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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. MARTYNYENKO (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic) (*interpretation from Russian*): The attention of the world community has once again been drawn to the situation prevailing in southern Africa—a question that has occupied a very important place in contemporary international life.

2. Many millions of the popular masses of that continent—which imperialism has for many decades now regarded as its own “bailiwick”—during their long and fierce struggle have overthrown the colonial order and embarked upon the course of independent development. However, aggressive, imperialist circles have not given up their attempts to turn southern Africa, as in the case of other developing countries also, into their own economic preserve and to keep that region in the sphere of their own political and ideological influence.

3. It is perfectly obvious that the basic source of the tension which prevails in southern Africa is the racist régime of South Africa which, despite the desires of the world community and the numerous demands made by the United Nations General Assembly and the Security Council, continues illegally to occupy the Territory of Namibia, thus creating a genuine threat to the interests of peace and security both on the African continent and throughout the world.

4. Issuing a challenge to the United Nations, which as far back as 1966 abrogated the Republic of South Africa's Mandate over Namibia, the Pretoria régime continues to maintain an army of many thousands, as well as a police force and an administrative apparatus in that country, thus

turning it into a fifth province of the Republic of South Africa. The policy of *apartheid* and a whole battery of repressive laws are widespread there. The authorities in Pretoria have partitioned Namibia into bantustans important regions have been turned into so-called “security zones” and the population has been forcibly ejected from them. A state of emergency has been declared in the country. The authorities have arrogated to themselves the right to arrest all “suspicious” persons as they see fit, to break up meetings and demonstrations and to shoot Africans without trial or due legal process—simply because they are suspected of being partisans.

5. The purpose of maintaining the colonial domination of South Africa and Namibia also motivates the illegal annexation by Pretoria of Walvis Bay, an integral part of the Territory of Namibia.

6. Examples of illegality and brutality being perpetrated by the South African racists in Namibia are legion. The reply to the question why the Pretoria régime has been able for so many years to continue to perpetrate those actions which run completely contrary to the norms of international law, as is known, can be found not in the strength of the régime itself but rather in the broad political, economic and military support that it receives from outside. It is precisely the support provided by a number of Western countries, and primarily by those which are members of the North Atlantic bloc, that supplies a sort of shield behind which Pretoria hides while continuing its illegal occupation of Namibia and maintaining it in a colonial status.

7. The close interrelationship between the military, political and economic interests of South Africa and certain foreign circles is no secret to anyone. It is well known, for example, that generally speaking more than one third of the entire Territory of Namibia belongs to United States, British, French, German, Canadian and South African corporations as a concession.

8. Therefore, it is quite natural that the monopolies are not particularly keen about the prospects of Namibia's liberation, of losing their tremendous investments and being deprived of the huge profits that they have been making. Precisely for that reason and at the expense of the international monopolies, the puppet grouping of the “Democratic Turnhalle Alliance” was set up and guaranteed a so-called “victory” at the illegal “elections” held in December of last year.

9. In order to maintain the *status quo* in that part of the world, constant efforts are also being made by the West to strengthen the military potential of the Republic of South Africa. Despite the decision taken by the United Nations to

place an embargo on arms supplies to the Republic of South Africa, certain States continue to strengthen its armed forces and its occupation of Namibia. The Western monopolies are increasing their supplies of bomber and fighter planes, armoured cars, artillery and other forms of weaponry.

10. According to the press, in recent years, expenditure on armaments in the Republic of South Africa has increased by 250 per cent, and in 1977 amounted to almost \$2 billion. Pretoria is stepping up its military potential in Namibia itself as well. As stated at the present session by the President of South West Africa People's Organization [SWAPO], Mr. Nujoma [97th meeting], there are now over 75,000 South African troops there. The chain of military bases in the Republic of South Africa is constantly being extended, in close proximity to the boundaries of neighbouring independent States, which are constant victims of the aggressive attacks carried out by the Pretoria régime.

11. Particularly alarming are the plans of the Republic of South Africa to create its own nuclear weapon. Unfortunately, these plans have met with support on the part of certain Western countries and also on the part of Israel. Were the South African racists to gain access to nuclear weapons, it is perfectly obvious that this would represent a threat to the security both of African States and States throughout the world with far-reaching consequences.

12. Recently, the racist régime of Pretoria, in addition to a hardening of the colonial systems in Namibia, has been resorting to political manoeuvring, first to quench the flame of the ever-growing national liberation struggle of the Namibian people, and secondly, to appear in everyone's eyes as a sort of "peacemaker" attempting to settle the problem by peaceful means. However the real aim is simply to set up a puppet government in Namibia, with the participation of the African collaborators, to consolidate the key positions held up to now by the racist leaders of the white minority.

13. Obvious attempts have been made by Pretoria, with the support of its foreign patrons, to replace the previous colonial, racist régime by a renovated régime of a neo-colonialist hue, very closely modelled on the newly installed "government" in Southern Rhodesia. That is the reason why the racists of South Africa arranged the sham elections and the so-called "Constituent Assembly" in Namibia in December of last year, which the United Nations declared invalid.

14. The electoral farce, the provocation and threats to start a unilateral procedure by giving Namibia "independence" and creating a temporary government, and the impudent demands of the racists to abrogate the decision of the United Nations to recognize SWAPO as the sole, authentic representative of the Namibian people, are a further gauntlet which Pretoria throws down to the world community. These actions demonstrate the desire of the Republic of South Africa to impose on Namibia a so-called "internal settlement", the essence of which would be not to allow the genuine participation of the United Nations in solving the problem and to maintain the old order in Namibia.

15. The delegation of the Ukrainian SSR considers that the right of the people of Namibia to self-determination cannot be subject to bargaining. The South African régime is occupying Namibia illegally and therefore should, without any delay and without any conditions, withdraw from the entire Territory of Namibia including Walvis Bay. It should withdraw its troops, police and administration, and should disarm the military and paramilitary formations of its puppets.

16. The present resumed session of the General Assembly of the United Nations should take effective measures to put an immediate end to the illegal occupation of Namibia by the racist régime of Pretoria and to ensure that full power in that country is transferred to the genuine representatives of the Namibian people, the patriotic forces under the leadership of SWAPO.

17. The manoeuvres of the racists and their backers, who are trying to perpetuate the occupation of Namibia, make it abundantly necessary to take effective steps to protect the interests of the Namibian people.

18. A measure that could be relied on to lead to the immediate cessation of the occupation of Namibia would be a strict and unswerving observance of the embargo imposed by the United Nations on the supply of arms to the Republic of South Africa. Furthermore, it is the duty of the United Nations and the Security Council of the United Nations to decide to introduce immediately obligatory sanctions in accordance with Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter to establish complete international isolation and a boycott of the racist régime in Pretoria.

19. The Delegation of the Ukrainian SSR would like to state that in their struggle for liberation, the people of Namibia, as before, can rely on the complete solidarity and comprehensive support of the Ukrainian people and of all Soviet people.

20. The present resumed session of the General Assembly is being held during a year which has been proclaimed by the United Nations as the International Year of Solidarity with the People of Namibia. The delegation of the Ukrainian SSR would like to express the hope that this will have a beneficial influence in further consolidating the efforts of all progressive forces throughout the world in support of the just struggle of the Namibian people for their liberation.

21. We are profoundly convinced that the day will shortly come when, under the blows struck by the patriots of Namibia, Zimbabwe and southern Africa and with the support of world public opinion, the last bastions of colonialism, racism and *apartheid* will crumble and the people of the southern part of the African continent will embark upon the course of peaceful development and social progress.

22. Mr. BIKOUTA (Congo) (*interpretation from French*): It is not because of any failure to study carefully the Namibian dossier and acquire an exhaustive knowledge of the subject that the General Assembly has to return to it once again. This resumed thirty-third session, pursuant to resolution 33/182, is striking proof that the international community's patience is exhausted.

23. This is a topic which for many years has appeared on the agenda of this Assembly and which has exhausted numerous generations of diplomats. All have impugned and continued to impugn the hypocrisy and the cowardice of certain States, particularly those which do everything they can to prevent the effectiveness of the sanctions laid down by the Charter, thus promoting the institutionalized martyrdom of hundreds of thousands of people in their struggle against the yoke which is being imposed by South African racists.

24. We should like to pay a tribute to the memory of thousands of victims who have fallen foul of the Fascist régime which since the end of the last century has been installed in the southern part of the African continent.

25. For the gangrene of injustice, exploitation and contempt could only become so well established during the second part of this twentieth century because at the international level there is so much complicity, which has no other justification than the appetite for the basest kind of power, founded on the corpses of thousands of men, women and children, in contempt of the most elementary principles of dignity, self-determination of peoples and full sovereignty over natural resources. These principles are universally binding and are now linked with the requirements of a new and more just political, economical and cultural order.

26. The situation of crisis prevailing in Namibia poses such fundamental issues for the universal conscience that Namibia, it must be admitted, has in fact become the "uneasy conscience" of the United Nations. That is particularly true because our Organization has not been able effectively to exercise its sovereignty over a Territory whose Mandate was withdrawn from the South African usurper in 1966 in order to allow the full implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples of 14 December 1960.

27. My delegation will merely stress what, in our view, characterizes the full gravity of the present situation and remind Members of the assistance in many and varied forms that should be given by the international community to the people of Namibia, so that they might be spared the effects of racist barbarism, lest the United Nations lay itself open to the charge of complicity, however involuntary, in the genocide perpetrated by a minority of arrogant adventurers against the people of southern Africa.

28. Barely four months ago it was fashionable to hold negotiations with a South Africa which, we were told, had the most chivalrous feelings about the situation, recognizing at last the right of the peoples of the world to self-determination. SWAPO was urged to associate itself with the general reconciliation sponsored by the major Western Powers members of the Security Council. Suddenly there was a complete about-face. Goodbye negotiations, goodbye United Nations plan. One would like to know what really happened and who was fooling whom.

29. One plausible explanation was that if there be any lesson to be learned from this gigantic farce it is that SWAPO, the sole authentic movement that was fighting stubbornly for the independence of Namibia, was simply

asked to lower its guard so that the enemies of African liberty and the captains of industry could, with the blessings of the United Nations, carry out their plans in southern Africa as a whole.

30. Everything would then have been saved: both material and strategic interests and legality. But that met with the haughtiness of the *apartheid* régime, which never strayed from its methods or designs regarding developments in southern Africa and in the world, which everyone can easily imagine.

31. At the very moment of our holding this meeting, Pretoria—we can be sure—is leaning over backwards to set up puppet institutions made up of a tribal assembly—called a Constituent Assembly—as a prelude to the establishment of a puppet government tied to it. In the meantime, the minority was careful to organize under its authority so-called elections in flagrant contradiction with its undertaking to associate the United Nations fully with the independence process. For many long months the supporters and leaders of SWAPO have been subjected to blind repression and martial law has been extended throughout the entire country.

32. In a statement made a few days ago in this hall [97th meeting], Mr. Sam Nujoma confirmed that, instead of reducing its military potential, South Africa was increasing it, raising to 75,000 men the total of its troops already in Namibia.

33. It is clear that this military presence has expansionist and hegemonistic significance. Practically no week or month passes without racist soldiers perpetrating barbaric acts of aggression against sovereign States Members of the United Nations bordering on Namibia.

34. These acts of dubious bravura reveal a real fear of the future on the part of the theoreticians of white racism. The choice that they are forced to make is much narrower than they would like to believe: they can either reform and join the ranks of the international community or, whatever they do, their delusions of grandeur will lead them to their doom in a world in constant flux. This dilemma should give much food for thought to those who confuse their own interests with those of South Africa.

35. We should welcome the fact that the United Nations has not sunk to compromising with the enemies of freedom. The United Nations will not abandon decisions already adopted in the Security Council and in the General Assembly on the subject under debate. If Pretoria's goal was to undermine the image of our Organization, we can say that in spite of appearances it has certainly failed. We will recall the exchanges last January and February between Mr. Kurt Waldheim and the South African Government, which was trying to convince the Secretary-General not to go along with the settlement plan adopted by the United Nations,<sup>1</sup> as if one could expect from Pretoria a correct interpretation of the spirit and letter of Security Council resolution 435 (1978) or of any other United Nations text, beginning with the Charter.

<sup>1</sup> See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-third Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1978*, document S/12822.

36. The truth is that the difficulties all stem from the fact that Pretoria has not decided after all to follow the new path of faithfully implementing United Nations resolutions regarding Namibia, in particular resolution 435 (1978).

37. Pretoria even went so far as to imagine that its delegation could actually take part here in these deliberations, the better to attempt to justify its indefensible policy. The decision proposed by the Credentials Committee not to recognize the representativeness of the delegation of South Africa at the present session is technically logical and politically well-founded. The contrary would have come as a great shock to us, we have to admit, for the United Nations could scarcely put the stamp of approval on the policy of *apartheid*, a crime against humanity. South Africa is not guilty merely of holding erroneous opinions, as some have said, and the principle of the universality of the United Nations has not been adversely affected by any attempt at maintaining international peace and security in accordance with the purposes and principles of the Charter. The League of Nations—the predecessor of the United Nations—perished because of its complacent behaviour towards barbaric acts.

38. Having treated the injunctions of the international community with contempt, South Africa imagined that it would benefit from its widely publicized dialogue with the Western Powers by having the doors of the United Nations opened to it. It would seem that South Africa has got the century wrong if it believes that.

39. The manoeuvres that the international community has witnessed during the past long months were aimed at distorting the meaning of the national independence struggle led by SWAPO and at presenting the sacred target of independence as a gift dependent on the goodwill of South Africa and the international mining and industrial corporations.

40. The sympathy enjoyed by certain tribal groups among the reactionary international media is part of the plan systematically to liquidate SWAPO, the sole authentic representative of the Namibian people. No stone has been left unturned. Certain segments of the international press have been shrewdly manipulated through Pretoria's secret funds; incredible but short-lived disputes have arisen between Pretoria and some of its allies on the subject of espionage; the recruitment of mercenaries—curiously enough, always the same ones—has been indulged in; and many other examples could be mentioned. In brief, every method of deceiving world public opinion has been tried.

41. As we meet here, genuine decolonization in Namibia is not yet in sight, yet only genuine decolonization can promote an era of freedom and peace in that country.

42. But, against the wishes of the people of Namibia, who are supported by world public opinion, Pretoria is engaged in setting up the machinery for a so-called internal settlement. In this context, the Pretoria-Salisbury-Windhoek axis, which collapsed about five years ago at the time of the Portuguese rout in Mozambique and Angola, is trying to rise up from its ashes. This time certain Africans, traitors to the national cause and manipulated like true

puppets both in Namibia and in Rhodesia, are playing a role. And in order to show clearly that there is no room in southern Africa for any desire for self-determination under international supervision based on the principle of "one man, one vote", all patriots are being hunted down and driven out so that they will not be a hindrance to anyone. But the growing awareness of the peoples of southern Africa will inevitably triumph over this inhuman system. Have we not seen throughout history—and even more recently—that in many places strait-jackets have been made to order and fashioned to last forever only to tear apart and be destroyed under the irresistible pressure of the peoples and of the winds of freedom?

43. The delegation of the Congo wishes here most strongly to reaffirm the determined will of the People's Republic of the Congo to give, as in the past, all material and political assistance at its disposal to support the liberation struggle of the Namibian people under SWAPO's leadership. That is why we shall give our complete support to the only decision worthy to be adopted by this Assembly, as set forth in the draft resolution of which the Congo is a sponsor [A/33/L.37]. Indeed, that draft resolution brings out the need for the United Nations and the specialized agencies to support the national liberation struggle conducted by SWAPO against South Africa; for the reaffirmation of the territorial integrity of the country, including Walvis Bay; for the unconditional withdrawal of South Africa and the immediate release of all imprisoned patriots; for the unequivocal condemnation of any internal settlement; and, finally, for recourse to the most effective measures in the areas of politics, economics, trade, culture, sports, and so forth, with emphasis above all on an immediate and total oil embargo. Effective implementation of the measures provided for in Chapter VII of the Charter should in any case be seriously considered as long as South Africa persists in its obstinacy. As to those who still react sentimentally towards South Africa, affirming their opposition to *apartheid* while at the same time defending the alleged rights of the South African régime, it is appropriate to note that only an effective commitment in line with the draft resolution before us can convince us of their sincerity.

44. Finally, I should like to say that my delegation's position is based primarily on one essential concern. It is at the very least paradoxical that the obstacle in the path of the process of decolonization which began at the end of the Second World War should be the Territory of Namibia, which has been placed under the direct authority of the United Nations and, together with Zimbabwe, at the present time constitutes one of the two largest colonial empires existing in the world.

45. Perhaps we should leave it to historians and political analysts to pass an even harsher judgement than ours on the incredible game of duplicity played against our Organization by the rich Powers allied to South Africa in the exploitation and subjugation of the Namibian people.

46. Our concern is more with the attitude to be adopted and the action to be taken. The ninth special session held last year defined, in its Declaration on Namibia and Programme of Action in Support of Self-Determination and National Independence for Namibia [resolution S-9/2] what conduct should be adopted.

47. The question is whether or not this kind of respectability being enjoyed by South Africa will in the long-term prevail over the interests of mankind, now increasingly committed to solidarity, or whether the international community, aware of its responsibilities before the urgent tasks incumbent upon it for the future of the world, will work towards eradicating racism, exploitation and colonialism.

48. Time is in favour of the forces that love peace, justice and freedom. During the deliberations soon to begin in the Security Council, we hope that a decisive step will be taken towards the imposition of partial or total measures provided for in Chapter VII of the Charter with a view to inducing South Africa to respect the relevant decisions of our Organization.

49. According to Hegel, racism is "the concrete, universal evil". Protected by the seemingly unbreached wall erected in southern Africa by the capitalist-racist oligarchy and its imperialist allies, a network of treacherous manoeuvres and economic and military agreements concluded behind the backs of the African peoples—particularly the peoples of Namibia, Zimbabwe and South Africa—is spreading. By destroying this perverse world of Vorster and Botha, our Organization would thus be paying a just tribute to the martyrdom of millions of human beings, the victims of racism, fascism and colonialism throughout the world. The revolutionary whirlwind sweeping through southern Africa bears a message calling for the achievement of freedom and independence, of peace in dignity—in a word, the inevitable epistemological break with this revolting world of colonial racism.

50. In conclusion, we wish to pay you, Mr. President, a well-deserved tribute for the courage and wisdom with which you presided over the lengthy consideration of this important question.

51. Mr. SHEMIRANI (Iran) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Mr. President, since this is the first time that the delegation of the Islamic Republic of Iran has had the opportunity to address the General Assembly at its resumed thirty-third session, I should like to convey to you my delegation's appreciation of the great diplomatic ability which you have displayed throughout these deliberations. In view of your demonstrated experience in the field of international relations, we are convinced that, under your presidency, this resumed session will come to a successful conclusion.

*[The speaker continued in English.]*

52. Namibia is vivid testimony to a consistent pattern of flagrant wide-scale and massive violations of human rights, the right to self-determination and independence. As we meet here to discuss the problem, the people of Namibia continue to be deprived of these most fundamental human rights. South Africa, whose arrogant record of non-compliance with United Nations resolutions is well known, still persists in its refusal to withdraw its illegal presence from a Territory which is under the jurisdiction of the United Nations.

53. Despite the fact that the Government of South Africa has been repeatedly called upon by the General Assembly and the Security Council to cease its illegal occupation of

Namibia, the Pretoria régime has chosen to ignore the legitimate concern of the international community by defying the resolutions and decisions of the United Nations.

54. Such an attitude on the part of South Africa clearly demonstrates that it has no intention of relinquishing its illegal authority over the Territory. There is no doubt that the continuing repression by the occupying Power in Namibia is aimed at impeding the speedy implementation of the process of decolonization in the Territory. The illegal presence of South Africa in Namibia, coupled with ruthlessness, torture oppression and a deliberate policy of destroying the social and cultural values of the African people of the Territory, constitutes not only a flagrant and massive violation of the most elementary principles of human rights, but is rightly considered an affront to the sense of human dignity and justice.

55. My delegation strongly condemns these inhuman policies of South Africa in Namibia and is convinced that such policies will ultimately fail to prevent the irreversible process of self-determination and independence in the Territory. We further condemn South Africa for its repeated aggression against the independent African States adjacent to Namibia, which have consistently supported the liberation movement of the people of Namibia and in many cases have sustained a large number of casualties and a substantial destruction of property.

56. There is no need to state that the illegality of the South African Government's presence in Namibia is reiterated in all the pertinent resolutions of the United Nations and in the advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice. Namibia is an international Territory under the direct responsibility of the United Nations, and the United Nations Council for Namibia is the only legal authority over the Territory until independence. My delegation supports the policies and programmes of the Council aimed at promoting the cause of self-determination and independence for the people of Namibia.

57. Last December, in an attempt to delay the achievement of independence by the Namibians and to confuse world public opinion, the Pretoria régime, in violation of Security Council resolutions 385 (1976) of 30 January 1976, and 439 (1978) of 13 November 1978, held illegal elections in Namibia. These elections, which were clearly conducted in disregard of the framework laid down by the United Nations, were intended to safeguard the interests of South Africa by bringing to power the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance, a group of South Africa's puppets in the Territory. These manoeuvres were designed by South Africa to perpetuate its political and economic stranglehold over the Territory, and to deprive the Namibians of their inalienable right to self-determination and independence. My delegation joins the international community in condemning these illegal elections and considers them null and void. We believe that the only acceptable political solution of the Namibian question requires unconditional termination of South Africa's presence in Namibia and the withdrawal of its occupation forces, as well as its illegal administration, from the Territory.

58. The people of Namibia must be given the opportunity to exercise their inalienable right to self-determination and

independence in free elections in accordance with General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV). Such elections must be carried out under the supervision and control of the United Nations, in the whole of Namibia, as one political entity, in conformity with Security Council resolution 385 (1976).

59. In this regard, my delegation would like to state that the role of SWAPO is indispensable to any negotiations leading to the independence of the Territory. The Government of the Islamic Republic of Iran is fully committed to extending its moral and political support to SWAPO, the sole and authentic representative of the Namibian people, in its just struggle against colonialism, imperialism and foreign domination.

60. As regards the South African Government's claim on Walvis Bay, we believe that Walvis Bay is an integral part of Namibia. Therefore, any attempts on the part of the *apartheid* régime to annex Walvis Bay to its territory would be illegal, contrary to the territorial integrity of Namibia and an act of aggression against the Namibian people.

61. Relying on the continuous collaboration and support of some Western and other States, South Africa has systematically strengthened its military build-up in Namibia with the intention of exploiting and plundering the economic and human resources of the Territory, as well as preserving and safeguarding the interests of imperialism in South Africa. Continuation of the present policy would have never been possible without this active support and collaboration in South Africa's illegal hold over Namibia and its continued violation of the most elementary human rights of the African people.

62. It is ironical to note that some of South Africa's collaborators, which consider themselves promoters of human rights around the world, have on numerous occasions blocked the adoption of appropriate measures by the United Nations to put an end to South Africa's occupation of Namibia and its inhuman policies in the Territory.

63. The time has come to mobilize all the international efforts with a view to terminating the illegal presence of South Africa in Namibia and supporting the Namibians in their just and legitimate struggle to free themselves from colonial domination and to exercise their inalienable right to self-determination and independence. To that end my Government stands ready to give its full support to all appropriate measures, including the application of the provisions of Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter, to impose mandatory economic sanctions against South Africa.

64. It is our earnest hope that the present resumed session of the General Assembly will be instrumental in taking a significant step towards enabling the Namibian people freely to determine their future and achieve independence in Namibia.

65. Mr. ERALP (Turkey): The General Assembly has resumed its debate on Namibia, in accordance with the provisions of resolution 33/182 A, at a very critical juncture, not only from the point of view of the developments concerning Namibia, but also from those concerning southern Africa in general. It is also most timely that the

General Assembly should give full consideration to the question of Namibia at a time when progress in the United Nations plan for United Nations supervised elections in the Territory, after two years of great efforts and intense negotiations, seem to have stalled because of South Africa's defiance of United Nations resolutions and the will of the international community. It is all the more so because the resumed session is meeting in 1979, which has been proclaimed by resolution 33/182 C as the International Year of Solidarity with the People of Namibia. This year will certainly be a most challenging one for the United Nations and the whole international community, to see whether a negotiated settlement to the Namibian question can still be found in compliance with the true aspirations of the Namibian people.

66. Eleven years ago, in 1966, the United Nations General Assembly took the important decision of terminating the Mandate of South Africa over Namibia. It was in 1967 that the United Nations General Assembly established the United Nations Council for Namibia, of which Turkey is one of the founding members, as the sole legal authority for the Territory until Namibia attained genuine independence.

67. During the last decade, the question of Namibia has continuously engaged the concern of the international community, within and outside the United Nations, through the activities of the United Nations Council for Namibia, the United Nations Commissioner for Namibia, and during the last two years through the efforts of the five Western countries.

68. In the discharge of its primary responsibility for maintaining international peace and security, the Security Council has on several occasions considered the situation prevailing in Namibia and the future of the Territory. The history of the United Nations and resolutions of both the General Assembly and the Security Council concerning Namibia clearly indicate the determined and dedicated efforts of the international community to terminate South Africa's illegal occupation of the international Territory of Namibia, to end South Africa's cruel and inhuman suppression of the Namibian people as well as its exploitation of the natural resources of the Territory, to prevent South Africa's attempts to install a puppet régime in the Territory and, above all, to ensure that the people of Namibia achieve their inalienable right to self-determination and independence.

69. In the course of the last decade, however, South Africa has at all times managed to flout those resolutions, and it has challenged the will of the international community through its defiant and intransigent attitude.

70. The five Western Powers have produced a plan for an internationally acceptable settlement of the question of Namibia as a result of intensive work and consultations among the parties concerned. Those proposals, presented in March 1978,<sup>2</sup> which foresee transition to independence after elections held under the supervision and control of the United Nations, were adopted by the Security Council in its resolutions 431 (1978) and 435 (1978).

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

71. On 25 April 1978, a date which coincided with the ninth special session of the General Assembly on the question of Namibia, South Africa announced its acceptance of those proposals. That news was taken by the international community with cautious optimism. During the ninth special session my delegation, for one, expressed its scepticism<sup>3</sup> about South Africa's true intentions, while on the other hand whole-heartedly hoping that the acceptance was sincere and reliable. Our scepticism was, as later developments proved, rightly founded on the duplicity that has underlain the South African attitude from the very beginning. Especially since January 1976, during the initial phases of the Western initiative, the Security Council has witnessed its efforts to find an internationally acceptable solution to the question of Namibia being frequently undermined by unilateral measures resorted to by South Africa and by South Africa's numerous manoeuvres. The unilateral appointment of an Administrator-General for Namibia and the unilateral registration of voters in Namibia, coupled with continuous massive aggression against the neighbouring African countries, have been the major indications underlining the duplicity of the South African attitude with respect to the official talks pursued by the five Western Powers.

72. Over the last five months, since the suspension of the thirty-third session of the General Assembly, the defiant attitude of South Africa has become more and more obvious, and the South African officials have continued to introduce new unilateral measures; they have given new interpretations and put forth new reservations on the United Nations plan, which has obstructed its implementation and prevented the United Nations Transition Assistance Group, which has already been set up according to the plan, from assuming its responsibilities in Namibia. This attitude finally culminated in South Africa's insistence on holding internal elections in Namibia in December 1978 in a unilateral decision taken despite the above-mentioned Security Council resolutions, which call for United Nations-supervised elections. The rejection by the international community of those elections as null and void emphasizes the emphatic determination of the General Assembly and the Security Council that the Namibian people shall exercise their inalienable right to self-determination and independence in a free and democratic manner and through elections supervised and controlled by the United Nations.

73. Despite this determination of the international community, the illegal South African administration has recently bestowed extensive legislative and executive powers upon the so-called Constituent Assembly established as a result of the unilateral elections. These step-by-step moves of the South African authorities in defiance of United Nations resolutions leave no doubt that they are aimed at a unilateral settlement in Namibia which would exclude SWAPO—a settlement similar to the one established in Southern Rhodesia, which excludes the Patriotic Front. The recent elections held in Southern Rhodesia, which excluded the Patriotic Front, and the rumours that certain Powers may recognize those elections as well as the régime installed as a result, and that they may even take steps

unilaterally to lift the economic sanctions imposed by the Security Council against Southern Rhodesia seem to encourage the South African authorities to proceed with similar moves in Namibia. In fact, the recent increased military build-up of South Africa in Namibia and the continued arresting and detaining of Namibian patriots who are part of the leadership of SWAPO inside the Territory are further evidences of South African intention not to implement the United Nations plan and to install a puppet régime in Namibia.

74. In the light of the above-mentioned facts, it would not be wrong to conclude that the situation in southern Africa—that is, in Namibia and Zimbabwe—is continuously deteriorating. It is deteriorating because the minority racist régimes are making no effort to achieve genuine and just solutions that could receive international acceptance, but are instead attempting to apply so-called majority rule by introducing internal settlements that are inadequate to bring about true democratic societies.

75. At the same time, those minority régimes are attempting to escalate the violence and to internationalize the conflict. The persistent attacks against Angola, Botswana, Mozambique and Zambia are clear manifestations of this same intention.

*Mr. Barton (Canada), Vice-President, took the Chair.*

76. The extremely complex and rapidly evolving situation in southern Africa in general, and in Namibia in particular, is very critical and therefore it imposes a primary individual and collective responsibility on each and every one of us. The international community must be more determined and unified than ever during this resumed session in the action to be taken against South Africa in the face of its flagrant violations of the will of the international community. It now seems quite clear that South Africa is not interested in co-operating with the other parties concerned to bring about genuine independence for the people of Namibia in compliance with their true aspirations and through peaceful means. Under these circumstances, the adoption of effective and mandatory economic measures against South Africa seems to be the only alternative to put pressure on and, it is to be hoped, to change the attitude of the South African authorities. My delegation firmly believes that it is high time for the Security Council, which is already seized of the subject, to take mandatory economic sanctions against South Africa as provided for under Chapter VII of the Charter to complement the arms embargo already adopted against that country in Security Council resolution 418 (1977). This is a must, not only because of the nature of the prevailing situation in Namibia, but also because of the credibility of this Organization, and especially of the Security Council, which has the primary responsibility for maintaining international peace and security. Here I should like to associate myself with the most appropriate recommendations made in this Assembly by the representative of Sweden regarding sanctions and to reiterate the view my delegation expressed at the thirty-third session [58th meeting] during the discussion of the question of Southern Rhodesia: that the sanctions to be adopted against South Africa should be extended to include an oil embargo, since oil is not only an essential element of its military and economic strength but is also an element

<sup>3</sup> See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Ninth Special Session, Plenary Meetings* 2nd meeting, paras. 156-166.

which South Africa uses to sustain the régime in Southern Rhodesia.

77. I should like to seize this opportunity to reiterate our full and unconditional support for the people of Namibia in their just struggle under the leadership of SWAPO for national independence based on majority rule.

78. We recognize SWAPO as the sole and authentic representative of the Namibian people. We commend SWAPO for its courageous struggle, for its just cause, on the one hand, and on the other for the goodwill, and the spirit of co-operation and flexibility that it has shown all along in striving to achieve its legitimate aspirations within the framework of a peaceful solution on the basis of United Nations resolutions. We reject any so-called internal settlement in Namibia and urge effective measures to prevent a *fait accompli* to impose such a settlement. We believe that the territorial integrity of Namibia should be reaffirmed, and we unequivocally condemn the illegal annexation of Walvis Bay by South Africa. We still continue to believe that a peaceful settlement can best be reached in the conditions spelled out in the relevant Security Council resolutions, which call for, among other things, free and unfettered exercise by the Namibian people of their right to self-determination and independence within a united Namibia. We certainly support all efforts made in this direction and will continue to do so.

79. Finally, I would like to express the great importance we attach to the successful efforts of the United Nations Council for Namibia in protecting and promoting the legitimate interests of the Namibian people. I would like at this point to pay a special tribute to the President of the United Nations Council for Namibia, Ambassador Lusaka of Zambia, for his inspiring and dynamic leadership as well as his sincere and dedicated efforts for the cause of the Namibian people.

80. As a member of the United Nations Council for Namibia, we actively take part in its activities. Turkey was pleased to receive a mission representing the United Nations Council for Namibia last March. In the course of that visit to Turkey, a fruitful exchange of views was held concerning the recent developments in Namibia as well as the implications of South Africa's defiance of United Nations resolutions.

81. Before I conclude, I find it a pleasant duty also to pay a special tribute to the Secretary-General, Mr. Waldheim, to the United Nations Commissioner for Namibia, Mr. Martti Ahtisaari, to the representatives of the five Western Powers, and to the front-line and other African countries directly concerned for the untiring and constructive efforts they have made with a view to seeking a negotiated settlement of the issue. We certainly hope that their endeavours in this regard can still be given a chance to achieve the ultimate goal.

82. Mr. STEPHANIDES (Cyprus): As we wind up yet another exhaustive consideration of the question of Namibia, I wish to join the distinguished colleagues who preceded me in expressing deep appreciation of the untiring efforts of our distinguished Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, to bring about through peaceful means an

acceleration of the process of genuine independence for Namibia. In this respect, the praiseworthy work of his Special Representative, Mr. Martti Ahtisaari, should also be underlined.

83. We wish, likewise, to commend highly the leadership provided in the Council for Namibia, of which Cyprus is proud to be a member, by its President, Ambassador Paul Lusaka of Zambia. His statement to the General Assembly [97th meeting] has reflected fully the contribution of the Council to the just cause of the people of Namibia, and may I on this occasion state that we fully subscribe to the views expressed in his statement.

84. Similarly, may I highly commend the statements made here by the distinguished Chairman of the Special Committee against *Apartheid*, Ambassador Leslie O. Harriman of Nigeria [80th meeting], and the Chairman 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, Ambassador Salim Ahmed Salim of the United Republic of Tanzania [81st meeting], both of whom have lucidly outlined the contribution of their respective committees to the just struggle of the Namibian people, the eradication of *apartheid* and decolonization in general.

85. In addressing the General Assembly on this important item on 12 December 1978 [80th meeting], we had occasion to observe that despite the announced acceptance by the South African régime of the Western proposals, we were witnessing the materialization of the arbitrary decision of the racist régime to hold its own so-called elections in Namibia without any United Nations supervision or control. The fact, we added, that South Africa proceeded with those elections despite the warnings and the condemnations of the Security Council, should give rise to serious doubts as to South Africa's sincerity and constituted yet another basic reason for immediate and effective responses by the Security Council, as provided for under Chapter VII of the Charter.

86. Regrettably, the events that followed that statement fully justified our anxieties. It is by now clear to all that South Africa succeeded in effectively torpedoing the prospects of success of this initiative by rejecting the Secretary-General's proposals. Yet it is interesting to ask why it is that the racist Pretoria régime finds it possible to persist in its illegal occupation of Namibia and intensify its sinister practices of bantustanization and racial discrimination, even extending its aggression against the front-line States.

87. I would respectfully submit that it is because of the lack of more determined action by the Security Council through extension of the mandatory sanctions against South Africa to make them comprehensive that the Pretoria régime seems to have been emboldened into continuing and escalating even further its sinister practices against the people of Namibia as well as against the peoples of the front-line States and the majority African people of Azania.

88. In the light of the above, it should by now be clear to all that it is high time for the Security Council to face up fully to its primary responsibilities under the Charter, to



acknowledge more clearly its special responsibility towards the oppressed people of Namibia, indeed towards all peoples of the world who are suffering oppression, racial discrimination, foreign occupation or alien domination. The consistent policy of Cyprus, based on the principles of the United Nations Charter and democratic ideals, has always been in support of all measures provided for in the Charter, in particular enforcement measures under Chapter VII, to bring about the speedy eradication of the evil of *apartheid* and the end of the Namibian occupation by South Africa.

89. In our modest way, we shall continue, despite the hardships and adverse conditions prevailing in my country, to contribute regularly to the relevant United Nations programmes for Namibia. We shall continue consistently supporting the legitimate struggle of the people of Namibia under the leadership of SWAPO, their sole and authentic representative. It is in this spirit that my delegation is a sponsor of draft resolution A/33/L.37. For we, the Cypriot people, in the light of our bitter experience, fully understand the suffering and the ordeal of the people of Namibia. We understand. That is why we strongly believe that the Security Council should proceed with determination and without any further delay to impose, in addition to the arms embargo, comprehensive mandatory sanctions, in particular a full oil embargo, as well as other economic sanctions, against the Pretoria régime. It is solely through such comprehensive and effective action by the Security Council that our resolutions and decisions will be translated into reality and the struggle of the oppressed people of Namibia, the struggles of all the oppressed peoples of the world, will at long last be vindicated.

90. After so many years of debate, there is indeed unanimity in this Assembly about the urgent need to put an end to South Africa's occupation of Namibia and to effect the immediate eradication of the evil of *apartheid*. Scores of resolutions have been adopted by the General Assembly and the Security Council on this or other situations endangering international peace and security. These resolutions, and even unanimous resolutions of the General Assembly and of the Security Council, remain totally unimplemented.

91. Will the United Nations meet the challenge and, before it is too late, act decisively to implement those resolutions? Or will the General Assembly and the Security Council continue to adopt one resolution after another without taking any corresponding action under the provisions of the Charter to bring about the due implementation of those decisions, thus encouraging the continuation and even the intensification of the evils of *apartheid* and more acts of aggression? That is the challenge before us.

92. I wish to express the hope that the members of the Security Council will at long last not fail to recognize this imperative need. Let us hope that the Security Council will meet the challenge, in the interests of the people of Namibia, in the interests of the United Nations itself and in the interests of the world community.

93. Mr. MILLS (Jamaica): This resumed thirty-third session of the General Assembly, which is devoted to a

comprehensive consideration of the situation in Namibia, is taking place at a complex and critical phase in the evolution of the struggle for the liberation of the people of southern Africa. We are faced with the present impasse in the trilateral talks involving five Western countries, SWAPO and the Pretoria régime. In addition, we are all aware of the growing spectre of intensified internal repression and external aggression undertaken by the racist régime in Pretoria. These, taken together, have had the cumulative effect of transforming the southern African region into one of the most dangerous flash-points in the world.

94. Efforts to reach an internationally acceptable resolution of the Namibian question have been frustrated by the intransigence of the Pretoria régime and by its defiance of the expressed will and wishes of the international community. Its sponsorship of the so-called national elections in Namibia, the brazen move undertaken to gain a measure of *de facto* international acceptance of the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance and similar affiliated parties through its participation in proximity talks and its present attempt to convene a so-called National Assembly clearly demonstrate that the racist régime is bent on implementing its own brand of unilateral declaration of independence in respect of Namibia and an internal settlement on the Ian Smith model in Rhodesia.

95. These disturbing developments raise the very searching question as to whether, the entire two-year negotiating exercise was not utilized by the racist régime as simply another political ploy to achieve delays, the better to consolidate its economic, political and strategic control over the Namibian people. It is now impossible to avoid this conclusion.

96. My delegation calls on the five Western countries which have been involved in the initiative in respect of Namibia to face the consequences of this conclusion and the implications in terms of their own possible action in the future on this issue. In this connexion, recent discussions in some Western countries on the question of unilateral lifting of United Nations sanctions against Southern Rhodesia, and even on the question of recognition of the government established as a result of the fraudulent election in that country, must be regarded as inimical to both the short-term and long-term interests of the people of Namibia.

97. Jamaica's unequivocal commitment to the liberation struggle in southern Africa has been repeatedly affirmed in various international forums. We have consistently supported all international action designed to ensure the exercise of their legitimate political rights and the unimpeded control of their destinies by the peoples of Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa itself. Most recently this firm commitment found expression in the convening in Jamaica of a meeting of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* to honour Caribbean patriots who in the past played a significant role in the struggle for justice and racial equality in Africa.

98. It is fitting that my delegation should use this opportunity to pay a tribute to the Council for Namibia, under the distinguished leadership of Ambassador Paul Lusaka, for its unstinting devotion to the cause which has

been entrusted to it. We wish also to express our appreciation to the Secretary-General and his Special Representative for their untiring zeal and firm determination to ensure the full recovery of the rights of the people of Namibia.

99. The valiant struggle of the people of Namibia under the leadership of SWAPO must be commended. SWAPO's firm and responsible position throughout the entire period of negotiations with South Africa has earned for it the full respect and admiration of the international community. My delegation is in full accord with the recent statement made by Mr. Sam Nujoma to this Assembly which highlighted the necessity for urgent action. He said:

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

100. It is now time for the United Nations and particularly the Security Council to take concrete action.

101. As we have already stated, it is clear that years of continuous effort to secure the unconditional termination of South Africa's illegal control over Namibia have so far been futile. The racist régime in Pretoria has made one thing clear: it will not yield to moral suasion or even to political pressure by the international community. Indeed it has recently declared its concept of a constellation of States to include Zimbabwe and Namibia. Its offer of substantial military and economic aid to Zimbabwe reveals the basic design of Pretoria in respect of southern Africa and its hope of subjecting the peoples of the region to a satellite relationship.

102. In the view of my delegation the United Nations must now take action under Chapter VII of the Charter to deal with the grave threat to world peace posed by South Africa's continued intransigence.

103. As one of the sponsors of the draft resolution contained in document A/33/L.37, my delegation strongly supports the call for the Security Council

“... to convene urgently to take enforcement measures against South Africa, as provided for under Chapter VII of the Charter, in order to ensure South Africa's compliance with the resolutions and decisions of the United Nations on Namibia.”

104. As a member of the Security Council, Jamaica will actively participate in any effort within the Council to impose comprehensive sanctions against South Africa. Jamaica will support all measures which have the effect of isolating South Africa completely. Such measures should include the breaking of all air, sea and land links with South Africa. This would include the denial of landing and berthing rights to all vessels owned by or originating from South Africa; the imposition of a comprehensive blockade against South Africa, in accordance with Article 42 of the Charter, should the aforementioned measures prove ineffective; and the imposition of a full range of economic sanctions, including an oil embargo.

105. In addition, we join with others in calling for continued moral, material and financial assistance to SWAPO, and in urging the international community to refuse to recognize or to co-operate in any way with the illegal National Assembly or any entity Pretoria may seek to impose upon the Namibian people.

106. In giving its full support to those measures, my Government stands fully committed to strengthening its solidarity with and support for the liberation struggle and the realization of the legitimate aspirations of the Namibian people.

107. The PRESIDENT: We have heard the last speaker in the debate on agenda item 27. However, we shall hear one explanation of vote before the vote at this meeting. Voting on draft resolution A/33/L.37 and Add.1 will take place at the next meeting.

108. I call on the representative of the United Kingdom in explanation of vote before the vote.

109. Mr. MANSFIELD (United Kingdom): In explanation of vote, the Governments of Canada, France, the Federal Republic of Germany, the United Kingdom and the United States wish to reaffirm their unabated commitment to the early implementation by the Secretary-General of Security Council resolution 435 (1978). The initiative which our Governments have undertaken and are determined to pursue to bring about an internationally recognized independence for Namibia is at a very critical stage. We do not want it complicated by our taking a position on the substance of the draft resolution before us. Consequently, on purely procedural grounds, and notwithstanding our well-known positions, our five delegations will abstain in the vote on the draft resolution.

*The meeting rose at 12.25 p.m.*