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President: Mr. Ismat T. KITTANI (Iraq).

In the absence of the President, Mr. Ozores Typaldos (Panama), Vice-President, took the Chair.

AGENDA ITEM 36

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. THUNBORG (Sweden): At the thirty-fifth session the General Assembly decided [98th meeting] to postpone its debate on the question of Namibia in anticipation of the pre-implementation meeting held at Geneva from 7 to 14 January 1981. All of us then shared the hope that we were approaching the end of the long negotiating process and were as close as we had ever been to the implementation of the United Nations plan embodied in Security Council resolution 435 (1978). Then, our hopes were shattered again owing to the intransigence of South Africa. Pretoria obviously wanted to have pre-implementation talks but no implementation. Once again South Africa had obstructed the United Nations plan with the aim of gaining time to improve its position in Namibia.

2. After a period of stalemate, the negotiations on a peaceful and internationally recognized solution of the question of Namibia have now been activated and hopes are raised again that the United Nations plan will this time be implemented. Naturally, we share this hope—a hope which, on our part, is based less on any recent hopeful signs than on our belief in the urgent necessity of progress. In fact, we are still waiting, as we did throughout last year and the year before that, to see any real indications that Pretoria is committed to the process. The repeated acts of armed aggression against Angola and other independent neighbouring countries being committed by South Africa up to this very day are not conducive to the creation of that climate of confidence in the peace process for which Pretoria itself has called. The same is true of South Africa's outrages against and intimidation of the Namibian people, especially supporters of the South West Africa People's Organization [SWAPO]. Nevertheless, we welcome the fact that efforts are again being undertaken to pave the way for a peaceful transition to inde-

pendence for Namibia, already long overdue. South Africa must be given no excuse to stall the negotiations further.

3. The Foreign Ministers of the Nordic countries have during the past year reaffirmed their conviction that the people of Namibia must be permitted as soon as possible to determine its own future through free and fair elections under the supervision and control of the United Nations, in accordance with resolution 435 (1978). They have appealed to the Governments of the Western contact group to take measures which can secure the earliest possible implementation of the United Nations plan for Namibia.

4. Sweden has followed closely the ups and downs of the negotiating process during the years and we share the frustration of the party most concerned, the repressed people of Namibia. We have advocated increased and effective pressure on South Africa, and urged the Security Council to contemplate appropriate means to this end to achieve the early implementation of the United Nations plan, prepared and adopted by the Council itself. It is by now a truth obvious to all members of the Assembly that there can be no real solution in Namibia without the true participation of SWAPO. This is not a question of partiality in favour of SWAPO; it is a statement of a fact which it seems is slowly being accepted also by the contesting side. The United Nations itself must also always be partial in this conflict in the sense that it has been entrusted by international law with the particular responsibility of looking after the interest of the people of Namibia. And the interest of the people of Namibia today is freedom from repression and freedom to shape its own political future as an independent nation. My Government remains prepared to assist the United Nations in carrying out the peaceful transition to a free and independent Namibia.

5. Pending progress in the fulfilment of our common responsibility towards Namibia, Sweden, for its part, will continue to give humanitarian aid through SWAPO to the many Namibian refugees in the neighbouring countries, as well as to the various United Nations and non-governmental bodies assisting Namibia. We are particularly concerned about the refugees in Angola who have suffered from South African acts of armed aggression in that area. My Government has given high priority to relieving the plight of the refugees through considerable humanitarian assistance, and to providing bilateral assistance to the States suffering from South African aggression. We sincerely hope that other States will find it possible to increase their aid. It is our hope that the day is approaching when the assistance we give today to Namibians in exile will be transformed into long-term development co-operation with the Government of the new State.

6. Mr. NIKULIN (Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic) (*interpretation from Russian*): For a number of years, the question of Namibia has been constantly on the agenda of the General Assembly, at the epicentre of the activities of the Organization of African Unity [OAU] and

systematically considered in forums of the non-aligned movement. In the course of this year alone, this question has been discussed three times at the highest level, that is, by the General Assembly. This is readily understandable and entirely justified inasmuch as the question of the exercise of the inalienable right of the Namibian people to self-determination and the granting of independence to Namibia is now a basic issue in the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples [resolution 1514 (XV)] in southern Africa, and the elimination of the last hotbed of colonialism on African soil.

7. In spite of numerous decisions of the United Nations, the OAU and the conferences of non-aligned countries, the Pretoria racists continue their unlawful occupation of Namibia and are carrying out their cruel terrorization and repression of the Namibians, particularly of the members of SWAPO. They are carrying out further militarization of the Territory and rapidly transforming it into a bridgehead for aggression against neighbouring sovereign States.

8. The Pretoria régime is constantly building up its military potential and military presence in Namibia. The armed forces of South Africa in Namibia include infantry, armoured tanks, mechanized paratroop units, police, punitive and other units which are deployed at approximately 40 bases located along the border with Angola and at 35 bases in the so-called police zone. According to SWAPO, South African troops in Namibia now number 100,000. Actively operating in Namibia and also carrying out subversive activities in Angola are thousands of mercenaries, ex-members of the armed forces of the former Southern Rhodesian oppressors and others from certain Western countries. The South African occupiers are proceeding with the "Namibianization" of the war in Namibia by setting up tribal armies and drafting into military service Namibian youth in the 18 to 25 age group. According to the monstrous designs of the racists, Namibians ought to kill Namibians.

9. In the Republic of South Africa itself, the *apartheid* régime, with the direct assistance of States members of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization [NATO], is strengthening its military forces and the police apparatus at an intensive pace and developing its own military production. Military expenditure in South Africa during 1981-1982 will increase by a factor of three compared with 1974 and will reach 3 billion rand. According to various estimates, the Republic of South Africa can at present rely on 500,000 troops. In spite of the embargo on the supply of weapons to South Africa, imposed under Security Council resolution 418 (1977), as can be seen from United Nations documents, in particular the working paper prepared by the secretariat of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples¹ concerning military activities in Namibia, the co-operation of numerous Western countries with the Republic of South Africa in the military sphere is continuing. With the assistance of the Western countries and their monopolies, a military industry has been established in South Africa and a nuclear potential is also being developed. According to United Nations data, in 1980 the Republic of South Africa itself had become one of the major weapons manufacturers in the southern hemisphere and in this respect is the tenth largest in the world. The production and acquisition of weapons are carried out under the aegis of the Armaments Development and Production Corporation [ARMSCOR], owned by the

Government and set up by the Pretoria authorities in 1968 in anticipation of the United Nations arms embargo.

10. However, since the implementation of the arms embargo against the Republic of South Africa, ARMSCOR has been using, in the production of armaments, component units and indeed whole facilities, including computers, produced by the West. According to information from *The Washington Post* of 7 July 1981, this year ARMSCOR will obtain \$1.8 billion for its purposes; in other words, 70 per cent of the military budget of South Africa. That corporation wholly owns 11 undertakings, in which 25,000 persons are employed, and has contract agreements with 800 local firms.

11. Legitimate concern is aroused by the continuing nuclear co-operation of the Western Powers with South Africa, which has led to the genuine possibility of the appearance of nuclear weapons in the hands of South African racists. As has been stated by the Chairman of the South African Council on Atomic Energy, Wynand de Villeiers: "Enriched uranium in South Africa can be used for the production of nuclear bombs". This was reported by *The Washington Post* on 30 April 1981.

12. The magazine *Southern Africa*, in its January-February 1981 issue indicated that the expansion of the enrichment plant at Valindaba, which is to be completed in 1981, together with the building of reactors at Koeberg in 1982 and 1983, will greatly increase South Africa's capability of producing nuclear weapons. It should be pointed out that all those possibilities are being developed with the direct assistance of specific Western countries.

13. It might well be asked why, considering the comprehensive assistance of Western countries and their monopolies, South Africa has set up such a military machine and is developing its nuclear potential. We do not have to look very far for an answer to that question. The Pretoria régime is undertaking all these projects in an effort to thwart the lawful aspirations of the South African and Namibian peoples to freedom and independence, to destroy their national liberation movements and to destabilize the internal political situation in neighbouring sovereign countries—first and foremost in Angola—and thereby to extend the racist and colonial domination in South Africa and in the unlawfully occupied Territory of Namibia. It is also intended to assure and protect the interests of those in the imperialist circles of the West in the southern part of the African continent. Those interests are by no means small.

14. Approximately 90 foreign firms take part in plundering the natural resources of Namibia and the cruel exploitation of its indigenous population, and dozens of Western monopolies are prospecting for new deposits. Diamonds, gold, base metals and especially uranium, as well as the cheap labour force of indigenous inhabitants, are precisely what attract, like a magnet, South African and Western transnational corporations into Namibia. Approximately 80 per cent of the overall volume of the holdings of the industry in Namibia that provides approximately two thirds of total Namibian exports and approximately half of the Government revenues can be attributed to three companies: Consolidated Diamond Mines of South West Africa Ltd., the Tsumeb Corporation and Rössing Uranium Ltd.

15. The Tsumeb Corporation, which is controlled by American Metal Climax and the Newmont Mining Corporation, both with headquarters in the United States, ac-

count for approximately 90 per cent of the overall mining of metals in the Territory.

16. Approximately 25 companies from South Africa, the United States, the United Kingdom, France and the Federal Republic of Germany are taking part in the mining, transformation and sale of uranium from deposits in the Rössing mine. Approximately half of Namibia's gross national product is being exported annually in the form of profits and dividends of imperialist monopolies and shareholders in South Africa, the United States, the United Kingdom and other Western countries.

17. Ignoring the vital interests of the indigenous African population, transnational corporations are mercilessly exploiting it and deriving great profits therefrom. Suffice it to say that the ratio of the incomes of the white and black populations, according to United Nations data, is throughout the country approximately 12 to 1, and in the northern regions of Namibia it is 25 to 1.

18. A particular danger lies in the practically unlimited access of South Africa to Namibian uranium, which makes it possible for the Pretoria régime to implement its nuclear programme; that in turn, taking into account the nuclear ambitions of the Republic of South Africa, contains within itself a genuine threat to peace and security not only in the southern part of the African continent but also beyond it.

19. It is particularly these concrete material profit motives, as well as the military, strategic and political interests of the West, that explain the heightened activities in Namibia of those in the imperialist circles of the basic Western countries members of NATO and their position on the question of a Namibian settlement.

20. At the 3rd meeting of the eighth emergency special session, devoted to Namibia, the representative of SWAPO emphasized that

“ . . . in addition to the historical wrongs done to us by the successive colonial Powers, the economic and strategic interests of the major capitalist Powers, the trading partners and the ones providing the military safety net of NATO for the Boer régime have aggravated the conditions of conflict, violence and political and military confrontation between the revolutionary forces of change and the defenders of the *status quo*.”

21. Quite some time has elapsed since the adoption by the Security Council of resolution 435 (1978), containing the basis for a Namibian settlement. SWAPO expressed its total readiness to go along with the implementation of this resolution. However, the Republic of South Africa, under the guise of a readiness to seek a solution of the Namibian problem, and aided and abetted by the five Western countries, has never ceased its attempts to undermine the United Nations plan on Namibia and to set up and strengthen its own puppet neo-colonialist régime acceptable to Pretoria and to the West. Now the Republic of South Africa and its protectors are making new attempts to ensure conditions in the settlement that would be advantageous to the South Africa régime. At its eighth emergency special session, the General Assembly, in its resolution ES-8/2,

“*Firmly rejects* the latest manoeuvres by certain members of the Western contact group aimed at undermining the international consensus embodied in Security Council resolution 435 (1978) and depriving the

oppressed Namibian people of their hard-won victories in the struggle for national liberation”.

It also demanded the immediate commencement of the unconditional implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978) without any prevarication, qualification or modification.

22. The delegation of the Byelorussian SSR supports the recommendations of the United Nations Council for Namibia contained in its report [A/36/24, para. 708], in which in particular the collusion by the United States, the United Kingdom, the Federal Republic of Germany, France and Israel with the South African racists is condemned. It also calls upon the international community, and particularly all Member States, to refrain from any recognition of or co-operation with any régime that the illegal South African administration may impose upon the Namibian people in disregard of the relevant resolutions of the Security Council and the General Assembly.

23. In this connection, there is perfectly understandable indignation and concern on the part of the international community about statements of important officials of the United States Administration concerning United States intentions of establishing friendly relations with the *apartheid* régime. Unfortunately, this is not limited to words but extends to concrete action. This is reflected in the triple veto in the Security Council by the Western Powers, including the United States, of draft resolutions in which it was proposed to exact comprehensive mandatory sanctions against South Africa under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations; it is also reflected in the Security Council's inability, because of the United States veto, to fulfil its obligations concerning the unprovoked, large-scale armed aggression launched by the Republic of South Africa against Angola.

24. Unquestionably, this policy of protection by the Western Powers, first and foremost the United States, with regard to the brazen racists cannot but encourage them to continue their illegal occupation of Namibia and promote aggression against neighbouring sovereign States, especially against the People's Republic of Angola. As the entire progressive international community has done, the Heads of State and Government of the front-line States and Nigeria, in the communiqué issued at their emergency summit conference held at Lagos on 11 September this year, “strongly condemned the support being given by the Reagan Administration to the South African white minority racist régime, thereby encouraging that régime to be more daring in the perpetration of its heinous criminal acts against Angola and other neighbouring independent States, as well as its obstinate defiance of the international community” [see A/36/525, annex].

25. It is necessary resolutely to stop the aggressive banditry of the Republic of South Africa in regard to Angola and a number of other African States.

26. In view of the stubbornness of the Republic of South Africa in refusing to carry out the appropriate decisions of the United Nations on Namibia and its cynical disregard of those decisions and the Pretoria régime's perpetuation in southern Africa, in particular Namibia, of a policy that is fraught with serious threats to international peace and security, the Security Council must adopt urgent measures against the racist South African régime, including comprehensive mandatory sanctions in accordance with Chapter VII of the Charter. It is also necessary to obtain from all States strict and total compliance with

the sanctions that have already been decided upon by the Security Council against South Africa, and in particular the arms embargo.

27. Guided by its position of principle, the Byelorussian SSR has consistently spoken out and continues to speak out for ensuring that the people of Namibia exercises its inalienable right to self-determination and independence on the basis of the preservation of the unity and territorial integrity of that country, including Walvis Bay, the early, unconditional and total withdrawal of all armed forces and administrative authorities of the Republic of South Africa from Namibia, and the transfer of all authority to the people of Namibia through SWAPO, recognized by the United Nations and by the OAU as the sole lawful representative of the Namibian people.

28. The people of Namibia, under the leadership of SWAPO, is gallantly struggling to become the true master of its own country. The barbarous domination of the colonizers and racists is logically coming to its inglorious end. The United Nations must undertake new and comprehensive efforts to support this just struggle of the Namibian people.

29. The Byelorussian SSR once again states that it is in full solidarity with the brave Namibian people, under its tested leadership, SWAPO, and expresses confidence that the day is not far off when the people of Namibia will achieve genuine freedom and independence for its fatherland.

30. Mr. JAMAL (Qatar) (*interpretation from Arabic*): It has now been three years since the Security Council adopted resolution 435 (1978) endorsing the United Nations plan for the independence of Namibia. Through the adoption of that plan, initially proposed by the five Western countries in the Security Council, the international community declared that this was the best diplomatic means of putting a halt to the illegal occupation of Namibia by the racist régime of Pretoria, permitting the Namibian people to exercise their right to determine their own future and ensuring their independence. Political observers believed that the adoption of that resolution was a step in the right direction. However, three years have passed since then and the problem of Namibia remains as it was. The occupation of Namibia continues and the Namibian people are still exposed to all kinds of racist persecution, political oppression and the plundering of their resources without any hope of freedom unless South Africa respects United Nations resolutions, since the United Nations is historically responsible for saving that Territory from the colonialist and racist yoke.

31. If this impasse in the efforts of the international community to implement the United Nations plan to put a halt to the occupation of Namibia means anything, it is that South Africa's strategy of perpetuating its occupation is based on simple tactics—a policy of duplicity which resolves nothing and is intended only to play for time. There is not enough time to go into all of South Africa's countless manoeuvres, which have resulted in a kind of impasse in the efforts to achieve our objective. The latest of these manoeuvres was the pre-implementation meeting, held at Geneva from 7 to 14 January 1981. Pretoria's tactics may have appeared simple, but these tactics, which were designed to play for time, have very serious strategic and political dimensions, because the continuation of Namibia's occupation serves the political, economic and military interests not only of the racist régime of Pretoria but also of a certain number of Western Governments and

transnational corporations. This occupation assures the protection of these interests.

32. Western interests are reflected in the military and technological assistance obtained by South Africa, which enable it to persecute the South African indigenous population and SWAPO militants, spreading terror in neighbouring African States, as occurred in the armed invasion against Angola. This is also reflected in all the international military support the racist régime of Pretoria is receiving.

33. The Western countries permanent members of the Security Council, which are continuing to protect that régime, have opposed any resolution that could compel it to end its occupation of Namibia and to grant true independence to the Namibian people, under the leadership of SWAPO. Thanks to this political support based on the veto right, the international community has so far been unable to express its views or to impose comprehensive economic and military sanctions against South Africa. Everyone knows that the Western countries have manoeuvred to get around the embargo by setting up military industries in South Africa itself. Worse still, South Africa has found in Israel an ally providing it with the technology it needs to produce nuclear weapons in order to surround Africa as a whole with such weapons.

34. The Security Council has been unable not only to adopt a resolution imposing economic sanctions on the Pretoria Government but also to condemn South Africa following its invasion of Angola.

35. The Government of Qatar, supporting the right of peoples to freedom, self-determination and independence, calls for the implementation of resolution 435 (1978) because it considers that that resolution recognizes Namibia's right to independence and the illegality of the Pretoria régime's occupation of Namibia. Therefore, we call for the imposition of mandatory sanctions against that Government to ensure that it acts in accordance with the will of the international community and with United Nations resolutions recognizing that people's right to independence and sovereignty, under the leadership of SWAPO.

36. Mr. ADHAMI (Syrian Arab Republic) (*interpretation from Arabic*): The General Assembly is discussing the problem of Namibia once more in less than three months. My delegation notes with deep concern that the situation in Namibia is worsening because the Government of South Africa is continuing to place obstacles in the way of international efforts to bring about that Territory's independence, with a view to continuing to occupy Namibia illegally and imposing an internal settlement on the Namibian people. The failure of United Nations efforts to achieve Namibia's independence and the fact that dozens of resolutions remain unimplemented result from the continued refusal of the racist Government to respond to the will of the international community, and of the international community's impotence in compelling that régime to respect legality.

37. The Security Council itself has been unable to impose comprehensive mandatory sanctions against the régime, under Chapter VII of the Charter, because of the diplomatic protection provided by the Western Powers permanent members of the Security Council. These countries are continuing to provide the régime with military and economic assistance, since they are not willing to sacri-

face their economic and strategic interests in the region to end the suffering of an entire people.

38. One of the facts of this problem is that the South African Government would not have been able to continue placing obstacles in the way of the will of the international community and flouting all the relevant United Nations resolutions without the economic, political and military assistance of the industrialized Western Powers.

39. The events since the adoption of Security Council resolutions 385 (1976) and 435 (1978), the failure of the Geneva meeting at the beginning of this year and the scandal of the triple veto in the Security Council a few months ago have revealed much to us. We are increasingly convinced that the racist régime's manoeuvres are designed only to gain time and erode the international solidarity with the struggle of the people of Namibia and to pursue its plot for an internal settlement, which would enable it to continue to exploit the Namibian people through a series of sham structures. All the failures we have encountered since the meeting at Geneva and also the use of the triple veto lead us to believe that there is collusion against the ending of the occupation and against Namibia's independence and total sovereignty over its territory and its resources.

40. We must recall here that the Pretoria Government's refusal to implement Security Council resolution 435 (1978) constitutes a failure of the Western contact group, which has been unable to exercise sufficient pressure to compel the racist régime to respect international legality. This places in doubt the credibility of the group and the seriousness of its work.

41. We have no hesitation in placing the responsibility for the deterioration of the situation in southern Africa on the United States Administration. From the time it first openly took the racist Pretoria régime under its wing, right up to its latest veto of the draft resolution that condemned South Africa for its aggression against Angola, that Administration has given more than ample proof of its aggressive intentions against the African continent and all the peoples fighting to regain their usurped rights. That is why the world has to deal today not with the racist Pretoria régime alone. The essential, major problem at present pits the entire world against the United States, which wants to crush the struggle of the peoples of southern Africa for their independence, freedom and dignity. Unlike the United States Government, which is alone in openly supporting the racist régime, the other Western Governments that claim to support the international efforts to end the occupation of Namibia in fact limit themselves to paying lip service to the condemnation of the illegal occupation of Namibia and of the policy of *apartheid*, while doing everything they can, in all spheres, to enable the South African Government to continue to colonize Namibia and exploit and plunder its resources, in co-operation with those Governments' corporations and economic interests.

42. The dimensions of that plot are now very clear; the attempt to mislead and "anaesthetize" the world has failed. It is no coincidence that the dimensions of this plot against the Namibian people were revealed at the very moment when the Arab people were discovering the scope of the plot against Palestinian autonomy hatched at Camp David—a facsimile of the sham settlement that the Pretoria Government seeks to impose on the Namibian people.

43. The Syrian Arab Republic is fully aware of the meaning of imperialism and its practices. We have had direct and bitter experience in the past and we know the dimensions of the plot hatched against the peoples fighting to regain their usurped rights. We therefore have every reason to reaffirm the special character of the joint struggle of the Arab nations and the African countries against racism, with its two despicable faces: the racist occupation régime of South Africa, and the heinous racist Zionist régime of Tel Aviv.

44. The military aggression by South Africa against Angola resembles, in its character, its aims and the means used in carrying it out, the Israeli aggression against southern Lebanon. We note, also, that the goals of the terrorism engaged in by South Africa against the peoples of southern Africa and those of the terrorism engaged in by Israel against the people of Palestine and the Arab peoples are identical to and within the framework of United States strategy, which, using concepts that we reject, draws up international plans to reimpose imperialism's hold and to plunder our peoples of the gains they have made since their liberation from traditional colonialism.

45. My delegation believes that—in all the circumstances surrounding the question of Namibia, and in view of the Pretoria Government's stubborn defiance of the will of the international community, proving that that Government is really not interested in a peaceful settlement of the question—the international community has the obligation to proclaim its will clearly and categorically. The failure of the Security Council, prevented by the veto from assuming its responsibilities, proves that we have exhausted all the available means. That is why we believe that it is very important to draw up and put into effect an over-all strategy to mobilize all our possibilities for liberating Namibia and putting an end to the threat to the security of the front-line States.

46. We must count on ourselves, on our capabilities, on our friends and on SWAPO's struggle, which must be strengthened by every possible means. That is the only way to solve the Namibian problem, which, along with the Palestinian problem and the question of *apartheid*, is still today a shameful blot on twentieth century Western civilization.

47. We believe that the imposition of comprehensive mandatory sanctions on South Africa, under Chapter VII of the Charter, is the last peaceful method available for exerting pressure on the Pretoria Government to oblige it to comply with the will of the international community. We urgently call on all States, even if the Security Council should fail to impose, separately and collectively, sanctions against South Africa, to boycott that country completely, with a view to isolating it and obliging it to end its illegal occupation of Namibia, to halt its acts of aggression against the neighbouring African countries and to end its criminal racist policy.

48. I wish to make it clear from this rostrum that the Government of the Syrian Arab Republic condemns all forms, in all spheres, of co-operation with or support for the Pretoria Government by other States, particularly military and nuclear co-operation between the two racist régimes—that of Tel Aviv and that of Pretoria.

49. We believe it is very important that the Western countries and the interests contributing to the support afforded to the racist régime and dealing with it should understand that they cannot hope to continue their economic

and military co-operation with South Africa and their exploitation and plunder of Namibia's resources and, at the same time, continue to have normal relations with the African countries and the other non-aligned countries. If that support, which we condemn, continues, there can be no doubt that Africa and all the countries of the non-aligned movement will be forced to widen the area of confrontation and extend their embargo to all the countries supporting and dealing with the racist régime.

50. The Syrian Arab Republic once again categorically proclaims its determination to support the struggle of the people of Namibia, under the leadership of its sole authentic representative, SWAPO, and the struggle of the peoples of southern Africa against settler colonialism in the region, to regain freedom, independence and equality of rights. We firmly condemn the constant, repeated aggression against Angola and regard ourselves as a front-line country. As I have just stated, we believe that there is only one enemy—be it Tel Aviv or Pretoria—and that the battle for the future is one and the same battle.

51. In conclusion, the Syrian Arab Republic, recognizing the mandate of the United Nations Council for Namibia as the sole legitimate authority for Namibia until that Territory's accession to independence, renews its expression of support for the Council and pays a tribute to it for its efforts to promote policies and programmes in favour of self-determination and independence for the Namibian people. We pay a particular tribute to Mr. Lusaka of Zambia, who spares no effort in the service of this just cause, the cause of Namibia's freedom.

52. Mr. SARRE (Senegal) (*interpretation from French*): The longstanding and justified dream of the international community, based on the speedy and comprehensive implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978), was to close this thirty-sixth session of the General Assembly with the admission of Namibia to the Organization. In so doing, we might have said, to paraphrase the great German thinker and poet, Goethe, "This day and this place mark a new era in international relations".

53. Unfortunately, South Africa's actions have temporarily interrupted that dream. We are therefore once again faced with realities which are, to put it mildly, regrettable.

54. The General Assembly's discussion of the question of Namibia, after the eighth emergency special session, held from 3 to 14 September, shows once again the international community's concern about the explosive situation prevailing in southern Africa. The illegal occupation of Namibian territory by the racist régime of South Africa, together with repeated attacks on Mozambique, Angola, Botswana and Zambia, constitutes a serious threat to international peace and stability.

55. Fifteen years after the abrogation by the United Nations of South Africa's Mandate over Namibia [*resolution 2145 (XXI)*], 10 years after the proclamation by the International Court of Justice of the illegality of South Africa's occupation of Namibian territory,² five years after the adoption of Security Council resolution 385 (1976), calling for South Africa's immediate withdrawal from Namibia and the organization of free and fair elections under United Nations control and supervision, and three years after the adoption of Security Council resolution 435 (1978), South Africa is still continuing its illegal occupation of Namibian territory and defying the United Nations in so doing. It is thereby extending and worsening the

situation and continuing its acts of aggression against African States.

56. Today, the international community realizes that mere condemnation of South Africa, like expressions of support for the legitimate struggle of the Namibian people, under the leadership of SWAPO, have not yet brought about the change which would make it possible finally to bring Namibia to independence.

57. The situation prevailing in southern Africa is such that, in addition to the implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978), it is necessary for the General Assembly to make use of Article 14 of the Charter, which says that the General Assembly may "recommend measures for the peaceful adjustment of any situation, regardless of origin, which it deems likely to impair . . . friendly relations among nations".

58. As the Head of State of Senegal, Mr. Abdou Diouf, said at the eighteenth session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity, held at Nairobi in June, it is still possible to bring Namibia to independence through a negotiated solution based on the implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978).

59. In this respect, the Western attempts to find a comprehensive and just solution among the parties concerned deserve, in our view, to be encouraged. I need hardly remind representatives that Security Council resolution 435 (1978) was the result of lengthy negotiations with all the parties concerned, and in particular with the South African régime, which gave its assent at all stages of the negotiations. Therefore, South Africa should respect that commitment and the members of the Western contact group that sponsored the resolution should bring the necessary pressure to bear on South Africa and persuade it to act in accordance with the terms of that agreement.

60. It might be thought that the Security Council's inaction would serve only to strengthen South Africa's challenge to the Organization; that because of that inaction it would feel assured of an understanding which would prevent any coercive measures against it.

61. The process of the negotiations makes it clear that the South African régime has always increased its demands whenever a solution has seemed imminent. Indeed, there seems to be no limit to South Africa's demands and the conditions which it sets for the implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978) and which the Western contact group is trying to limit. In these circumstances, it would be at the least dangerous at present to support any understanding or surrender which would endanger the credibility of the United Nations.

62. In supporting the Western initiative, Senegal had hoped that the international community would lead South Africa to listen to the voice of reason. Indeed, it was convinced that the plan for a solution adopted by the Security Council, the result of efforts sustained by a clear political will, would be speedily and comprehensively implemented.

63. The new demands of the racist régime of South Africa are part of its consummate skill in using all possible means to delay Namibia's independence. They must be rejected by the Security Council. As the plan was endorsed by the body charged with the maintenance of

peace in the world, its implementation cannot be left to the South African Government alone.

64. Not content with ignoring United Nations resolutions and decisions, South Africa is continuing to strive to perpetuate its racist domination in Namibia, resorting increasingly to a collection of repressive and oppressive laws. It is continuing its illegal occupation, in spite of repeated appeals by the international community and in flagrant violation of the Charter of the United Nations, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples [resolution 1514 (XV)].

65. Senegal, while encouraging the approach of the contact group, believes that if the new Western initiatives come to nothing the General Assembly should consider any measure to isolate South Africa in the international arena, particularly because Article 25 of the Charter obliges all States to accept the decisions of the Security Council, and we are confirmed in this view by the advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice dated 21 June 1971.

66. The situation in southern Africa is a cause for concern to the Organization, since it could degenerate into a conflict which would threaten the security of all mankind. It is therefore the duty and responsibility of the international community to bring the necessary pressure to bear on South Africa, together with appropriate sanctions, so that Namibia may achieve independence.

67. In that connection, Senegal renews its proposals on the Namibian question, made by its Minister for Foreign Affairs at the 7th meeting of the eighth emergency special session and at the 20th meeting of the present session, on 9 and 30 September 1981, respectively namely: first, to put an end to all military and nuclear collaboration with South Africa, in accordance with Security Council resolution 418 (1977); secondly, to impose an effective embargo, particularly on oil; thirdly, to grant no more investments and loans; fourthly, to put an end to the purchasing and marketing of gold and other minerals from South Africa, as well as to co-operation with South African bodies which market the minerals; fifthly, to refuse South Africa certain essential supplies, *inter alia* electronic and telecommunications material, machines and chemical products, as well as the transfer of technology.

68. My delegation would like to congratulate the Secretary-General of the United Nations, and the United Nations Council for Namibia and its President, Mr. Paul Lusaka, on the efforts they have constantly made to ensure Namibia's accession to independence. Senegal gives SWAPO, the sole authentic liberation movement of the Namibian people, effective assistance of all kinds to make it possible for the Namibian people to realize their aspiration to genuine independence within a united Namibia. We must commend SWAPO for the spirit of initiative and openness, the determination to co-operate and the political maturity shown by it over the Namibian question.

69. In conclusion I should like, on behalf of my country, to appeal once again to the international community to do everything to ensure the scrupulous implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978). In this respect, the Senegalese Minister for Foreign Affairs said here, on 9 September, at the 7th meeting of the eighth emergency special session, "The peace, security and stability of every State in the region are at stake and no one should count on any hoped-for lassitude on the part of Africa

... to impose a solution that is not in accordance with the legitimate aspirations of the Namibian people".

70. Mr. JANKU (Albania): The General Assembly is again debating the question of Namibia, which has been of ever greater concern to the United Nations for many years now.

71. A great deal has been said about the acute nature of this problem and the pressing necessity and importance of finding a quick solution to it. This is the third debate this year on this question. The eighth emergency special session which was held just over two months ago to consider the grave situation in Namibia and the further complications which prevent the solution of this problem showed once again that world opinion and the overwhelming majority of States Members of the United Nations demand that Namibia become an independent State without any further delay.

72. The just and final solution of the Namibian question is a matter of concern not only to the Namibian and African peoples, but also to all peoples who cherish freedom, peace and justice throughout the world.

73. The African countries which won the independence of their States through the long and persistent struggle of their peoples desire, and rightly, that the last vestiges of colonial rule be eliminated from their continent and that Namibia be granted full national independence so that the Namibian people may attain the great and legitimate aspirations for which they have been fighting for so many years now.

74. The events that have taken place so far, especially those since this year's debates on the Namibia question, have furnished us with fresh evidence about the real aim of the enemies of the Namibian people—the perpetuation of the colonial occupation of Namibia.

75. The acts of further colonization of Namibia, the persistent carrying out of the policy of *apartheid* against the Namibian people, the crimes, mass terror and extermination aimed at extinguishing that people's revolts and armed struggle, are incontestable proof of the fact that the South African régime never intended before, nor does it now, to give up of its own will its colonial domination over Namibia.

76. That bloodthirsty régime is not only trampling under foot the sovereign rights of the Namibian people, but also showing total disregard for world public opinion by totally ignoring the resolutions and decisions adopted by this Organization, as well as the appeals and declarations issued by other international and African forums.

77. The Albanian delegation, as does many other delegations, continues to hold the view that the debate on the question of Namibia should be concentrated on the core of the problem, on discovering and denouncing the real causes which have been and continue to be the main obstacles to its solution.

78. The legitimate aspirations and just demands of the Namibian people for freedom and national independence are still facing many obstacles, plots and intrigues hatched by the Fascist régime of South Africa and the imperialist Powers that support it. It is precisely those Powers that, by many ways and means, have been trying to help the Pretoria régime maintain its colonial occupation of Namibia, in this way protecting their economic and politi-

cal interests in that country and the African continent as a whole. With every passing day, it is becoming increasingly evident that the racist régime of South Africa, its colonialist acts and policy against Namibia and its reactionary and warmongering policy in the region in general would not have continued so long if they had not served the political, economic and military interests of imperialism and reaction. The United States continues to incite the aggressiveness of the Pretoria racists and encourage them to crush with fire and the sword the liberation struggle of the Azanian and Namibian peoples, or to exert overall pressure and undertake aggression against the neighbouring African countries as it did in Angola. It is only in this way that the United States can maintain a presence in this region.

79. Another thing that attracts attention is the fact that, at a time when the struggle of the Namibian people is being intensified and the indignation of world opinion and progressive forces is growing with every passing day, the corporations of imperialist countries and multinationals are increasing their investments in South Africa, thus helping the racist régime to oppress the Namibian people.

80. A great fuss has been made for many years over the solution of the question of Namibia. Regardless of United Nations decisions condemning the illegal and barbaric occupation of Namibia by South Africa troops, the militarization of Namibia and the attacks launched by South Africa against neighbouring countries from Namibian territory, the contact group continues to hold meeting after meeting to plot a political settlement under which the Namibian people would lay down their arms, while imperialists would safeguard their privileges in African countries rich in minerals and of great strategic importance.

81. In order the better to assist the racists of Pretoria, the United States and other imperialists have always pretended to work towards finding so-called political and negotiated settlements that would allegedly be to the advantage of and acceptable to everyone. But, now more than ever before, it has become crystal clear that this racist régime is not interested in an internationally acceptable settlement. It is interested only in a settlement acceptable to itself and compatible with its system of *apartheid*.

82. Under the cover of this concern for "peace" or for a "political settlement" of the question of Namibia, the Western Powers instigate and sanction the most criminal acts of the fascists of the Pretoria régime. All the manoeuvring of the imperialist Powers has been aimed at deceiving the Namibian people, the other peoples of Africa and world public opinion. They intend to paralyse those peoples in their reaction against the presence of South Africa and the imperialist interests in Namibia.

83. By placing their own political, economic and strategic interests far above the expressed will of the international community, the imperialist Powers, the United States in particular, have encouraged South Africa to pursue a perilous path, which threatens international peace and security. By openly challenging the embargo imposed on South Africa by the United Nations, the United States—interested in creating new military blocs in rivalry with the Soviet social-imperialists and helped by the Chinese social-imperialists—is fully and overtly engaged in supporting the régime of South Africa, including support in the military field. Since the pre-implementation meeting on the United Nations plan for Namibia took place at

Geneva last January, there has been a very substantial increase in the number of South African troops in Namibia.

84. The Albanian delegation holds the view that the intensification of the fierce rivalry between the super-Powers—the United States and the Soviet Union—and other imperialist Powers, their bargaining and plots for the division and re-division of markets, their struggle for military bases and spheres of influence find their expression in southern Africa and Namibia as well.

85. The United States and other imperialists are trying to justify their acts of aggression in Africa and the intensification of their political, economic and military support for the racists of South Africa by citing the need to counterbalance the influence of the Soviet Union in that continent; whereon the Soviet social-imperialists try to present their influence as support for the African peoples against imperialism. It is this activity carried out by the super-Powers that encourages the racists of South Africa to persist in their policy of *apartheid*, to keep Namibia under their colonial rule, and to commit acts of provocation and armed aggression against the African countries, as they did recently against Angola.

86. The Albanian delegation shares the view that there will be no genuine negotiated solution to the question of Namibia as a result of the schemes and manoeuvres of the enemies of the Namibian people. This problem will find its final and just solution only when South Africa is forced to withdraw its troops from the Territory of Namibia and to give up its colonial policy in southern Africa, and only when an end is put to the interference and intrigues of the super-Powers in Namibia, granting the Namibian people the right to self-determination. That people's struggle and its efforts for national affirmation, freedom and independence have been long and persistent, and the struggles and victories of other African peoples are vivid proof to that freedom-loving Namibian people that if it resolutely continues its armed struggle, this will lead it to genuine victory, independence and freedom.

87. The heroic people of Namibia, through their legitimate representative, SWAPO, have always made it clear that they have never given anyone else the right to decide upon their future and their rights. The leader of the Albanian people, Comrade Enver Hoxha, addressing the Eighth Congress of the Albanian Labour Party on 1 November this year, said that "The Namibian people, like all the peoples of Africa, have not reconciled and cannot reconcile themselves to racism and *apartheid*. Their existence insults and angers all the African peoples."

88. The latest events have made it even clearer that their determined struggle is the only path that will lead the Namibian people towards the achievement of their rights and aspirations. No matter what may happen to delay independence for Namibia and justice for the whole of southern Africa, ultimate victory is certain.

89. In conclusion, the Albanian delegation wishes once again to reiterate that the Albanian people and their Government will firmly continue to condemn and denounce the colonial policy of the Pretoria régime towards Namibia. It wishes to reiterate that the Albanian people will continue to support the just liberation struggle being waged by the Namibian people for freedom and national independence. We are confident that nothing will force the Namibian people to give up their aspirations and their desire to live in freedom and independence.

90. Mr. MAITAMA-SULE (Nigeria): As is well known, Nigeria has consistently declared its total opposition to colonialism anywhere. We regard it as the scourge of mankind and one of the principal causes of much human suffering in the world. In Namibia, we are faced with a colonial situation that is so repressive that it is without any parallel whatsoever in the history of mankind. It is, for Namibians, an unmitigated evil from which they have suffered terribly. Racist South Africa's administration in Namibia has been marked by extreme brutality, repression and genocide, and by ruthless exploitation of the country's natural resources. By its extension of the abhorrent racist doctrine of *apartheid* to Namibia, the racist régime has lost all moral authority in—and, for that matter, all moral claim to—Namibia. It is a doctrine which is extremely repugnant to Nigeria, and one which we believe all civilized people throughout the world find equally repugnant.

91. Quite apart from the deep moral revulsion which is felt by Nigeria for *apartheid* South Africa, we consider it deplorable that racist South Africa has continued to occupy Namibia despite the judgement of 18 July 1966³ by the International Court of Justice that racist South Africa's Mandate had become illegal. In response to that historic declaration by the International Court of Justice, the General Assembly has repeatedly and unequivocally pronounced itself by calling for the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of the racist régime of South Africa from the international Territory of Namibia. It is an indisputable fact that Namibia is now the direct responsibility of the United Nations and the international community. All the resolutions on this matter have been persistently ignored by racist South Africa, which has further entrenched its horrendous racist doctrine in Namibia. Racist South Africa's defiance not only of the declaration of the International Court of Justice but of the resolutions of United Nations bodies is an affront to the whole of the international community. South Africa's act of defiance undermines the basis of international law.

92. There is no question about the opinion of the international community on Namibia. It is decidedly opposed to racist South Africa's illegal occupation of Namibia. Namibia would be independent today if the innumerable resolutions of the Assembly and the force of public opinion were the sole determinants of its future. But Namibia continues to be held in bondage by racist South Africa with the active collaboration of its allies. The future of this international Territory has become enmeshed in the complexity of international politics and in the greed of foreign economic interests, which have continued to plunder the Territory with unabated vigour. South Africa has continued to receive aid and comfort from certain Powers which publicly proclaim their abhorrence for its vicious colonial policy in Namibia while at the same time secretly pursuing their dangerous policy of collaboration with the racist régime. Yet, ironically, it is those same Powers which, under the Charter of the United Nations, have been entrusted with the primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security, a responsibility they have persistently failed to discharge in Namibia. Not only have they refused to endorse the application of mandatory sanctions on racist South Africa as prescribed by the Charter, they have also, only recently, vetoed resolutions condemning racist South Africa for its wanton and unprovoked attacks on neighbouring African States.

93. It is an illusion for any Power to believe that international peace and security can be maintained in the face

of such glaring injustice, brutality, and the denial to the people of Namibia of their inalienable right to freedom and self-determination. The attitude and policy of those Powers are incompatible with their moral responsibilities towards the international community, and their philosophy is a complete negation of the responsibilities entrusted to them under the provisions of the Charter.

94. In defence of their overt and covert collaboration with racist South Africa in its illegal occupation of Namibia, these Powers have not been short of explanations and pious declarations of hope that South Africa will be persuaded to withdraw from Namibia. First, we were urged to be patient; we were told that racist South Africa needed time for adjustment and that it should be allowed to extricate itself from Namibia in a decent manner. We were deeply suspicious of this specious argument but, nevertheless, we thought it prudent to urge SWAPO to show the greatest restraint. Eventually, after very difficult and protracted negotiations promoted by the contact group, a peace plan endorsed by all the parties concerned was produced. This peace plan, accepted also by the United Nations in Security Council resolution 435 (1978), would, we were made to believe, lead Namibia in independence. What happened at the Geneva meeting is now a matter of history.

95. Recently, racist South Africa's allies have come out in open support of the racist régime on the ground that southern Africa is of strategic importance to them, and that it has to be defended against an imagined enemy lurking around somewhere. Is this really not a ludicrous position to take? Do racist South Africa's allies really believe that their strategic and other interests are better served by an open and unholy alliance with a régime whose vicious and repressive colonial policy in Namibia has been strongly condemned by all civilized people? Is it any wonder that after the meeting at Geneva the racist régime of South Africa has become even more truculent, intransigent and aggressive in its defiance of the will of the international community?

96. Africa's patience in this grave matter is not inexhaustible. From the beginning we have known and stated very clearly at every opportunity that there is no basis for the apparent belief in some quarters that racist South Africa can somehow be persuaded to withdraw from Namibia without the application of strong political and economic measures, including the imposition of mandatory economic sanctions. This truth stands more clearly revealed now than ever before. Despite assertions to the contrary, racist South Africa is not now, nor will it ever be, prepared to co-operate with the United Nations in Namibia on any terms but its own.

97. Nigeria expects to see Namibia's independence by 1982, and believes that that independence must be based on resolution 435 (1978). Whatever consultations may be taking place towards achieving this must be honest, sincere and frank.

98. We in Nigeria value freedom not only for ourselves but also for oppressed people everywhere, not least in Africa. That is why our support for the just and legitimate struggle of the oppressed people of Namibia cannot be less than total. We do not seek confrontation with anyone, but we cannot ignore events in southern Africa as these events have incalculable consequences for the peace and stability of our continent. Namibia's heroic struggle for freedom and human dignity has attained epic proportions. No African nation can consider itself truly free as long as

the people of Namibia remain in colonial bondage. Nigeria will therefore continue to extend to SWAPO, the sole authentic and legitimate representative of Namibia, its full support in their armed struggle against their racist oppressors. To the valiant fighters of SWAPO now engaged in the glorious struggle in the exercise of their basic rights to freedom, I should like to give assurance that victory may be delayed or obstructed but it can never be snatched away. The defeat of racist South Africa in Namibia is inevitable.

99. In conclusion, I should like to pay a warm personal tribute to the President of the United Nations Council for Namibia, my good friend and brother, Mr. Paul Lusaka of Zambia, for his tireless efforts on behalf not only of the United Nations, but of the suffering people of Namibia as well. His efforts and dedication to the cause of Namibia have won him much respect and admiration internationally.

100. Equally, I should like to avail myself of this opportunity to express the appreciation of the Nigerian delegation to the President of this session for his deep personal and abiding interest in the struggle of the Namibian people for freedom and the efforts he has exerted to ensure justice for them.

101. Mr. HANDL (Czechoslovakia): I should like at the outset to express our thanks to the members of the United Nations Council for Namibia, under the competent leadership of Mr. Paul Lusaka, for the work they have accomplished and for their exhaustive report [A/36/24], which is the sixteenth document of its kind. For 15 years now, the Council has been fulfilling the mandate entrusted to it by the General Assembly after it had terminated South Africa's Mandate over the former colony of South West Africa. It has been 15 years of heroic struggle by the people of Namibia against the huge military machinery of racist South Africa, a struggle for the overthrow of the last bastion of colonialism on the African continent. The Council could have long since solved the question of granting independence to Namibia in keeping with the decisions of the United Nations, and of the OAU and the non-aligned movement if the racist clique of South Africa had not put up desperate resistance, and if it had not enjoyed all-round support by world imperialism and reactionary forces. The situation in southern Africa came to a head, particularly in recent years, following the heroic victory of the peoples of Angola, Mozambique and Zimbabwe. Over 100,000 South African soldiers and police are waging an open colonial war against the indigenous population, as well as an undeclared war against neighbouring sovereign African States. Undeniable proof of this is offered by the recent large-scale aggression by South Africa against Angola with the aim of destabilizing the Angolan revolution and thwarting its peaceful development. It is no secret that within the framework of the global strategy of imperialism and the protection of the so-called vital interests of the United States in southern Africa, the pursued objective is the creation of a Lebanon-type situation in Angola. In this concept, the role of the Lebanese extremists is to be played by the UNITA⁴ forces, and that of Israel by South Africa.

102. The Czechoslovak people resolutely condemn the racist Pretoria régime which, in co-operation with the United States, is stepping up its interference in the internal affairs of, and escalating its armed attacks on, the front-line States, in particular the People's Republic of Angola. The Czechoslovak people's unequivocal support for and solidarity with the people of Angola—that proud

and unvanquished country—in the defence of its sovereignty and territorial integrity was reaffirmed once again last month during the official friendly visit to Czechoslovakia by José Eduardo dos Santos, President of the MPLA-Workers' Party,⁵ and President of the People's Republic of Angola. The joint communiqué adopted on that occasion stresses the right of the People's Republic of Angola to legitimate defence, both individual and collective, in accordance with Article 51 of the Charter.

103. This year in particular the minority racist régime of Pretoria has been fiercely rejecting all United Nations decisions and all the basic principles for the settlement of the Namibia problem worked out in many years of deliberations in various United Nations bodies, including the Security Council. It is doing everything in its power to prolong its illegal occupation of Namibia, to prevent the victory of the national liberation movement of the Namibian people, headed by its vanguard, SWAPO, its sole legitimate and authentic representative.

104. Today more than ever before it is quite apparent that this situation is not caused by South Africa's omnipotence but by the policies of the principal members of NATO, in particular the United States. Sometimes they criticize South Africa in words; but, in reality, as is revealed in many United Nations documents, they support and closely co-operate with South Africa. Particularly characteristic of the current situation is the *rapprochement* between the South African régime and the present United States administration within the framework of its global strategy directed against national liberation movements. They apparently calculate that, with the help of South Africa, they might succeed in implementing their neo-colonialist designs on the African continent. The collusion between Pretoria and Washington is, furthermore, the consequence of the latter's military-political course and plans for achieving military superiority by initiating the production of a new generation of military technology. An important issue here is that of the valuable raw materials, mined largely in Namibia, which the United States imports from South Africa. Also, United States investments in Namibia are not negligible; they are in excess of \$2 billion. In addition to that, there are 350 United States corporations operating in the Territory of Namibia.

105. South Africa has been and continues to be a valuable ally of the imperialist countries, not only in political and strategic spheres but also in military and economic spheres. It is well known that the Territory of Namibia supplies transnational corporations with such valuable raw materials as lead, copper, zinc, tungsten and uranium ore.

106. A dominant position among the transnational corporations is held by those located in South Africa, Great Britain, the United States, the Federal Republic of Germany, France and Canada. The example of Namibia illustrates even more clearly the symbiosis of interests of the transnational monopoly circles and the Pretoria racist régime. That is precisely one of the main reasons for South Africa's continued domination of Namibia.

107. In view of those generally known facts and following the failure of the meeting at Geneva, as well as the triple veto in the Security Council against the imposition of sanctions against South Africa, can anyone still trust South Africa's Western allies to exert influence or pressure on it? To the contrary, it is quite obvious that it is the support of the Western countries which even now enables South Africa to pursue the course of postponing a

just settlement in Namibia in an effort to secure a neo-colonialist solution of the problem.

108. The Czechoslovak Socialist Republic supports an effective and comprehensive settlement of the problem of Namibia, which can be secured only on the basis of the implementation of the relevant resolutions adopted by the General Assembly and the Security Council. Such a settlement requires the unconditional and immediate withdrawal of all armed forces, police and administrative authorities of South Africa from Namibia, including Walvis Bay; the safeguarding of the unity and territorial integrity of Namibia, including Walvis Bay, and the immediate exercise by the Namibian people of their right to self-determination and independence under the leadership of heroic SWAPO.

109. At the same time, we are in favour of the implementation of General Assembly resolution ES-8/2, which condemns the unlawful occupation of Namibia and calls for the imposition of comprehensive mandatory sanctions against the racist régime of South Africa, pursuant to Chapter VII of the Charter.

110. In conclusion, my delegation would like to express once again its full support for the just struggle of the people of Namibia, headed by its only recognized representative, SWAPO, for an independent, free and democratic Namibia.

111. Mr. PELLETIER (Canada): I have the honour today of speaking on behalf of the five member Governments of the contact group—Canada, France, the Federal Republic of Germany, the United Kingdom and the United States of America—which have been working together during the past four years in an attempt to negotiate an internationally recognized settlement of the Namibian problem.

112. The independence of Namibia is one of the objectives that every Government represented in this Assembly supports. Not one of our number would attempt to defend the legitimacy of South Africa's occupation of Namibia, and all of us subscribe to the proposition that Namibia should, at the earliest possible moment, join the ranks of the independent nations of the world. There are, however, differences of opinion as to how this goal should be reached. The five member Governments of the contact group are convinced that only a negotiated settlement accepted by the people of Namibia, the Government of South Africa, the Governments of the front-line States and, ultimately, the United Nations can bring the independence of Namibia that we all so ardently desire. As an alternative to a negotiated settlement, the five countries of the group see only an indefinite continuation of a war with all of the suffering this would entail.

113. As I am sure representatives here assembled know, the foreign ministers of the five Western countries met in New York on 24 September this year and decided to relaunch their negotiations on Namibia which had been in suspense since the break-up of the Geneva meeting last January. Our ministers made this decision on the basis of extensive discussions that had been under way for six months between the five, the front-line States, SWAPO and the OAU mission, led by Foreign Minister Ouko of Kenya. The present proposal of the contact group calls for the completion of three phases of negotiations which we hope will lead to the beginning of the implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978) in 1982.

114. The first phase of this effort will be for the parties concerned to commit themselves to a set of constitutional principles designed to build the confidence of the parties concerned in the election process and in the future of an independent Namibia. Representatives of the contact group have just completed a mission undertaken for the purpose of presenting these constitutional principles and discussing them with the parties concerned. The members of the group visited Nigeria; Angola, where they met with representatives of both the Angolan Government and SWAPO; South Africa; Windhoek, where they met with representatives of the internal Namibian parties; and then the capitals of Botswana, Zimbabwe, Mozambique, Zambia and the United Republic of Tanzania. The delegation then travelled to Kenya to brief President Arap Moi, the current Chairman of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity, on the mission.

115. I would stress that, in presenting these constitutional principles, the contact group has not attempted to write a constitution for Namibia. That is the task of the Namibian constituent assembly, which, under the terms of Security Council resolution 435 (1978), will be elected for that purpose. The document that the group presented in Africa suggests guidelines for the constituent assembly and sets forth certain broad principles to be reflected in the constitution.

116. In the second phase, the specific arrangements for UNTAG would have to be agreed upon. We intend also to make suggestions to help ensure that the transition would be conducted in a fair and impartial manner.

117. The third phase of the process would begin with a public commitment by all parties concerned to a date for the beginning of the implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978).

118. We are not yet in a position to report on the reactions of all the parties to the first-phase proposals of the contact group. We can say, however, that the initial response has been encouraging. The five Western countries are well aware that there are still difficult issues left to resolve in the second phase. But we are convinced that with good will on all sides, with patience, forbearance and a spirit of constructive commitment there is every reason to hope that negotiations can be carried through to a successful conclusion.

119. Another approach, and one which we believe offers no contribution in moving Namibia closer to independence, is embodied in the six draft resolutions of the United Nations Council for Namibia [see A/36/24, para. 708]. They are vituperative in tone, unjust and inaccurate in their accusations, wholly unrealistic in their demands and unhelpful in the search for a negotiated settlement. Far from supporting, or even recognizing, the efforts of the contact group to establish conditions that will make possible the implementation of resolution 435 (1978) in 1982, draft resolution A only takes note of the present negotiations and, in operative paragraph 31, it rejects what it calls "the latest manoeuvres by certain members of the . . . contact group" to undermine Security Council resolution 435 (1978). We can only view this misinterpretation of our efforts as ill-informed.

120. This draft resolution would have the General Assembly condemn two of the contact group States for collusion with South Africa in the nuclear field. This charge is made in apparent ignorance of the true state of affairs

as set forth in a United Nations document, published in 1981, entitled "South Africa's plan and capability in the nuclear field".⁶ I would commend to the authors of the draft resolution a careful study of that document.

121. In calling for increased financial support for SWAPO, the Council's draft resolution can only raise further accusations as to the ability of the United Nations to administer the transition in an impartial manner.

122. The draft resolution calls for the breaking off of all contacts with South Africa, the consequence of which would be the end of negotiations for the implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978). Having thus rejected the path of peaceful negotiations, the draft resolution would have the General Assembly support "the armed struggle of the Namibian people", which we consider to be the least likely avenue to Namibian independence.

123. It is the contact group's judgement that this draft resolution, if adopted, would not contribute to the negotiations now under way and might be a hindrance to the achievement of the objective of those negotiations—the independence of Namibia.

In order that we do not ourselves compromise our role as negotiators, we shall, as in the past, abstain when this draft resolution comes to a vote. We should emphasize that this abstention is purely procedural and does not imply any position on the merits of the draft resolution.

125. In order to help maintain the atmosphere of mutual respect necessary to the conduct of the negotiations of the contact group, the five Western countries appeal to all parties to refrain from all actions which could make the implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978) more difficult to achieve.

126. Mr. SOLTYSIEWICZ (Poland): The General Assembly once again has on its agenda the question of Namibia, one of the issues of crucial importance for the formation of an independent Africa and for peace and security on that continent and in the world at large.

127. The Polish delegation is again speaking in order to express its grave concern over the present situation in Namibia, which is seriously aggravated by the racist and colonialist policy of the South African régime towards the Namibian people, a policy not to allow that people to gain its long-overdue independence. What is more, that régime is still perpetrating acts of brutal aggression against its neighbours. The latest evidence of this is the massive armed aggression against Angola. Such a policy places further obstacles in the way of independence for Namibia, an aim that the Assembly put forward 15 years ago when it decided to terminate South Africa's Mandate over Namibia and to place the Territory under the direct responsibility of the United Nations until it achieves independence.

128. It is our political obligation and moral duty to see to it that that decision is implemented without further delay. I have in mind also other relevant resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council, particularly resolutions 385 (1976) and 435 (1978). We also fully support the appeal addressed to the Security Council in General Assembly resolution ES-8/2.

Mr. M'Rani Zentar (Morocco), Vice-President, took the Chair.

129. This year, new acts of violence, oppression and aggression against the Namibian people and its neighbours have been perpetrated by the South African régime. At the same time, efforts to bring nearer the independence of Namibia have been more numerous than ever, both within and outside the framework of the United Nations. It is not my intention to recall all the facts, which are only too well known.

130. As far as Poland is concerned, it has always sympathized with the Namibian people in its struggle for independence, viewing it as an essential part of the decolonization process in Africa. We have repeatedly condemned the policy of the South African régime towards Namibia, requesting the removal of its presence from that Territory and the recognition of the independence of Namibia in accordance with numerous United Nations resolutions.

131. The Polish Government also resolutely condemned the latest open aggression against Angola as an attempt to destabilize the situation in that independent African country, further aggravate the situation in the region and endanger world peace.

132. Since the beginning of the struggle of the Namibian people for its independence Poland has considered SWAPO as the sole and authentic representative of the Namibian people. Indeed, that Organization has become its acknowledged leader, capable of assuming responsibility for solving any problem related to the attainment of independence and to the leadership of the country. The international authority of SWAPO has been consolidated; it has been recognized by both the United Nations and the OAU as the sole legitimate and authentic representative of the Namibian people.

133. Last August, a SWAPO delegation headed by its President, Sam Nujoma, visited Poland. The Polish Government availed itself of that opportunity to renew its assurances of the firm and positive attitude of the Polish People's Republic with respect to the definitive liberation of Namibia, its genuine independence and the preservation of the unity and territorial integrity of the country.

134. On the basis of its consistent position of principle, Poland stands ready to make its contribution to the cause of an independent Namibia also through its participation in the work of the United Nations Council for Namibia.

135. Let me conclude by expressing the hope and the wish that the day on which we welcome independent Namibia among us is near.

136. Mr. CHOWDHURY (Bangladesh): Bangladesh has repeatedly stated its position of principle on the question of Namibia, most recently in the Security Council⁷ and at the 6th meeting of the eighth emergency special session.

137. Bangladesh's position is founded on its constitutional commitment "to support oppressed peoples throughout the world waging a just struggle against imperialism, colonialism and racism". It is backed by our unswerving adherence to General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV), containing the historic Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, the

key passage of which stipulates that. "Immediate steps shall be taken . . . to transfer all powers to the peoples of those Territories . . . in order to enable them to enjoy complete independence and freedom". It is demonstrated in our repeated reaffirmation of the inalienable right of all peoples to self-determination, freedom and independence. It is also deeply rooted in our conviction that the process of decolonization is inevitable and the struggle for liberty and freedom inexorable. The basic question that remains in the case of Namibia is how expeditiously can we achieve this end, so that the people of this Territory can rightfully pursue their destiny without further bloodshed and suffering.

138. To that end, Bangladesh does not have any connection with the South African régime. There are no economic and commercial dealings with South Africa and there is a total boycott against South Africa in the fields of sports and tourism.

139. In addressing itself to this question my delegation would like at the outset to underscore one fundamental premise—that independence in Namibia can and must be achieved without making any concessions to the principles embodied in the resolutions of the United Nations, particularly Security Council resolutions 385 (1976) and 435 (1978). We must take into account the objective realities of the situation in understanding and pursuing the constitutional and other arrangements that will accompany independence.

140. First and foremost, South Africa continues to occupy Namibia illegally in defiance of United Nations resolutions and the decision of the International Court of Justice. South Africa has steadfastly refused to recognize the United Nations Council for Namibia, which was established by a General Assembly resolution [*resolution 2248 (S-V)*], and has prevented it from even entering the Territory. Secondly, the past history of this Territory is replete with instances of all the ills that characterize colonialism, with the added brutality of the repressive régime of *apartheid* and its institutionalized discrimination based on race, colour and property. Thirdly, the logical extension of this policy has seen the systematic fragmentation of the Territory along ethnic and racial lines exemplified by the system of bantustanization. Fourthly, this system has been maintained and extended through repressive legislative actions, the extent of which has been annually recorded by the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples and the United Nations Council for Namibia. Fifthly, thousands of armed South African troops recruited by national conscription continue to police the Territory and bolster repression there. These troops are not only engaged in suppressing the struggle for liberation but have extended aggression into neighbouring territories, with all the inherent dangers to international peace and security inherent in such action. Sixthly, thousands of Namibians engaged in the legitimate struggle for self-determination and independence lie incarcerated in jails within South Africa and Namibia, condemned as terrorists. Seventhly, South Africa's vulnerability in the face of virtually unanimous international condemnation and the scope of the war of liberation has pushed it to ill-concealed efforts to develop its nuclear-weapon potential, with all the dire consequences inherent therein. Finally, Namibia continues to be denied its economic wealth through indiscriminate exploitation of its natural resources, in violation of Decree No. 1 for the Protection of the Natural Resources of Namibia, enacted by the

United Nations Council for Namibia on 27 September 1974.⁸

141. Fifteen years ago, the General Assembly adopted the historic resolution 2145 (XXI), which terminated the Mandate of South Africa over Namibia and placed the Territory under the direct responsibility of the United Nations. The international community has therefore, since 1966, had the sole responsibility for protecting the rights and interests of the people of Namibia. Since the termination of the Mandate, the General Assembly and the Security Council have adopted numerous resolutions demanding the withdrawal of the illegal administration and the entire South African military presence from Namibia.

142. In its advisory opinion of 21 June 1971,² the International Court of Justice declared that the continued presence of South Africa in Namibia was illegal and that therefore South Africa was under an obligation to withdraw from Namibia immediately. The decision of the General Assembly and the advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice clearly outlined the juridical status of the Territory. Unfortunately, South Africa, in defiance of the resolutions of the United Nations and the decisions of the International Court of Justice, refused to recognize the inalienable national rights of the people of Namibia.

143. Security Council resolutions 385 (1976) and 435 (1978) remain the only basis for the peaceful transition of the Territory from colonial subjugation to independence. We seek no more than the complete and unconditional implementation of these two resolutions as early as possible. In the course of the last three years of deliberations, South Africa has deliberately placed one obstacle after another in the way of the implementation of the resolutions. It has raised innumerable objections to every report of the Secretary-General and, as one demand has been met, it has promptly raised a new demand, each time injecting an irrelevant or extraneous element. In this connection, the members of the Western contact group have a special responsibility to ensure the speedy implementation of the United Nations plan.

144. We commend the leadership of SWAPO, the true and authentic representative of the people of Namibia, for its readiness to sign a cease-fire agreement and to agree on a target date for the arrival of UNTAG and the beginning of an electoral process supervised by the United Nations. We congratulate the front-line States for their patience, understanding and flexibility in dealing with the very difficult situation created by South Africa. The leaders of Nigeria, Zambia, Mozambique, the United Republic of Tanzania, Botswana, Angola and Zimbabwe deserve to be commended for the statesmanship they have shown. We should also like to put on record our sincere appreciation of the efforts of the Secretary-General and his able colleagues for their efforts to implement the resolutions of the Security Council and the General Assembly.

145. Bangladesh deplores all attempts by the South African authorities to impose the so-called internal solution on the people of Namibia. The international community must, as a matter of urgency, adopt effective and comprehensive measures under the Charter to ensure the complete isolation of South Africa and to compel it to withdraw from Namibia in accordance with United Nations resolutions.

146. As Mr. Abdous Sattar, Acting President of Bangladesh, said in his message on the occasion of the solemn meeting of the United Nations Council for Namibia to commemorate the Week of Solidarity with the People of Namibia and their Liberation Movement, SWAPO:

“Bangladesh believes that a just solution of the problem can be achieved only through unconditional implementation of the relevant Security Council resolution.

“We also believe that the right of self-determination of the Namibian people can be exercised only through elections under the supervision and control of the United Nations and with the active and full participation of SWAPO, the sole and authentic representative of the people of Namibia.”⁹

147. In the face of continued intransigence on the part of South Africa, it is imperative that serious consideration be given to adopting other means to make South Africa abide by the United Nations plan of action for ushering in national independence and sovereignty for the people of Namibia.

148. Mrs. KOZAKOU-MARKOULI (Cyprus): The question of Namibia is an item that has been considered in many international forums during the course of this year, and my delegation has had ample opportunity to express its position on this very important issue on many occasions, most recently during the 6th meeting of the eighth emergency special session in our Foreign Minister's statement.

149. It is therefore my intention not to repeat today my Government's well-known position, but rather to draw to the attention of this Assembly some very crucial issues directly linked to the item before us as well as to other similar problems which give rise to considerable concern not only for my delegation but undoubtedly for the vast majority of the Members of this Organization.

150. My delegation fully shares the view which the President very rightly expressed in his address on his election [*1st meeting*], that this session should be devoted to work, implementation and follow-up, rather than to repetitious and lengthy statements and resolutions. Yet the Assembly has no alternative but to debate once again the question of Namibia and add yet another series of resolutions to the hundreds already adopted by this and other bodies of the United Nations, which repeatedly express the ever-growing solidarity of the international community with the people of Namibia in their legitimate struggle for freedom and national independence under the leadership of SWAPO, their sole and authentic representative.

151. The item before us is a clear case of colonialism, racism, foreign occupation and oppression, which are allowed to persist in flagrant violation of the fundamental rights of the Namibian people and in defiance of the authority of the United Nations itself. Today, more than ever before, this Organization faces serious responsibilities, for Namibia is the only Territory in the world which has so far been placed under its direct administering authority. Yet the resultant stalemate in the situation in Namibia obviously raises the question of the credibility of the United Nations, because of its inability to give effect to the resolutions of its principal organs and the compelling need to take the measures, as expressly provided for in the Charter, to give substance and validity to the Organization through the implementation of its resolutions.

152. If South Africa, or any other aggressor and occupying Power, through its acts threatens international peace and security and is allowed to flout with arrogance and disdain the repeated appeals of the international community, and if the United Nations cannot ensure the implementation of its own decisions, the Organization cannot function effectively, and its very concept, or even its very existence, is in jeopardy.

153. The non-implementation of the resolutions of the United Nations is the essence of the Namibian situation and other similar cases. It is the root cause of the perpetuation of all unsolved and proliferating international problems. The forces of aggression and injustice are allowed to prevail over the principles of freedom and justice, thus adding to the escalation of already explosive situations not only in the southern African region but in other parts of the world, with unforeseen consequences and to the detriment of international peace and security.

154. It is, therefore, not resolutions alone, however masterly the drafting, that can bring the solution of problems closer and lead to the achievement of desired goals. It is their effective implementation that is of paramount importance.

155. My delegation holds the firm view that the United Nations plan for the independence of Namibia endorsed in Security Council resolutions 385 (1976) and 435 (1978), which reflects the international consensus on this issue, provides the solid basis for a peaceful solution to the problem that would enable the freedom of that Territory and its suffering people finally to be realized. The implementation of the plan has been awaited for far too long.

156. The General Assembly, at its eighth emergency special session, demanded once again the immediate implementation of the plan without any prevarication, qualification or modification, and not later than December 1981. It is perhaps necessary to remind ourselves here of Article 25 of the Charter, confirmed by the International Court of Justice in its advisory opinion of 21 June 1971,² according to which all decisions of the Security Council are binding on all Member States, which have an obligation to carry out the decisions of the Security Council on Namibia, as indeed on any other problem of which it is seized. It is, therefore, the duty of the United Nations, and especially of the Security Council, to take the necessary steps and measures provided for in Chapter VII of the Charter that would compel the racist régime of South Africa to put an end to the illegal occupation of the Territory of Namibia.

157. The failure of the Security Council earlier this year to impose comprehensive mandatory sanctions against that country created considerable frustration and disappointment among the international community. From that inability stemmed the call upon all Member States by the General Assembly at its eighth emergency special session for a voluntary boycott in order totally to isolate the South African régime politically, economically, militarily and culturally. The final importance of resolution ES-8/2 adopted at that session will certainly be weighed by our determination to implement its provisions, acting individually or collectively.

158. Cyprus, for its part, itself struggling under conditions of foreign occupation and gross injustice to safeguard its own independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity, unity and non-alignment, being a member of the United Nations Council for Namibia, and as one of the

original sponsors of resolution ES-8/2, will do its utmost to ensure the successful implementation of the provisions of that resolution, thus leading to the final freedom and independence of a united Namibia.

159. Mr. MARTINI URDANETA (Venezuela) (*interpretation from Spanish*): The Venezuelan delegation participates in this further consideration of the question of Namibia with a feeling of disappointment that its hopes of seeing a free and independent Namibia have still not been realized, three years after Venezuela became a member of the United Nations Council for Namibia and after voting in the Security Council in favour of resolution 435 (1978), which established appropriate procedures for ensuring Namibia's independence under close United Nations supervision.

160. This year, in a number of forums in various parts of the world, with the participation of States Members of the United Nations, the situation in Namibia has been considered exhaustively. The decisions taken in those forums were received by the racist régime in Pretoria with the deafness and unchanging attitude to which we have become accustomed.

161. At Paris, at Panama, at Nairobi and in New York, the overwhelming majority of the Member States of the United Nations has continued to call for decisive measures, in accordance with the Charter, to enable the Namibian people to exercise its inalienable right to self-determination, freedom and national independence. There is no doubt that settlement of the Namibian problem is one of the priority goals of the United Nations, whose possibilities for action are blocked by selfish, economic, strategic, political and other interests.

162. We continue to feel a sense of frustration at the obstacles thwarting the efforts of the United Nations to settle the case of Namibia justly, thanks to the plans of the racist minority to perpetuate its illegal occupation and to drag out its exploitation of Namibian human and natural resources indefinitely and with impunity.

163. As in other important areas of activity of the United Nations, the clear political will of all States is essential in order to resolve the question of Namibia, one of the last remaining cases of colonialism and one of the most shameful examples of the exploitation of man by man.

164. In this connection, Venezuela continues fully to support the plan adopted by the Security Council in its resolution 435 (1978). Any attempt to change it tendentiously behind the back of the Namibian people and the United Nations would be unacceptable to my country. The delegation of Venezuela would like to reiterate its repudiation of the tactics used by South Africa in order to transfer power to illegal groups which do not represent the interests of Namibia, and of any manoeuvre aimed at causing division among countries committed to the just cause of the Namibian people by the introduction of elements of confrontation unrelated to the issue.

165. My delegation reaffirms its support for consideration by the Security Council of broader and more effective sanctions against South Africa under Chapter VII of the Charter, as explicitly called for by the great majority of our countries at the International Conference on Sanctions against South Africa, held at Paris from 20 to 27 May 1981, which call was reiterated by the General Assembly in its resolution ES-8/2.

166. My delegation is convinced that only through effective implementation of the most comprehensive sanctions against South Africa, leading to its total isolation, can the plan for the independence of Namibia be implemented within the necessary democratic framework, free from any pressure and coercion.

167. One of the many aspects of South Africa's activities in Namibia is their close link with the maintenance of peace and security in southern Africa. Namibian territory is frequently used by the racist régime as a springboard for unprovoked attacks against neighbouring countries, on the basis of its military superiority over weaker States. This leads us inexorably to the conclusion that joint, determined action by the international community is the way to restore the rights of the Namibian people and eliminate a persistent focal point of international tension.

168. The Venezuelan delegation still believes that all Members of this great Organization will respond positively to the appeal of the Namibian people, as reason and justice demand. We must preserve the credibility of and renew our faith in the role of the United Nations.

169. In the mean time, Venezuela will continue its activities within the United Nations Council for Namibia in defence of the rights and interests of the Namibian people.

170. Sir Anthony PARSONS (United Kingdom): I have the honour to speak on behalf of the 10 member States of the European Community.

171. The 10 member States have made clear on a number of occasions in recent months their views on the Namibia question and their disappointment at the failure to make progress towards the goal of independence in accordance with Security Council resolutions 385 (1976) and 435 (1978). They reaffirm their views as expressed in Lord Carrington's statement in the general debate on 22 September [8th meeting] and in my statement at the 4th meeting of the eighth emergency special session on 8 September. Accordingly, I need not set forth these views again in this statement.

172. In the view of the European Community, the United Nations plan, endorsed in resolution 435 (1978), provides the only possibility of a peaceful transition to internationally recognized independence for Namibia in accordance with a precise and rapid timetable. The 10 member States reaffirm their unwavering commitment to the right of the people of Namibia to self-determination and independence by means of free and fair elections under the supervision and control of the United Nations, as provided for in resolution 435 (1978). In the Community's view, violence can only delay and impede the achievement of that objective.

173. The European Community therefore welcomed the statement by the Foreign Ministers of the five Western countries on 24 September here in New York. In particular, we welcome and support their renewed determination to pursue the objective which they have set themselves of implementation of resolution 435 (1978) beginning in 1982.

174. The European Community as a body is not directly involved in the current round of negotiations and is therefore not a party to the discussion of the constitutional principles which the five Western countries have put for-

ward. Nevertheless, the 10 member States welcome the recent approach by these countries to all the interested parties, made with the intention of strengthening confidence. They have been encouraged by the signs of initially positive reactions from many of those principally concerned.

175. The European Community appeals to all parties to refrain from all actions which could make the implementation of resolution 435 (1978) more difficult to achieve. It urges all concerned to participate constructively in the negotiating process initiated by the five Western countries and to approach the remaining obstacles to the implementation of resolution 435 (1978) in 1982 in a new spirit of co-operation.

176. Mr. OO Gin Sun (Malaysia): It is a matter of serious concern to my delegation that after decades of deliberation by the United Nations the question of Namibia remains unsolved. My delegation has repeatedly expressed in previous sessions of this body the serious implications of the crisis in Namibia for the peace and security of southern Africa and the entire world.

177. Today, 15 years after its Mandate over Namibia was transferred to the United Nations, South Africa is still in control of that country. The white minority régime has continuously employed deceptive and delaying tactics to deny the people of Namibia their basic right to self-determination and independence through free and fair elections under the supervision and control of the United Nations. In the mean time, in defiance of international demands, the régime flagrantly exploits the rich resources of Namibia, depriving the Namibian people of their inherent right to the wealth of their land.

178. Events in the last few years have shown that South Africa has systematically resorted to all possible means to sabotage the United Nations plan for the independence of Namibia. It has manoeuvred to create an administrative structure to protect its own economic interests, with the apparent intention of unilaterally declaring the Territory independent. Its devious motives are clearly demonstrated by its establishment of the so-called "National Assembly" with broad legislative powers and the so-called "Council of Ministers" which has equally extensive executive authority.

179. The régime has also intensified its military build-up in the Territory and escalated its wanton acts of aggression and intervention against neighbouring African States, as well as other political opponents. The objective is clear: that is, to intimidate neighbouring States into not assisting the just struggle of the Namibian people and purposely to create chaos and instability in order to divert world attention from South Africa's illegal occupation of Namibia. The sustained efforts by the white minority régime to develop nuclear-weapon capability clearly demonstrates its belligerent attitude, an attitude that poses a grave threat to regional and international peace and security.

180. Having followed the question of Namibia very closely, my delegation is convinced that the United Nations plan for the independence of Namibia, endorsed in Security Council resolution 435 (1978), remains the only basis for a peaceful settlement of the question. The continuing validity of the plan has been reaffirmed by the international community in every forum in which the question of Namibia has been discussed, most recently at the eighth emergency special session, devoted to the

question, just over two months ago. It is therefore a matter for regret that, instead of continuing to put pressure on South Africa to implement faithfully the provisions of resolution 435 (1978), some countries have found it necessary to seek modifications to the plan which had already been overwhelmingly accepted by the international community as the only basis for a solution of the question. This could well encourage the intransigent attitude of South Africa.

181. The question that often comes to mind is why it is that, in spite of the universal condemnation of South Africa's action, that country has been able to pursue its illegal policies. The answer clearly lies in the support and collaboration that South Africa continues to receive from certain countries, particularly in the economic and military fields. The oil and arms embargo that the international community pledged itself to uphold has proved ineffective. The political, economic and social isolation that South Africa clearly deserves has been breached. The conclusion is obvious: what we need is not more resolutions and declarations, but simply effective implementation of the existing resolutions. What is called for is sincerity, honesty and a sense of responsibility on the part of those that continue to maintain economic and military ties with South Africa. My delegation, for its part, would like to reassure the Assembly of its continuing commitment, in principle and in practice, to the total boycott and isolation of the white minority régime for as long as it continues to hold to its racist and colonial policies in southern Africa.

182. In the light of South Africa's intransigence, the need for increased efforts by the international community to mobilize public opinion against the régime is all the greater. We are therefore encouraged by the efforts of the United Nations Council for Namibia and other bodies within the United Nations system to bring about greater public awareness of the situation in Namibia. We wish on this occasion to express our appreciation to the Council for the constructive role it is undertaking in order to bring about an end to South Africa's illegal control over Namibia.

183. In conclusion, I wish to reiterate on behalf of my delegation our continuing support for the people of Namibia, led by SWAPO, their legal and authentic representative, in their just struggle to achieve freedom, self-determination and independence in a united Namibia. It is our firm conviction that Security Council resolution 435 (1978) remains the only basis for the peaceful implementation of the United Nations plan for the independence of the Territory. We call upon the international community to rally behind the people of Namibia in their just struggle to bring about an end to the illegal occupation of their territory, for an independent and free Namibia constitutes an indispensable element in the elimination of a serious threat to international peace and security.

184. Mr. TRAORE (Mali) (*interpretation from French*): This year again the painful question of Namibia figures on the agenda of the General Assembly. The Government of the Republic of Mali would have liked to see this session devoted to the triumphant and long-awaited welcome of Namibia to our midst in the United Nations. Indeed, Namibia is the only Territory under mandate to which the relevant provisions of the Charter concerning the freedom of peoples, especially the provisions of Chapter XI, are still not applied. The General Assembly has long been aware of this serious contravention of the Charter, for as early as 15 years ago it withdrew the trusteeship Mandate

from the racist régime of Pretoria in response to its failure to fulfil its obligations under that Mandate.

185. It is perhaps not necessary in this debate, which is the latest in a long series of examinations of the question of Namibia, to rehearse the known facts or all the decisions adopted by the United Nations on this question. But it is necessary to bear in mind some of the major decisions taken by the Assembly at both regular and special sessions relating to the withdrawal of South Africa's Mandate over Namibia, the international status of that Territory and the firm commitments to help shape the Namibian nation, approved unanimously in the Security Council, by adopting concrete measures to accelerate the process towards independence for Namibia.

186. Brought within the framework of the activities of the United Nations, the people of Namibia has been awaiting the recovery of its sovereignty for more than 30 years. Since the earliest years of its existence, the United Nations has been faced with a great and unprecedented challenge, for that challenge is a challenge to human dignity, a grave attack on basic human rights, an attack on the political stability of an entire region of a continent—in short, an outright attack on peace.

187. Yet the signatories to the Charter envisaged the development of relations among peoples in harmony and peace. Thus it is that the circle of free nations constantly grows; thus it is that the peoples have broken through the limiting frontiers of these nations to strengthen and expand their field of co-operation. At the beginning of this session, the Assembly welcomed three new Members. The Head of State of Mali, in his address to the Assembly on 2 October [23rd meeting], congratulated two of them. On behalf of my country's Government, I should like to carry out a dual duty: to congratulate Antigua and Barbuda on the recovery of its freedom, and to pay a tribute to the United Nations for its tireless work for the cause of the freedom of peoples. It has made its contribution to the struggle for the liberation of Namibia within the context of the peaceful settlement of disputes, although between it and the racist régime of South Africa there is a conflict about the meaning of Chapter VII of the Charter. Indeed, the United Nations is continuing tirelessly its attempts to make the racist régime of South Africa listen to reason. The latter's response was summed up in the statement of the President of Mali from the rostrum on 2 October when he said that the South African policy in Namibia remained what it had always been, namely, a policy of bloody repression, evasion, territorial expansion and inadmissible attacks on international peace and security.

188. Five Western Powers took the initiative of establishing a constructive dialogue with South Africa in order to aid in the peaceful settlement of the Namibian crisis. There, again, on the part of Pretoria there was evasiveness, hedging and duplicity.

189. The process towards the independence of Namibia is irreversible. It cannot be otherwise because the people of Namibia cannot deny its own nature by accepting the role of a slave people; it cannot forsake its political and cultural heritage; it must build its economic future on its own resources. And the United Nations cannot be the grave-digger for its own institutions; it cannot destroy itself by countenancing serious violations of its Charter.

190. The struggle for the independence of Namibia has a dual objective, namely, to answer the brutal force of

South Africa with force, and to safeguard the territorial integrity of the country by all possible means and ensure the application of United Nations decisions.

191. The relentless and always successful struggle against South Africa carried on by SWAPO, the sole authentic representative of the people of Namibia, therefore enjoys the legitimate right which the Charter confers on all peoples to unite our strength to maintain international peace and security.

192. To hasten the victory the United Nations has adopted a series of measures, among which we might mention Security Council resolution 435 (1978), which was adopted without any reservation or hesitation by any member of the Security Council. That clear and concise resolution must be applied rigorously. Any attempt to limit its scope, to deviate from its fundamental goals, would be a denial of international commitments freely entered into, and an inadmissible infringement on the right of peoples to self-determination. It is for the people of Namibia alone to determine the form of the future administration of its Territory in conformity with its profound aspirations and its political, economic, social and cultural circumstances.

193. We are confident of the success of the liberation struggle of the Namibian people. We have confidence in the future, because we know that South Africa will never be able to reverse the course of that struggle. Like other people that have made enormous sacrifices for freedom, the people of Namibia will destroy Pretoria's vain dream of continuing to keep Namibia by force.

194. South Africa has understood nothing about history; it has understood nothing about the civilization of peoples. The policy of bloody repression of the people of Namibia and flagrant aggression against its neighbours, particularly the People's Republic of Angola, from the international Territory of Namibia, which has been transformed into a bastion of war, sadly will continue for some time, plunging innocent families into mourning and destroying gratuitously the goods accumulated through the creative genius of man. But this policy will have the same sorry results as all other régimes based on racial hatred and the mania for expansion.

195. South Africa has voluntarily exiled itself from the international community through its continuing violations of the fundamental principles of the Charter.

196. The United Nations has before it the specific proposals contained in the report of the United Nations Council for Namibia [A/36/24] and in that of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Independence of Colonial Countries and Peoples [A/36/23/Rev.1, chap. VIII].

197. The delegation of Mali would like to pay a tribute to the members of these two bodies of the United Nations, not only for the clarity and precision of the conclusions they have produced but also for the numerous initiatives undertaken to make international public opinion more aware of the fate of the heroic Namibian people and the dangers to peace caused by the *apartheid* régime.

198. My delegation is convinced that the Assembly will adopt the conclusions in these reports unanimously and that, at its present deliberations on the question of Namibia, the resulting resolution will support morally, politically and materially the liberation struggle of the

Namibian people; set 1982 as the deadline for Namibia's accession to independence, beyond which its patience will have been exhausted; and be based largely on the provisions provided for in Chapter VII of the Charter, which are applicable to the *apartheid* régime because that régime constitutes one of the most serious threats to peace.

199. I said a few moments ago that we have every confidence in a bright future common to all men and to all peoples, without distinction as to race or colour. It is our task to build that future of harmony, co-operation and peace. It is our task to fight and destroy any system which dangerously undermines this great undertaking. General Moussa Traoré, the President of Mali, has said this from this rostrum when he declared:

"All diplomatic, political, economic and military means should be used to combat a system which has become a source of shame for mankind. We do not have the right to fail in so urgent a duty. To act otherwise would be to betray the mandate entrusted to us by our peoples to defend them against hatred and violence." [23rd meeting, para. 20.]

200. Mr. NAIK (Pakistan): The question of Namibia has figured on the agenda of the General Assembly since 1946. The future of Namibia was definitely determined on 27 October 1966 when the General Assembly, by its resolution 2145 (XXI), terminated South Africa's Mandate and resolved to assume direct responsibility for the Territory.

201. The United Nations Council for Namibia, established by the General Assembly as the legal Administering Authority for Namibia until independence, has done commendable work in mobilizing world support for the cause of Namibia and in preparing the Namibian people to assume the responsibilities of administering their country on its independence. The delegation of Pakistan fully supports the recommendations contained in the Council's report to the Assembly. We also express our deep appreciation to the President of the Council, Mr. Lusaka of Zambia, for the dynamic and effective leadership he has provided to the Council.

202. The Namibian people's heroic struggle to exercise their inalienable right to self-determination and independence has experienced various vicissitudes. In the wake of the rallying of world public opinion to that people's just struggle for national independence, a decisive stage was reached when all the parties concerned accepted Security Council resolution 435 (1978), which envisaged the signing of a cease-fire, the establishment of a demilitarized zone, the deployment of UNTAG and the holding of free and fair elections under the supervision and control of the United Nations. For a time it looked as though Namibia's peaceful accession to independence was within sight.

203. However, the hopes raised by the consensus reached on resolution 435 (1978) were dashed when South Africa, showing its true colours, reneged on its commitment at the pre-implementation meeting, held at Geneva in January this year. In a transparent show of obstructionism, it cast unwarranted doubts on the impartiality of the United Nations in supervising free and fair elections in Namibia and demanded constitutional guarantees for the protection of the white minority before Namibia acceded to independence. To quote from the Secretary-General's report on the pre-implementation meeting, "It became clear, in the course of the meeting, that the South African Government was not yet prepared

to sign a cease-fire agreement and proceed with the implementation of resolution 435 (1978)".¹⁰

204. The attitude of South Africa stood in sharp contrast to the high sense of statesmanship shown by SWAPO, the sole and authentic representative of the Namibian people, in its readiness to sign a cease-fire agreement with South Africa and to co-operate with the United Nations in the implementation of resolution 435 (1978).

205. The volte-face on the part of South Africa called for decisive and determined action to secure its compliance with the Council's decisions. Regrettably, the Council did not prove itself equal to the challenge. Owing to the unfortunate triple veto cast on 30 April 1981, the Security Council was prevented from taking effective action against the obdurate racist régime. The justifiably angry reaction of the international community found its expression in the convening of the eighth emergency special session of last September. The Assembly, reiterating its position of principle on the question of Namibia, demanded the unconditional implementation of resolution 435 (1978) and called upon Member States to take legislative, administrative and other measures, as appropriate, in order effectively to isolate South Africa politically, economically, militarily and culturally.

206. The results of the activities undertaken during the last two months by the Western contact group on Namibia are not fully known. Yesterday [64th meeting], the Foreign Secretary of SWAPO, Mr. Peter Mueshinge, informed the General Assembly that, contrary to the propaganda regarding the alleged progress on a Namibian settlement, South Africa has not so far given any clear indication of accepting the early implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978). On the other hand, however, the contact group claims to be making steady progress towards the goal of Namibia's independence. We earnestly hope that this is so. The contact group's objective of implementing resolution 435 (1978) in 1982 would be frustrated if in the process the United Nations independence plan was revised or diluted in any manner.

207. The inordinate delay in the withdrawal of South Africa from Namibia has taxed the world community's patience to the furthest limit. South Africa's spurning of the United Nations initiative is attributable to the support of external forces which stand to profit from the continued subjugation of the Namibian people and South Africa's massive arms build-up through the importation of arms and the development of its nuclear capability. If the independence of Namibia were delayed any longer, the belief voiced by some that Western countries were in collusion with South Africa in undermining Security Council resolution 435 (1978) and depriving the Namibian people of their hard-won victories in the struggle for national liberation would certainly gain ground.

208. South Africa, in total defiance of the United Nations, not only continues illegally to occupy Namibia but is using the Territory as a springboard for launching unprovoked aggressive raids against the neighbouring countries. Only recently, Pakistan joined the world community in condemning the racist régime in the strongest terms for its aggression against Angola and its flagrant violation of Angola's sovereignty and territorial integrity. It is a matter of concern that the Security Council has failed to exercise its responsibilities in that case of armed aggression. It is incumbent on the international community to extend every possible assistance to the front-line States in order to en-

able them to withstand repeated acts of aggression by South Africa.

209. South Africa's persistent refusal to withdraw from Namibia, its aggressive activities against the neighbouring States and its deliberate sabotage of the Geneva meeting constitute a threat to peace. The international community cannot acquiesce in South Africa's repudiation of the Security Council's decisions. The Security Council has an inescapable responsibility to compel South Africa to implement its resolution 435 (1978) within a specified time. It should not hesitate to impose coercive measures against South Africa to that end.

210. As the racist régime drags its feet on the implementation of the United Nations independence plan, it has stepped up the militarization of Namibia, enforced conscription in the Territory and increased its oppression of the Namibian people. Undaunted by these tremendous odds, the Namibian people, under the leadership of their sole and authentic representative, SWAPO, are vigorously pursuing their armed struggle to achieve self-determination, freedom and national independence in a united Namibia.

211. The situation calls for the application of maximum pressure on Pretoria to force it to align its policies with the repeatedly expressed verdict of the international community. Finally, motivated by its Islamic and non-aligned character, Pakistan has always extended its full support to the just struggle of all peoples against every manifestation of colonialism, imperialism and racism. Our unshakeable commitment to the right of all peoples to self-determination is rooted in our faith. Consistent with this policy, Pakistan reiterates its pledge to continue to extend unqualified support to the valiant people of Namibia in their legitimate struggle, under the leadership of SWAPO, for freedom and national independence. Undoubtedly, their victory against the vilest forms of racism and colonial domination is certain.

212. Mr. SASSI (Libyan Arab Jamahiriya) (*interpretation from Arabic*): As we all know, the General Assembly was convened recently in an emergency special session to consider the question of Namibia. This question is one of the major preoccupations not only of my delegation but also of the international community as a whole, as a result of the deterioration of the situation in southern Africa, and in particular in Namibia. This deteriorating situation is mainly the result of the persistence of the racist entity in its aggressive terrorist policy, which afflicts the whole region and brought about the occupation of Namibia. That entity has made the Territory a military arsenal and a springboard for brutal acts of aggression against neighbouring countries. The premeditated brutal aggression committed by the racist régime against Angola and the occupation of a part of that country's territory with the support of the imperialist Powers, first and foremost the United States of America, are still fresh in our minds. This caused considerable human casualties and material damage and was condemned by the United Nations and other international forums as a flagrant violation of the principles of international peace and security, as well as a new phase in the intensification of military attacks against progressive forces on the African continent. That odious aggression gave rise to considerable indignation and denunciation. All States called for the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of South African troops from the territory of Angola. The exception was the United States, which would not try to curb the racist entity, but instead issued certain statements that only con-

tributed to encouraging the racist entity to persist in its policy of aggression.

213. Once again the will of the majority of Member States, convinced of the necessity of containing this aggressor and of taking effective deterrent measures in order to maintain international peace and security, was opposed by the arch-enemy of the African continent, the United States, which flagrantly and unethically protects the *apartheid* régime of Pretoria. The use of the veto by the United States against draft resolutions condemning the racist *apartheid* system in South Africa for its aggression against a sovereign State and against the Namibian people's right to self-determination is fresh evidence of its aggressive intentions with regard to the issue of freedom in Africa and its determination to persist in its policy of oppression against the peoples and aggression, in particular against the African peoples.

214. Thus the complete agreement between the racist policy of Pretoria and the imperialist policy of the United States becomes clear. In the field of foreign policy, for example, meetings have taken place between officials of the United States Administration and officials of the racist entity in Pretoria, the most recent being, as we all know, the meeting between the United States representative to the United Nations and intelligence officials from the Pretoria régime. Those meetings focused on the maintenance and strengthening of relations between Washington and Pretoria and on increasing what the United States Administration termed "mutual understanding in many areas". The most important subject, of course, was that of their military relations. There is actually an agreement between the United States and the racist Government of Pretoria in the field of nuclear co-operation, in accordance with which the United States exports uranium to the South African racist régime.

215. The general director of foreign affairs in the Government of Pretoria stated that he visited a group of United States officials, among them Mr. George Ferl, head of the United States Department of Nuclear Energy; and Mr. John Boright, a high-ranking official in the field of nuclear energy at Pretoria, in order to co-ordinate co-operation in the nuclear field.

216. An American specialist in political science, Mr. Robert Roth, in an analysis of South African affairs, stated:

"Pretoria has benefited for two decades from United States co-operation in the field of nuclear energy and a nuclear reactor was actually built in Valindaba, near Pretoria, by experts from an American firm."

217. The Agreement for Co-operation Between the Government of the United States of America and the Government of the Union of South Africa, signed in 1957 by the two countries, was extended in 1974 for a further 33 years. Under this Agreement, the United States promised to provide South Africa with uranium.

218. It is not surprising that the racist entity's acts of aggression against Angola should increase and that it should blatantly ignore the demand of the United Nations that it grant independence to Namibia, especially after Reagan declared that the racist régime was an ally of the United States.

219. The United States stance has helped the racist régime in southern Africa and the racist Zionist régime in

occupied Palestine to intensify their aggressive co-operation in all fields, including those of nuclear armaments and the exchange of expertise in means of oppression and persecution and of committing acts of aggression against neighbouring States. The perfect similarity of the policies of the racist régimes in South Africa and in occupied Palestine is clear, for both have no regard for international resolutions and both deny peoples the right to self-determination and independence. We see that while the racist régime in South Africa perpetuates acts of aggression against the front-line States of Africa under the pretext of pursuing so-called terrorists—that is, the valiant SWAPO fighters—at the same time the racist Zionist entity daily violates the sovereignty of Arab States, kills innocent people and destroys their homes and material properties under the same pretext—that is, fighting against the Palestine Liberation Organization.

220. The persistent illegal occupation of Namibia has a significant place in the designs of the United States Administration. The policy of confrontation and flagrant challenge of the African peoples which has been adopted by the United States simply reveals the falseness of its claim that it seeks a peaceful settlement of the question of Namibia. The United States has clearly stated that its position regarding Africa will be in harmony with its international aspirations and policy as a super-Power, and that its narrow economic and strategic interests in Africa take precedence over the basic principles of the United Nations and the interests of the African peoples seeking to achieve national development and freedom.

221. We are once again considering this issue, but this time we are absolutely sure that the racist entity in Pretoria could not by itself challenge international public opinion and the resolutions of the General Assembly and of the Security Council were it not for the political, moral and material support provided to this entity by the so-called Western contact group, headed by the United States. At a time when the United States claims to be seeking a settlement of the problem, it supports this entity in several political areas, such as by exercising its right of veto in the Security Council against any resolution aimed at denouncing the junta of Pretoria for its acts of aggression against the front-line States and by providing unlimited military and material support directly to the racist régime or through its transnational corporations.

222. The international community remembers with bitterness that, despite the fact that 15 years have elapsed since the General Assembly adopted resolution 2145 (XXI), terminating South Africa's Mandate over Namibia, and despite the efforts exerted by the United Nations, especially the United Nations Council for Namibia, which is truly worthy of commendation, the situation in and around Namibia is more serious than ever and threatens peace and security not only in southern Africa but throughout the entire world.

223. The question of Namibia has been debated at length both within the framework of this Organization and in other international and regional forums, such as those of the OAU and the non-aligned movement. International public opinion is aware that this is a question of illegal occupation, of imperialism, which must be eliminated as soon as possible.

224. Three years ago, the Security Council adopted resolution 435 (1978), which is the only internationally accepted basis for the settlement of the problem. After tre-

mendous efforts had been exerted, it was accepted by both major parties to the question, that is, SWAPO, as the authentic representative of the Namibian people recognized by the United Nations, and the racist régime of South Africa, as the illegal representative of the region. However, we noticed at the beginning of this year, and following the meeting at Geneva, that the South African régime had begun to retreat from its commitments and affirmed its unwillingness to implement resolution 435 (1978). Since that time, manoeuvres by the Western contact group, headed by the United States, have begun with a view to amending the United Nations plan endorsed in resolution 435 (1978). Actually, these manoeuvres are nothing but an attempt to put the process of the peaceful political solution of the problem back where it started and hence to perpetuate and prolong the occupation of Namibia and continue to plunder its resources.

225. The Western contact group, which formulated the United Nations plan for the independence of Namibia, is supposed to be made up of the States most anxious to see that this plan is implemented. But it is clear that it has been trying to obstruct this plan since its adoption. The reasons behind that are well known: the Western States have economic and strategic interests and investments in Namibia and South Africa. Those States realize that it will be in their interests for the racist domination in South Africa and Namibia to continue and for the people of Namibia to be faced with a *fait accompli* so that they will accept what the racist occupying entity desires—that is, the installation of a puppet régime in Namibia made up of the agents of South Africa in order that the transnational corporations may continue their destructive activities in Namibia and deplete the resources of the region by transferring them to the Western countries. In this respect, it is noteworthy that, despite all the resolutions concerning the protection of the natural resources of Namibia, and despite Decree No. 1 enacted by the United Nations Council for Namibia,⁸ the resources of the region are consistently plundered and the international community is fully aware of this. The report of the United Nations Council for Namibia mentions the fact that the principal firms in Namibia are the firms that are based in the Western countries of the contact group.

226. The hope of reaching a peaceful settlement to the question of Namibia is decreasing as a result of the prejudice of the Western countries and their bias in favour of the *apartheid* régime of Pretoria. Consequently, the Western countries cannot act as honest mediators, and it behooves the United Nations fully to assume its responsibility to ensure the rapid accession to independence of Namibia.

227. The intransigence of the racist régime in South Africa and the United States impels us to wonder what steps can be taken by the non-aligned movement and peace-loving forces to support the struggle of the valiant people of Namibia under the leadership of SWAPO to regain its freedom and independence.

228. My delegation maintains that the delaying tactics and hollow promises of the Pretoria régime and the Western countries, headed by the United States, are futile. Consequently, it is vitally necessary for the General Assembly to state clearly that the racist entity in South Africa must comply fully with the resolutions of the United Nations, especially resolutions 385 (1976) and 435 (1978), without any pre-conditions. In the event of non-implementation and non-compliance, it should be held re-

sponsible for undermining the efforts of the United Nations to achieve a peaceful and just settlement of the question of Namibia in accordance with the resolutions just mentioned.

229. I shall now refer to the elements put forward by the head of my delegation in his statement before the General Assembly on 7 October 1981 [29th meeting] as providing the basis on which the problem of Namibia could be solved. The first is support for the armed struggle of the people of Namibia, because the liberty of peoples is not a gift that is bestowed but has to be won, especially as our Organization is dominated by the right of veto, which plays a major part in protecting the interests of imperialist, Fascist and racist countries. The second is the reaffirmation of the inalienable right of the people of Namibia to self-determination, freedom and national independence, in accordance with the United Nations Charter and General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV). The third element is emphasis on the fact that there are two main parties to the dispute, SWAPO, the sole legitimate representative of the people of Namibia struggling for the independence of that Territory, with United Nations support, and the racist Pretoria régime, which is occupying the Territory illegally. The fourth element is decisive and speedy implementation of resolution 435 (1978) on the United Nations plan for the independence of Namibia, without any amendment, in such a way as to ensure the full independence of Namibia and the sovereignty of its people, under the leadership of SWAPO, over all its entire territory, including Walvis Bay. The fifth element is the imposition on the racist régime of South Africa of the sanctions provided for in the resolution adopted at the eighth emergency special session of the General Assembly, thereby compelling that racist

régime to withdraw its administration from Namibia and thus speed up Namibia's independence.

230. In conclusion, my delegation wishes to express its appreciation of the efforts of the United Nations Council for Namibia, under the presidency of Mr. Paul Lusaka of Zambia, in support of the struggle of the Namibian people and to speed up its independence. My country is convinced of the determination of the Namibian people to achieve independence, under the leadership of SWAPO, no matter how long it takes and no matter what manoeuvres and obstacles are put in its way. My country confirms its continued unlimited support in all fields for SWAPO and the front-line States.

The meeting rose at 7 p.m.

NOTES

¹ A/AC.109/660.

² *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.

³ *South West Africa, Second Phase, Judgment*, I.C.J. Reports 1966, p. 6.

⁴ União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola.

⁵ Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola.

⁶ United Nations publication, Sales No. E.81.I.10.

⁷ See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-sixth Year*, 2274th meeting.

⁸ *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-fifth Session, Supplement No. 24*, annex II.

⁹ See A/AC.131/PV.365.

¹⁰ See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-sixth Year, Supplement for January, February and March 1981*, document S/14333, para. 19.