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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. AL-DOY (Bahrain) (*interpretation from Arabic*): Today, 13 years after the ending of South Africa's Mandate over Namibia, the Pretoria Government is continuing to dominate that Territory in defiance of the international community and the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly. There can be no doubt that the negative attitude adopted by certain Western Powers in recent times has had a great deal to do with the persistence of the present practices of the Government of South Africa. Similarly, military and economic assistance provided by those States has given encouragement to the Government of South Africa to persist in its policy of racist aggression, not only to the detriment of the Namibian people but also to the detriment of the peoples of other neighbouring African countries. The Kassinga massacre in Angola, in which hundreds of innocent women and children perished, leaves a fresh impression on the conscience of the international community.

2. We are surprised to note that those Western countries are the very ones that advocate respect for human rights in various parts of the world, while striving to bolster the racist and aggressive policies of South Africa by means of the material and moral assistance with which they provide it. The General Assembly has denounced that assistance repeatedly and has called for co-operation with the United Nations and for cessation of that assistance. However, economic interests linking those countries with the Pretoria Government constitute an impediment to the granting to the Namibian people of their legitimate rights to freedom, independence and sovereignty over the whole of their Territory, including Walvis Bay.

3. We believe that the measures currently being taken to find an internal solution to international issues in Namibia or in other parts of the world will not lead to peaceful solutions of a global character but will actually serve to complicate the issues. These internal solutions quite recently have begun to play a suspicious role in international affairs in areas where tension and trouble reign.

4. Ever since it was founded the United Nations has committed itself to finding just solutions to the problems on its agenda, and to do so it must act to solve problems within the framework of the Organization.

5. The elections which were held in the Territory of Namibia were unlawful and will not bring a comprehensive peace in Namibia because they did not take place under the auspices of the United Nations, and the South West Africa People's Organization [*SWAPO*], the only legitimate representative of the Namibian people, did not take part in them. We hope that the General Assembly will redouble its efforts to force the Government of South Africa to return to legitimacy, in conformity with the United Nations Charter and legitimate human rights.

6. My delegation would like to associate itself with previous speakers in calling on the Security Council to take effective measures against South Africa in accordance with Chapter VII of the Charter in order to compel the Pretoria Government to comply with resolutions of the General Assembly, give up its racist policies and grant complete independence to Namibia.

7. My delegation fervently hopes that the international community will restore its credibility by enforcing its resolutions and acting in concert so that the aspirations of the Namibian people to freedom, independence and sovereignty will be fulfilled.

8. Mr. YANGO (Philippines): Mr. President, my delegation is pleased indeed to see you once again presiding over the deliberations of the thirty-third session of the General Assembly.

9. The position taken by the Philippines on the question of Namibia is well known as it has been reflected in the record time and again. But to leave no room for doubt or ambiguity, I should like to reiterate that position as follows.

10. First, there is an urgent need to put an immediate end to the illegal occupation of Namibia by South Africa. The Pretoria régime is to be condemned for persisting in its illegal occupation of Namibia in defiance of the United

Nations and the International Court of Justice. That régime is to be condemned as well for its intensifying repression of the Namibian people, its attempts to impose a puppet régime in Namibia and its acts of aggression against independent African countries which it has perpetrated from Namibian territory.

11. Secondly, the Philippines reaffirms its total and unequivocal support of the Namibian people who, under the leadership of SWAPO, their sole and authentic representative, are waging an heroic struggle against South African illegal occupation, and for the attainment of the objective of national independence. SWAPO is to be commended for the important successes in this struggle and there should be increased and sustained international support and solidarity with the people of Namibia.

12. Thirdly, the long struggle of the Namibian people for liberation has reached a crucial stage where the utmost vigilance and the unflinching support of the international community are absolutely necessary to ensure that the transition to independence be scrupulously in accordance with the spirit and letter of United Nations resolutions on the question of Namibia.

13. The Philippines reaffirms its full support for any measures taken by the United Nations in pursuance of Security Council resolution 435 (1978) and of other resolutions to ensure the independence of Namibia through free and fair elections under the supervision and control of the United Nations. In this regard, all manoeuvres such as the illegal elections organized by South Africa in Namibia on 4 December 1978 and designed to impose a puppet régime are to be condemned and all States are called upon to deny recognition to any puppet groups or régimes installed by South Africa in Namibia contrary to that resolution.

14. Fourthly, in the event of South Africa's failure to comply with the resolutions of the United Nations, the Philippines would support efforts to have the Security Council meet to take enforcement measures against South Africa, including the imposition of economic sanctions under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations.

15. Fifthly, the Philippines rejects the attempts by South Africa to dismember Namibia through the separation from it of Walvis Bay. It reaffirms its full support for the territorial integrity of Namibia, of which Walvis Bay is an integral part. In this regard, full compliance with relevant United Nations resolutions, in particular General Assembly resolution S-9/2 of 3 May 1978 and Security Council resolution 432 (1978) of 27 July 1978, is called for.

16. Sixthly, the Philippines considers Namibia as a special and direct responsibility of the United Nations until genuine self-determination and national independence are achieved. In this regard, the Philippines reaffirms its support for the United Nations Council for Namibia as the sole legal Administering Authority for Namibia until independence and its view that the Council should be entrusted with a more substantial role during the period of transition to independence of Namibia. Within this context the Philippines stresses the central role of the United Nations in the search for a solution to the question of

Namibia and underlines the continuing responsibility of the Council for Namibia to ensure that any process leading to the independence of Namibia would be in strict accord with relevant United Nations resolutions.

17. Seventhly, the Philippines welcomes the proclamation by the General Assembly in resolution 33/182 C of 1979 as the International Year of Solidarity with the People of Namibia and expresses the hope that all States will contribute to the search for effective ways and means of intensifying international solidarity and support for the Namibian people.

18. These are the essential elements of the position of the Philippines on the question of Namibia which were embodied in a joint communiqué issued at Manila by the Government of the Philippines and the mission of consultation of the United Nations Council for Namibia at the end of the latter's visit to Manila from 1 to 4 March 1979.

19. The efforts of the Western Powers and the United Nations to bring about a peaceful settlement of the question of Namibia in the last two years have come to naught. The international community is well aware that this failure has been caused by South Africa's actions, vacillations and subterfuges. All the plans of the United Nations embodied in the Secretary-General's report¹ and approved by the Security Council for the peaceful settlement of the question of Namibia have reached a dead end. This course of events presents a frontal challenge to the authority of the United Nations embodied in its Charter, and if the credibility of our Organization is to be maintained and upheld this challenge posed by South Africa should be resolutely and effectively met. The General Assembly has resumed its thirty-third session precisely to act accordingly in the face of recent developments affecting the Territory of Namibia and the struggle of the Namibian people for self-determination and independence.

20. In the light of the foregoing considerations, my delegation will fully support a draft resolution that calls for the necessary sanctions at this time against South Africa under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations. Many speakers who preceded me in this debate appear to think in the same way.

21. Mr. YOUNG (United States of America): It is my privilege to address this resumed session of the General Assembly on behalf of the Governments of Canada, France, the Federal Republic of Germany, the United Kingdom and the United States.

22. In the spring of 1977 the "Western five", as we have come to be known, all then members of the Security Council, embarked upon an exercise without precedent, in an effort intended to create the conditions in Namibia by which the people of that Territory might determine their own future, in accordance with Security Council resolution 385 (1976).

23. We are most appreciative of the close and continuing co-operation we have received from the United Nations in

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

this effort, particularly from the Secretary-General, who has a deep personal interest in the question, and from the African group of States, notably Angola, Botswana, Mozambique, Nigeria, the United Republic of Tanzania and Zambia, which have themselves devoted considerable effort to the process.

24. The principal parties, SWAPO, the Government of South Africa and other Namibian groups, accepted the concept of an internationally sponsored and supervised plan for the transition of the Territory to independence. Both of the principal parties had deep reservations about the process and mistrusted each other, but they agreed to proceed with the negotiations.

25. In the sometimes productive, often painful and slow, progress since that time, it has been absolutely critical to maintain the will of the parties to continue and to negotiate in good faith, a factor often in question on both sides of the issue. The necessity to retain the will to continue has not been exclusive to the principal parties. The effort of our five Governments has at times been tested when we have been unjustly accused of bias, deception or malevolence—manifestly contrived claims which only serve to weaken the fragile understanding between all interested parties which has served as the basis for the negotiations. The climate of the negotiations has also been affected by the repeated incursions into the neighbouring States by South African forces, and by raids carried out by SWAPO inside Namibia. Recently dozens of SWAPO supporters within Namibia have been detained under orders clearly based on political rather than legal grounds. This abuse of the rights of these Namibians must be ended, and we have therefore called for their release.

26. In December 1978 the South African Government held elections in Namibia which resulted in the formation of what is called a Constituent Assembly. The elections and the Assembly which resulted from them were declared null and void by the five countries and the international community. In process now by the South African Government is the transformation of that body into one with some internal authority. That transformation comes with the offer of seats by appointment to those internal Namibian parties which refused to participate in the elections. The five countries will not accept that this "Assembly" truly represents the people of Namibia.

27. Similar difficulties have been created by SWAPO, notably by its loudly voiced mistrust of the West, its baseless charges of malfeasance, its absurd claims, such as a call for a one-sided cease-fire so that hundreds of its forces might pass freely into Namibia to establish themselves. Although this claim was rejected by the United Nations and the five Western countries, and subsequently dropped by SWAPO, it has since been used as a spectre to haunt the negotiations.

28. In March of this year, after a difficult period in the negotiations and an apparent stalemate had been reached, our five Foreign Ministers decided to convene a second round of proximity talks concerning the settlement proposal made by the five Western countries² and the report of

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

the Secretary-General of 26 February.³ In the course of those talks SWAPO agreed to the Secretary-General's plan for the implementation of the proposal. South Africa objected to provisions which call for restriction of any SWAPO armed personnel inside Namibia at the start of the cease-fire to designated locations inside Namibia and which do not require monitoring by the United Nations Transition Assistance Group of SWAPO bases outside the Territory. The five Western countries affirmed their view that the Secretary-General's report was consistent with the proposal and provided a reasonable and fair basis for its implementation. There never was any attempt on our part to create military bases for SWAPO forces inside Namibia; the only issue was how to deal with the practical problem presented by the presence of armed SWAPO personnel inside Namibia at the time of the cease-fire.

29. The South African Government claims that the internal groups in Namibia cannot accept these terms. In contradiction to the South African claim, we have been informed directly by some of the groups inside Namibia that they accept the settlement plan including these terms even though some consider that they give SWAPO an undue advantage. Significantly, prominent church leaders inside Namibia have also accepted these terms.

30. The degree of commitment by the two principal parties to a peaceful settlement has been legitimately questioned countless times with first one and then the other side seemingly acting in a manner designed to incite the other to withdraw and to shoulder the opprobrium of the international community.

31. In the face of these difficulties, the effort to obtain an internationally acceptable and peaceful settlement has been maintained. It is now important that it be manifested in practical agreement and in the emplacement of the United Nations Transition Assistance Group. The violence and bloodshed that touch the lives of every person in Namibia and many in the neighbouring countries, the continued lack of opportunity of the population of Namibia to express its will for independence in a practical sense, the economic pressures that the spread of violence imposes on the entire region, and the waste of human and material resources on armed conflict are unacceptable alternatives to peaceful resolution.

32. The overriding issue is the willingness of the principal participants and other vitally interested parties to continue their efforts towards a negotiated settlement. The Governments of the five Western countries have every intention of continuing to work towards a peaceful settlement of the Namibian problem under United Nations auspices. We continue to believe that the implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978) by the Secretary-General is the best available course for preventing further bloodshed and for bringing about an internationally acceptable settlement in that Territory.

33. Mr. FUTSCHER PEREIRA (Portugal): The present resumed session of the General Assembly is a sad reminder to us all that the solution of the problem of Namibia still

³ *Ibid.*, Thirty-fourth Year, Supplement for January, February and March 1979, document S/13120.

lies a long way ahead—a reminder that very little progress, if any, has been achieved in the implementation of the United Nations plan designed to bring about self-rule and independence in that Territory.

34. For months now, painstaking negotiations have been taking place, with the good offices of the Secretary-General and of his Special Representative to eliminate the last existing differences between the two parties. The report of the Secretary-General to the Security Council dated 26 February 1979 seemed to meet those requirements, but its non-acceptance by South Africa, despite the assurances of SWAPO and the front-line States that they would strictly abide by the cease-fire, came as a serious blow to the prospects of reaching a negotiated settlement for the problem of Namibia.

35. Portugal has been following the developments of the situation in that area very closely and, despite recent events, has not yet given up the hope that a peaceful and orderly transition to independence is still possible.

36. But in the opinion of my delegation, that aim can only be achieved if an immediate end is put to the cycle of violence and intransigence which has so far undermined all efforts to implement Security Council resolution 435 (1978). The peoples of southern Africa have waited long enough for the fulfilment of their aspirations to peace and justice, and the time has come to unite the efforts of the whole international community and create the conditions to enable the Namibian people to dispose freely of their own future.

37. I need not dwell at length on the basic principles which in the opinion of my delegation should govern this matter, for the position of my country has been made clear on more than one occasion, and most recently a few days ago when a mission of the United Nations Council for Namibia visited Lisbon. We feel it is necessary to stress, however, that a genuine independence can in our view only be achieved through a free, fair and democratic process and with the full participation of SWAPO and other nationally representative parties in Namibia.

38. But the fairness and validity of that exercise will be seriously impaired if South Africa persists in its policy of arbitrarily detaining SWAPO's followers. We strongly deplore such an attitude on the part of South Africa. Furthermore, how can the Namibian refugees living outside the Territory be expected to return, lay down their arms and participate in the political process that will lead their country to independence if their security or physical integrity is not even guaranteed?

39. Another matter of deep concern to my Government is the decision of South Africa to introduce new unilateral measures aimed at conferring legislative and even executive powers on the so-called Constituent Assembly in Windhoek. In this connexion we cannot help recalling Security Council resolution 439 (1978) of 13 November 1978, condemning the internal elections in Namibia and declaring their results to be null and void and of no consequence to the attainment of genuine independence in Namibia.

40. The South African Government must realize that, unless it puts an end to its policy of confrontation and

decides, instead, to take concrete measures to enable the Namibian people to exercise their right to self-determination and independence through free, fair and democratic elections under United Nations supervision, there can be no lasting settlement in Namibia. Furthermore, the chances of bringing peace to southern Africa will be jeopardized if South Africa persists in substituting for work at the negotiating table acts of intimidation directed against the Namibian people and the front-line States, in particular Angola.

41. The Portuguese Government expects that all parties will live up to their responsibilities and resume the negotiations in good faith and in a spirit of compromise because what is primarily at stake at the present moment is not only the legitimate rights of the Namibian people or the prospects of peace in southern Africa but the upholding of the moral and legal principles that should rule any relationship between nations.

42. Mr. SIDDIQ (Afghanistan): The consideration of the question of Namibia by the General Assembly after a relatively short period is indeed significant. Grave developments in Namibia have led to the resumption of this thirty-third session of the General Assembly. The General Assembly is meeting at a time when negotiations to bring about a peaceful settlement on the basis of Security Council resolution 385 (1976) have reached an impasse owing to the intransigence of the racist minority régime in Pretoria while it is engaged in consolidating its illegal occupation of the Territory, in contravention of the relevant resolutions of the Security Council and the General Assembly.

43. After the ninth special session in 1978 the racist régime appointed a so-called Administrator-General. After the adoption of Security Council resolution 435 (1978), which provided for the holding of elections under the supervision of the United Nations, South Africa proceeded with unilateral elections, as a result of which a so-called Constituent Assembly was created. The events we now see taking place in Namibia, in fact, resemble what was done in Zimbabwe by the racist minority régime of Ian Smith. It is obvious that a similar "internal settlement", which is nothing but the process of bantustanizing Namibia, is being pursued. This Assembly has the responsibility of arresting these developments, whose sole purpose is to pave the way for another unilateral declaration of independence, this time in Namibia, by the puppets of the racist régime. Under such circumstances, the General Assembly, in our view, is facing one of its greatest challenges. The decisions of the General Assembly and the Security Council are being challenged by South Africa, and the challenge has threatened the authority and credibility of the United Nations.

44. As I stated earlier, all this is being done to undermine the efforts to reach a negotiated settlement, and to ensure the perpetuation of South Africa's illegal occupation and its exploitation of the people and the natural resources of the Territory. Meanwhile, the racist régime has intensified its repression against the Namibian people, in particular against SWAPO. It has arrested and detained many leaders and supporters of SWAPO throughout the Territory. The racist régime has also committed acts of aggression against neighbouring countries, particularly Angola and Zambia. A

similar pattern of developments has appeared in Southern Rhodesia. Thus, the racist régimes in southern Africa are resorting to all the means at their disposal to prevent the indigenous peoples of Namibia and Zimbabwe from achieving their inalienable rights to self-determination and independence. In the pursuit of their abhorrent policies, they enjoy the full support of the colonialists and imperialists.

45. What I have outlined briefly is the facts concerning the situation in Namibia. It is obvious that the situation is extremely dangerous and poses a great threat to peace in the area and to international peace and security. It is time that the United Nations faced up to its responsibility in Namibia with resolute and decisive action. We earnestly hope that at this resumed session the General Assembly will be able to elaborate specific measures in this regard and further mobilize the international community to exert pressure on South Africa and strengthen international support for assistance to SWAPO, the sole and authentic representative of the people of Namibia, in their lawful struggle for genuine self-determination and independence, with complete territorial integrity.

46. My delegation will support any commensurate action by the General Assembly to counter the challenge posed by the racist régime in South Africa, including action by the Security Council to impose sanctions provided for in Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations.

47. Permit me to state that the just struggle of peoples under colonial and alien rule has gained victories over the forces of imperialism and colonialism, and the time is not far distant when the indigenous peoples of Namibia and Zimbabwe, under the leadership of SWAPO and the Patriotic Front, will emerge triumphant over the colonialists and lay the foundations of independent and sovereign States in their fatherlands. In their struggle for their legitimate causes and aspirations they have the full co-operation and unswerving support of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan.

48. Mr. BALETA (Albania) (*interpretation from French*): The resumption of debate on the question of Namibia by the General Assembly at its thirty-third session takes place at a time when the situation in Namibia is becoming even more serious and complicated. The people of Namibia, as in the past, continue to be the victims of ferocious aggression and barbarous crimes perpetrated against them by the Fascist Pretoria régime. The Namibian people must, at the same time, face an intensification of the plots and intrigues of the South African racists and of the imperialist Powers designed to prevent a just and final solution to the question of Namibia.

49. Events in recent months in Namibia have once again proved that the régime of the South African racists has not, and never has had, the slightest intention of abandoning of its own free will the policy of *apartheid* and racial discrimination against the Namibian people. Nor does that régime, as is borne out by its deeds, have the slightest intention of taking into account the inalienable rights of the Namibian people to freedom and independence, or the demands of the peoples and world public opinion, or United Nations resolutions and decisions.

50. Recent events confirm even more clearly that the racist Pretoria régime dares stubbornly to pursue its criminal policy in Namibia because it continues to benefit from the generous political, military, economic and diplomatic support of the imperialist Powers, mainly of American imperialism, and because it is encouraged by the troubled and difficult situations created on the African continent as a result of the interference and rivalry of the imperialist super-Powers.

51. At present the South African racists, and the imperialist Powers which protect and encourage them, strive to deceive the Namibian people and world public opinion and to impose on the question of Namibia a so-called solution, which would enable the Pretoria Fascists to maintain their domination in that country. The electoral farce which the enemies of the freedom and independence of the Namibian people have sought to present as a solution to the Namibian question is but the outcome of a long series of plots, hatched to sabotage the national liberation struggle of the Namibian people. It is with the intention of preparing and setting up this farce that the enemies of the Namibian people have given so much publicity to the ideal of a negotiated solution based on the plan presented by the Western Powers, which has been and remains a very dangerous and perfidious plot against the legitimate rights of the Namibian people.

52. The people and Government of Albania have always supported, and continue to support, the just cause of the Namibian people. We support their right to freedom and independence with the territorial integrity of their country. The people and Government of Albania will support, as they have supported so far, the struggle of the Namibian people for national liberation, led by SWAPO, against the colonial domination of the Fascists of South Africa, and against imperialism, colonialism, and neo-colonialism.

53. Once again we energetically condemn before this Assembly the barbarous crimes which the Pretoria clique continues to perpetrate against the Namibian people, as well as all the plots hatched by that clique and the imperialist Powers to prevent the Namibian people from proceeding to general independence and the recovery of their freedom. We energetically condemn any attempt by the South African racists and by the imperialist Powers to impose on the Namibian people a puppet régime and thus perpetuate the domination of colonialism and neo-colonialism in Namibia.

54. We are firmly convinced that nothing can compel the Namibian people to renounce their ardent desire and their legitimate aspirations to live in freedom and independence. The Namibian people have seen from their own experience and from the experience of other brother African peoples that the best means of exercising their legitimate rights is to pursue the course of resolute struggle against the racist régimes, and against the intrigues of imperialism, social imperialism, colonialism, and neo-colonialism. We firmly support the armed national liberation struggle of the Namibian people. It is this struggle carried to its end which will undoubtedly lead the Namibian people to victory and general independence, and bring to naught the plots and intrigues of their enemies.

55. Mr. HARRIMAN (Nigeria): One's tongue is not necessarily bitter because of its inherent bitterness; it often becomes bitter because of the bitter taste of a bitter experience. So it is for some of us who have been very close to the incidents and developments in South Africa for some time now, and if some of us appear to be unequivocally outspoken because of our exposure to this wicked world of racial humiliation and intimidation across the colour line, it is because this is our locus, the locus of people of South African descent who have been through a very long struggle, through supplication and prayer, through intimidation, through dehumanization and through continuing exploitation of the black man all over the world before God and man.

56. Once again the General Assembly has had to be reconvened in a resumed session to examine the question of Namibia in the face of continuing and fresh manoeuvres by, in particular, the racist régime in Pretoria, which has paralysed United Nations efforts to implement decisions and independence plans in all of southern Africa in accordance with resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council.

57. This has been the case for too long. The more we have persevered, and the greater our sacrifices for peace, the more profound has been our frustration. My delegation is participating in the current debate with a view to joining others that have preceded it in underlining the serious threat to international peace and security provoked by South Africa in southern Africa. South Africa's inordinate steps include designs to emplace puppet régimes everywhere in South Africa, and as always are designed to freeze and distort independence plans contrived following long and often disheartening and excruciating efforts by the international community. Worse still, we regard all attempts by the racists and their subtle backers behind the scenes to foist a puppet régime on Namibia—as exemplified in the discredited Turnhalle group—as a brazen insult to the general will of the Namibian people, and in Southern Rhodesia their antics have been a pathetic illusion.

58. It would be pertinent at this stage to examine some of the actions by the South Africans which have proved conclusively that the Pretoria régime has significantly deviated from the prescriptions of the United Nations independence plan. We recall with consternation and indignation South Africa's unilateral decision, after its deceptive acceptance of the United Nations plan, to compile a so-called register of voters in the Territory, pre-empting the responsibilities of the United Nations Transition Assistance Group. As many of us recall, this deceptive acceptance came on the eve of the ninth special session, held on Namibia, last year.

59. As if this were not agonizing enough, the South African Government proceeded to hold unilateral elections in the Territory in defiance of the decisions of the Security Council, which had the concurrence of South Africa's Western friends that such elections had no legal validity or consequence and that no recognition would be accorded to any government which emanated from such a one-sided and obviously fraudulent electoral process.

60. Events in the past few weeks have shown conclusively that the Pretoria régime has indeed, through the December

elections, laid the foundation for the consolidation of its own internal settlement in the Territory. And, while the entire international community remained alert and conscious of those manoeuvres by the racists, it was not possible to reckon in advance with some irresponsible utterances by certain politicians in certain countries who, seeking political power, immorally utilized the situation in the Territory for the sole purpose of attracting right-wing votes during their electoral campaigns. It is indeed distressing, in the view of my delegation, that such a development, particularly in one of the five States that were the authors of the original United Nations plan, has had the negative effect of strengthening South Africa's current intransigence. Their utilizing the ignoble situation in Southern Rhodesia as their test of their innovative experience and experiments in new norms of racist democracy is, to me and my delegation, very bewildering.

61. We all know, of course, that as the South African presence in Namibia is in itself illegal all acts by the illegal administration set up in the Territory are *ipso facto* illegal. The same applies to Rhodesia. Permit me to dwell on that. To say that legality does not and cannot flow from illegality is patently obvious, and I presume that the racists and their backers are quite aware of this fact. But, all the same, Pretoria dreams of the possibility of consolidating its ongoing process through an internal settlement, drawing support from a new resurgence of right-wing fanaticism in both the United States and Britain—à la Zimbabwe-Rhodesia.

62. It is only in this context that the ugly events of the last six weeks in southern Africa make any sense. First, there was Pretoria's brazen declaration that it would grant both economic and military assistance to the Muzorewa administration, if and when installed, in spite of the glaring irregularities in the April election. This is an administration which is based on a Constitution drawn up by an illegal Government and enshrining white privilege and white supremacy. Secondly, the Pretoria régime moved rapidly to confer legislative powers on the so-called Constituent Assembly elected last December in Namibia in conditions that would not ordinarily be allowed even in a Fascist State. Finally, a decision was taken to form an interim Government to be constituted from that legislative body with the avowed aim of luring leaders of the Namibia National Front and the SWAPO-Democrats, so-called, who did not in fact take part in the December elections, and isolating SWAPO, which symbolizes the mainstream of the nationalist movement. I have yet to be told of any of the aforementioned measures which have not violated the basic principles of democracy or the democratic tradition as we know it even in countries with close ties with South Africa.

63. These events, disturbing as they are, constitute only one facet of the unfolding Namibian tragedy and the unfolding tragedy throughout southern Africa. The racists, we are reliably informed, in anticipation of increased nationalist resistance, have stepped up their policies of repression and suppression. The occupation force has intensified its harassment and intimidation of SWAPO and its supporters and has indeed herded virtually all its leaders into detention.

64. We have also heard reports of renewed escalation in the militarization of the Territory at a time when South

Africa's military presence should have been scaled down in conformity with the spirit and letter of the United Nations independence plan, said to have been accepted by South Africa. That is not all. Martial law has been broadened to encompass the whole Territory, including Windhoek, virtually locking Namibia in an unprecedented stranglehold, the monstrosity and callousness of which has no parallel even among totalitarian States in recorded history. At the same time, the racists and their allies in Salisbury have stepped up their criminal incursions into neighbouring African States, particularly Angola, Mozambique and Zambia, bringing death and desolation to the peoples and their homes. The outcry over the Cubans going to save Angola from invasion by South Africa has been heard, has resounded, has echoed, but those monstrous raids, bringing death to thousands and thousands of innocent people, only receive passing comments, in which they are described as raids on guerrilla camps. Even in this the Western press appears to be in collusion for as soon as the raids take place, thousands of miles away, they are reported by Reuters and United Press International as raids on guerrilla camps, but invariably, as we have seen, in Kassinga, in Mozambique, in Zambia, they have been raids on poor women and children. Where is morality? I think that those raids constituted the most outrageous display of military arrogance since the decimation of Jews by Nazi Germany during the Second World War.

65. The question now is, What does the international community expect of the United Nations in the face of South Africa's continued recalcitrance and defiance? During the two and a half years that we have been speaking and negotiating here new developments have taken place. In trade between the United States and South Africa, imports to the United States from South Africa increased in 1978 by 70 per cent; there were larger stocks, greater confidence in commercial contacts. In addition, loans to South Africa, which fell from about \$2.4 billion after Soweto to \$300 million in 1977, have gone up almost to the previous level during the period of our negotiations over Namibia and Rhodesia.

66. My delegation believes that the United Nations is now left with no alternative but to adopt appropriate measures as provided for under the Charter. The General Assembly must, during this session, recommend that the Security Council consider urgently the adoption of broad, effective, comprehensive and mandatory sanctions against the Pretoria régime as prescribed in Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter, unless that régime and its minions in Salisbury are prepared to hold elections supervised by the United Nations. That is all we are asking; nothing more. What is democracy? Democracy is Turnhalle, according to Whitehall and Washington.

67. We know from experience that the adoption of comprehensive sanctions against the Pretoria régime will always be an exercise in futility until South Africa's Western friends abandon their policy of the carrot rather than the stick. I use the image of the stick to indicate, for once, that political will that will ensure faithful compliance with the proposed measures. It is something I have spoken of again and again over the last three years.

68. There is no need for me to remind the West, particularly the "Western five"—and I apologize for lumping the five together, because those five on whose initiative the United Nations plan was drafted are not all on the same level—that their credibility has been put on the line by South Africa's behaviour. If they do not accept this, then I wonder if it is the wish of the "Western five" to be taken seriously in future international negotiations affecting Africa, even in areas of minimal importance. These countries have a moral duty to themselves as individual countries and for the sake of their collective credibility to act to end South Africa's defiance. They can do this by supporting measures which will compel South Africa to co-operate. In so doing, they would be acting in faithful compliance with their obligations, their responsibilities and, I dare say, their honour. In doing this, they will nip in the bud a volatile, fast-developing and explosive situation which, if not carefully handled, will degenerate into a bloody racial conflagration enveloping the entire region including the racist citadel in South Africa itself.

69. The West has no one but itself to blame for the current stalemate in the implementation of the United Nations plan which, in fact, grew out of its own proposals for a peaceful solution of the Namibian problem. No one now denies the fact that its double standard, based on a lop-sided use of the carrot rather than the stick—as I said earlier—its prevarication of yesteryear in stalling decisive action within the United Nations system—action which would long before now have brought South Africa to the path of sanity—and its lack of political will, which enabled the racist régime to persist in its defiance of the decisions of this Assembly—all this provides a very grim background to the paralysis that has characterized United Nations action in this matter and in several other similar matters. As I said earlier, it is certainly not our fault if the West's stubborn protégé, that is, South Africa, nurtured and pampered over the last three years, and even long before, has now grown into an overbearing monster taunting mentors and opponents alike to do their damndest.

70. Be that as it may, my delegation would like to place on record our satisfaction and commendation to Member States, particularly those in the West, that have taken unilateral action against the Pretoria régime for its continued defiance of United Nations resolutions and decisions. In this regard, we recall with admiration the decision of revolutionary Iran to cut off oil supplies to the racists. We are no less impressed by the legislative action taken by the Nordic States to freeze their present level of investments in South Africa as well as to prohibit further infusion of loans and credits to the racists. We are equally gratified by the report that those States have stepped up their humanitarian assistance to SWAPO. We expect identical gestures from other Western countries. To those States, however, which persist in their criminal and immoral collaboration with the racists in their current reprehensible policies in the Territory, my delegation would like to state once again that Nigeria will not hesitate to take such action as is within its power or such measures as it deems in the national interest and in the wider interests of our continent against such States which continue to exploit their links with South Africa to the detriment of genuine freedom and liberation in Namibia, and indeed in the whole of southern Africa.

71. We must not lose sight of the fact that Namibia enjoys a special status even among States still held under colonial bondage. We must never forget that it was the League of Nations, the natural precursor of the United Nations, which handed the Mandate of the Territory to racist South Africa. The international community must now proceed further, beyond the revocation of the Mandate, to taking full physical control of the Territory. This is one debt the United Nations owes to the Territory and its defenceless inhabitants. Namibians yearn to be rescued from the cruel clutches of South Africa. The international community has an abiding moral responsibility to ensure that these legitimate yearnings and aspirations for self-determination are fulfilled with the minimum of hardship and delay.

72. In addition to a solemn reaffirmation of support for the cause of genuine freedom and independence in Namibia, the General Assembly must make the appropriate recommendations in the circumstances for urgent consideration by the Security Council. We also call on the Security Council to be up and doing concerning the implementation of the recommendations handed down by the General Assembly, if its credibility as mankind's custodian of international peace and security is not to be further compromised and eroded. Sufficient damage has already been dealt to that credibility, as is evident from South Africa's continued and open defiance of the Council's decisions. The time is now more than ripe to call the racists' bluff.

73. In the continuing crusade against racism in southern Africa and throughout the world, in our relentless struggle for the attainment of genuine freedom in Namibia, we should always remember that no contribution is too small and that no effort should be regarded as wasted. In this connexion, we call on all pressure groups all over the world—anti-apartheid organizations and other non-governmental organizations, intellectuals, church bodies, youth, student movements, trade unions and women's organizations—to reinforce their current noble efforts for the mobilization of international support for the cause of the Namibian people and for the cause of all southern Africa. They should continue to focus world opinion on the excesses of the illegal racist administration and to expose the indefensible activities of their international backers.

74. For our part, in consistency with our policy of support for all persons engaged in the legitimate struggle for self-determination all over the world, we will continue, and indeed, redouble our political and material assistance to SWAPO. SWAPO's past record and the political maturity demonstrated by the organization during the delicate negotiations for independence under United Nations auspices in the face of South Africa's continued provocation have proved conclusively that it symbolizes the genuine aspirations of all Namibians.

75. Even at this late hour, we believe that the original authors of the United Nations independence plan, which happen to be South Africa's closest allies, still have the political leverage, power and prestige to clip the arrogant wings of their overgrown protégé. However, should they in their judgement believe that their interests are best protected by allowing South Africa, either through their own sheer inaction or through active connivance, to proceed to

consolidate the processes it has initiated towards an internal settlement, we should like to issue a solemn note of warning. First, that would be a misguided approach. Second, South Africa's Western backers must realize that solutions, which do not enjoy any broad support but are geared to the installation of discredited quislings either in Zimbabwe or in Namibia or in both, are bound to fail, since such a process will only bring a distorted peace, lacking any grass-roots support. Valiant patriots who would rather die than live as slaves in perpetuity will step up the struggle against the racists and their backers.

76. In that event, I would assure all and sundry, SWAPO will not be alone. The racists must be prepared to face a formidable array of opponents spanning all the continents and involving all shades of progressive opinion throughout the world. Namibians may be required to make additional sacrifices. Admittedly, their present hardship may be further compounded. It is possible that defenceless and innocent blood may still have to be shed, but final victory, the ultimate reward for those engaged in legitimate struggle for basic rights and human dignity in their God-given country, will, *mutatis mutandis*, be, even for the aggrieved Namibians, only a question of time, as it will be for all South Africans.

77. Mr. SINGH (Fiji): In convening this special session, the United Nations has rightly accorded high priority to the decolonization of the international Territory of Namibia. From recent developments in the Territory, as well as from previous statements, including that of the President of SWAPO, Mr. Nujoma [97th meeting], it is evident that the situation has assumed critical proportions. Because of this, it is clearly the responsibility of the international community to encourage effective measures that will expedite the speedy and genuine decolonization of Namibia in its entirety; for failure to act decisively now may well have adverse consequences for the peace and security of the region, and perhaps beyond.

78. Namibia's prolonged and painful pursuit of its inalienable right to freedom has been denied by South Africa's persistent refusal to relinquish its illegal occupation of the Territory. Instead of complying with numerous United Nations decisions calling for its unconditional withdrawal from Namibia, South Africa has aggravated the situation by devising its own political strategies in order to perpetuate its illegal control of the Territory. Moreover, South Africa has increased the militarization of the Territory and thereby has caused untold suffering not only to the Namibian people but to others as well, by its attacks on neighbouring African States. Such violent acts must be persistently condemned by the international community.

79. In its efforts to consolidate its occupation of the Territory, South Africa initiated a so-called election last December which was declared "null and void" at the last session of the General Assembly. Despite this, South Africa has attempted to install the so-called National Assembly in the Territory. It is indeed regrettable that such dubious political strategies have been initiated by South Africa, especially while it was participating in discussions initiated by five Western States for a political solution of the Namibian question. Such unilateral measures taken by South Africa, in contravention of the conditions stipulated

by the United Nations for the genuine decolonization of the Territory, have only served to exacerbate the tension in the area and made the attainment of a negotiated settlement impossible to this day.

Mr. Maina (Kenya), Vice-President, took the Chair.

80. In order to facilitate the attainment of an internationally acceptable solution for Namibia, it is imperative that South Africa comply fully with major United Nations decisions that have been adopted in respect of the Territory—particularly Security Council resolutions 385 (1976) and 435 (1978). My delegation is firmly of the view that genuine majority rule can be achieved only if the transfer of power is effected through free and fair elections held under the auspices of the United Nations. In order to permit free and fair elections, it is vital that the fundamental liberties that have been arbitrarily suspended be restored, so that the entire Namibian people can participate fully in the electoral processes leading to the independence of the country. In this regard, it is also crucial that, in order to secure a just and lasting solution in Namibia, major political groupings, like SWAPO, be fully involved in all stages of the decolonization of the Territory, for we are firmly of the view that it is for the people of a Territory to decide freely their own political future, in accordance with General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV).

81. We are mindful of the efforts being made to expedite the genuine decolonization of the Territory. In this regard, the consistent efforts of our Secretary-General, as well as those of the United Nations Council for Namibia in its capacity as the legal Administering Authority of the Territory, are commendable. Further in this regard, note must also be taken of the important efforts being made by the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, including the positive decisions it adopted at its meeting in Belgrade from 23 to 27 April of this year.⁴ But to our deep regret, all these efforts so far have failed to impress upon South Africa the urgency the international community attaches to the speedy decolonization of Namibia.

82. We have also followed with interest the efforts of the five Western States to bring about a negotiated settlement in Namibia. These initiatives have not produced the desired results so far, largely because South Africa has been attempting to impose its own solutions on Namibia—solutions that have defied and persistently ignored the very basic conditions stipulated by the United Nations for genuine majority rule in Namibia. It is, therefore, for the international community, including the five Western States, to maintain the search for effective measures that would firmly impress upon South Africa the futility of its unilateral actions to delay the genuine independence of Namibia.

83. In the continued search for a peaceful solution of the question, the significance of appropriate enforcement measures must be fully considered. The enforcement of the arms embargo was a significant action on the part of the international community, and it is now for those having the

capacity for meaningful action to explore further measures to facilitate the speedy achievement of an internationally acceptable solution for the Territory.

84. Finally, we believe that this important special session taking place at a critical stage of Namibia's pursuit of its independence will reiterate its unequivocal concern and support for the freedom of the Namibian people; for it is the United Nations and its relevant organs that have a major responsibility to facilitate the independence of a people that has been denied its freedom for too long.

85. Mr. JAMAL (Qatar) (*interpretation from Arabic*): My delegation is deeply disturbed with regard to the deteriorating situation arising from the continued illegal occupation by South Africa of the Territory of Namibia and the continuation by that country of its programme to put into power its agents, whose odious practices and aggressions against the Namibian people are in defiance of the resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council, of world public opinion and of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

86. The situation in Namibia has reached a new and decisive phase. It is ceaselessly deteriorating. Similarly, it represents a serious danger not only to the African continent but to international peace and security. This is the result of the continued illegal presence of the South African régime and the failure of efforts to compel that racist régime to withdraw and to permit the Namibian to exercise their legitimate right to self-determination, freedom and national independence.

87. The General Assembly adopted resolution 2145 (XXI), putting an end to the Mandate of South Africa over Namibia and placing that Territory under the direct responsibility of the United Nations, with the purpose of fulfilling the aspirations of the Namibians to self-determination, freedom and genuine independence within the framework of a unified Namibia. The Assembly considered the action taken by South Africa unilaterally to impose an internal settlement on the Namibian people as null and void and incompatible with all the resolutions of the United Nations and the two Security Council resolutions, 385 (1976) and 435 (1978), providing for free and fair elections under the control and auspices of the United Nations in order to bring about self-determination and true independence for Namibia.

88. Qatar associates itself with all peace-loving countries in the world in expressing its concern in the face of the actions of the Fascist régime in South Africa, which is pursuing its colonial programme with a view to placing a puppet régime in power in Namibia on the basis of a farcical internal settlement in order to destroy its national unity and to preserve the interests of the South African régime and to profit from the national riches of Namibia. This constitutes a flagrant violation of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and is a crime against the conscience and dignity of mankind. It also constitutes a denial of the rights of the peoples still under foreign domination. The United Nations, as the Administering Authority having legal authority over the Territory until it accedes to independence, has a special responsibility towards the people of Namibia to eliminate the aggressions

⁴ See document A/AC.109/578.

injustices and repressions from which that people has suffered, and to take urgent measures to ensure their legitimate and inalienable right to self-determination and national independence.

89. Qatar vigorously condemns the continuation of the illegal occupation by South Africa of the Territory of Namibia and condemns the massive repressions undertaken by South Africa against the Namibian people, which constitute an act of aggression and a flagrant defiance of the United Nations and world public opinion and of the efforts of the international community to bring about freedom and independence for Namibia. Faced with the continuation of this situation and the failure of the South African Government to respect United Nations resolutions, the international community bears an historic responsibility for applying the extreme sanctions decided upon by the United Nations against South Africa, and this should be undertaken energetically and resolutely by all countries. As a matter of urgency, the Security Council should be called upon to take practical binding measures, in accordance with Chapter VII of the Charter, against South Africa. It must act to eliminate policies and practices of this kind and to condemn them internationally with a view to guaranteeing respect for the human rights and fundamental freedoms of all, without distinction of any kind, whether as to religion, sex, or language.

90. Qatar supports unreservedly and energetically the just struggle being waged by the people of Namibia against the forces of evil and aggression with a view to bringing about their liberation and genuine national independence. It would be impossible to bring about a negotiated settlement outside the framework of the United Nations or without the consent of SWAPO, the sole legitimate representative of the Namibian people. We should also condemn and repudiate the so-called internal settlement which constitutes a manoeuvre by South Africa, a country which has demonstrated neither goodwill nor any real disposition to engage in serious negotiations.

91. The attitude of Qatar with regard to this problem can be summed up in the following five points.

92. First, there must be an unconditional and immediate withdrawal of South African armed forces from the whole of the Territory of Namibia, including Walvis Bay, which constitutes an integral part of the Territory of Namibia, and the Namibian people must be permitted to exercise their fundamental and inalienable right to self-determination and national independence.

93. Secondly, the Government of South Africa must respect all resolutions of the General Assembly and Security Council relating to the Namibian problem, must cease forthwith its criminal attempts to set up a puppet régime in Namibia to destroy national unity and finally must abolish all the legislation applied in the Territory.

94. Thirdly, it must immediately release all political detainees and prisoners, and permit all those in exile to return to Namibia and to participate freely in choosing their government.

95. Fourthly, South Africa must cease its repeated acts of aggression against neighbouring States and should respect their regional sovereignty.

96. Fifthly, any settlement of the Namibian problem can only take place with the total and direct participation of SWAPO as the sole legitimate representative of the Namibian people.

97. Today we are dealing with one of the most important questions faced by the United Nations for some time. This problem involves the tragedy of a whole people who have been deprived of their most elementary legitimate rights because of a brutal aggression committed by the South African régime. The Namibian people hope that the United Nations will quickly succeed in bringing about a just solution of the tragedy inflicted upon them and will translate into permanent reality the noble purposes and principles of the Charter, so that they may be able to exercise their right to self-determination and national independence.

98. Mr. ALBORNOZ (Ecuador) (*interpretation from Spanish*): The General Assembly has, for several months, patiently postponed the closure of its session, waiting for progress to be made in the serious question of Namibia.

99. The absence of such progress and the rebellion of the Pretoria Government against United Nations General Assembly and Security Council resolutions have made of this subject a matter of grave concern to all States Members because at stake therein is the prestige of the world Organization and the guarantee of the viability of its mandates, which is an indissoluble part of the international legal system in which we all trust.

100. My delegation associates itself with the steps taken by the United Nations in regard to Namibia, not only because we voted in favour of them, but also because of the permanent adherence of Ecuador to the principles of the elimination of colonialism, the peaceful settlement of all disputes, the self-determination of peoples, non-recognition of the occupation of territories by the use of force, rejection of the policy of *apartheid*, and unrestricted respect for human rights.

101. But, as the Foreign Minister of my country stated in the general debate of this Assembly:

“The continued illegal presence of South Africa in Namibia must come to an end as soon as possible . . . Another challenge by South Africa to our Organization’s resolutions would be intolerable and should be duly considered by the competent organs of the world Organization.” [13th meeting, para. 171.]

102. That is precisely the case. The logical solution by the application of democratic principles implied in the legal birth of a country by means of universal suffrage in free elections under United Nations supervision has been ignored. The people of Namibia has no choice but to rely on the action of the World Organization, if that can be made effective, or to take matters into its own hands, in order to achieve political independence and full self-government.

103. My country, therefore, advocates free elections as the best political choice, in accordance with the peaceful and civilized behaviour that should characterize countries in international coexistence in a world at peace. Ecuador upholds these principles and practises them. In proof of this we have just completed an entire process of presidential and parliamentary elections with the full participation of political parties and with guarantees in full effect and respected by the national Government. Thus the will of the majority of the country was manifested with the highest percentage of voter turn-out in our political history.
104. That is why we consider ourselves to be authorized to advocate the prompt and democratic solution represented by elections as the expression of the free will of the people, rather than any so-called internal settlement obviously influenced by the country which illegally imposes its authority on the Namibian people. The holding of honest elections of necessity requires the return of absent political elements and the release of Namibian political prisoners by South Africa. It is not feasible to accord legal validity to staged elections such as those held in December last, or to the establishment of a phoney Constituent Assembly, since several parties refrained from participating in those activities and the result was disproportionately favourable to the views of the illegal occupation forces.
105. Furthermore, any solution must respect the territorial integrity and the economic viability of the Territory of Namibia. That is, to say that it must include Walvis Bay in the geographical unity and composition of that Territory.
106. We further consider that as United Nations forces are stationed to ensure the maintenance of order and a *bona fide* electoral process, all South African forces must withdraw except those which, in the opinion of the Security Council and SWAPO are acceptable. At any rate, any remaining forces must also leave the Territory at the time of the declaration of the independence of the new State. It was the International Court of Justice which determined that the presence of South Africa in Namibia was illegal and therefore that it was compelled to withdraw.
107. Unfortunately, 12 years after General Assembly resolution 2145 (XXI), there is no progress on this question despite efforts made by the five Western Powers to try to bring about the viable implementation of Security Council resolution 385 (1976), which had been announced as the expression of joint acceptance of that resolution.
108. The time has come, therefore, for the international community, in defence of its authority and prestige, to begin the consideration and implementation of the appropriate sanctions provided for in the Charter, unless the Government of South Africa changes its policy of illegal occupation and of intolerable racism in the odious form of *apartheid* and decides to comply with General Assembly and Security Council resolutions. The restoration of complete freedom of the press and of movement within the country would also be prerequisites.
109. We applaud efforts made by the United Nations Council for Namibia, which is the only legal Administering Authority in Namibia under United Nations resolutions, since that Territory is the direct responsibility of the world Organization until it attains self-determination and national independence by the aforementioned means of free elections.
110. The efforts of the Secretary-General and of his Special Representative for Namibia, Mr. Ahtisaari, have been wise and persevering. The proposals of the Secretary-General in his February report provide viable prospects of realistic solutions. The acceptance of his proposals by SWAPO and by the five Western Powers leaves South Africa in stubborn opposition to any settlement negotiated under United Nations auspices. Therefore, South Africa alone bears the responsibility for any development of events other than a negotiated and viable settlement in the shortest time.
111. For the above reasons, the delegation of Ecuador views with sympathy the gesture of the African group at the United Nations which submitted for the consideration of the Latin American group, as well as of each member of that group, draft resolution A/33/L.37 requesting support. More than a century and a half ago our country also achieved independence with the sympathy of public opinion and tangible support from several international sources combined with our own efforts. We wish to express our solidarity with the people of Namibia in their striving for independence. Ecuador joins the sponsors of that draft resolution in the hope that it will both serve the purpose of the liberation of that beleaguered country and strengthen the authority of the United Nations system.
112. Mr. RADIX (Grenada): On 13 March 1979 a new Government was installed in Grenada, and this is the first time since then that we have had the opportunity to address the Assembly. Allow me then, on behalf of my Prime Minister, Mr. Maurice Bishop, the members of the new revolutionary Government of Grenada and the people of Grenada, and on my own behalf, to offer members warm and sincere greetings and to say how proud we are to be represented here.
113. For too long the unpopular and oppressive Government of South Africa has been defying the high organs of the United Nations and world opinion on the acute question of self-determination for the people of Namibia. The question of Namibia first came to the attention of the United Nations over 30 years ago, when South Africa decided to annex that Territory and spread the cancer of *apartheid* to the Namibian land and people. Despite the brave and vigilant struggle of the Namibian people, the Fascist Pretoria régime divided families and banned the ownership and enjoyment by the people of the land of their birth. They plundered and raped the human and material resources of the land with the false hope of fully subjugating the will of the courageous people of that Territory.
114. In recent years the Security Council has come to regard the vicious and flagrantly illegal acts of South Africa in Namibia as threats to world peace and security. Repeated calls by the General Assembly, the Security Council, the International Court of Justice and the international community for South Africa to relinquish its illegal hold on Namibia have fallen on deaf, racist ears. The continued

illegal occupation of Namibia by South Africa is an act of war. Under the steadfast leadership of SWAPO, the Namibian people have risen to fight South Africa for the liberation and complete independence of Namibia.

115. Each day the arch enemy of mankind, South African *apartheid*, is driven out inch by inch from the presence of the Namibians and flung into the ocean. As the struggle of the Namibian people moves to newer and higher stages of success, the Fascist and racist régime becomes more and more oppressive. No longer content to wage war in Namibia, the international bandits in Pretoria are with criminal intent committing grave acts of aggression against the fully independent and sovereign front-line States.

116. The massacre of men, women and defenceless children of 4 May 1977 at Kassinga, in independent Angola, is one of the most cowardly, brutal and nauseating acts in the total history of the modern world. Such murderous acts have been repeated, each assault being more vicious and hostile than the last. It would appear that the South African Fascists are bent on the complete eradication of all forms of human existence in that mineral-rich land. But the blood of the Namibian martyrs is the cement with which the nation of a free Namibia is being built.

117. The people of Grenada have only recently overthrown a brutal dictator and in doing so released themselves from oppression. We in Grenada have our eyes fixed on those nations that claim to support the high ideals of the Charter of the United Nations but which in the same breath give aid, comfort and support to the racist régime. For the sake of a few dollars many nations sell their souls to keep that minority clique in power. But the eyes and the consciences of the world see them and know who they are. All their support cannot defeat the will of the Namibian people to achieve self-determination, independence and national liberation.

118. The holding of sham elections by South Africa in Namibia and the pretended victory of their puppet, the Turnhalle Alliance, will not be recognized or tolerated by the people or revolutionary Government of Grenada. We have suffered through the experiences of slavery, colonialism, racism and neo-colonialism, so we know at first hand what racist oppression is. As I mentioned before, only two months ago, through a popular and bloodless revolution, we proclaimed the rights of self-determination and real independence. The majority of the people of our country are of African descent, and therefore, through contemporary understanding of the plight of black and third-world peoples, each day, in an intense and intimate way, we share the sufferings of the Namibian people.

119. Grenada therefore welcomes the call of the United Nations that 1979 be observed as the International Year of Solidarity with the People of Namibia and calls for the implementation of Security Council resolutions 385 (1976) and 435 (1978). Grenada is also pleased to add its name to the list of sponsors of draft resolution A/33/L.37. We adopt the call by the Organization of African Unity for the isolation of the *apartheid* régime and for the exertion of maximum pressure against those vested interests that act in concert with it. The Government and people of Grenada will give all forms of support to the Namibian people and their vanguard, SWAPO, in their liberation struggles.

120. The time has come when the United Nations must, with the total support of the international community, take firm and resolute action against South Africa, the only country in the world that has for so long defied not only the United Nations but people of goodwill throughout the world.

121. South Africa poses a threat not only to Namibia but to the whole of southern Africa. All the peoples of the world united to defeat the fascism of Hitler. We are there commanded to action before the world is plunged into a racial war. The time to act is now. Grenada therefore urges that the cancer of South African *apartheid* be removed through the invocation of the mandatory measures contained in Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations. The year 1979 must be recorded in history not only as the year of solidarity with the people of Namibia but also as the year of their total victory.

122. Mr. MAKEKA (Lesotho): Since this is the first time that I have spoken in this discussion, may I reaffirm my delegation's felicitations at seeing Mr. Liévano of Colombia in the Chair. The manner in which Mr. Liévano has conducted the deliberations of this resumed session so far and his demonstrated commitment and dedication to the eradication of racism and *apartheid* from our planet has convinced us beyond doubt that he will guide our deliberations to a fruitful conclusion.

123. It is my delegation's belief that this resumed session could not have been held at a more opportune time because this is a time when the Namibian question is definitely in the hands of this Organization and hanging critically in the balance. During the last 20 months the world community has patiently observed the United Nations plan for Namibian independence unfold, only to see it halted on the eve of its implementation. As we sit here today there is no doubt in our minds that the plan has come to a complete halt because of racist South Africa's continuing intransigence.

124. It will be recalled that, in addressing this Assembly on this same issue a few months ago [28th meeting], my Foreign Minister expressed our appreciation of the efforts of the five European Powers to negotiate a peaceful and internationally acceptable solution to the Namibian problem. The international community welcomed the Secretary-General's report to the Security Council and, indeed, gave overwhelming support to the United Nations plan for Namibian independence because it represented a genuine—and the best—attempt to translate Security Council resolution 385 (1976) into operational language.

125. We are all aware of what has ensued since then. It is therefore time for all of us to accept the fact that South Africa never intended to relinquish its racist grip on Namibia. In our view it never actually accepted the terms of Security Council resolution 385 (1976) or, for that matter, anything that emanated or flowed from that resolution. I need not bore this Assembly with the well documented history of South Africa's illegal occupation of Namibia and its unparalleled defiance of General Assembly and Security Council resolutions on Namibia right from that mysterious and unfortunate day when the League of (largely European) Nations handed the Territory of Namibia to South Africa, a European dominion.

126. A close look at the events of the last 12 months clearly indicates that South Africa's announcement of its so-called acceptance of the United Nations plan was timed to coincide with the ninth special session of the General Assembly, on the question of Namibia, for no purpose other than to buy time for its nefarious deeds. The recent actions of South Africa, which include the holding of bogus elections in the Territory last year and, more recently, the South African decision to bestow legislative and executive powers upon the so-called Constituent Assembly, are but steps in a grand design calculated to impose on the Namibian people an *apartheid* puppet régime that would entrench and perpetuate racist South Africa's domination of Namibia.

127. South Africa's continued illegal and brutal domination and occupation of Namibia is neither excusable nor justifiable. Unfortunately it continues to impose untold and immense suffering on the people of Namibia. For the uninformed it is difficult to understand South Africa's stubborn defiance of the international community in ignoring completely the decisions of the International Court of Justice; in violating, with unsurpassed arrogance, all known precepts of international law; and in its continued occupation of Namibia and harassment, oppression, torture, murder and massacre of Namibians. The other day the Permanent Representative of India, with his usual eloquence, outlined the whole issue in clear and concise terms [100th meeting].

128. South Africa persists in its inhuman policies and continues to defy the world community on this question of Namibia because it knows that the European countries, members of this Organization, will always protect and defend it. We fail to see the rationale behind this protection on the part of the European countries, because, legally, morally and otherwise, South Africa is indefensible. It is difficult for one to deny that these countries defend South Africa simply because it is the whites in South Africa who are oppressing and exploiting the blacks. If this is true we warn that racism cannot be a basis for a long-term policy. Africans will ultimately gain their freedom in southern Africa, and they know who their friends are and who their enemies are. What is unfortunate is that this protectiveness has led South Africa to move ahead with its plans for a Rhodesia type of unilateral declaration of independence in Namibia, thus presenting the world community with one fait accompli after another.

129. Verbally South Africa purportedly continues to assure the world community that it is prepared to continue negotiations. This is a clear ploy to delay affirmative action on the part of the United Nations. At this stage South Africa has created a dangerous situation in Namibia with its military build-up, estimated at well over 75,000 combat troops. As we heard in the statement of the President of SWAPO, Mr. Sam Nujoma, [97th meeting], the leader of the heroic nationalists of Namibia, and in the statement of Ambassador Lusaka of Zambia [ibid.], the President of United Nations Council for Namibia, South Africa has embarked on a co-ordinated plan of ruthless and brutal massacre, arrests and torture of Namibians and of aggression and subversion in the neighbouring countries. Not only does it continue its aggression against Angola and Zambia, killing innocent women and children in Namibian refugee

camps, but it is known to be behind the cowardly invasion by the Smith-Muzorewa régime of refugee camps in the People's Republic of Mozambique. It is therefore imperative for the world community to make determined efforts to defuse this dangerous situation.

130. The mass arrest of SWAPO leaders and their followers in Namibia is a further step by South Africa to stifle any opposition to its *apartheid* policies aimed at transforming Namibia into a bantustan and thereby perpetuating its presence and oppression. It cannot be denied that, while SWAPO continues to negotiate in good faith and to make concessions, South Africa only takes one step forward in order to take two backwards. We think it is absurd for South Africa to insist that the proposed United Nations force should monitor SWAPO movements not only in Namibia but also in neighbouring countries. To begin with, it is racist South Africa whose presence in Namibia is illegal.

131. Secondly, we do not hear South Africa proposing that the United Nations force be allowed to monitor South African forces inside South Africa as well. The truth of the matter is that South Africans have used their delaying tactics during the negotiating period of the last 18 months to tighten their racist stranglehold on Namibia, while sparing no effort to discredit SWAPO among the Namibian people and to erode the overwhelming support it enjoys from all civilized countries. It is therefore imperative for all of us to ensure that SWAPO is urgently strengthened diplomatically, financially, materially and otherwise. This Assembly must make it clear to South Africa that the international community will not allow the diplomatic gains so far made by SWAPO to be eroded or reversed through that country's nefarious delaying tactics and self-serving stratagems. It is an illusion on the part of South Africa to assume that the approval or support of its illegal occupation of Namibia will always be determined by developments in other countries. It is erroneous even for it to assume that the so-called conservative trend in some European countries signifies an endorsement of obstinate racism.

132. The Lesotho Government sees no alternative to the United Nations plan for Namibia if a peaceful, lasting and acceptable solution is preferred over the chaos contemplated by South Africa. I repeat the warning which we sounded before: that the writing on the wall clearly spells the doom that awaits those who believe that, for narrow partisan and sectional interests, they can stem the tide of history and postpone the overthrow of colonialism and racism. The development of the liberation struggle in southern Africa during the last few years, and the emerging balance of power between the forces of freedom and of oppression, should be sufficient warning to South Africa that negotiated solutions can ensure its survival much better than its present policy of arrogant militarism can.

133. South Africa, in an attempt to insulate racism and *apartheid* from the progressive forces of change, has now embarked upon a policy of surrounding itself with buffer States in the so-called "fortress of southern Africa" or "constellation of southern African States". This dream is neither realistic nor imaginative. What is absurd about it is that it proposes to reverse the trend away from racism, *apartheid* and white minority domination and towards

black enslavement by white racists. No real, sensible and self-respecting African can embrace this dream. It clearly follows, therefore, that South Africa will impose its pro-apartheid puppet régime, under the so-called Democratic Turnhalle, on Namibia, as it has imposed the Smith-Muzorewa régime in Rhodesia. It follows clearly that the white racists are not prepared to tolerate independent African countries close to their borders.

134. We in Lesotho reject this idea with the contempt it deserves. Not only is South Africa occupying our lands; it is busy surrounding us with bantustans and constantly threatening our security. We therefore call on the world community to reject the proposed South Africa-dominated alliance, which will serve the goals of apartheid and bring disaster to southern Africa by broadening and intensifying confrontation in our subcontinent.

135. Under these circumstances, it is imperative that South Africa be not allowed to stand in the way of the peaceful movement of the Namibians to real independence and self-determination. Nor should it be allowed to devise further strategies aimed at further enslavement of the people of Namibia.

136. Mr. DORJI (Bhutan): The General Assembly, by resolution 33/182 C of 21 December 1978, proclaimed 1979 the International Year of Solidarity with the people of Namibia, and wisely decided, in resolution 33/182 A, to reconvene the thirty-third session of the General Assembly to consider the question of Namibia. It is fitting, indeed, in this year of solidarity with the people of Namibia, that our assemblage should discuss, debate and take the necessary action to resolve, once and for all, the unfortunate situation which has prevailed for so long in the Territory of Namibia.

137. There is no doubt in any of our minds, that the economic, political and social lot of the black Namibians under South African administration has been thoroughly unenviable. Although South Africa was not officially committed to the policy of apartheid until the late 1940s, in South West Africa—that is, Namibia—discriminatory laws and regulations were put into effect from the start of the Mandate period.

138. A recent ILO study on Namibia⁵ revealed the wide discrimination existing there. South Africa's constitutional, legislative and administrative control has created employment and labour conditions which exclude the black African working population from sharing the economic resources of the Territory. There has been dualistic development, with all the major advances being made in the white areas, built on the toil of those from the undeveloped black homelands. The blacks in Namibia provide a cheap pool of labour for the exploitation of the wealth of the country—the white-owned mines, farms and industries.

139. The humanitarian harm done by South Africa's repressive and discriminatory practices in Namibia is compounded by the very real threat to international peace and security inherent in the situation. South Africa can, and does, use Namibia as a base for aggression against neigh-

bouring States. The volatile conditions prevailing in the Territory, characterized by guerrilla warfare, may easily spread to involve more than just SWAPO and the South African forces. Apart from this, South Africa is using uranium mined in Namibia to further its nuclear programme. As Secretary-General Waldheim has stressed again and again.

“The persistence and repercussions of these problems in Africa... create a... potential threat to international peace and security. It is impossible to over-emphasize the need for urgent progress in this region of the world... With every month that passes the likelihood of interracial violence on a large scale becomes greater....

“....

“There can be no peace in southern Africa until the necessary changes, so long called for by the United Nations, come about. We can no longer afford delay, as the potential for major disaster becomes more real every day.”⁶

140. It is imperative, therefore, that in accordance with several United Nations resolutions calling for such action, all States cease and desist from any form of military consultation, co-operation or collaboration with the Pretoria régime. The proof that this line of thinking is universally accepted is that the General Assembly in 1977 by an overwhelming majority adopted resolution 32/105 F, which called for the imposition of an arms embargo on South Africa covering also all military and nuclear collaboration. This resolution further reinforced Security Council resolution 418 (1977) ordering a mandatory arms embargo against South Africa.

141. By means of the momentous General Assembly resolution 2145 (XXI) of 1966 the United Nations formally revoked the League of Nations' Mandate, stating that South Africa had failed to fulfil its responsibility of promoting the material and moral welfare of the Namibian people. Having revoked the Mandate, we in the United Nations have thus assumed the responsibility for administering Namibia and affirmed its international status until it becomes a sovereign, independent State as a result of free elections.

142. At the ninth special session, on Namibia, in April 1978, the General Assembly adopted a clearly defined programme for the accession to independence of Namibia [resolution S-9/2], including the disputed territory of Walvis Bay, and reaffirmed that Namibia was the direct responsibility of the United Nations and that SWAPO was the sole authentic representative of the Namibian people.

143. Invaluable as General Assembly action on the Namibian question has been, it was Security Council resolution 385 (1976) that for the first time called for elections in Namibia, and all succeeding efforts at achieving Namibian independence under United Nations auspices have been predicated on this resolution.

144. In spite of the vigorous efforts made by the United Nations, South Africa's intransigence is preventing any real

⁵ *Labour and discrimination in Namibia* (Geneva, International Labour Office, 1977).

⁶ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-first Session, Supplement No. 1A, sect. III.*

solution to the problem. Despite the agreement reached between the five Western members of the Security Council and South Africa regarding an internationally acceptable solution and endorsed by Security Council resolution 435 (1978), in December South Africa held elections excluding SWAPO. These elections have been declared null and void by Security Council resolution 439 (1978) and by the international community. A subsequent agreement to hold fresh elections sponsored by the United Nations again ran aground, with South Africa withdrawing from its cease-fire undertaking and claiming that to allow SWAPO guerrillas to remain in bases in the Territory after the cease-fire would be tantamount to granting the guerrillas a military presence in the country. South Africa also objected to the fact that the United Nations plan did not provide for the monitoring of guerrilla bases in neighbouring territories. On 5 March 1979 South African forces attacked Namibian camps in Angola.

145. Obviously South Africa's strategy is to discredit the United Nations plan.

146. Security Council resolution 447 (1979) reaffirms its support for the inalienable right of the Namibian people to self-determination, and condemns the racist régime of South Africa for its illegal occupation of Namibia, as well as its attacks on neighbouring States. The Council for Namibia has been busy, too, in sending out visiting missions to various countries to elicit the support of these Governments for the United Nations sponsored Namibian independence plan. Those missions are to be commended for their untiring efforts.

147. Certainly there is yet no reason for us to relax our efforts in the cause of Namibian independence. In fact, a new urgency has been added to the situation with the recent actions by the South Africa authorities vis-à-vis Namibia. My delegation has learned, with the greatest of dismay and indignation, that the South African authorities in Namibia intend to endow the illegally elected "Constituent Assembly" in Windhoek with extensive "legislative and executive powers". This action by South Africa will exhibit total defiance of General Assembly and Security Council resolutions on Namibia and refusal to comply with the United Nations independence plan.

148. It is obvious that South Africa's intention is to establish a puppet régime in Namibia and, to facilitate this, South Africa continues to arrest and detain the leaders of SWAPO, which epitomizes the opposition. We would like here to voice our support for the Council of Namibia's demand for the immediate release of Namibian patriots detained by South Africa.

149. South Africa has made no attempt to hide its contempt for the considered views of the international community by its perverse actions, by which it intends to undermine efforts for a negotiated settlement for the Namibian question.

150. We have no hesitation in echoing the Council for Namibia's statement that South Africa's presence in Namibia is illegal and should be terminated immediately and unconditionally, and that any attempt by the South African régime to impose unilaterally an internal settlement on the people of Namibia is in contravention of all decisions of the General Assembly and Security Council, and constitutes an increasing threat to international peace and security.

151. Now that we are all gathered here for this one specific purpose, we should make an all-out effort to frustrate South Africa's nefarious designs and do everything to usher in genuine independence for Namibia.

152. We must not lose sight of the fact that on the successful achievement of Namibian independence, in accordance with the rules of justice and fair play, depends the hope that other Africans will find a precedent for achieving their goals by negotiation rather than by violent means.

153. Ever since Bhutan has been a Member of this body, my delegation has extended total support to the legitimate cause of the oppressed Namibian people.

154. The Kingdom of Bhutan is a peace-loving country, and our position has been to welcome and support all the measures proposed and adopted by the United Nations to break down South Africa's intransigence by non-violent means. Indeed, within the bounds of non-violence, every effort has to be made to restore fundamental rights and secure a peaceful solution to the Namibian problem. It has been our avowed contention that the only way for the Namibian people to exercise their rights of self-determination without fear of reprisals would be if the South African army were withdrawn from the area and elections were conducted under the auspices of the United Nations. The persistent efforts of our world body have brought us close to the goal, but its final achievement continues to be frustrated. My Government feels that this is an opportune moment to make the supreme effort and attain the goal—that of a truly independent State of Namibia; an equal and respected partner in the comity of nations.

The meeting rose at 1.10 p.m.