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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. FIGUEROA (Argentina) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Little more than a year ago, at the ninth special session of the General Assembly, my Government, bearing in mind the intensive negotiations that were then under way, expressed the hope that the question of Namibia would be resolved speedily, peacefully and by concerted agreement, through procedures acceptable to the international community.¹

2. During the debate held last December [80th meeting] we repeated that hope. However, we also expressed our growing concern over some of the actions taken by South Africa which were at variance with Security Council resolutions 385 (1976) and 435 (1978). More specifically, we said that the decision to hold elections unilaterally without the control and supervision of the United Nations created an ambiguous situation that was not conducive to a concerted solution of the problem.

3. Now, with great concern we note that the situation has continued to worsen as a result of a series of measures and changes which, despite repeated statements by the South African Government expressing its willingness to make a positive contribution to the United Nations in the decolonization of the Territory, are clearly incompatible with this purpose.

4. In many cases, these measures and these changes seem to derive from the degrading principles of colonialism and racism and to be directed along a course different from or even opposed to that established by the General Assembly and the Security Council.

¹ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Ninth Special Session, Plenary Meetings*, 8th meeting, paras. 127-144.

5. My Government has always said that it was necessary for all parties to make a maximum effort in the interest of a negotiated, peaceful and internationally acceptable solution. We wish to repeat that any attempt to decolonize Namibia through unilateral or incomplete procedures or machinery would be an affront to the international community and would not win the necessary international recognition. Clear guidelines have already been laid down in Security Council resolutions 385 (1976) and 435 (1978) and in the relevant recommendations of the General Assembly.

6. In view of the critical situation that has arisen in Namibia as a result of South Africa's continued refusal to withdraw from the Territory, and the urgent need to implement speedily in Namibia the principles set forth in resolution 1514 (XV) and similar resolutions of the General Assembly, my Government today wishes to reiterate the main points of our position. Those points may be summed up as follows.

7. First, ever since the adoption of resolution 2145 (XXI), Namibia and its inhabitants have been the direct responsibility of the United Nations.

8. Secondly, South Africa is occupying and administering Namibia illegally and therefore it must withdraw from the Territory completely.

9. Thirdly, the people of Namibia have the inalienable right to self-determination, to freedom and to national independence, in accordance with the United Nations Charter and with resolutions 1514 (XV), 2145 (XXI) and related resolutions of the General Assembly and Security Council. The international community must give its co-operation to the people of Namibia in their struggle to exercise that right.

10. Fourthly, as laid down in paragraph 7 of Security Council resolution 385 (1976), in order that the people of Namibia may be enabled freely to determine their own future, it is imperative that free elections under the supervision and control of the United Nations be held for the whole of Namibia as one political unity. The results of any electoral procedure that violates those principles shall be considered null and void by the international community.

11. Fifthly, the United Nations Council for Namibia, created by General Assembly resolution 2248 (S-V), is the legal Administering Authority of Namibia until its independence and it must receive the full support of States Members of the United Nations and its bodies and agencies.

12. Sixthly, the territorial integrity of Namibia, the national unity and identity of its people and their right to

full control of the natural resources of the Territory must be respected.

13. Seventhly, any negotiated settlement of the problem of Namibia must be within the framework of United Nations resolutions and have the participation of all parties concerned, including the South West Africa People's Organization [SWAPO], the decisive political force in the struggle for the liberation of Namibia, which is recognized by the majority of the countries present here as the sole authentic representative of the Namibian people.

14. Eighthly, the situation in Namibia arising from the continued illegal occupation of the Territory and the measures adopted in order to prolong that illegal occupation endanger international peace and security in southern Africa. It would seem appropriate, therefore, for the Security Council, the body primarily responsible for the maintenance of international peace and security, to take up again the problem created in Namibia and to take the measures it deems necessary and appropriate to ensure compliance with United Nations decisions on this matter.

15. In conclusion, I wish to reaffirm our recognition of the difficult but effective work of the United Nations Council for Namibia, which, under the enlightened leadership of Mr. Paul Lusaka of Zambia, has continued to play an important part in the struggle of the international community for the speedy and just decolonization of Namibia.

16. Mr. HA VAN LAU (Viet Nam) (*interpretation from French*): Before turning to the problem confronting us at this resumed session of the General Assembly, my delegation would like to pay the warmest tribute to the heroic people of Namibia and their sole authentic representative and leader—SWAPO—for the heroic struggle they have been waging for several decades now in order to exercise their right to live in an independent and free country. My delegation would also like to express its admiration for the efforts and remarkable devotion of the United Nations Council for Namibia and its President, Zambia, which have so judiciously discharged the mandate entrusted to them by the General Assembly.

17. In 1966 the General Assembly adopted resolution 2145 (XXI) putting an end to the Mandate exercised by South Africa over Namibia and deciding that the United Nations would henceforth assume direct responsibility for the Territory of Namibia until true independence had been achieved. Since then the Namibian problem has become one of the high priority problems on the agenda of every session of the General Assembly, and the international community has given special and constant attention to the problem of Namibia. In particular, numerous resolutions have been adopted both by the General Assembly and the Security Council to permit the Namibian people to exercise their right to self-determination, freedom and national independence in a united Namibia.

18. But the racist régime of Pretoria, in defiance of this wish expressed by the international community, has ceaselessly escalated its attempts to legalize and perpetuate its racist and colonial domination over Namibia.

19. With the decision to annex Walvis Bay, an integral part of the national territory of Namibia, the creation of tribal armies in order to secure control over the Territory by the policy of bantustanization, the strengthening of the military and police potential in Namibia with a view to preparing for a major confrontation with the forces of national liberation headed by SWAPO, the escalation of terrorist military actions against neighbouring countries, particularly the People's Republic of Angola and Zambia, the recent wave of mass arrests and detentions of members of SWAPO together with the brutal massacres of the Kassinga type in order to weaken and emasculate this organization of Namibian patriots, the South African racists have been attempting to carry out a policy of *fait accompli*, by organizing the fictitious elections in December 1978, followed on 21 May last by the constitution of the so-called National Assembly comprised of puppets emerging from these so-called elections, which have already been condemned and declared null and void by both the General Assembly and the Security Council.

20. In undertaking the establishment of this so-called National Assembly, the Pretoria racists have taken one more step in their attempt to impose upon the Namibian people their so-called policy of "internal settlement", which is a kind of unilateral declaration of independence, and have thus given us a replay of the tragedy imposed upon the people of Zimbabwe by the Ian Smith clique.

21. It follows from what I have said that the characteristic feature of the situation in Namibia is the fact that the Pretoria racists are continuing to escalate their policy of systematic obstruction of the legitimate aspirations of the Namibian people and any settlement of the Namibian problem in accordance with the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council, thus rejecting any peaceful settlement of the Namibian problem.

22. The grave threat of an even more bloody war hangs over Namibia at the present time; the consequences of such a war would be disastrous not only for the Namibian people, who have made so many sacrifices over so many decades, but also for the whole of Africa and for international peace and security.

23. Faced with this explosive situation, we wonder why the international community has proved powerless before the arrogance of a handful of racists who have been systematically violating the Charter, have refused to respect any of the resolutions of the United Nations, and obstinately persist in their colonialist and racist policy in Namibia. Would South Africa alone have been in a position to carry out such an intransigent policy for so long? In the course of this thirty-third session of the General Assembly, both in plenary meetings and in the Committees, several delegations which have spoken on questions pertaining to southern Africa have amply demonstrated the collusion between the *apartheid* régime of South Africa with the transnational corporations and certain Western Powers. The Co-ordinating Bureau of Non-Aligned Countries, which met in an extraordinary ministerial meeting in Maputo from 26 January to 2 February, in its final communiqué was quite right to consider:

"... that the military and technological assistance and the economic, political and diplomatic support that

imperialism affords the racist and minority régimes are the only factors that enable them to continue their racist, colonialist, *apartheid* policies and that their aggressive actions are deliberate and a flagrant violation of the principles and purposes of the Charter of the United Nations, the relevant United Nations resolutions and all that the United Nations stands for.”²

24. If we look at the list of the transnational corporations which are so outrageously exploiting the natural resources of Namibia and which are trafficking in arms and other strategic materials with the racist régime of Pretoria, if we study in detail the identity of strategic interests in this part of the world between the imperialists and the international reactionaries, on the one hand, and the Fascist Botha régime, on the other, it is easy to see which countries have openly helped the racists of Pretoria and which have obliged the United Nations to take enforcement measures to compel South Africa to bow to the will of the international community with regard both to the problem of Namibia and to the question of *apartheid* in southern Africa.

25. It should be recalled that the General Assembly, after condemning most vigorously the colonialist and racist policy of the Pretoria régime with regard to Namibia, has repeatedly urged the Security Council to take effective measures, including sanctions provided for under Chapter VII of the Charter, particularly the imposition of comprehensive economic sanctions, including a trade embargo, an oil embargo and a complete arms embargo.

26. However, to this very day the Security Council has been unable to take a decision along the lines sought by the General Assembly and in keeping with its role and responsibility under the Charter because of the Western veto.

27. Once again the General Assembly is meeting to resume the work of its thirty-third session “in order to consider fully the question of Namibia and the implications of South Africa’s continued defiance of the resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council” [*resolution 33/182 A, para. 14*].

28. Distinguished previous speakers, particularly the President of SWAPO, Mr. Sam Nujoma, whom we welcome most warmly among us, have given the Assembly a very full picture of the extremely grave situation prevailing in Namibia, which has been provoked by the colonialist and racist policy of the die-hards in South Africa.

29. The delegation of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam believes that it is high time for the international community, particularly the United Nations, to stay the criminal hand of the Pretoria racists in Namibia, lest there be an increase in the danger which threatens both the heroic Namibian people and peace and security in Africa and the world.

30. More than ever before, the United Nations must demonstrate to the peoples of the world that it is capable

of defending a just cause by all measures available to it, including the sanctions laid down in Chapter VII of the Charter.

31. My delegation highly appreciates the position expressed by the President of SWAPO on 23 May last in the Assembly with regard to the Western Powers, whom he described as the “mentors, supporters and protectors of this intransigent and defiant régime” [*97th meeting, para. 79*]. My delegation would like to repeat a suggestion we made at the meeting of 12 December 1978 of the thirty-third session of the General Assembly, namely:

“If those Western countries really wanted to contribute to a settlement of the Namibian problem, in keeping with the pertinent resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council, all they would have to do would be to withdraw their support for the *apartheid* régime of South Africa and also their opposition to the mandatory imposition of sanctions against that country, sanctions which have long been persistently requested by the great majority of Members of the United Nations.” [*80th meeting, para. 108*].

32. Fortified by its long and heroic struggle to free their country, to preserve its unity and territorial integrity, and by the unreserved support they receive from all the revolutionary and progressive forces in the world, the Namibian people, under the leadership of SWAPO, have won some brilliant victories in their armed struggle, as well as in their political and diplomatic struggle, against the illegal occupation of the Pretoria racists. SWAPO is recognized by the General Assembly as the sole authentic representative of the Namibian people. The Maputo extraordinary ministerial meeting of the Co-ordinating Bureau of Non-Aligned Countries recognized SWAPO as a full-fledged member of the movement.

33. The people of Namibia and their leadership, SWAPO, are undeniably the true masters of Namibia, both at the national and international level.

34. The Government and people of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam have supported and will continue firmly to support the just and victorious struggle of the heroic people of Namibia under the leadership of SWAPO, their sole legitimate and legal representative. We believe that this resumed session of the General Assembly, which is meeting at such a crucial moment in the grave situation at present prevailing in Namibia, must adopt all the measures advocated by the President of SWAPO in his brilliant statement on 23 May. In particular it must reaffirm the inalienable right of the Namibian people to self-determination, freedom and national independence in a united Namibia, including Walvis Bay. It must reaffirm that SWAPO is the sole authentic representative of the Namibian people and appeal to all Member States to provide it with the necessary assistance and support to continue its struggle in whatever form, military, political and diplomatic, until final victory is achieved. It must demand that the racist régime of Pretoria withdraw immediately and unconditionally its armed forces and police, which are illegally occupying Namibia, and dissolve forthwith all the puppet institutions which are in its pay; it must demand that power be transferred forthwith to the Namibian people, through

² See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-fourth Year, Supplement for January, February and March 1979*, document S/13185, annex, para. 21.

SWAPO, as this Organization demands. It must vigorously condemn the racist Pretoria régime for its policy of terror and repression against the Namibian people and against its leader, SWAPO, for its acts of armed aggression against neighbouring countries, as well as its attempt to impose an "internal solution" on the Namibian problem. It must call for the immediate release of all leaders and members of SWAPO and all the Namibian patriots illegally arrested and detained. It must appeal to all Member States to refrain from recognizing any representative or body set up as a result of the sham elections of December 1978. It must recommend to the Security Council that it adopt a firmer attitude and that it take more vigorous measures, including the sanctions provided for in Chapter VII of the Charter, so as to compel the Pretoria racists to respect the Charter and their obligations towards the United Nations and the international community.

35. Consequently, my delegation unreservedly supports draft resolution A/33/L.37, of which we have already become a sponsor.

36. In conclusion, my delegation wishes to repeat its admiration for the heroic people of Namibia and their leader, SWAPO. We are firmly convinced that the just struggle of the Namibian people will triumph and that an independent united Namibia will take its rightful place among us in this family of nations.

37. Mr. AHSAN (Bangladesh): In the light of comprehensive statements made by preceding speakers which, in our view, have covered all salient aspects of the question, I wish very briefly to state Bangladesh's position.

38. As we meet at this reconvened session of the General Assembly to consider the question and to find ways and means to promote the universally acknowledged goal of ending the illegal hold of South Africa on this international Territory and to enable the people of Namibia to exercise freely their inalienable right of self-determination, freedom and independence, we are confronted with two basic developments. The first is that following the so-called internal elections, which the Security Council had earlier declared null and void, South Africa has taken steps to convert the resultant Constituent Assembly into a legislative body with extensive executive powers. Secondly, while South Africa has not explicitly closed the door to the implementation of the United Nations plan for Namibia's transition to independence, all indications suggest that South Africa has but only one objective, which is to impose a government of its own choice and to confront the international community with a fait accompli.

39. The cardinal question before the Assembly, therefore, is, What action should the United Nations take in the circumstances? The logic of the situation leaves us with little choice. South Africa must be condemned for its intransigence in frustrating all efforts towards a peaceful and internationally negotiated settlement.

40. This Assembly must unambiguously reject all attempts on the part of South Africa to impose a unilateral and *de facto* solution in Namibia. It is clear to the Bangladesh delegation that the impact of moral pressure and political persuasion has not been enough. For our part, we have

consistently supported all moves that could promote a peaceful settlement. To that extent we welcomed and endorsed the comprehensive plan put forward by the United Nations Secretary-General³ and supported the initiative undertaken by the five Western Powers⁴ associated with this process. I wish to take this opportunity to record our deep appreciation of the efforts exerted by the Secretary-General and his Special Representative in this direction. While we believe that these efforts should continue, we are also convinced that the time has come when this Assembly must move forward and specify more direct and forthright action to obtain the necessary compliance by South Africa with United Nations resolutions. This will, naturally, involve the imposition of sanctions and enforcement action under Chapter VII of the Charter.

41. Meanwhile the international community must continue to extend all political and material support to the people of Namibia in their struggle against the illegal occupation of the Territory by South Africa. It must pursue the wide range of initiatives and actions devised by the Council for Namibia, including the programme of activities launched in this International Year of Solidarity with the People of Namibia. The United Nations cannot abdicate its responsibilities and betray its trust to the people of Namibia, leaving them to struggle on single-handed.

42. Mr. AL-HAMZAH (Democratic Yemen) (*interpretation from Arabic*): The delegation of Democratic Yemen took part in the deliberations on Namibia last December at the thirty-third session of the General Assembly [75th meeting]. It expressed its deep concern over the unfortunate situation in that area arising from the conduct of the racist régime in Pretoria, its constant defiance of Security Council and General Assembly resolutions, and its resort to acts of violent aggression against the people of Namibia and the front-line African States, the latest oppressive attacks being launched against Zambia and Angola.

43. My delegation was able to express its concern in this matter on more than one occasion, both within the framework of United Nations deliberations as well as in other international bodies in which we take part, particularly the non-aligned movement. It is with pleasure that we express our satisfaction with the major role the United Nations plays through its Council for Namibia, which has been of invaluable assistance thanks to the efforts of its members and the perseverance of Mr. Lusaka, the President of the Council, who has achieved successes that have been reflected in General Assembly and Security Council resolutions. We would like to mention here the results of the ninth special session of the General Assembly held last year, which internationally condemned the arbitrary and illegal measures the racist régime of Pretoria is trying to impose upon Namibia. These results, together with General Assembly resolutions of various sessions and Security Council resolutions, the latest of which have been resolutions 431 (1978), 435 (1978) and 439 (1978), constitute an international commitment that must be implemented against the white minority régime of South Africa.

³ *Ibid.*, Thirty-third Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1978, document S/12827.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Supplement for April, May and June 1978, document S/12636.

44. General Assembly resolution 33/182 A, regarding the resumption of the thirty-third session to discuss the Namibian question, is a reflection of the United Nations realization of the growing danger resulting from the lawlessness the white racists of South Africa exercise against the Namibian people. Those discussions reaffirm the interest of the United Nations in the question of Namibia, which was expressed in numerous resolutions, beginning with resolution 2145 (XXI) which put an end to the control over Namibia by the racist régime, and also in resolution 2248 (S-V), which called for the establishment of the United Nations Council for Namibia and gave it responsibility for supervising the area and bringing about its national independence.

45. At its thirty-third session, the General Assembly proclaimed 1979 the International Year of Solidarity with the People of Namibia [resolution 33/182 C] under the leadership of its sole legitimate representative, SWAPO. The United Nations Council for Namibia responded positively by selecting as the opening date of the International Year the anniversary of the Kassinga massacre, which caused the death of hundreds of innocent Namibians and is one more example of the cruel, barbaric and wanton acts committed by the racist Pretoria régime, which has begun to practise genocide in Namibia.

46. While the United Nations is trying to carry out its plan in Namibia and to hold free elections under its direct control, the racist régime in South Africa is continuing to obstruct efforts to achieve that objective. South Africa's colonialist intentions and its flagrant defiance of United Nations resolutions, have come to light through various acts of destruction. At present South Africa is attempting to set up an illegal National Assembly, or an interim government, after the holding of fake elections in December 1978, with a view to establishing what it calls a Constituent Assembly. The misleading attempts by the Fascist group in South Africa did not stop at that; that group has resorted to more acts of violence and political terror; it has reinforced its armed forces and committed acts of aggression inside and outside of Namibia. Despite the promises of Western countries and diplomatic initiatives undertaken by the five Western countries members of the Security Council, nothing has changed the conduct of the racist South African régime. Those countries, particularly the United States and the United Kingdom, have continued to give support and protection to the régime and hesitate, to this day, to adopt the most minimal of sanctions against South Africa, thus defying the will of the United Nations and of the whole international community.

47. Faced with the brutality of the racist colonialists, the Namibian people had no choice but to confront those acts of aggression with armed struggle to realize their legitimate aspirations to self-determination and national independence under the guidance of SWAPO, the leader of the revolution of the Namibian people which South Africa is trying to liquidate in order to be able to impose a new colonialist solution upon that Territory.

48. Democratic Yemen supports the just and legitimate struggle waged by the people of Namibia against attempts at colonial domination made by the South African racists. It vigorously condemns the policies of aggression being

pursued by the illegal régime in Pretoria, including the policy of *apartheid*, and its violations of human rights and individual freedoms. That is why we call for the release of political detainees and the return of political exiles and Namibian refugees, and we demand guarantees so that they may live in peace. We also strongly condemn all manifestations of colonialist policy affecting the territorial integrity of Namibia and we consider the decision of South Africa to annex Walvis Bay to be an act of aggression aimed at territorial expansion and at violating the terms of the Charter and the resolutions of the United Nations.

49. The General Assembly is called upon to adopt firm sanctions against the South African racist régime, including the reaffirmation and support, on the part of the majority of Member States, of the legitimacy of the armed struggle of the people of Namibia under the leadership of SWAPO, their only legitimate representative. These people must be given the material and military assistance they need. The General Assembly must also proclaim the illegality of what is termed the National Assembly, and abstain from offering any recognition of or co-operation with any régime imposed upon the people of Namibia by South African racism.

50. The General Assembly must also denounce all acts of violence, repression, intimidation and detention committed against the Namibian people. It must call for the release of all political detainees and the transfer of powers to the Namibian people through SWAPO. Those measures and global mandatory economic sanctions must be imposed. A ban on trade and an arms and oil embargo against South Africa must be established. All diplomatic and commercial relations must be cut off in order to isolate that racist régime completely. We also support the invitation to the Security Council to convene urgently in order to adopt sanctions against South Africa under Chapter VII of the Charter. The urgent adoption of such measures by the United Nations will confirm the continuous responsibility of the international Organization represented by the United Nations Council for Namibia vis-à-vis Namibia. That would also put an end to the illegal occupation of Namibia by the racist régime in South Africa. That is a responsibility of the international community, which must adopt a firm position against South Africa's policy of aggression, which threatens not only South Africa but also international peace and security in Africa and throughout the world.

51. Mr. TLOU (Botswana): The fact that the General Assembly is meeting in resumed session, an uncommon practice in the annals of this body, clearly demonstrates that we have reached a crisis-point, an impasse in fact, in so far as the decolonization of Namibia is concerned.

52. Equally, the fact that we have met in resumed session attests to our collective commitment to liberate the international Territory of Namibia, which is fully and properly the responsibility of the United Nations. It is incumbent upon us, therefore, to emerge from this debate with positive suggestions for the resolution of the Namibian problem in the face of South Africa's continued defiance of the United Nations resolutions on this question.

53. In fact, we have met to consider the situation in Namibia caused by the virtual rejection by South Africa of

the Secretary-General's plan for implementing Security Council resolution 385 (1976).

54. The long history of the United Nations involvement in Namibia is too well known to merit any retelling on my part. So is South Africa's record of continued intransigence. Equally familiar is the valiant struggle of the Namibian people, led by SWAPO, to free their country; and their preparedness to seek a negotiated settlement as recent negotiations culminating in the Secretary-General's decolonization plan have shown. Therefore, I can afford to be very brief, confining myself only to a few salient observations.

55. For a little over two years now my country, together with its fellow front-line States, always acting under the supreme mandate of the Organization of African Unity, and in the interest of the Namibian people, has been engaged in long, tortuous negotiations aimed at the peaceful decolonization of Namibia. We went into this exercise in good faith, wanting to demonstrate that, whenever opportunities arose for meaningful negotiations, we would not be found wanting. We also wanted to give a chance to those who have often argued, against great odds, that a negotiated settlement was possible in Namibia despite South Africa's well-known intention to remain in Namibia unless that Territory were ruled by its own hand-picked elements, who would be dancing to its tune.

56. To this end, we welcomed the proposals of the then five Western members of the Security Council as a reasonable basis for negotiations. The result of this arduous process is the Secretary-General's plan for the decolonization of Namibia under United Nations supervision and control which South Africa is now, under various pretexts, refusing to accept.

57. Indeed, there is nothing new or surprising in South Africa's defiant attitude. Throughout the negotiations they have engaged in various stratagems, whose sole aim could only have been to wreck the negotiations. To cite only a few, one might make reference to the arbitrary annexation of Walvis Bay, the appointment of the so-called Administrator-General in the face of United Nations opposition, the repeated attacks against Angola and Zambia and the consequent killing of Namibians and, in particular, refugees in these countries, the holding of the so-called elections in December last year, and now, more recently, the arrest and general harassment of SWAPO adherents inside Namibia, and the virtual installation in Windhoek of a régime pliant to South Africa.

58. South Africa's dilatory manoeuvres and faits accomplis should serve to confirm what we already know—that is, no colonizer, and this includes South Africa, will ever voluntarily accede to the true interests of the colonized. This is the grim reality we face in Namibia, a reality which leaves the people of Namibia no choice but to struggle on until the usurper is compelled to withdraw from their country.

59. On the other hand, throughout these negotiations and despite serious provocations, SWAPO continued to search, along with the front-line States, for a negotiated settlement. SWAPO's acceptance of all the main aspects of the

Secretary-General's plan is a demonstration of their co-operation and statesmanship.

60. We are clearly at a point now where South Africa is the only party to the negotiations that has not co-operated with the Secretary-General. Thus, they must bear the full consequences of the collapse of the plan which is still on the table for their taking, if they so desire.

61. The collapse of the Secretary-General's plan will inevitably mean the widening of the conflict in our area and further repression of the Namibian people. Here, too, South Africa must bear the responsibility for all this.

62. To the five Western countries with whom we engaged in the negotiations, we want to say that the ball is undoubtedly in their court. Because of their special relations with South Africa and because we negotiated with them in good faith, they have a special responsibility to see to it that South Africa accedes to the Secretary-General's plan, which is based on their own proposals. Any hesitation or reneging on their part can only seriously endanger their credibility. They should, therefore, redouble their efforts in this direction, even at this eleventh hour.

63. For the United Nations, the stark reality is that South Africa is still illegally in Namibia. The United Nations has to get South Africa to vacate the Territory so that it can exercise its direct responsibility for Namibia in order to enable the Namibians to exercise freely their inalienable right to independence. Thus the United Nations should continue unequivocally to reject any faits accomplis presented by South Africa. The Security Council, which is seized of this important matter, should meet with a view to implementing its own decisions on Namibia.

64. Until Namibia is truly free, the international community should continue to support the struggle of the Namibian people diplomatically, politically and materially. The Council for Namibia should be supported and be enabled to perform its meritorious role on behalf of the Namibian people.

65. Botswana, for its part, remains as committed as ever to the struggle of the Namibian people and, as always, stands ready to associate itself, to the best of its ability, with any genuine efforts to search for a settlement in Namibia. We pledge once again our solidarity with the struggling people of Namibia. We would also like to express our full confidence in the Secretary-General and commend him for the vital role he is playing in the search for a solution to the Namibian problem. Mr. President, we have full confidence in your ability to guide this debate to a successful conclusion.

66. Mr. DOLGUCHITS (Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic) (*interpretation from Russian*): The discussion of the question of Namibia is occurring at an extremely grave and, in our view, critical moment, when the very future of that country is being decided.

67. The actions of the racists and their puppets not only constitute a hindrance to the attainment by the Namibian people of genuine independence and freedom, but is also a challenge to the authority of the United Nations and the whole world community.

68. The Pretoria régime is continuing and even intensifying its repression of the Namibian people, struggling as it is for its genuine independence under the leadership of SWAPO, which is recognized by the Organization of African Unity, the non-aligned movement and the General Assembly of the United Nations as the sole and authentic representative of the people of Namibia.

69. As has already been pointed out by many delegations, the actions of the Pretoria racists are designed to preserve the existing colonial order in the last bulwarks of colonialism and racism in southern Africa to defend the interests of Western monopolies, and destabilize the situation in the neighbouring African States. They constitute a serious threat to the sovereignty and territorial integrity of those States, peace and security in southern Africa and are in effect a constituent element of the barbarous policy of the authorities of the Republic of South Africa.

70. The present actions of the Pretoria régime are aimed at one more entirely specific goal: that of eliminating once and for all the possibility of settling the Namibian problem on the basis of United Nations decisions.

71. The stepping up of the aggressive and repressive actions of the Pretoria racists, their political machinations and manoeuvres coincide in time, by no means accidentally, with the efforts of the United Nations to secure the attainment of freedom and independence by the people of Namibia. That was the case last year immediately after the conclusion of the ninth special session of the General Assembly, held on Namibia, when they carried out the bloody massacre in Kassinga; and it is the case now, too, when on the very eve of this resumed session of the General Assembly on the question of Namibia the racist Pretoria régime, brazenly flouting all the relevant decisions of the United Nations and the demands of the world community, carried out new provocative acts designed to impose upon the Namibian people a so-called "internal settlement" by means of a fictitious and illegal "National Assembly".

72. The Pretoria racists, with the connivance of those Western Powers which are maintaining military, economic and political co-operation with South Africa, have long been constantly flouting the Charter of the United Nations and all the decisions of the United Nations on Namibia and have been working in effect towards creating in Namibia a puppet régime with which to continue the illegal occupation by South Africa and the colonial and racist exploitation of Namibia.

73. It is quite clear that the racists of the Republic of South Africa would be unable to persist in their criminal policy, either in Namibia or with regard to the neighbouring independent African States, if it were not for the constant support and protection they receive from a number of Western countries members of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. As is indicated in the final communiqué of the extraordinary ministerial meeting of the Co-ordinating Bureau of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Maputo, the Bureau considered that:

"... the military and technological assistance and the economic, political and diplomatic support that imperialism affords the racist and minority régimes are the

only factors that enable them to continue their racist, colonialist, *apartheid* policies and that their aggressive actions are a deliberate and flagrant violation of the principles and purposes of the Charter of the United Nations, the relevant United Nations resolutions and all that the United Nations stands for."⁵

74. The comprehensive, incessant and ever-expanding co-operation between the major Western Powers and the bastion of colonial racist régimes, South Africa, has been repeatedly condemned by the United Nations.

75. In the economic sphere it has been expressed in the multibillion dollar Western investments in South Africa; in trade with the Republic of South Africa, 60 per cent of which is accounted for by Western countries; in the supply by the Western transnational corporations of vitally needed oil to the *apartheid* régime, and in the provision of contemporary technology and techniques.

76. Of tremendous danger, not only to independent Africa but also to peace throughout the world, is the co-operation of Western countries with the Pretoria racists in the military and, in particular, nuclear fields. It is precisely with the assistance of those countries that the military machine and the nuclear-missile potential of the Pretoria racists have been created.

77. In documents of the United Nations Seminar on Nuclear Collaboration with South Africa, held in London in February of this year, stress is laid on the following:

"South Africa had not only the capability to make nuclear weapons, but a sophisticated delivery system. It was a desperate régime, bent on perpetuating racism by resort to force, in defiance of Africa and the world. There is thus a grave danger of nuclear blackmail leading to nuclear strikes."⁶

78. The Republic of South Africa's nuclear ambitions and the stubborn resistance of the major Western Powers to international action designed to prevent South Africa from being in a position to manufacture its own nuclear weapons are creating a serious threat to international peace.

79. It should be pointed out that the hypocrisy of the major Western Powers with regard to solving problems with South Africa is a constant factor.

80. While paying lipservice to so-called initiatives and plans for a peaceful solution to the problems of Namibia and Zimbabwe those countries, at the same time, are constantly blocking the adoption by the United Nations of effective measures, in particular economic sanctions under Chapter VII of the Charter, against the colonial and racist régimes of the Republic of South Africa and Southern Rhodesia and in effect are promoting the strengthening in Namibia and Zimbabwe of puppet neo-colonialist régimes. With all the opportunities available to them for exerting pressure on the Pretoria and Salisbury régimes to bring about, as speedily as possible, a solution of the problems of

⁵ *Ibid.*, *Thirty-fourth Year, Supplement for January, February and March 1979*, document S/13185, annex, para. 21.

⁶ *Ibid.*, document S/13157.

Namibia and Zimbabwe in the interests of the peoples of those countries, in actual practice the Western countries are conniving with those régimes. They are arranging ever newer rounds of talks with the racists, in effect simply to exert pressure on SWAPO and the "front-line States" and secure a compromise through further concessions on the part of the latter.

81. The links between the South African racists and the imperialist circles of Western countries are, as we know, traditionally strong, comprehensive and multifaceted; and, far from being reduced, they are on the increase in all respects.

82. The whole world is watching the open attempts to undermine the political isolation of the colonial, racist régimes of South Africa and its puppets. In spite of the demands of the international community, the decisions and appeals of the United Nations, a number of Western countries have sent observers to the illegal bogus elections in Rhodesia. It is precisely in the Western countries that there is now going on a persistent campaign to scrap economic sanctions against the Ian Smith régime.

83. In the circumstances, the present session of the General Assembly should take practical measures to subvert the imperialist manoeuvres against Namibia. Further decisive steps must be taken to force South Africa to comply with the relevant resolutions of the Security Council on the question of Namibia.

84. In the light of the continued political manoeuvrings and subterfuges of South Africa and its stubborn refusal to comply with United Nations decisions, in particular the resolutions of the Security Council on the question of Namibia, the delegation of the Byelorussian SSR believes that we must most vigorously and most decisively again see to it that the Security Council is called upon as a matter of urgency to consider the question of the application against the Pretoria régime of specific, comprehensive sanctions under Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter.

85. All States Members of the United Nations, primarily the Western permanent members of the Security Council, must comply with the demands of the United Nations Charter and the decisions of the Organization on Namibia, immediately put an end to their co-operation with the racist régime of South Africa, and refrain from preventing the adoption by the Security Council of effective measures against the *apartheid* régime in their full scope in accordance with Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter.

86. The position of the Byelorussian SSR on the question of Namibia is a position of principle and a consistent one. The Byelorussian SSR has always vigorously supported and continues vigorously to support the struggle of the people of Namibia under the leadership of SWAPO, the sole and authentic representative of the people, to obtain the inalienable rights of the Namibian people to genuine self-determination and the national independence of their country in accordance with the United Nations Charter, the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, and with all subsequent resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council on Namibia.

87. The territorial integrity of Namibia must be preserved. Attempts to annex the Territory of Namibia piecemeal must be vigorously resisted.

88. We support the legitimacy of the struggle of the Namibian people by every means available to them against the illegal occupation of its Territory by South Africa.

89. The Byelorussian SSR repudiates the manoeuvres of South Africa designed to impose upon the Namibian people a so-called internal settlement by means of a fictitious and illegal so-called "National Assembly" for the perpetuation of the illegal occupation by South Africa of Namibia and its neo-colonialist domination of Namibia.

90. The Byelorussian SSR vigorously demands the immediate and unconditional withdrawal from Namibia of all armed occupation and political forces, the administration of South Africa, and the transfer of power in the country to the people of Namibia, through its sole and authentic representative, SWAPO.

91. Within the United Nations the Byelorussian SSR has always supported the efforts of the United Nations, in particular the activities of the United Nations Security Council on Namibia, designed to ensure the independence and territorial integrity of Namibia, to mobilize international efforts for the purpose of providing every possible kind of support to the Namibian people in their just struggle. The Byelorussian SSR supports the draft resolution on the question of Namibia in document A/33/L.37 and is a sponsor of it.

92. My delegation will also support any other vigorous and effective measures in accordance with the United Nations Charter designed to bring about an early and just settlement of the Namibian problem in the interests of the people of that country.

93. Mr. OYONO (United Republic of Cameroon) (*interpretation from French*): Last winter when the General Assembly decided to resume the work of the thirty-third session to consider the question of Namibia in all its aspects and the consequences of the continuing defiance by South Africa of the provisions of General Assembly and Security Council resolutions, it expressed its serious concern over the uncertainty which South Africa has brought to bear on the political future of the Namibian people, who have been placed under the responsibility and authority of our Organization.

94. The resumption of our session is particularly necessary in view of the increasingly dangerous tension arising from the serious developments that have recently occurred in Namibia and from the various difficulties which United Nations efforts have encountered in trying to produce an internationally accepted solution to the question on the basis of Security Council resolutions 385 (1976) and 435 (1978). The main purpose of these resolutions, let us recall, is to allow the people of Namibia to exercise their right to self-determination and independence within the framework of free and democratic elections under the supervision and control of the Organization.

95. South Africa has no moral or legal rights over Namibia. Its presence there has been declared illegal by the General

Assembly and the International Court of Justice. Yet it stubbornly clings to its negative and aggressive attitude toward the United Nations plan, although its Prime Minister solemnly accepted that plan on 25 April 1978.

96. With no consideration whatsoever for its word, in spite of clarifications given by the Secretary-General and confirmed by the authors of the plan, and the assurances given by SWAPO and the front-line States regarding the stationing of the armed forces of SWAPO during the cease-fire, South Africa did not hesitate to contradict itself and the five Western countries by giving to certain essential provisions of the plan a fundamentally different interpretation, which it used as an excuse to obstruct the patient process which had been prepared for the deployment of the United Nations Transition Assistance Group.

97. Its bad faith and the ease with which it reverses its position are characteristic of South Africa. It has been acting in this manner and with cynicism ever since the Organization was created.

98. Consistent with its blind attitude, South Africa has taken a series of unilateral actions in Namibia, rendering completely nugatory the essential provisions of the settlement proposal and violating the United Nations plan before its adoption, by appointing a magistrate of the Supreme Court of South Africa to the post of Administrator-General during the interim period before independence, and unilaterally establishing electoral rolls.

99. In spite of the strong disapproval, reprobation and condemnation of these acts by the United Nations and the international community, South Africa has persevered in its determination to pursue its policies of fait accompli by organizing a travesty of elections in Namibia for a so-called Constituent Assembly which has just been transformed into a "National Assembly" with broad legislative powers. Some of its members might even exercise executive authority. The creation of an interim government is expected at any moment.

100. Since 1946 South Africa has been harbouring designs to annex Namibia and take over its immense natural resources. South Africa, which is stalling for time in order to consolidate the process leading to an internal settlement, has, while refraining from officially rejecting this plan, engaged in a test of nerves and strength with our Organization. It cannot be expected to comply of its own volition with the injunctions of the General Assembly and the Security Council. If in its declaration of 25 April 1978 it pretended to accept the proposed settlement, it did so solely to deceive international public opinion regarding its true intentions, and it is for tactical reasons that it cannot today openly reject the international settlement.

101. For more than three decades we have been accustomed to the racist leaders in Pretoria stalling, quibbling and hiding behind various pseudo-legal arguments in an attempt to justify their criminal *apartheid* policies and their illegal occupation of the Territory of Namibia.

102. That accounts for the continued increase of South African military might in Namibia and all the acts of repression of the cruellest kind against the Namibian

people, as attested to by recent and unprecedented arrests of more than 60 leaders of SWAPO. These arrests bear witness to the determination of South Africa to eliminate that movement, which is the vanguard of Namibian nationalism and resistance.

103. To remedy that situation, which is becoming increasingly explosive in Namibia and elsewhere in southern Africa, it is imperative that our Organization decide at last to act in accordance with its responsibilities under the Charter and adopt effective action. It is imperative that the Organization meet the arrogant challenge levelled at it by the *apartheid* régime.

104. The international community has endorsed the cause of Namibia and can no longer be satisfied with our Assembly's adopting harmless resolutions while the racist white minority continues in the south of the African continent to kill innocent people, to destroy villages and schools, to plunder the wealth of an international Territory and systematically to subject an entire people to servitude.

105. The international community must deal with this most insolent act of defiance ever encountered from a State Member of our Organization. The United Republic of Cameroon is a peace-loving country and believes in negotiated settlements of disputes. In the present stage of the negotiations on the question of Namibia the last chance to bring about a peace settlement is to induce South Africa to co-operate effectively with the United Nations in the execution of its plan in accordance with the procedures defined by the Secretary-General of our Organization in his report of 26 February 1979.⁷

106. Considering the intransigence of the racist authorities in Pretoria, perhaps the only remaining way of doing that is to resort to the means of enforcement set forth in Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter, including economic sanctions such as the banning of foreign investments in South Africa, a strict oil embargo, the breaking off of military and nuclear co-operation with the racist régime, and a total air boycott.

107. It seems to us that only the adoption and strict and united implementation of this series of measures can make South Africa see reason at the present time. The role of the five Western Powers, including three permanent members of the Security Council, which have assumed the heavy responsibility of initiating and endorsing the proposed settlement by the international community and the Security Council, is a role of paramount importance. As the Foreign Minister of the United Republic of Cameroon, Mr. Jean Keutcha, stated in the General Assembly in October 1978, we believe that those Powers "will not jeopardize their credibility in the eyes of the world's public" [18th meeting, para. 183]. Those countries possess the means to bring sufficiently heavy pressure to bear on their South African partner to induce it to co-operate in the implementation of the proposed settlement, whose terms have been laid down in the Secretary-General's report just referred to. Is there any need to remind Members that that report has been supported by those countries and by SWAPO?

⁷ *Ibid.*, document S/13120.

108. In this decisive stage of their struggle for national liberation, the Namibian people deserve the full support of the international community.

109. The United Republic of Cameroon, a member of the United Nations Council for Namibia, reaffirms that our Organization has the primary responsibility for the administration of that Territory and for leading it to self-determination and genuine independence within the framework of a united Namibia, including Walvis Bay. In this connexion, we give full support to the United Nations Council for Namibia, the sole legal Administering Authority for the Territory. The United Republic of Cameroon supports the legitimate struggle being waged by the Namibian people under the leadership of SWAPO, their genuine representative. We condemn the subterfuges and false pretexts put forward by South Africa as it endeavours to obstruct the implementation of the United Nations settlement plan. We reject any solution imposed unilaterally by South Africa, in particular the internal settlement of the Rhodesian pattern recently set in train in Namibia by the South African racist régime.

110. The United Republic of Cameroon condemns the economic transactions between certain countries and South Africa acting on behalf of Namibia because they violate Decree No. 1 for the Protection of the Natural Resources of Namibia, enacted by the United Nations Council for Namibia.⁸ We wish to pay a tribute to the front-line countries for their active support of SWAPO's struggle for the independence of the Namibian people.

111. We join with all those that vigorously condemn South Africa for the arrests and detentions of leaders and members of SWAPO and all other acts of violence against the Namibian people. Those militants who have been arbitrarily arrested must be immediately and unconditionally released.

112. Finally, the United Republic of Cameroon reaffirms its confidence in and support for the practical terms of implementation of the international settlement plan as defined by the Secretary-General of our Organization in his report of 26 February 1979.

113. In this crucial stage of the settlement of the Namibian question, the international community has no choice but to resort to the sanctions provided for in the Charter in order to bring about the co-operation of the South African racist régime. If it were to fail to adopt this course, it should expect the consequences that would ensue, namely, an intensification of the war, an increase in tensions, rivalry and hegemonistic competition, a heightening of psychological tension and a breach of peace and international security.

114. We dare to hope that in their wisdom the members of this Assembly, by firmly supporting the peaceful enforcement measures set forth in Chapter VII of the Charter, will avoid that situation.

115. Mr. ROA KOURI (Cuba) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Thirteen years ago the General Assembly of the

⁸ Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-ninth Session, Supplement No. 24A, para. 84.

United Nations unequivocally demanded the cessation of the illegal occupation of Namibia by the neo-Fascist régime of Pretoria. Since then the so-called Republic of South Africa—far from supporting the decisions of this highest international forum—has increased its multifarious oppression and subjugation of the people of Namibia. Annexing Walvis Bay, an integral part of the Territory of Namibia, appointing M. T. Steyn, the blood-thirsty and venal *Reichs-protektor*, as "Administrator-General" of the Territory, in flagrant violation of the mandate of the United Nations Council for Namibia. It has imposed martial law on two thirds of the country. Last December it held sham elections; it rigged up a so-called Constituent Assembly and installed a National Assembly or "interim government" which is illegal and null and void in an insolent act of defiance of, and a further challenge to, the international community and this Organization.

116. It is a secret to no one that the racist authorities in Pretoria have tried to reduce the United Nations Charter to a mere scrap of paper. Their representatives have been so bold as to try to take their seats among the Member States and to participate, on an equal footing, with countries which have condemned the monstrous neo-Fascist régime of the Boers and vigorously repudiated the ignominious system of *apartheid*. Their shamelessness is matched only by their prehistoric cretinism.

117. The time has come to pass from words to actions. Over the past few months we have been lulled with the promise of a peaceful and just solution guaranteeing Namibia's accession—in accordance with its right—to full sovereignty and independence. The five Western Powers which sponsored the plan for Namibia that was subsequently accepted by the United Nations and SWAPO have endeavoured to show that this was the right way to achieve the purposes of the General Assembly and the Security Council set forth in various resolutions adopted over the past 13 years. The racists of Vorster and Botha had, although reluctantly, seemed to have accepted the negotiations that had been undertaken.

118. But no one can be deceived regarding the intentions of the South African racists with regard to the "United Nations plan for Namibia". Events have been far more eloquent than what has been said. Herr Botha has hastened to show his genuine Hitlerian face and has decided to massacre the people of Namibia rather than recognize their legitimate rights to self-determination and independence.

119. I have had occasion in the past to denounce in the Security Council and in this very Assembly the true designs of the Pretoria régime and its allies. I indicated that it was difficult to believe in a solution sponsored by the principal international supporters of *apartheid*, for their transnational corporations reap huge profits from the pitiless exploitation of the black masses of South Africa, Namibia and Zimbabwe. The old and the new colonial and neo-colonial Powers in fact bear a grave responsibility for everything that is happening today in southern Africa.

120. The clear affirmation of the supposed "right" of the neo-Fascists of Pretoria to intervene in any African nation south of the equator is nothing but further proof of the role the imperialists are assigning to South Africa in that

continent. Like Israel in the Middle East, the so-called Republic of South Africa is the beachhead of the hegemonic, neo-colonialist and predatory interests of imperialism in Africa.

121. We cannot dissociate the fate of Namibia from that of Zimbabwe and other independent States of southern Africa. The victory of the peoples in the former Portuguese colonies and the establishment of sovereign nations in the United Republic of Tanzania, Zambia and Botswana constituted an unexpected reversal of fortune for the racists of South Africa and brought about a crisis in their domination in Namibia and Zimbabwe, causing a wave of rebellion and heroic resistance to sweep through very lair of *apartheid*. The peaceful dream of a grabbing neo-colonialism became a true nightmare. Black men who had been oppressed and abused for centuries, took up the arms of freedom and destroyed the rich temples of the exploiters who act under remote control from some city or metropolitan office. Panic also reached their servants in Pretoria and Salisbury. Then began the peace stratagems and manoeuvres of all those who were threatened by the revolution and by independence: negotiated initiatives; chest-thumping on the part of the advocates of democracy; much diplomatic to-ing and fro-ing and much quibbling; and siren-songs to lull to sleep and seduce the liberation movements and the front-line countries.

122. And what are the results after all this time? Ian Smith set up a government of cowardly traitors, after staging an electoral farce using military force, and there is already talk in some capitals of lifting the sanctions imposed by the United Nations on the illegal régime. Herr Botha promoted his so-called "internal settlement" in Namibia, committed aggression with impunity against neighbouring sovereign countries and prepared to wage a holy war of *apartheid* with the silent consent of his associates and patrons.

123. In a statement read out today before this Assembly an attempt was made to place SWAPO and the illegal South African occupiers and oppressors on an equal footing, attributing to each, in Solomonian fashion, a similar responsibility for the failure of the negotiations. It is quite unacceptable to compare those who are fighting with full rights for the independence of their homeland with those who, in express violation of the resolutions of this Assembly and the Security Council, continue to usurp a Territory which has been placed under the exclusive responsibility of the United Nations. That kind of analysis aims at casting a smoke-screen over the genuine causes which have thus far prevented a peaceful and negotiated settlement in Namibia and over the continuing shameful support received by the racists in Pretoria in the implementation of their expansionist, aggressive and colonialist policies against the African peoples.

124. SWAPO has maintained a consistent and praiseworthy attitude throughout the entire negotiating process. It is a position dictated, not by weakness—as some of its enemies would claim—but by logic. The sole genuine representative of the people of Namibia, SWAPO, has conducted the struggle for independence on various fronts, including the diplomatic front. It has spared no effort in trying to spare the country needless bloodshed, nor has it

abandoned the active struggle on all battlefields against the foreign oppressor. And that is indeed as it should be.

125. Cuba has never objected to the search for a peaceful solution, provided that that solution represents the achievement of the objectives of the Namibian patriots, which are: full sovereignty, territorial integrity, security within national boundaries, complete and unconditional withdrawal of the South African troops, and self-determination for the people of the country; and of course that solution must have the approval of SWAPO and independent African countries.

126. The military and technical assistance, and economic, political and diplomatic support given by imperialism to the minority racist régimes make it possible for those régimes to continue their racist, colonialist and *apartheid* policies. Their aggressive actions are a deliberate and flagrant violation of the principles and purposes of the United Nations Charter, of its relevant resolutions and, in truth, of everything that the Organization stands for.

127. The imperialist and colonialist forces are resolutely opposed to the genuine independence of the area because they feel that it would be a direct threat to their intention to continue with the unbridled economic plundering of the area and their military domination of the subcontinent. As the non-aligned countries said in Maputo:

"... the freedom struggle, including the armed struggle, which has been raging in Namibia and Zimbabwe and which is gaining momentum in South Africa itself, is being subverted in order to rob the people of these countries of their inevitable victory."⁹

128. As a socialist non-aligned country which has had first-hand experience of the clutches of imperialism and neo-colonialist domination, and is still being subjected to an unjust, illegal and immoral economic blockade, Cuba fully subscribes to the decisions adopted by the non-aligned countries and the United Nations regarding the need to support materially, financially and militarily the national liberation movements of Zimbabwe and Namibia in their just struggle for self-determination and independence. Together with other African countries, with others in the socialist camp and with all democratic forces which cherish peace, we will make a modest contribution to the inevitable victory of the peoples of southern Africa and the defeat of racism, *apartheid* and imperialism in the continent.

129. It is absolutely necessary for the United Nations to take decisive action against the régime in Pretoria so that an end may be put to their illegal occupation of the Territory of Namibia. The General Assembly must reaffirm the legitimacy of the armed struggle of the people of Namibia under the leadership of their liberation movement, SWAPO. Member States must intensify their material, financial and military assistance to SWAPO to accelerate the defeat of the Pretoria racists. We must reject and condemn as null and void the self-styled National Assembly set up by South Africa in the Territory of Namibia. We must see to it that no sham régime be recognized in the Territory. We must

⁹ See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-fourth Year, Supplement for January, February and March 1979*, document S/13185, annex, para. 28.

condemn the violence of the racist authorities against the Namibian patriots, and especially against SWAPO's leaders. We must demand an immediate and unconditional end to the illegal occupation of Namibia by the neo-Fascists in Pretoria and an immediate end to their repeated aggressions against the front-line countries. We must reaffirm United Nations responsibility through the United Nations Council for Namibia, and require that there be movement towards genuine independence in conformity with the majority will of the people of Namibia.

130. In the judgement of my delegation the Security Council must meet as a matter of urgency to adopt effective action against the neo-Fascist régime of Pretoria, to apply the economic sanctions provided for in Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter and to impose a trade, arms and fuel embargo, and other action must be taken to isolate diplomatically and commercially those who, stubbornly and with insolence, have defied our Organization and represent the most brutal denial of our principles.

131. We have full confidence in the victory of the peoples of Namibia. Like their brothers in Angola, Mozambique and so many other African countries who have achieved freedom over the past three decades, they will, sooner rather than later, achieve their true, unique and inevitable independence.

Mr. Jamal (Qatar), Vice-President, took the Chair.

132. Mr. AZAR GOMEZ (Uruguay) (*interpretation from Spanish*): At the ninth special session of the General Assembly on the question of Namibia, the head of the mission of Uruguay, at the plenary meeting of 28 April 1978, had occasion to state the position of our delegation on this question.¹⁰ He said then that the nature of the problems and the urgency of solutions which involved important human values compelled him to be brief. Now that even more time has elapsed, such conduct is all the more necessary. Hence we shall confine ourselves to stating the fundamental points on which the position of Uruguay on the question of Namibia has been based ever since the matter was brought to the attention of the United Nations.

133. First, the occupation of Namibia is, according to the undeniable principles of international law, illegal, and it should be ended.

134. Secondly, the United Nations must administer this Territory for the time being.

135. Thirdly, it is for the people of Namibia, through the vote of its citizens, without discrimination, free to decide on its destiny and on the political system it will adopt, of its own free choice.

136. Fourthly, once it has achieved self-determination, it will, in exercise of its right to independence, be able to enter into relations with other peoples without pressure and in a climate of peace and respect.

137. In setting forth those four points, Uruguay is simply drawing on its own historical tradition—that is, on the

principle of the self-determination of peoples, which a century and a half ago provided the foundation for its own international identity. Not only have we defended and shall we defend it for ourselves; it is also something we affirm as valid for all the peoples on earth.

138. Likewise—and this again is in keeping with a similar tradition—we reaffirm our total and absolute repudiation of racial discrimination in any form or place. In Uruguay, these odious manifestations of inequality do not exist, and we want to see other peoples also being able to achieve a similar level of coexistence.

139. Without disregarding the emotions involved in conflicts of this nature, which incline people towards radicalism, we should like to stress that in the implementation of the points we have enunciated, violence should be avoided and adequate and fair solutions sought, with guarantees for all, great and small. That is, in the final analysis, the philosophy which underlies the very institution of the United Nations and is recorded in its Charter. There are examples proving that such solutions are possible.

140. We should like to repeat what we said last year: that concerning the question of Namibia Uruguay is guided by no interest save that of allowing the Namibian people to forge its own destiny in freedom, peace and by hard work.

141. Mr. DIEZ (Chile) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Notwithstanding the many resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council adopted on the colonial case of Namibia over the past few years, and notwithstanding the various meetings that have been held in order precisely to hear various possible processes to lead to independence in the African Territory, the international community and those countries which genuinely cherish peace cannot help but feel great frustration over the apparent uselessness of all the efforts that have been made.

142. The colonial case of Namibia has been on the agenda of the General Assembly for more than 30 years—more than enough time to have found a just solution in accordance with the principles of the Charter of the Organization. The only losers in this international tragedy have been the people of Namibia, for not only have they had to experience the unlawful occupation of their Territory by South Africa but, during the same period of time, they have been prevented from exercising the fundamental right contained in the United Nations Charter of enjoying independence and self-determination.

143. The interests of the people of Namibia should be the only factor guiding the actions of this Organization above and beyond the ideological barriers which divide the world and any geo-political strategy the major Powers may be following with regard to southern Africa. We cannot play fast and loose with the destiny of another people, especially when the safeguarding of that destiny has been entrusted to us, the States Members of the Organization.

144. As my delegation has so often said in various international forums, we support the efforts of the five Western Powers over the past few years to produce a negotiated and peaceful solution to the colonial case of Namibia. Although those efforts came late in history, the fact remains that they have merit.

¹⁰ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Ninth Special Session, Plenary Meetings, 9th meeting, paras. 1-10.*

145. In the opinion of my delegation the plan of the five Powers, which became the United Nations plan when it was endorsed by the Security Council, continues to represent the sole and perhaps the last opportunity to resolve the case of Namibia within the framework of the Charter.

146. Despite the fact that the negotiations have almost completely bogged down, the delegation of Chile believes that it is imperative that final efforts should be made to revive that plan and to bring it to a successful conclusion. The five sponsors of the plan and other countries have a moral obligation to spare no effort along those lines, now, before it is too late.

147. The alternative would be the regrettable intensification of violence throughout the area, and that in turn would bring about further violence in a chain reaction the results of which could not be predicted. As always, the great loser would be the people of Namibia, for their suffering would be increased and there would be further loss of innocent lives.

148. To the delegation of Chile it is quite obvious that South Africa has responsibility in this matter because it is the illegal occupier of the Territory of Namibia and because it was the main cause of the tragedy in Namibia. My delegation believes that it would be a major historical error for the Government of South Africa to turn its back on the Security Council plan and to continue with its planned internal settlement.

149. The United Nations and the international community want Namibia to join their ranks as a sovereign member and a free nation. That will not happen if South Africa decides to put into effect the so-called "internal settlement" plan.

150. The delegation of Chile will give its full support to the draft resolution on the question of Namibia [A/33/L.37]. However, we cannot help thinking that perhaps economic sanctions would not be effective. Those imposed on the illegal régime of Ian Smith in Rhodesia did not produce the desired results. We are all witness to that. Perhaps those countries that have been most hurt by their application are not the major Powers or the object of the sanctions, but the neighbouring countries, which, because they have implemented Security Council resolutions, have jeopardized their development possibilities, some of them to a major extent.

151. The delegation of Chile would prefer one final effort at a dialogue to break-down and we prefer peaceful means to violent means. We will, however, always abide by Security Council resolutions, as we always have, and we hope that a solution to the problem of Namibia will be found, one that is in keeping with the standards of this Organization.

152. Mr. NUSEIBEH (Jordan): At this late stage in the debate on the question of Namibia at the resumed thirty-third session of the General Assembly, it is evident and crystal-clear that the racist South African régime is totally unwilling to heed and is in fact incapable of heeding the voice of the United Nations, of humanity and even of the Western Powers that have been counselling South Africa to discontinue its policy of procrastination, deceit and

sabotage of the Security Council's plan for a genuinely sovereign independent Namibia with a genuinely representative Government under the leadership of SWAPO and within the framework of free elections under the trusted and impartial supervision of the United Nations and not the brutal security apparatus of South Africa, the occupying Power.

153. In spite of the all-too-barren claims of South Africa's racist representatives—made after they were deservedly booted out of the General Assembly, which should admit to its fellowship only those who are willing to respect the Charter and United Nations resolutions—South Africa's behaviour in Namibia is designed solely to subvert the will of the people and their inalienable right to genuine independence.

154. South Africa is openly and assiduously striving to consolidate its stranglehold over the Namibian people by attempting to create a puppet régime tailored to serve its policy of enslaving the people and perpetuating its exploitation of Namibia's rich resources.

155. I do not know who is teaching whom, whether Israel is teaching South Africa or South Africa is teaching Israel. Whichever of the two is the teacher or the pupil, the outcome is identical to its minutest detail. After 25 years of real and glorious decolonization, the two racist régimes have come up with a novel and malicious policy of "internal settlements" which violate every norm and rule of our international order based on freedom, genuine self-determination and a legitimate government based on the freely expressed consent of the people.

156. After more than three decades of outright defiance, we still find the people of Namibia and the people of Palestine in chains, in gaols and in widespread dispersal. The wrath of the two aggressor States is not confined to the enslaved peoples of the Territories, but is being savagely inflicted upon adjacent African and Arab States in a policy of related genocide, simply because they have given refuge to the persecuted and enslaved.

157. A renowned Arab sovereign in the 1920s and 1930s, having experienced these perfidious policies, put the dilemma succinctly in one sentence. He said rights are wrested but not given away. This sentence still echoes in my ears more than four decades later as I see the General Assembly being treated like a lame duck.

158. What is the answer? In both cases, Namibia and Palestine, the two peoples, with the categorical approval of the provisions of the Charter, which recognizes the right to self-defence, have been left with no alternative but to intensify their struggle against their oppressors by all possible means. Let us end the pretensions and hypocrisy of waiting for salvation to descend miraculously from heaven. But this should not absolve the United Nations from its solemn responsibility to assist the two oppressed peoples to achieve their emancipation. Assistance in the struggle against the lawless aggressors should be provided on a far larger scale than has hitherto been the case.

159. However, in United Nations assistance to the people of Namibia, the spectrum should encompass all facets of

assistance. Withholding recognition of the so-called National Assembly under the internal settlement plan is one. Any régime which might emerge internally as a puppet of South Africa should be rejected, and aid should be given to the adjacent African front-line States to repulse the savage raids against their independent territories.

160. This is all identical with what is being inflicted upon Lebanon in almost daily attacks by sea, on the ground and from the air, with the use of cluster bombs and incendiary bombs and shells, so that hundreds were left killed, wounded or maimed, the overwhelming majority being civilians, men, women, children and infants, Lebanese and Palestinian refugees alike. A very urgent recommendation to the Security Council to apply the provisions of Chapter VII, starting with economic sanctions and an embargo on the sale of arms, petroleum and other strategic raw materials should be initiated without delay.

161. A new dimension in an effective campaign to further isolate South Africa and make it understand the shame of its exploitation of Namibia's resources at the expense of human suffering would be provided by a world-wide campaign to urge the peoples of the world to pressure their institutions, corporations and others to cease forthwith their investments in and wheelings and dealings with South Africa. A number of prestigious universities in the United States have already withdrawn such investments at the urging of their students. Such action could be increased manyfold, so that the Namibian people will cease to be a hostage to unconscionable profiteering. Legitimate trade will not suffer from an independent and free Namibia, but it will most certainly suffer a devastating loss if the people of Namibia are compelled by South Africa's obduracy to wage a prolonged and all-out struggle against their oppressors.

162. Jordan pledges unreserved support to any and every measure which this Assembly may see fit to take or recommend to the Security Council. Jordan is a sponsor of draft resolution A/33/L.37 and supports it without reservation. It is high time that the two oldest items on the agenda of the General Assembly, namely Namibia and Palestine, were relieved of the dubious honour of being the immortals in the game of nations.

163. Mr. AL-SHAWI (Iraq) (*interpretation from Arabic*): The world has witnessed over the last few years flagrant and arbitrary actions of persecution, and violations of justice by the same colonialist imperialist forces who do not cease speaking of the importance they attach to the problems of security and peace, of respect for the Charter of the United Nations and its resolutions, and of the defence of human rights. However, events have proved that the claims made by the colonialist and imperialist forces and the feelings they have displayed are no more than pretensions and meaningless words, for these forces have never proved their seriousness, their good intentions or their respect for the right of peoples. They take no account of the resolutions of the United Nations; they have not tried to apply them; they have not spared manifestations of the repression, oppression and inequality that reign in international relations. Colonialism is historically responsible for all these actions. It considers international problems only from a standpoint favourable to its ends, which are always to the detriment of poor and oppressed peoples. Otherwise what would be the

meaning of the proposal made by certain members of the United States Congress that the sanctions imposed on South Africa by a resolution passed by this Organization should be lifted? Is this a reward to the racist régime for its acts of repression, its oppression, and its falsifications with regard to the Namibian people?

164. What is the meaning of the veto cast by some Western Powers, permanent members of the Security Council, against the proposal to impose economic sanctions under Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter? Is that the way they intend to protect the legitimate rights of the Namibian people? Or is it a means to protect the racist régime of South Africa?

165. Thirteen years ago, in 1966 exactly, the General Assembly adopted an important resolution putting an end to South Africa's Mandate over Namibia [resolution 2145 (XXI)]. Since that date South Africa has constantly defied all the relevant resolutions of the United Nations and challenged the will of the international community by its colonialist and racist practices. Over the last 10 years the racist régime has not only illegally occupied Namibia but has also continually stepped up its illegal measures and acts of oppression and aggression against the people of Namibia, the most recent being the fraudulent and illegal elections held in the Territory without any United Nations supervision or control and in defiance of the will of the international community.

166. We do not want to go into the whole background of the question of Namibia. We do not want any hindrance to the right of the Namibian people to exercise its full right to self-determination and independence under the leadership of its only legitimate representative, SWAPO. But we should just like to give a few examples of the blatant injustices which still prevail in international relations, whether it be in Namibia, Palestine or other countries.

167. My delegation is fully aware of the acts of the imperialist and racist tragedy that are occurring in South Africa, and what is being practised in Namibia is an exact replica of what is being perpetrated against the Arab people in Palestine. These racist actions perpetrated by the Zionist entity have led to the dispersal of hundreds of thousands of inhabitants from those territories, preventing their return to their homeland, depriving them of their national and inalienable rights, and subjecting them to various practices of racism and racial discrimination that prevent them from enjoying the most elementary human rights. We have no doubt that repeated attempts are being made with a view to weakening the role of international organizations and minimizing their worth. This applies especially to our Organization. Manoeuvres take place with a view to gaining control of its action in order to be able to direct it towards objectives contrary to its noble and human purposes.

168. It is really regrettable that we must note that some countries, and in particular the United States, have been playing—and still play—a role in weakening the capacity of our Organization to attain its objectives. The exercise of its veto by the United States has several times given rise to a situation where the Security Council has been prevented from discharging the functions conferred upon it by the Charter. Perhaps the best living example is the South

African Government's continued occupation of Namibia and the persistence of racist Zionist entity in its defiance of United Nations resolutions and of the international community.

169. The illegal occupation of Namibia on the part of the racist régime of South Africa and its manoeuvres to set up weak régimes that do not represent the aspirations of the Namibian people must be ended. South Africa must totally and unconditionally withdraw from Namibia and respect the territorial integrity of the country, including Walvis Bay, which is part and parcel of Namibia until the Namibian people can recover their right to self-determination and independence, under the leadership of SWAPO, their only legitimate representative.

170. My delegation would like to confirm the need to implement Security Council resolutions, in particular resolutions 385 (1976), 431 (1978), 435 (1978) and 439 (1978). We call upon all Member States and the specialized agencies, as well as all international organizations, to intensify their material, military, financial and all other kinds of assistance that might help strengthen SWAPO in waging its struggle to achieve total independence for Namibia and its people.

171. We must mention here the noble and courageous decision taken by our neighbour and friend Iran to sever all relations with the racist régime of South Africa. That is a translation into reality of the words of the United Nations Secretary-General in his 1976 report concerning the work of the Organization, when he said:

"The responsibilities of Governments do not cease when a resolution is adopted; indeed resolutions usually require determined action by Governments, in addition to the parties directly concerned, if they are to be translated into reality."¹¹

172. Mr. HAMZAH (Syrian Arab Republic) (*interpretation from Arabic*): Despite the numerous resolutions adopted by the General Assembly during past sessions and despite the many resolutions adopted by the Security Council, we are meeting again to deliberate upon the situation in Namibia, a country with which we stand. We support the struggle of the people of that country under the leadership of SWAPO to achieve freedom and independence.

173. South Africa's continued defiance of Security Council and General Assembly resolutions and its refusal to abide by the wishes and recommendations of the international community unmask the objectives and intentions of that racist régime, which is led by a racist minority, which is trying not only to impose its racism in South Africa but also to extend its inhuman racist domination to Namibia, thereby ignoring all the relevant international resolutions that have condemned the racist Pretoria régime for its illegal occupation of Namibia and for exploiting Namibia's natural resources. That régime has no legal right to administer Namibia, which has become the direct responsibility of the United Nations.

174. From the various statements made by delegations, and from the course of the debate, there would seem to be a consensus on certain points, if not unanimity. We support those points and would sum them up as follows.

175. First, we support the struggle of the Namibian people under the leadership of SWAPO, which has resorted to the only possible course of action open to it to secure the liberation of the Territory and its freedom and independence. The racist régime in Pretoria has forced it to take that course—the course of armed struggle—in order to confront the fanaticism and racist refusal of South Africa to withdraw from Namibia and hand that Territory over to its lawful owners. That is exactly what is happening in the Middle East, where the racist, Zionist régime has forced the Palestinian people to fight for the liberation of their territory and for their right to self-determination.

176. Secondly, we support the independence of Namibia and the national unity of the Territory. The international Organization has an obligation to do its utmost to ensure that the people of Namibia exercise their right to self-determination and independence and that free elections under United Nations supervision are held in the Territory.

177. Thirdly, we would join with other countries which consider that South Africa's presence in Namibia is illegal and is a form of occupation, which must be ended. The United Nations is directly responsible for Namibia and will be until independence. The international Organization must play a more concrete role in this area. It must consider effective action against the racist régime of South Africa, including the possibility of calling on the Security Council to adopt the resolutions necessary to implement Chapter VII of the Charter and to impose economic sanctions on the Pretoria régime.

178. Fourthly, in the course of this debate it has become quite clear that the so-called internal settlement is unacceptable and has been rejected. It is clear also that the time has come for the United Nations to use every means available to it to bring pressure to bear on South Africa to release all political detainees unconditionally, to put a stop to all acts of oppression and violence against the militant people of Namibia, to allow the return of political exiles, and to open the way for free participation in political life under the leadership of SWAPO.

179. Fifthly, South Africa must withdraw all its forces of various kinds which are now in Namibia, just as it must give the Namibian people their right to self-determination and freedom.

180. Syria has always supported the people of Namibia in their struggle under SWAPO's leadership. We have done this in accordance with the basic principles of our foreign policy. We have always condemned colonialism, imperialism and racism in all forms, wherever they may be. We support national liberation movements and the independence of all militant peoples. We believe that racism in Africa, Palestine and everywhere else in the world is a scourge which must be eliminated, and that it must not be allowed to spread. The international Organization has an obligation today, perhaps more than any ever before, to act in accordance with its responsibilities and to stand in the way of South Africa's

¹¹ *Ibid.*, Thirty-first Session, Supplement No. 1A, sect. IV.

attempts to impose a policy of *fait accompli* on the international community, for that is a policy which has been rejected by SWAPO just as it has been rejected by countries throughout the entire world. It is indispensable for the international Organization to have recourse to concrete effective action to put an end to the occupation by South Africa of the Territory of Namibia and to allow the people of Namibia, under SWAPO's leadership, to obtain freedom and independence as promptly as possible.

181. Mr. SAMASSEKOU (Mali) (*interpretation from French*): The resumption of the thirty-third session of the General Assembly comes at a time when the situation in Namibia, which has been of concern to our Organization for decades now, is assuming proportions that are more than alarming.

182. This year has been marked by the intensification of terror against the Namibian people. Indeed, the murder of defenceless persons, including women, children and old people, mass arrests, and detention without trial of SWAPO members and other brutal measures of repression such as torture against the heroic people of Namibia have been multiplying with every day in spite of general condemnation and the great indignation aroused throughout the world by these acts of staggering criminality.

183. The international community must react vigorously. It must demonstrate its will to discharge its function effectively in this Territory until independence is wholly recovered.

184. The resumption of the thirty-third session is a new opportunity for us to take new and effective measures against the racist régime of Pretoria, which continues to defy our Organization by persisting in its illegal occupation of the Territory of Namibia.

185. The need to put an end to the tragedy of Namibia is even more imperative because today South Africa is seeking ever more persistently to impose upon the heroic people of Namibia institutions based upon its segregationist racial philosophy, in defiance of the relevant resolutions of our Organization and the advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice of 21 June 1971.¹²

186. Indeed, after the appointment of its colonial agent, Judge Steyn, the electoral masquerade of December and the creation of a so-called "Constituent Assembly", South Africa has embarked upon the transformation of that body into a national assembly, thus imposing a "provisional government" on the country.

187. With these illegal measures, South Africa intends to clinch the process of annexing the Territory of Namibia. Thus the racist régime of Pretoria is pursuing imperturbably and with impunity the realization of its ancient dream. Once again it has just challenged the international community anew. For its part, the Government of Mali attaches no value to this policy, denounces this unilateral act of independence, "Rhodesian style", and calls upon the

international community not to recognize this so-called "Constituent Assembly" and consequently to forge no links of co-operation with it.

188. Our Organization cannot accept the masquerade of constitutional consultations and fraudulent elections that the racist régime of South Africa is striving to organize in order to install in Namibia puppet régimes in its pay so as to strengthen its grip on the Territory.

189. In the face of Pretoria's intransigence, it is now high time for our Organization to adopt coercive measures in accordance with Chapter VII of the Charter to prevail upon South Africa to respect and observe the relevant resolutions and decisions of the General Assembly and the Security Council.

190. Indeed, at the very time when our Organization has embarked on a course of dialogue, South Africa is taking advantage of this opportunity to strengthen its authority over Namibia.

191. Proof of this is the obstinate refusal of the racist Pretoria régime to assist in the implementation of Security Council resolutions 385 (1976) and 435 (1978), which lay the foundations for free and proper elections in Namibia under the control of the United Nations.

192. In this regard, those States Members of our Organization which have always so enthusiastically defended the idea of dialogue with South Africa owe us explanations today.

193. Has the settlement plan, their initiative endorsed by the United Nations, had the benefit of even the understanding of the racist Pretoria régime?

194. Indeed, the failure of the efforts of the international community to decolonize Namibia stem essentially from the support which those States continue to provide to the champions of *apartheid*.

195. As long as South Africa is assured of the economic, material, political and moral support of those States, it will continue to defy our Organization and the decisions it takes.

196. Hence, at the end of this debate on this painful problem, our Assembly must decree economic sanctions and an oil embargo, which alone can deal a death blow to the South African régime.

197. In so doing, it will measure up to its responsibilities, restore the confidence of its Members in its actions and preserve its credibility.

198. As everyone knows, the question of Namibia is a problem of decolonization. Only the exercise in full freedom by the sovereign Namibian people of its right to self-determination and independence, with respect for its territorial integrity and in accordance with resolution 1514 (XV) and the relevant Security Council decisions, will make possible a swift settlement of this distressing problem.

199. But the racist régime of Pretoria, through its acts of violence, its deceit, its sinister designs, its political terror,

¹² *Legal Consequences for States of the Continued Presence of South Africa in Namibia (South West Africa) notwithstanding Security Council Resolution 276 (1970), Advisory Opinion, I.C.J. Reports 1971, p. 16.*

and particularly the strengthening of its military potential, its armed attacks and its criminal acts of aggression in Namibia and against the front-line countries have left the people of Namibia no other choice but that of armed struggle for national liberation. That armed struggle will be waged by the people of Namibia until the end under the banner of SWAPO, their sole authentic representative. It is for this purpose desirable that it should enjoy even greater political and material assistance from the United Nations system and from all Member States.

200. The Mali delegation for its part reaffirms its militant support for the Namibian people in its national liberation struggle which it is waging under the leadership of SWAPO.

201. Only recently, last March, the Constituent Congress of the Democratic Union of the Mali People, meeting in Bamako, declared that the Union was a democratic party, anti-imperialist, anti-colonialist, anti-neo-colonialist, anti-Zionist, anti-racist and anti-apartheid, and reaffirmed its unswerving support for the struggle of fraternal peoples which were waging their struggle in Zimbabwe, Namibia and southern Africa for their liberation from foreign and racist domination, for their national unity and for respect for their sovereignty over their natural resources.

202. In the statement published following the murder of the young and intrepid Solomon Mahlangu, the Government of Mali energetically condemned the unprecedented act committed against human dignity by the illegal racist régime of South Africa. Furthermore, it called for the active solidarity of all peoples which love peace and justice, all international organizations and all Governments, particularly those which continue to co-operate with Pretoria, and it called for the whole of mankind to mobilize in the defence of true human rights and to bring about the immediate cessation of the tragedy that has befallen our brothers in Southern Africa so that there may be strict respect for the fundamental provisions of the United Nations Charter with regard to the maintenance and safeguarding of international peace and security.

203. I can assure the heroic people of Namibia and their great national liberation movement, SWAPO, of the determination of the people of Mali to work even harder to give its material and moral assistance to them as well as to our brothers fighting for freedom in Zimbabwe and in South Africa.

204. The President of the United Nations Council for Namibia, the President 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, and the President of SWAPO, in the masterly statements they all made on 23 May [97th meeting], have painted for us a very gloomy picture of the Namibian situation. We do not want to dwell any further on the evil deeds perpetrated by the Pretoria racist régime in this Territory since we summarized them at the beginning of our statement and have done so on many other occasions. Suffice it to say that we deplore them and condemn them vigorously.

205. These various distinguished persons have, however, proposed—particularly Mr. Sam Nujoma—radical solutions for the settlement of the Namibian question of which we approve, since my delegation, like so many others, has advocated these very solutions on several occasions.

206. To sum up, for any solution in Namibia we have to work towards the fulfilment of the following conditions: first, recognition by South Africa of the right of the Namibian people to self-determination and independence; secondly, the safeguarding of the identity and national unity of the Namibian people, that is to say, the keeping of Walvis Bay within Namibian territory; thirdly, the withdrawal of the administration and all military and police forces of South Africa that are illegally occupying the Territory; fourthly, the recognition and reaffirmation of SWAPO as sole representative of the Namibian people; fifthly, the freeing of all political prisoners; sixthly, the holding, under the auspices of the United Nations, of free and democratic elections; seventhly, the immediate cessation of all acts of aggression, torture and arbitrary arrest directed against the Namibian people.

207. I cannot conclude this statement without congratulating the United Nations Council for Namibia on the work it has done since its creation in 1967. The only legal authority in the Territory, the Council must enjoy the necessary support in order to fulfil its task in Namibia.

208. In proclaiming 1979 as the International Year of Solidarity with the People of Namibia, the primary objective of the Council was that of accelerating the liberation of the Territory. The international community must reaffirm its total support.

209. The delegation of Mali fervently hopes that at the end of our proceedings the Organization will be in a position to measure up to its responsibilities and to its obligations towards Namibia, a Territory that since 1966 has been under its direct responsibility, for the future of that country is sure, its independence is inevitable and its heroic people will prevail.

The meeting rose at 6 p.m.