts to find a solution to this conflict since 1967, when the General Assembly solemnly assumed responsibility for the Territory of Namibia until it achieved independence. The question of Namibia has been the subject of a doctrine that has been taking shape in the three principal organs of the United Nations, the General Assembly, the Security Council and the International Court of Justice. The doctrine of those organs constitutes the present legality over Namibia which my Government fully accepts and the fundamental points of which can be summarized as follows: first, that the South African presence in the Territory constitutes an illegal occupation; secondly, that consequently South Africa must withdraw from Namibia; thirdly, that the United Nations has a direct responsibility for the Territory

during its transition to independence; fourthly, that the people of Namibia must be allowed to exercise their right to self-determination and independence, and to maintain its national unity and territorial integrity by means of free elections under United Nations control and supervision, in conformity with Security Council resolution 385 (1976); fifthly, that in that process the participation of SWAPO is essential, since it is recognized by the OAU as the authentic representative of the people of Namibia and enjoys observer status in the General Assembly, in accordance with Assembly resolution 31/152, for which the delegation of Spain voted.

122. In the course of the last two years the United Nations has witnessed multifarious efforts by its Members to try to arrive at a negotiated settlement for the question of Namibia. The Security Council gave the fundamental guidelines for those attempts in its resolutions 431 (1978), 435 (1978) and 439 (1978). Negotiations between the parties were difficult and complex. SWAPO, in the course of the past year, has demonstrated an exemplary attitude of political responsibility by accepting the negotiations proposed by five Western Powers members of the Security Council during last year and committing itself to follow the plan for the independence of Namibia drawn up by the Secretary-General.

123. Regrettably all these efforts which should have led, at the end of 1978, to complete independence in the Territory and to the end of the illegal occupation by South Africa have been largely frustrated because of the refusal by South Africa to accept the plan proposed for the liberation of the Territory which had been endorsed by the Security Council. It was with good reason that our Minister for Foreign Affairs, in his statement before the General Assembly last fall, said:

"We regret the intransigent attitude of the South African Government, which could lead to a deterioration of the situation, with unforeseeable consequences." [16th meeting, para. 20.]

124. This prognosis has been confirmed by the holding of unilateral elections in contravention of the express opinion of the Security Council, and by the attempt to give the Assembly thus constituted legislative powers, which means the establishment of a *de facto* Government and a pseudo-independence in Namibia in violation of United Nations Charter principles.

125. The Government of Spain fully shares the well-substantiated concerns of the African States over the possibility that in Namibia a provisional government will gain power, a government established by means of an electoral process which has been declared null and void under resolution 439 (1978) of the Security Council. This would mean not only defiance by South Africa of the entire United Nations doctrine on the subject but also a grave threat to peace in that area of the African continent.

126. In this conviction the delegation of Spain voted in favour of General Assembly resolution 33/182 C, which approved the United Nations programme of work for Namibia and affirmed the responsibility of this Organization for the Territory and the need for its people to achieve

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, Thirty-second Session, Plenary Meetings, 6th meeting, para. 161.

self-determination in a united Namibia. This resolution also reaffirmed that the United Nations Council for Namibia was the legal Administering Authority of the Territory until its independence. The Council for Namibia, in accord with this programme of work, has continued its consultations during the first part of this year with various Governments in Asia and Eastern and Western Europe, so as to ensure international solidarity with the people of Namibia.

127. According to resolution 33/182 C the Council for Namibia must "secure the territorial integrity of Namibia as a unitary State comprising, *inter alia*, the total area of Walvis Bay". The concept of Walvis Bay as an integral part of Namibia, a concept that the delegation of Spain fully supports, has been recognized by the General Assembly in its resolution 32/9 D and the Security Council in its resolution 432 (1978), which was adopted by the affirmative vote of all its permanent members.

128. The Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, for its part, at its meetings last April in Belgrade, established the most recent doctrine with regard to decolonization in relation to Namibia in the light of the latest events. Thus, in paragraph 23 of the Final Document on the Decolonization of this Territory it is stated:

"The Special Committee reaffirms that the only political solution for Namibia must be one based on the termination of South Africa's illegal occupation and withdrawal of its armed forces and on the free and unfettered exercise by all the Namibian people of their right to self-determination and independence within a united Namibia, in accordance with General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV). To this end, the Special Committee reaffirms the need to hold 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)." [See A/33/563-S/13321, annex, para. 23.]

129. The delegation of Spain fully agrees with the spirit of the statement of the Special Committee, and we in particular support the Committee's request for the release of all Namibian political prisoners and for an opportunity to return for all Namibians who are at present in exile for political reasons.

130. Although we realize that the patience of the Namibian people and of the front-line States has been severely tested by the continued defiance of South Africa, we consider it would be regrettable to give up the diplomatic battle. We support the efforts of the five Western Powers, which are still trying to arrive at a negotiated solution to the conflict. However much the situation has deteriorated lately, the proposals for a cease-fire in the Territory, the gradual withdrawal of South African troops, a return of the Namibian refugees, the establishment in the Territory of the United Nations Transition Assistance Group, which would co-operate with the Special Representative of the Secretary-General until total independence is achieved, continue to be valid lines of action which should be complied with by the parties to the conflict.

131. What has to be done is no less than to put an end to the hateful chain of violence and repression which has afflicted the population and territory not only of Namibia but also of the neighbouring States and which threatens the stability of the entire southern area of the African continent.

132. Mr. ABE (Japan): It is to be deeply regretted that, since last December, when the question of Namibia was much discussed at the General Assembly, and when I expressed the ardent wish of my Government to see the realization of the independence of the Namibian people at the earliest possible time [76th meeting], there has been no progress made towards resolving this problem. Now we can see no sign of the breaking of the present stalemate, and what distresses us in particular is that nothing but bloodshed has occurred during this interval, with violence calling forth violence and spreading over into neighbouring countries. Indeed, it now appears as though, if no further effort is made to break through this impasse, the people of Namibia will be doomed to live in perpetual violence and disaster. Under these circumstances, the United Nations must think over its own stance in dealing with this problem—shall the United Nations continue to stay out of the Territory, as it is doing at present, or shall it make another vigorous dash in an attempt to find a solution?

133. In August of last year, the Assembly will recall, the Special Representative of the Secretary-General was sent to Namibia in order to gather all the information necessary for the preparation of a report by the Secretary-General to the Security Council. Based on the results of Mr. Ahtisaar's mission, the Secretary-General presented the Security Council with a report in document S/12827, dated 29 August 1978, containing his recommendation on how to implement the proposal of the five Western countries.

134. While SWAPO accepted the Secretary-General's report, the Government of South Africa did not accede to it. As if it had paid no attention whatever to the efforts of the United Nations, the South African Government set out to hold its elections to elect so-called internal leaders for Namibia, and those elections and their results were declared to be null and void by the General Assembly last autumn. Having completed the election and installed a so-called Constituent Assembly in the Territory, the Foreign Minister of South Africa informed the Secretary-General of the United Nations by his letter of 22 December 1978<sup>6</sup> that South Africa was ready to co-operate—I repeat "co-operate"—in the expeditious implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978). The Secretary-General thereupon sent his Special Representative to South Africa and Namibia in order to complete consultations on operational requirements for the deployment of the United Nations Transition Assistance Group, a prerequisite to the implementation of the United Nations settlement proposal.

135. The Special Representative's visit to South Africa and Namibia from 13 to 22 January of this year was followed by his further visits to the front-line States and Nigeria from 28 January to 12 February. The Secretary-

<sup>6</sup> Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-third Year, Supplement for October, November and December 1978, document S/12983.

General presented a further report to the Security Council<sup>7</sup> on 26 February 1979 containing his views on how to solve certain outstanding issues of the settlement proposal. If his views had been accepted by the two parties, the implementation of the settlement plan for the independence of Namibia would have been within our grasp. Once again, however, the South African Government did not accept them, and moreover, this May, decided to bestow enlarged legislative and administrative powers upon the National Assembly when it is established.

136. The major reason which South Africa advanced to account for its disagreement concerned the Secretary-General's views on the following two issues: the monitoring of SWAPO bases outside Namibia, and the restriction of SWAPO forces to designated locations inside the Territory. As to the monitoring of SWAPO forces outside Namibia, the Secretary-General reported that the neighbouring countries in which these bases are located have assured him that they would monitor SWAPO forces in such a way as to ensure that those forces are confined to their bases. If, as the South African Government asserted, it is impossible to trust these assurances, then how on earth could the other side be expected to trust such assurances by the South African Government as that it was ready to co-operate in the implementation of the United Nations settlement plan, to restrict its own forces to specified bases in Namibia and to observe the cease-fire agreement? That should be mutual in all negotiations.

137. As to the restriction of SWAPO forces to designated locations inside Namibia, with the coming into force of the cease-fire agreement, this is, we believe, quite a normal step to be taken in such a circumstance. As the physical presence of SWAPO forces in Namibia is an undeniable fact, such a step is obviously crucial in ensuring that those forces observe the cease-fire agreement. The Government of South Africa has repeatedly accused SWAPO of guerrilla activities in the Territory, and has insisted that such SWAPO activities have prevented the settlement proposal from being implemented. We believe, however, that the sooner the deployment of the United Nations Transition Assistance Group starts, the sooner SWAPO's guerrilla warfare will cease. We believe, therefore, that the concurrence of SWAPO and South Africa to a cease-fire agreement and the soonest possible deployment of the Transition Assistance Group will provide the only viable basis on which we can restore law and order in the Territory and can conduct a fair and democratic election under United Nations control and supervision.

138. My delegation does not see a justifiable ground for the South African Government's rejection of the Secretary-General's views expressed in his report. We hope that the Government of South Africa will further reflect on its position and come to agree with the views of the Secretary-General.

139. As a result of the adamant position taken by the Government of South Africa in this matter, the realization of a peaceful and internationally acceptable solution of the Namibian question now seems to be receding from our

view. SWAPO has accepted the implementation plans as well as the views of the Secretary-General, which are the only viable plans for providing a practical and fair settlement. The front-line States have reiterated their commitment to ensure the observance of the cease-fire agreement by SWAPO. Of all the parties involved, and of all the members of the international community, it is only the Government of South Africa that has refused to go along. If we are to achieve a settlement along the lines of the Secretary-General's reports, then the only way left for us is persistently to call upon South Africa to reconsider its obdurate position. If South Africa continues to refuse to accept the Secretary-General's reports concerning the implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978), the international community may be compelled to resort to more vigorous measures.

140. My Government has consistently held the view that the question of Namibia should be resolved in accordance with the provisions of Security Council resolution 385 (1976). It has welcomed the initiative of the five Western countries and the subsequent proposal that they made on 10 April 1978. It has expressed its approval of the Secretary-General's reports and explanatory statements and Security Council resolution 435 (1978) of 29 September 1978, which together provide a firm foundation upon which to build a just and lasting solution of the Namibian question. Such a solution will be for the benefit not only of the people of Namibia itself, but of all its neighbours including the people of South Africa, for a long time to come.

141. The United Nations should strive to work towards the attainment of Namibia's earliest possible independence along the following three lines: first, to encourage and give support to all efforts towards achieving a negotiated settlement, and to refrain from taking any action which may hinder these efforts; secondly, to sustain all our joint efforts so as to induce the Government of South Africa to become more forthcoming in the negotiations; and thirdly, to continue our support of the Namibian people. In all these aspects, my country will continue to co-operate with the United Nations.

142. Mr. PASTINEN (Finland): The views of the Finnish delegation on the question of Namibia are well known to the members of this Assembly. So are the initiatives we have taken and the proposals we have made concerning Namibia. To our satisfaction these have received the overwhelming support of the General Assembly. It is natural therefore that not only the Finnish Government but also Finnish public opinion should follow with extreme interest the events of this resumed session. It is our hope that its outcome will be a contribution to the genuine independence of Namibia.

143. Almost exactly a year ago the General Assembly held its ninth special session, on the question of Namibia. That was a time when the negotiating initiative of the Western countries seemed to have reached a decisive stage. By now, when we are here again, we had hoped that this initiative would have come to fruition. Unfortunately that is not the case. If anything, the contrary seems to be true.

144. If that is so, it is certainly not for lack of trying. During the last two years unprecedented efforts have been

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, *Thirty-fourth Year, Supplement for January, February and March 1979*, document S/13120.

made to achieve a negotiated settlement. These have involved the five Western countries, the African front-line States and SWAPO. With the co-operation of the Secretary-General and his Special Representative they have all deployed their best efforts to arrive at a settlement consonant with Security Council resolution 385 (1976). The Nordic countries have expressed their support for these efforts.

145. The aim and indeed the central element of those negotiations has been the peaceful attainment of independence by the Namibian people through free and fair elections under the supervision and control of the United Nations. This at long last would have brought to an end the illegal occupation of Namibia by South Africa. It would have been at the same time the fulfilment of the direct responsibility that the United Nations has assumed for the future of the Territory and the happiness and welfare of its inhabitants.

146. At times the prospects of arriving at a settlement seemed promising. Indeed, to those who dared to be hopeful the solution seemed almost imminent. This was particularly so at the time when the Security Council approved the plan for the independence of Namibia. With its wealth of detail concerning different aspects of implementation it bore in effect the hallmark of a blueprint for the independence of the Territory.

147. Yet today a peaceful solution through a negotiated settlement seems to be as distant as a year ago, if not more so. That is due to one factor and one factor only, the attitude of the Government of South Africa.

148. My delegation understands the bewilderment and shares the uncertainty over the present situation. The decision of the South African Government to hold internal elections was in clear defiance of the United Nations and, in particular, of the authority of the Security Council. So was its decision to bestow extensive legislative powers on the newly formed National Assembly. The elections on which these actions are based have been declared null and void by the United Nations. The recent massive detention of SWAPO leaders without charge or trial has further complicated the situation inside the Territory. The savage and brutal acts of aggression against neighbouring countries have spread death and destruction outside its borders.

149. This would hardly seem to be the conduct of a Government which is seriously interested in a peaceful and internationally recognized settlement. It is no wonder, therefore, that faced with such facts, the international community has come to despair over the prospects of a peaceful settlement. We share the strong apprehension expressed on this point. We equally share the conviction expressed that it is now up to South Africa to give an unequivocal reply which will enable the United Nations plan, a plan which the Government of South Africa claims to have accepted, to be implemented.

150. If South Africa's position remains unsatisfactory, this Organization must take full responsibility for the ensuing situation in order to fulfil its responsibility towards Namibia.

151. If present efforts do not succeed, then sooner or later we will be forced into a situation where the Organization of the United Nations collectively, as well as its Member States individually, will have to review the situation and adopt the measures which in accordance with the Charter depend on the decisions of the Security Council, in order to protect the basic principles on which this Organization has been founded and which have to be respected if the Organization is to survive. For this the question of Namibia has always been a supreme test. It remains so.

152. Mr. AL-ZAID (Kuwait): Sceptics ask about the usefulness of a resumed session of the General Assembly on Namibia. They believe that it is another exercise which will result in a plethora of words, in futile semantics. To those of us who have been preoccupied with the problem of Namibia for years the resumed session has special significance. It comes in the aftermath of South Africa's ambivalent attitude to the plan of the five Western countries, a plan which many of us considered to be a fair basis for the solution of the problem. Unfortunately, South Africa shot that plan down in flames. Moreover, it has embarked on a programme designed to lead to a unilateral declaration of independence in Namibia. There is nothing new in this. It has been stated repeatedly by almost every delegation in the last few years that South Africa will never relinquish the Territory of Namibia. Yet some of us in the United Nations are not convinced by this argument and are willing to give Pretoria the benefit of the doubt. Hence, the five Western Powers unveiled their plan for the solution of the problem. Now that the plan is almost dead, we in the United Nations should think of measures to confront South Africa's sinister schemes.

153. Almost all speakers have referred to non-recognition of the sham elections in Namibia. Their demand is legitimate but it is not enough. It constitutes containment of what is happening in Namibia, but not confrontation of it. It is a positive negativism, but it does not take the bull by the horns. As has been said, South Africa's policy is to surround itself with docile independent African States that are so vulnerable politically and economically that it can have its say, unmolested, in the affairs of southern Africa. It wants to turn Namibia into an obedient camp of cheap labour that subsists on the policies of Pretoria. The continuous aggression against Angola and other African States illustrates this policy. South Africa's aim is to subdue its neighbouring States—so much so that Pretoria's policy of *apartheid*, its practices in Namibia and its links with Rhodesia remain unchallenged. This is the aim behind the much-publicized offer of South Africa to neighbouring States concerning a pact of non-aggression. We had no illusion about South Africa's refusal to accept the principle of internationally supervised elections in Namibia. We knew that, in keeping with the policy of Pretoria, it would be rejected.

154. What is to be done? How can we confront South Africa? Many representatives have spoken of sanctions and of the application of Chapter VII of the Charter against Pretoria. My delegation favours such action, but we know the odds against a demand for it. The Western Powers will not accept it. Their permanent representatives in the Security Council will veto any demand for comprehensive sanctions. Interests are the enemy of principles. In the



General Assembly the majority speaks of principles; in the Security Council, where earthy calculations are the determining factors, interests eclipse principles.

155. What is important is that the fighting spirit of SWAPO should not be affected by the cool calculations of the Security Council. When we talk about the principles of the Charter we are often told that we should not set our sights so high; when we talk about justice and self-determination for the people of Namibia we are told that the policy of appeasement may pay in the end and that Rome was not built in a day. This is the nature of today's politics. The problem of today is that the world does not confront injustice, although it speaks out against it. There is gross injustice in Namibia, but diplomacy never eliminates injustice; at best it decreases its harshness, but it never meets the demand of the fighters. In these circumstances, the best hope lies in our support for the people of Namibia in their armed struggle for self-determination and statehood.

156. There are two ways in which this resumed session can assist the people of Namibia. Both are arduous and difficult. First, the political struggle of SWAPO should be supported, encouraged and maintained. In this respect the United Nations, through the Council for Namibia, has a responsibility to inform public opinion in the Western countries about the evil designs of South Africa with regard to Namibia and about its crude attitude towards the plan of the five Western countries. Political struggle involves the engagement of public opinion in countries that are reluctant to accept sanctions against South Africa. At this stage the Western countries may not be ready for comprehensive sanctions, but some of them are inclined to consider certain types of sanctions. It would be useful for the General Assembly, at this resumed session, to take some concrete steps, limited as they might be, without sacrificing fundamental principles. It is said that while we talk about Namibia South Africa continues its uninterrupted campaign of colonizing the Territory.

157. Secondly, material, political and social support of SWAPO is indispensable if we are earnestly eager to confront the policy of South Africa on Namibia. Some countries which are represented here do not like the term "armed struggle", although they themselves resorted to such struggle in their battles against foreign domination. Alien occupation rarely ends as a result of diplomacy, and South Africa's occupation of Namibia is not the type of foreign domination that could give in to diplomatic persuasion. Thus it is incumbent upon all of us who talk splendidly about principles to give financial and political support to SWAPO in its unrelenting struggle against impossible odds. All of us have learned the lesson that colonialism gives in to the constant pounding of nationalism. South Africa cannot be different. The more we give SWAPO, the more we weaken South Africa's tight hold on Namibia.

158. We have learned the lesson that, while documents reflecting international indignation lift morale, they do not contribute to the alleviation of the grievances of the oppressed peoples. In this respect, we must always be aware that, while political struggle complements armed struggle, it can in no way be a substitute for it. Here at the United Nations some of us think that political struggle is an end in

itself. It is not. We salute SWAPO for the spirit of sacrifice which its leadership and its lieutenants have so far displayed. When the struggle continues, victory is certain.

159. Mr. IBRAHIM (Ethiopia): It is the conviction of my delegation that the national liberation struggle in Namibia has now entered a most critical and decisive stage. Whether the independence of Namibia will come about soon or be delayed unnecessarily, whether that independence will be genuine and complete, or whether it will remain merely nominal will to a great extent be determined by what the international community chooses to do at this critical juncture and especially at this resumed session. Therefore, it is with a sense of utmost concern and with a consciousness of our grave responsibility that we participate at this resumed session of the General Assembly on the question of Namibia.

160. Two years have elapsed since the new initiative has been taken to find a peaceful and negotiated settlement of the Namibian question. When the Western proposal for the decolonization of Namibia was made public last year, following its apparent acceptance by the Pretoria régime, my Government made its position clear by registering its serious misgivings. We did so because we found the plan not only deficient in many of its principal provisions, but also because we believed, as subsequent events have borne out, that the authors of the proposals were neither ready nor willing to exert the necessary pressure upon South Africa for the prompt and effective implementation of the plan. In this regard, I should like to quote from the statement made by the leader of the Ethiopian delegation at the ninth special session of the General Assembly when the question of Namibia was considered. He said:

"The ultimate goal of the so-called Western plan is to bestow recognition on South Africa, carve out Walvis Bay and wrest more concessions from SWAPO, contrary to United Nations decisions and the legitimate aspirations of the Namibian people.

"We reject the Western plan, not simply because of the identity of its authorship, but rather because far from bringing peace it is a scheme engineered to undermine and destroy the victories and achievements that have been gained over the long years of bitter struggle against colonial oppression and exploitation. It is clear that the Western Five are not ready to use to the full extent the influence and leverage they have in South Africa to ensure the implementation of Security Council resolution 385 (1976) in its entirety."<sup>8</sup>

161. When, following intensive and careful deliberations SWAPO took the bold and courageous step and accepted the Western proposal as a basis for negotiations, Ethiopia could not but concur with its decision. Since its acceptance of the plan, SWAPO acted with commendable determination and flexibility to have the plan implemented, thereby earning the admiration, respect and support of the international community.

162. However, as subsequent developments have shown, SWAPO's efforts and those of the Secretary-General of the

<sup>8</sup> See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Ninth Special Session, Plenary Meetings, 2nd meeting, paras. 86-87.*

United Nations were to no avail because of the duplicity of the racists of Pretoria. We all now realize that Pretoria's apparent acceptance of the settlement plan was for no other purpose than to test SWAPO's willingness to face the puppets of Windhoek at the polls and to gain for itself enough time to implement its diabolical scheme of consolidating the position of its puppets with the eventual objective of a unilateral declaration of sham independence. In its first goal Pretoria failed miserably when SWAPO decided to accept the plan. In its second goal, however, it is succeeding to a greater degree.

163. Soon after it had indicated its apparent acceptance of the Western plan, the *apartheid* régime embarked upon equivocation and double-talk in the interpretation of many of the provisions of the plan. This exercise undoubtedly gave the South African régime enough time to take the necessary steps to strengthen its quislings in the so-called Turnhalle Alliance. Contrary to the decisions of the United Nations, especially the provisions of Security Council resolution 385 (1976), the régime at Pretoria went ahead and appointed an Administrator-General for Namibia, unilaterally registered voters for elections, promulgated legislation providing for the establishment of a Constituent Assembly, held unsupervised internal elections, and finally established a so-called National Assembly, which is only one step before the unilateral declaration of the sham independence.

164. Parallel to these moves, the South African régime attempted also to weaken SWAPO militarily and politically and even provoked it to withdraw from the negotiations. It intensified its brutal and repressive measures against the Namibian patriots inside the Territory. It launched armed incursions into the territories of neighbouring independent African States to massacre innocent and helpless Namibian refugees. The prolonged and futile negotiations have further enabled Pretoria to strengthen its military occupation of Namibia and to recruit traitors into its military machine, thus setting the stage for a fratricidal war between Namibians. Moreover, during the last two years the South African régime has by default gained for itself a *de facto* recognition as the Administering Authority over Namibia and acceptance as a respectable partner in diplomatic efforts to solve the problems of not only Namibia but of Zimbabwe as well.

165. The efforts of the international community towards the peaceful decolonization of Namibia were further frustrated by the very fact that the mediators in these negotiations were none other than South Africa's main partners in the exploitation and plunder of the resources of Namibia. The five Western countries, while wresting every possible concession from SWAPO, have been to say the least conciliatory towards Pretoria. Regrettably, at no time has Western pressure been made to bear upon Pretoria to force it to desist from going ahead with its neo-colonial designs over Namibia, from its persecution of the Namibian patriots, or from its military incursions into the territories of the neighbouring independent African countries. Of course one can speak at length and with sufficient justification about the sinister motives and designs of the West in this context. However, my delegation prefers that it be left to history to pass judgement on the role being played by the West in the national liberation struggle of the oppressed masses of southern Africa.

166. It would only be stating the obvious if I were to conclude that we have come to the end of the road as far as the Western plan is concerned. Pretoria has clearly demonstrated its unwillingness to comply with Security Council resolutions 385 (1976) and 435 (1978). Of course we will not be surprised if the racists of South Africa and their imperialist allies claim that the door to the implementation of the settlement plan is still not completely closed. But the truth is that Pretoria has by its very actions and pronouncements not only closed the door but firmly locked out any peaceful settlement in conformity with the relevant decisions of the United Nations and the genuine aspirations of the Namibian people for freedom and independence in a united Namibia.

167. As we all know, this is not the first time that the Pretoria régime has displayed utter contempt and disregard for the will of the international community. However, we sincerely hope that this time South African arrogance and perfidy will not go unchallenged. The five Western countries by their very initiatives have taken upon themselves an obligation to the international community. They must realize that it is incumbent upon them to ensure the successful implementation of their plan by the application of the enforcement measures provided for under Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter.

168. As we see it, Pretoria's refusal to comply with the will of the international community leaves us with two possible scenarios for the unfolding events in southern Africa. The more probable and dangerous is the one in which the *apartheid* régime will once again challenge the United Nations and disregard its call for the granting of self-determination and independence to the Namibian people. Pretoria will also intensify its suppression and exploitation of the Namibian people, thereby engendering further popular resistance. Indeed, the escalation of the armed struggle for national emancipation will, as it has already done, convert larger areas of Africa into a theatre of military operations by the Fascists of South Africa. Nevertheless, the *apartheid* régime can rest assured that the rest of Africa, indeed all progressive and peace-loving peoples the world over, will not stand idly by when expansionist forces commit unprovoked aggression against independent African States. The implications of such a conflagration are obvious. The sacrifices will be enormous. But these never can and never will deter Africa and the rest of progressive humanity from fulfilling their obligation towards the colonized people of Namibia or the courageous people of the front-line States, victims of South African aggression.

169. The other scenario is for the United Nations to take immediately all the appropriate measures under Chapter VII of the Charter to enforce its will. If the whole weight of Chapter VII were to fall on South Africa, the racist monsters of Pretoria would undoubtedly find it unbearable, both economically and militarily, to undertake a long-drawn-out war with the freedom fighters, who by then would have acquired the necessary means for waging an intensified war of liberation. Under such circumstances, we believe that Pretoria would be forced to relinquish its illegal hold on Namibia sooner rather than later, thus minimizing human suffering and material destruction.

170. The international Territory of Namibia is the responsibility of the United Nations. In accepting this responsi-

bility, the United Nations has gone too far in effecting the genuine decolonization of Namibia to be able to backtrack now. The United Nations cannot but move forward—forward to the imposition of comprehensive mandatory economic sanctions against Pretoria, forward to a complete cessation of all military and nuclear collaboration with that racist régime, and forward to the complete, immediate and unconditional withdrawal of the *apartheid* régime from the whole of Namibia.

171. The international community should also move forward in its commitment to the liberation of Namibia by giving financial and military assistance and support to SWAPO, the sole and authentic representative of the entire Namibian people. The need for increased assistance, both economic and military, to the front-line States can scarcely be over-emphasized here. The increased strength of the front-line States is a guarantee of the liberation of Namibia and of the eventual fall of the racist colonial edifices in Zimbabwe and South Africa.

172. Finally, I should like to express once again the appreciation of my delegation to the United Nations Council for Namibia for its untiring and dedicated efforts to assist the Namibian people, through their authentic national liberation movement, SWAPO, to achieve freedom and national independence in a united Namibia. My delegation is convinced that under the able guidance of its President the General Assembly will acquit its responsibility by taking a meaningful step towards our cherished goal of a free and independent Namibia.

173. Mr. KOUYATE (Guinea) (*interpretation from French*): On 30 September 1974, the General Assembly called upon the Security Council for the first time to review the relationship between the United Nations and South Africa in the light of “the constant violation by South Africa of the principles of the Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights” [*resolution 3207 (XXIX)*]. Thus there are legal, moral, political and diplomatic grounds for the decision taken by our Assembly on 24 May 1979 not to accept the credentials of the pathetic representatives of the racist *apartheid* régime of South Africa. At the same time, however, we greatly regret the fact that delegations took it upon themselves to insult the universal conscience and United Nations institutions when they did not balk at speaking again about the “right” of the Botha régime to be heard in this important debate, which actually would not have had to take place had Pretoria abided by the relevant decisions and resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council. We still think that Governments have “rights” here only when they accept the Charter and abide in their acts and legislation with the fundamental principles of that Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. It is therefore clear that South Africa no longer has any right to be represented in the United Nations, to which it continues to belong—despite the wishes of many States, including my own—simply in order to allow certain Governments to prevent, on that pretext, the taking against it by the international community of decisions and sanctions such as that of 24 May 1979, which would at the same time force its allies to show their true colours to the world, whose wrath and condemnation they fear. The vote taken on 24 May 1979 was an acid test, and a particularly useful one at that,

because it once more exposed the diabolic machinations of international imperialism and its contemptible toady, the Pretoria régime, against the freedom, independence and sovereignty—in a word, against the inalienable rights of the courageous Namibian people under the enlightened leadership of SWAPO, which Comrade President Sam Nujoma heads admirably and with a high sense of duty towards his country, and to him, on behalf of the State-Party of Guinea, we once again pledge the militant support of the courageous people of Guinea. In view of the clear inconsistency in the negative attitude of some delegations shown during that vote, in particular taking into consideration the growing seriousness of the plight of the Namibian people and the overriding need for each State or Government that claims to cherish truly the friendship of the peoples of Africa, to express in concrete and courageous acts their solidarity with Africa whenever and wherever necessary, we should like to remind this Assembly of what was stated in the United Nations on 13 October 1960 by our enlightened leader and guide, comrade and strategist Ahmed Sekou Touré, the supreme leader of the revolution and the President of the Revolutionary People’s Republic of Guinea:

“The Government of the Republic of Guinea has often stated that it is less appreciative of intentions, whether they be good or bad, than of reality and of the impact of deeds as they relate to the specific interests of our peoples. It has also said that, in its view intentions have never made history and can change nothing in this world unless they are translated into the corresponding deeds.”<sup>9</sup>

174. That is a valuable lesson that the countries of the West and all other countries in the world should bear in mind when considering both their stand on matters so vital to all Africa and to the world of the kind as that now before us, and their relations in various fields with the Revolutionary People’s Republic of Guinea.

175. It must be stated that what the United Nations has so far accomplished in favour of an independent, sovereign, united and indivisible Namibia under the banner of SWAPO, the sole representative of the heroic people of Namibia, has not only jeopardized the credibility of the United Nations in the minds of the peoples of the world which cherish peace, justice and liberty, but also has had the effect of strengthening—in disregard of the letter and spirit of the Charter and all generally recognized norms of international justice—the armed occupation of the international Territory of Namibia by the unlawful authority of the colonial, racist and Fascist régime of Pretoria.

176. In considering the facts, and the general conditions and the motives involved, we must regard the United Nations, in general, and the Western Powers, in particular, as bearing the central responsibility for the defeat of right by might, for the general confusion that has been created in world opinion by concealing the criminal action of the worst enemies of the freedom, independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Namibia.

177. Indeed, everything—or almost everything—has been said in the past 30 years on the hideous policy of the racist

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, Fifteenth Session, Plenary Meetings, 896th meeting, para. 31.

minority of Pretoria both within its territorial limits as well as outside them, more precisely in Namibia. Unfortunately, however, the dimensions and consequences of the system are such that one cannot easily avoid repetitions, reaffirmations and reminders.

178. First, at the very founding of the United Nations after the horrors of Hitlerian nazism—as if to give expression to the univocal condemnation and the inevitable fall of régimes of this kind—the signers of the San Francisco Charter, fully aware that racism constituted a serious threat to international harmony and peace, adopted General Assembly resolution 103 (I), which declared that “it is in the higher interests of humanity to put an immediate end to religious and so-called racial persecution and discrimination . . .”. It also called upon “Governments and responsible authorities to conform to . . . the Charter . . . and to take most prompt and energetic steps to that end”.

179. In response to that resolution the Government of South Africa, already turning its back on its commitments with regard to the Charter, adopted a series of discriminatory and humiliating laws and measures against the non-white population of the country. The right to representation in Parliament was then denied to the population of Indian and Pakistani origins.

180. But what was done at the time against South Africa with a view to preserving international harmony and peace? Nothing, absolutely nothing, except to address a warning to Pretoria.

181. Secondly, on 21 March 1960 the entire world was dumbfounded to learn of the dreadful killings which the South African police had savagely perpetrated on the defenceless South African population of Sharpeville. It is a well-known fact that on that date men, women and children who were peacefully demanding their right to freedom were shot down by colonialist bullets.

182. What was done at the time against South Africa with a view to preserving the fundamental rights and freedoms of people to life and to speech? Nothing, absolutely nothing, except to make a verbal condemnation of the villainous laws of the racist Government of Pretoria.

183. Thirdly, the General Assembly of the United Nations, in its resolution 2145 (XXI) of 1966, put an end once and for all to South Africa's Mandate over Namibia. On the one hand, it placed the Territory of Namibia under the direct responsibility of the United Nations and, on the other hand, it finally declared the inalienable right of the people of Namibia to freedom and independence. Better still, paragraph 2 of that resolution stipulates that the Territory of Namibia is one having international status and that it shall maintain that status until it achieves independence.

184. What was done at the time to obtain South Africa's withdrawal from Namibia, to respect that decision of the United Nations—in short, to keep its actions in conformity with the obligations in the Charter, obligations to which it had freely subscribed when becoming a State Member of our Organization? Nothing, absolutely nothing, other than a barely audible appeal directed to that end to the racist Government of Pretoria.

185. Fourthly, in its advisory opinion, which was already widely known throughout the world, the International Court of Justice in The Hague stated that:

“ . . . the continued presence of South Africa in Namibia being illegal, South Africa is under obligation to withdraw its administration from Namibia immediately and thus put an end to its occupation of the Territory”.<sup>10</sup>

186. What was done at that time to avoid our being able now to count nearly 75,000 South African soldiers and policemen in Namibia—a veritable machine trampling underfoot the natural and legitimate rights and aspirations of the Namibians? Nothing, absolutely nothing, except that cold and guilty indifference was shown to the illegal annexation of Walvis Bay and to the constantly increasing collective and individual killing of the Namibian people by the racist régime of Pretoria.

187. Where, then, is the so-called right of South Africa of which so much is made here by certain delegations?

188. Lastly, we know the consequences of the escalation of barbarity, illegality and tragedy in Namibia. Why all this arrogance, why all this defiance, why all this impunity for South Africa? It is because the cruel reality is that today more than ever before the combination of international strategic designs and economic interests in the African Hemisphere better explains the refusal of one and all to face up to this undeniable State evil, just as it also explains the refusal, contempt and hostility of the mandarins in Pretoria in failing to abide by the numerous resolutions adopted with regard to this scourge in Namibia, in particular Decree No. 1 for the Protection of the Natural Resources of Namibia<sup>11</sup> and the following relevant General Assembly and Security Council resolutions—2145 (XXI) of 1966 and 2248 (S-V) of 19 May 1967 of the Assembly and 385 (1976), 431 (1978), 435 (1978) and 439 (1979) of the Council.

189. The continuing intransigence and arrogance of Pretoria towards the United Nations, as well as the systematic denial of the natural rights of the Namibian people by Pretoria, particularly during this year of the thirty-first anniversary of the adoption of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights—something to which, curiously, none of Pretoria's allies has had the moral and political courage to make reference throughout this thirty-third session—all stems from this truth of history which is taught to us by an African for all times, one of the worthy pioneers of independent Africa, the man of 28 September 1958 and 22 November 1970, President and strategist Ahmed Sekou Touré, when before this very General Assembly of the United Nations he clearly stated:

“We well know that divergent interests weaken the action of the United Nations. To be convinced of this,

<sup>10</sup> See *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. 58.

<sup>11</sup> *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-ninth Session, Supplement No. 24A*, para. 84. The Decree has been issued in final form in *Namibia Gazette No. 1*.

one has only to recall the profound contempt with which some nations, more aware of their military strength than of the justice of the causes they are defending, threaten to make the United Nations weak and ineffectual."<sup>12</sup>

In the light of this valuable teaching of the enlightened guide of the African democratic revolution of Guinea, we affirm that there is no more direct and dangerous way to undermine the bases of the United Nations than to make of it a house where equality, peace, freedom, independence and human rights are much talked about, while setting aside the concerns of the colonial peoples, who are dominated and massacred by Pretoria in southern Africa, particularly in Namibia.

190. The Charter's Preamble unambiguously states that the peoples of the United Nations are determined to unite their strength to maintain international peace and security and to reaffirm their faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women and of nations large and small.

191. There is a great need, and even an overriding urgency, for the United Nations, in particular the Security Council, to give effect to the wise and enlightened recommendations set forth in nine points by Comrade Sam Nujoma, President of SWAPO, in his instructive statement of 23 May 1979 in this Assembly. In his statement he reflected the will of an entire people to be free, independent and sovereign, and he conveyed thereby to all peoples, to all nations, to all Governments represented here, the most moving cry of the African men, women and children of Namibia against whom the Pretoria régime, in close collusion with international imperialism with its insatiable and morbid appetite, has unleashed the worst atrocities. The delegation of the State-Party of Guinea sincerely believes that now is the time for the United Nations to demand that the Security Council, vigorously and not in a selective manner, implement the measures set forth in Chapter VII of the Charter against the slaughterers of the Namibian people.

192. In any case, by proceeding with illegal elections in Namibia, by creating a sham Constituent Assembly, filled with traitors of Turnhalle in Namibia, by conferring legislative and executive powers on that Assembly, with a view to a unilateral declaration of independence in Namibia, and by its savage acts of aggression against neighbouring States, by which it creates an obvious threat to international peace and security, South Africa has clearly disqualified itself from membership in the Organization. It threatens the very existence of the United Nations. Consequently, for the sake of its survival and its credibility, the Organization, under Articles 39, 41 and 42 of the Charter, must at this session, on the one hand, take the action called for by these threats and flagrant and deliberate violations of the Charter and of human rights by the Fascist, racist minority régime in Pretoria, and, on the other hand,

increase its assistance to the national liberation struggle of the fighters in Namibia under the leadership of SWAPO.

193. We know that the United Nations has an historic role to play as it tries to sort out matters in this growing tragedy, and that it must maintain the authority to take vigorous action, so as to break up the crypto-Fascist forces which are still obstructing the evolution of societies and their full development in southern Africa, and particularly in Namibia.

194. We reaffirm that the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Namibia will be saved, though to the displeasure of the enemies of the historic emancipation of Africa and those who support a racist, minority, Fascist colonialism. That independence, that freedom, that sovereignty, that territorial integrity of Namibia, one and indivisible in a strong and prosperous Africa, of which we speak, will be saved, because, as we have been taught by the great strategist, President Ahmed Sekou Touré, the supreme leader of the Revolution, truth, justice, law and order—in a word, the right—will always be on the side of the people against the lies and the brute force of the enemy. The independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of martyred Namibia will be saved, not only because the people did not ask to be colonized and the peoples of Africa have had enough of colonization, of racial discrimination, of *apartheid*, of domination and foreign exploitation, but also because the political conscience, the sense of dignity, the desire for justice and the legitimate yearnings of the peoples of the world for peace in a balanced world reconciled with itself, will protect the Namibian people and give them back their independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity. Those are all naturally inalienable rights which all nations represented here, great and small, should enjoy by now, inasmuch as they have paid the price with the lives of millions of martyrs for those rights.

195. The valiant people of Guinea, well organized by their National Party, the State-Party of Guinea, under the exemplary leadership of President Ahmed Sekou Touré, solemnly reaffirms the profound aspirations and convictions of the people of the entire world, and we do so particularly today because we know that in view of the growing importance of the African continent in international affairs, and the radical change in the role being played by our continent, which is now an active participant and no longer a passive spectator and the object of international greed, it is high time for everyone, everywhere, to reconsider their traditional attitudes, so that together, everywhere, all nations and Governments and peoples can put an end to arbitrariness, lawlessness, domination, exploitation and genocide, in South Africa, Zimbabwe, Namibia and everywhere in the world.

196. Then, and only then, will we truly be committed to the building of a new world, reflecting the ideals of the United Nations Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the fundamental freedoms.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, Fifteenth Session, Plenary Meetings, 896th meeting, para. 45.