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President: Mr. Imre HOLLAI (Hungary).

AGENDA ITEM 32

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;
- (c) Reports of the Secretary-General

1. The PRESIDENT: May I remind members that the list of speakers on this question will be closed at 5 o'clock this afternoon.
2. I call on Mr. Peter Mueshihange, Secretary for Foreign Relations and observer for the South West Africa People's Organization [SWAPO], in accordance with General Assembly resolution 31/152.
3. Mr. MUESHIHANGE (South West Africa People's Organization): For the past 36 years, the General Assembly has been dealing with the question of Namibia, both at its regular sessions and at a special session and an emergency special session. Throughout all these years, the racist régime of Pretoria has remained defiant and has obstructed by every possible means available to it the freedom and independence of Namibia. The record speaks for itself in this regard, and there is a clear and mounting global consensus that holds the Pretoria usurpers directly responsible for the continuing sufferings of the Namibian people and the denial of their inalienable and just rights to self-determination and political emancipation.
4. The illegal occupation régime of South Africa has turned Namibia into an armed fortress, controlled and terrorized by the colonial military and police forces, which are now estimated to have reached the alarming figure of about 100,000. It is this racist, terrorist army and the fascist police which brutally enforce tyranny and repression in Namibia and export from occupied Namibia aggression, destabilization and subversion against the peoples and Governments of the independent African States in southern Africa.
5. The explosive situation at the present time in that region has been brought about by the aggressive policies of Hitler's disciples in Pretoria. Their expansionist actions resulting from such policies are negatively affecting various parts of Africa beyond southern Africa, even as far afield as the Seychelles and other African countries south of the equator.
6. At this very moment, the Security Council is seized of a serious complaint brought before it by the Kingdom of Lesotho, the latest victim of the racist régime's

naked aggression. SWAPO joins the world community in condemning in the strongest possible terms this unprovoked act of barbarity, which has caused the death of 42 Lesotho citizens and South African refugees, including innocent women and children, and the wounding of many others, as well as the destruction of valuable property. We extend our sympathy and condolences to all those bereaved families. In spite of these short-sighted acts of desperation on the part of the racists, we remain convinced that the gallant combatants of the African revolution will carry on the just struggle for the total liberation of the continent and the eradication of the evil system of *apartheid* in all its manifestations.

7. *Apartheid* South Africa, which is an international outcast and a menace to proper human interaction, is public enemy number one on the African continent. For many years it has been waging, and continues to wage, undeclared war against the African masses in a vain attempt to deflect the unanimous demand of the people for liberation, justice and racial tolerance. The persistent acts of aggression, militarism, inhuman repression, nuclear adventurism, state terrorism, generalized violence and racial discrimination upon which the *apartheid* State is founded have repeatedly been denounced and rejected by the international community as a serious threat to international peace and security.
8. In the light of this grave situation, for which the *apartheid* régime is totally and solely responsible, it is most deplorable that the major Powers of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization [NATO], which have always been the traditional allies of the régime, continue to intensify their collaboration with it in the nuclear, military, economic, financial, technological, cultural and political fields, in disregard of the relevant resolutions of the United Nations. The latest example in this regard is the approval of an IMF loan of \$1.1 billion to Pretoria, the same amount that it has spent in Namibia to maintain its illegal régime.
9. In this context, it must be noted that these friends of the racist illegal régime have not hesitated to misuse the institution of the veto in the Security Council in order to protect that régime and to prevent the Council from assuming its full responsibility, including the imposition of sanctions against South Africa as an additional means of exerting pressure on it for a meaningful change internally and for an end to its illegal occupation of Namibia. This series of vetoes can only be interpreted as an effective denial of the principle of self-determination and freedom for the peoples of southern Africa.
10. We know that the capitalist ethic is predicated, above all, on the overweening concern for profit, which means that in southern Africa the primary interests of

the major NATO Powers and their transnational corporations are mineral rights and the continued plunder of the natural resources in the region, in total disregard of the human rights and well-being of the millions of Africans who live there. That has been and continues to be the hallmark of colonialism, *apartheid* and imperialist expansion. Consequently, the interests of the Africans have been relegated to the lowest priority in the scheme of things, in which ready access to raw materials and global strategic considerations assume top priority and in which *apartheid* South Africa is an extension of the West.

11. In this connection, I should like to make a passing reference to some of the recent international gatherings where these permanent links between Pretoria and its Western allies have been further exposed.

12. First, the Paris Declaration on Sanctions against South Africa¹ confirmed the extent of the continuing collaboration of the main Powers of NATO and their transnational corporations with the racists in the nuclear, military, economic and banking fields and the vigorous expansion in other areas, such as high technology and sophisticated weapons systems. This state of affairs naturally encourages the racist régime in its intransigence and defiance of the international community and constitutes a major obstacle to the process of the decolonization of Namibia, the elimination of the inhuman and criminal system of *apartheid* and the accession to freedom of Namibia.

13. Secondly, the United Nations Council for Namibia organized in Vienna, from 8 to 11 June 1982, a Seminar on the Military Situation in and relating to Namibia. This was indeed a very important and timely Seminar, considering the massive military build-up in and around Namibia and the serious threat which this situation poses to international peace and security, a matter of grave concern to the United Nations, which has assumed direct responsibility for Namibia. The Seminar examined, on the basis of research papers presented by experts, in terms of the *apartheid* régime's regional aggression, the role of the nuclear and military collaboration of the NATO Powers with South Africa, Pretoria's growing nuclear armaments industry, the recruitment and use of mercenaries in Namibia, the forced conscription of Namibians for the occupation army, the sabotage of the Security Council arms embargo, aggression and State terrorism against SWAPO, the unspeakable effects of the colonial war on the Namibians and the peoples of the front-line States, particularly Angola, and the ever-increasing militarization of virtually all aspects of the social and political sectors in Namibia.

14. The conclusions and recommendations of the Seminar provide a solid basis for the work of the United Nations Council for Namibia and also for action by friendly Governments and intergovernmental, non-governmental and international organizations in the world-wide campaign to isolate the *apartheid* régime and to mobilize world public opinion for sanctions against that régime. These findings form part of the report of the Council to the General Assembly [see A/37/24, chap. V, sect. B].

15. Thirdly, and lastly, I refer to the Seminar on the Role of Transnational Corporations in Namibia, held in Washington from 29 November to 2 December 1982

and organized by the American Committee on Africa, with the active support and assistance of the United Nations Council for Namibia.

16. These three gatherings are certainly not the only ones of importance to Namibia, but the aspects of the broader question of Namibia which they considered have a direct bearing on the abominable collusion of the major NATO Powers with the Boer régime, thus obstructing Namibia's independence. It is our view that the findings of these meetings will be most useful in connection with the forthcoming International Conference in Support of the Struggle of the Namibian People for Independence, to be held in Paris next year and at which the United Nations Council for Namibia and its Commissioner will be expected to ensure the adoption of effective measures and recommend such measures to the United Nations for implementation.

17. The unholy alliance is there, and the pattern of the convergence of the interests of the West and the *apartheid* régime is clear. It is with this in mind that I now wish to comment on the state of affairs since we last met in similar circumstances. It will then become obvious, in our view, why, in spite of much publicity and, in the words of an African Minister, "some audible shuffling of feet by the contact group", no meaningful progress has been made so far on Namibia. With each passing day, it has become more and more clear that Namibia's independence is very far off. We are just being realistic, without losing sight of the correct perspective, about which we are certain, that Namibia will be free, through the bullet or through the ballot.

18. Hopes and expectations ran high this time last year, during the thirty-sixth session, concerning independence for Namibia. The general view was that 1982 was going to be the year in which our people would breathe the sweet air of freedom. But now, unless we believe in miracles, it is rather obvious that Namibia's independence will not come to pass during what is left of the year, or in the foreseeable future. Thus, the conclusion on the part of the oppressed people of Namibia is a painful and all too familiar one. The year 1982 will go down in the records of our patriotic struggle as but another year of sufferings and sacrifices, and we will remember the empty promises made and the betrayal of trust for the umpteenth time. We know, as we have always known, that at the end of the day, when the diplomatic bickering and recrimination has ceased, we shall, as always, have to assume full responsibility for our lives and fulfil the patriotic duty to liberate Namibia. We are the victims of fascist tyranny, foreign domination and exploitation, and therefore we realize that our fight demands even more sacrifices. In this we have no choice but to carry on with the struggle.

19. The United Nations has an unavoidable responsibility for Namibia until it attains its independence, and there is a declared commitment on the part of the international community embodied in the cherished ideal that the cause of Namibia is the cause of all mankind, for it is a cause of freedom, justice, peace and the rule of law, and these values remain universal in import and are the very basis of the United Nations Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

20. It is in this spirit that the Namibian freedom fighters have embraced the partnership with the United Nations and are co-operating closely with the United Nations Council for Namibia, the legal Administering Authority for our country until its full independence. As has been said before, mankind cannot be half free and half oppressed. An eloquent speaker has stated in this Hall:

“We believe that, though each of us has attained independence, none of us is truly free while Namibia remains a colony. We avow that in this context every man is a Namibian and must have a vested interest in Namibia. Any denial of that interest is a denial of mankind’s common inheritance and shared destiny.”

21. Of course, there are always exceptions to this general rule. There are those who have throughout history denied freedom to others and decried demands for justice and equality. These are the oppressors, the exploiters and the racials. It is their tyranny which the revolutionaries, democrats and peace-makers have been struggling against. This is the situation today in Namibia, and the struggle is also the same.

22. But there is an exhilarating realization everywhere. The struggle of the Namibian people is supported by the overwhelming majority of States Members of the United Nations and by all sectors of progressive mankind around the world. On the other hand, the racist criminals and tyrants are international outcasts, so much so that even the hypocrites who otherwise collaborate with them are forced to do so only clandestinely and through other means of camouflage.

23. Mr. President, it gives me great pleasure, on behalf of the struggling Namibians and in the name of SWAPO, their sole and authentic representative, to extend to you our warmest and most fraternal felicitations and best wishes on your unanimous election to the high office of President of the thirty-seventh session of the General Assembly. We are convinced that your personal commitment to the cause of Namibia and your unswerving support for SWAPO qualify you in many ways to be a Namibian and that you continue to have a deep interest in the struggle for a free Namibia. Hungary, your homeland, is one of the staunchest supporters of SWAPO and of the heroic struggle of the Namibians. It therefore gives us a sense of renewed assurance that your best efforts in this regard will prove successful and that during your presidency firm decisions will be taken in the best interest of the people of Namibia.

24. In the same vein, I should like to put on record our appreciation of and satisfaction with the vigorous efforts being pursued by the Secretary-General to give practical effect to the resolutions of the United Nations relating to Namibia, in particular Security Council resolution 435 (1978).

25. His personal commitment to ensuring the early decolonization of Namibia and his courage in defending by word and action the principles of the United Nations Charter, which guarantee the right of self-determination of colonized peoples and countries, are a source of great inspiration to our people.

26. I should now like to acknowledge with satisfaction and appreciation the invaluable work being done by the United Nations Council for Namibia and

the Office of the United Nations Commissioner for Namibia in discharge of the mandate entrusted to them to hasten Namibia’s independence by all possible means, in co-operation and consultation with SWAPO.

27. The report of the United Nations Council for Namibia [A/37/24], which Mr. Paul Lusaka introduced to the Assembly at the 101st meeting, together with the recommendations contained in part four of the report, and the annexes, provide food for thought. The report covers a broad spectrum of the activities of the Council and its assessment of developments in and relating to Namibia. SWAPO has been fully associated with the work of the Council, as the report shows. It follows from this that we endorse the inspiring and informative statement delivered by the President of the Council and, in particular, the recommendations presented for adoption as resolutions of the Assembly. I wish to commend Mr. Lusaka for his wise and dynamic leadership of the Council and again to assure him and the members of the Council of our highest consideration and gratitude. I thank him also for his generous words about our struggle, under the leadership of SWAPO.

28. I take this opportunity also to thank the Rapporteur 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 for his brilliant report on the activities of the Special Committee in the field of decolonization, especially regarding Namibia [A/37/23/Rev. I, chap. VIII]. We are no less grateful to the Special Committee for its historic work which has greatly assisted the liberation of many countries and peoples in Asia, Latin America and Africa. Needless to say, the Special Committee will continue its work unabated until all men and women everywhere are free from bondage and exploitation. I take note with mixed feelings of the fact that Mr. Frank Abdulah, of Trinidad and Tobago, Vice-Chairman and later Chairman of the Special Committee for several years, will soon move on to serve his country elsewhere. He is a friend, a brother and a comrade who has always been close to us in his work and whose commitment to Namibia’s freedom has been total and a personal crusade. We will miss him here, but we are consoled by the fact that, wherever he may be, his country’s and his own support for SWAPO will always be there.

29. I wish to put on record our thanks to and appreciation of a hard-working international civil servant who will be leaving this Organization at the end of the year after long service. This is Mr. Issoufou Djerma-koye, Under-Secretary-General for Political Affairs, Trusteeship and Decolonization. He has assisted us in various ways, in particular during the difficult times at the beginning. He has made a significant contribution which will remain on record.

30. I send best wishes for the coming holidays and good luck in their new endeavours to both Mr. Abdulah and Mr. Djerma-koye.

31. For the past five years, notwithstanding all the good will and the best efforts on the part of the front-line States, SWAPO and the United Nations, the racist, illegal régime has obstructed implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978), which, *inter alia*, envisages the holding of free and fair elections. In recent times, the racists have found a most friendly

Government in Washington. By introducing extraneous issues into the Namibia talks and by seeking to hijack the decolonization process of Namibia, the United States Administration has now assumed direct responsibility for the current delay. To us it means that the United States Administration, in cahoots with the illegal régime, is actually preventing free elections in Namibia. It is holding the Namibians to ransom and prolonging their sufferings.

32. It is Washington which has now turned the linkage issue into a matter of public debate through the recent Africa shuttle trip of Vice-President George Bush.

33. It is important to note, however, that in the present impasse it was not Pretoria but Washington which invented the issue of a linkage between the independence of Namibia and the presence of the Cubans in Angola. South Africa has merely found the United States insistence on this issue to be yet another convenient excuse behind which to hide further in order to avoid free, fair and democratic elections in Namibia.

34. It is indeed a sad and tragic development of international politics that a leading world Power, which claims to be the citadel of democracy, should choose to use the sufferings and agony of our unfortunate, small nation as a bargaining card in pursuit of its own global objectives.

35. Because of the decision by the Reagan Administration to hold up Namibia's independence and to use our people's agony and sufferings as a bargaining card, the process of bringing Namibia to independence through a negotiated settlement has now come to a virtual standstill; in the meantime, Pretoria is daily intensifying its cold-blooded murder of our people, torturing them, burning their villages and destroying their property, in an attempt to force them to accept its own bogus arrangements in Namibia.

36. In this connection, I wish to draw the attention of the Assembly to the Declaration on Namibia, issued on 26 November 1982 at the meeting of the Heads of State and Government of 31 African countries, held at Tripoli from 23 to 26 November 1982. I shall quote the following two relevant paragraphs from that Declaration:

“Condemn the United States of America and the South African racist régime for their attempts to establish any linkage or parallelism between the independence of Namibia and the withdrawal of Cuban forces from Angola, that being a contravention of Article 2, paragraph 7, of the United Nations Charter and a contradiction of United Nations Security Council resolution 435 (1978) in both letter and spirit.

“Firmly reject all attempts to establish any linkage or parallelism between the independence of Namibia and any extraneous issues, in particular the withdrawal of Cuban forces from Angola, and emphasize unequivocally that the persistence of such attempts would only retard the decolonization process of Namibia, as well as constitute not only hegemonic manipulation of the situation in and around Namibia in order to prolong the illegal occupation of Namibia and the oppression of Namibians, but also a blatant interference in the internal affairs of Angola.”

37. SWAPO supports that courageous and firm position taken by those countries and urges the General

Assembly to adopt that position as its own. Moreover, we endorse the call by both the African States and the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries for an early meeting of the Security Council to reassume its responsibilities under all relevant provisions of the United Nations Charter and to fix its own time-frame for the implementation of the United Nations plan for Namibia without further delay.

38. In the meantime, we request all our friends and supporters and, indeed, the United Nations to denounce all fraudulent constitutional and political schemes through which the illegal régime of racist South Africa may attempt to perpetuate its colonial domination in Namibia, and, in particular, we urge all States to ensure non-recognition of any administration or entity installed in Namibia by the South African illegal régime in contravention of United Nations resolutions on Namibia, particularly Security Council resolutions 435 (1978) and 439 (1978).

39. For how long must the Namibian people still endure untold sufferings? What else must be allowed to happen, and at what price to the Namibian patriots, for the United Nations to bring the full weight of its legal, moral and political authority to bear on the racist illegal régime in Namibia to get out of our country, for which the United Nations has assumed unique responsibility? When will the charade end, and when will effective action be taken? When is enough really enough?

40. To us, the direction is clear and the determination is boundless. We shall march forward as our ancestors did before us and as we have been doing for the past 22 years of SWAPO's glorious existence as a national liberation movement. We shall pay the price for liberty and sacrifice even more willingly, knowing that our struggle is just and that victory is certain, is inevitable. We shall continue to intensify the struggle on all fronts, especially the military front, where we have been waging an armed struggle for the past 16 years, achieving great successes against many odds.

41. Despite all the odds we face and the forces pitted against us, we remain confident in the final victory of our just and heroic struggle. During the past 12 months, in carrying out the directives of the Central Committee of SWAPO, the combatants of the People's Liberation Army of Namibia (PLAN) have liquidated 350 racist soldiers in Namibia, shot down 9 enemy jet fighters and 13 helicopters, put out of action 6 armoured vehicles and seized other war materials, including radio equipment and large quantities of small arms and ammunition.

42. Today, PLAN combatants are using captured enemy weapons and means of communication, thus demonstrating the positive development in the struggle whereby the enemy is increasingly becoming a source of war materials for SWAPO.

43. For this, we pay undying homage to the PLAN combatants—the men and women who have displayed revolutionary courage and anti-imperialist boldness to bring Namibia to the threshold of liberation. In honouring their memories, we pledge to continue on the path of armed resistance which they have charted, and in this regard our motto remains that it is either an independent fatherland or death.

44. In conclusion, at this most critical stage, when the common enemies, at home and abroad, of the peoples of South Africa and Namibia are resorting to the most brutal fascist acts, SWAPO wishes to pay special tribute to the comrades-in-arms of the African National Congress of South Africa [ANC] and its military wing, the *Umkhonto We Sizwe*—Spear of the Nation—for their splendid victories in the field and their active political mobilization of the masses in South Africa, as well as of world public opinion. We have seen in recent times, as evidenced by leaked official documents, the extent of the collaboration between South African military intelligence and the Central Intelligence Agency, which recently made the ANC an object of its covert activities. But we know that the ANC will take the measure of the enemies' machinations and terror campaigns.

45. In yet another corner of Africa, we salute the POLISARIO Front² and the Government of the Saharan Arab Democratic Republic in their heroic struggle for self-determination and unfettered independence and against colonialist expansion.

46. Similarly, we express our militant solidarity with the people of East Timor, led by FRETILIN,³ whose courageous struggle for self-determination is at last receiving recognition and support, and particularly with the brave and irrepressible fighters of the Palestine Liberation Organization, whose multidimensional struggle parallels the struggles of the peoples of southern Africa, both being victims of the United States-South Africa-Israel alliances. With the continued and increased support of the wider international community, our common struggles will finally be victorious. The struggle continues. Victory is certain.

47. Mr. RAHIM (India): The Minister for External Affairs of India, Mr. P.V. Narasimha Rao, has already had occasion, at the 14th meeting of the current session, to convey to you, Sir, the felicitations of my delegation on your unanimous election to the high office of President of the General Assembly. I hope you will permit me, on the eve of the conclusion of this session, to extend to you a word of sincere appreciation for the very competent and purposeful manner in which you have guided the proceedings of the Assembly.

48. We in India feel a deep sense of pain and anguish, and of frustration, at the fact that the people of Namibia continue to live in bondage and under repression. I believe that these sentiments are shared by the vast majority of the international community. For many years, we have been advocating the cause of Namibian independence, taking decisions by overwhelming majorities of votes in the Assembly, pleading with the Security Council to demonstrate greater decisiveness in the discharge of its responsibilities, and waiting patiently for the outcome of efforts to achieve our cherished objective. For 16 of those years, Namibia has been a direct trust of the United Nations. Yet all our efforts, our decisions, our admonitions and our pleading have so far been of no avail. The racist régime in Pretoria continues to maintain its stranglehold on Namibia. The question of Namibia remains intractable and continues to appear repeatedly on the agenda of the international community. The people of Namibia continue to suffer the most inhuman degradation and brutal repression under a racist and alien régime.

49. The history of the negotiations relating to Namibia's independence has truly become a story of frustration and disappointment. It is almost as if some countries and some people, foremost among them the Pretoria régime, take a perverse pleasure in raising the hopes of the international community from time to time, only to let them fall and be shattered to smithereens. More than once, attempts have been made deliberately to create an atmosphere of expectation, only for that atmosphere ultimately to be rudely dispelled by the realities of the situation. All the while, South Africa has made use of the opportunity to consolidate its illegal presence in Namibia and to drain the Territory of its precious wealth.

50. It is now four years since the contact group of Western countries took upon itself the task of implementing the United Nations plan for Namibia endorsed by the Security Council in resolution 435 (1978). The international community has waited and watched in the hope that South Africa's attitude of intransigence and blatant defiance might perhaps be curbed by those in the best position to influence it. That hope has thus far been belied, and the signs on the horizon are far from promising. South Africa scuttled, on what we all know were flimsy grounds, the pre-implementation meeting held in Geneva in January 1981. Ever since, Pretoria has come up with one pretext after another to bedevil early implementation of the United Nations plan. First, it was the so-called question of the impartiality of the United Nations. Then, it was the constitutional principles and the composition of UNTAG. On each of these, and at every step, SWAPO and the front-line States have demonstrated a spirit of accommodation and far-sighted statesmanship. Pretoria's response, quite characteristically, has consistently been one of prevarication and intransigence.

51. Of late, attempts have been made to link Namibian independence with an extraneous issue. Call it linkage, parallelism or what you will, the fact of the matter is that these two issues are seen by those parties as related to each other, and the independence of Namibia is being made conditional on the settlement of issues which have little bearing on it. A pure and simple matter of decolonization is being given ideological dimensions, thus seriously jeopardizing the chances of an early settlement for Namibia. We believe that the matter of Cuban troops in Angola is the sole concern of those two sovereign States and should not be allowed to impede in any way the efforts to secure Namibia's independence.

52. All the efforts to make South Africa heed the will of the world community have had not one iota of success in restraining South Africa in its acts of belligerence. South Africa not only remains in Namibia illegally, but has continued to transgress with impunity the established frontiers of other independent African States of the region. Acts of subversion and aggression against Angola, part of whose territory South Africa continues to occupy forcibly, are repeated frequently.

53. Only last week we learned of the unprovoked and wanton aggression carried out by South Africa against the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Lesotho. My Government has strongly condemned that invasion. Similarly, South African troops have committed aggression against other States, keeping the region in a state of terror and turmoil and, indeed,

endangering international peace and security. South Africa continues to receive military assistance from various quarters, in contravention of the arms embargo imposed by the Security Council. The assistance rendered to the Pretoria régime in the nuclear field and South Africa's reported acquisition of nuclear-weapon capability have added yet another dangerous dimension to the whole situation.

54. One of the principal explanations for South Africa's reluctance to release its hold over Namibia, as also perhaps for the ambivalent attitude of some of its supporters, is the enormous economic stake that these countries have in Namibia. Transnational corporations continue to operate in that Territory, amassing huge profits, in violation of innumerable United Nations resolutions as well as Decree No. 1 for the Protection of the Natural Resources of Namibia,⁴ enacted by the United Nations Council for Namibia on 27 September 1974. The result of these economic manipulations has been a serious drain on Namibia's resources and large-scale repatriation of profits abroad. Namibians derive little or no benefit from them. The operation of these economic interests is illegal and inimical. In spite of our efforts, these activities have not ceased.

55. The United Nations cannot afford the odium that would result from its having to bequeath to the future Government of a free Namibia a land stripped bare of its resources and mired in underdevelopment. That would be unconscionable.

56. The economic exploitation of Namibia must be stopped. We believe that, since all other means have failed, the Security Council should no longer hesitate but should proceed to the imposition of comprehensive and mandatory sanctions against South Africa.

57. In the midst of all the polemics and discussions that have gone on for a long time in various forums, let us not for a moment forget the people of Namibia, whose suffering and whose courage have few parallels in modern times. Under the leadership of SWAPO, their sole and authentic representative, the people of Namibia have struggled patiently and steadfastly. The indignities that are so characteristic of the abhorrent system of *apartheid* have been heaped upon them; they have been imprisoned without trial and tortured; innocent men, women and children have been killed. Yet their will to be free has not been broken, as was made eloquently clear in the course of the moving address delivered immediately before my statement by the Secretary for Foreign Relations of SWAPO. We know that they will finally prevail.

58. I should also like to pay tribute to the United Nations Council for Namibia, under the leadership of its President, and to the United Nations Commissioner for Namibia for the dedication and tenacity of purpose with which they are carrying out their responsibilities. I had the opportunity of listening to the inspiring statement of the President of the Council at the 101st meeting. In the face of the indifference and even open hostility of certain quarters, the Council has striven tirelessly in the fulfilment of its mandate. Unfortunately, the Council has not been entirely free of the reverberations of the worsening international situation. However, it is to its credit that it has not let that inhibit its functioning.

59. As a member of the Council, as well as 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, India has consistently endeavoured to make a constructive contribution; in doing so, we have always considered the interests of Namibia to be of paramount importance. India's sympathy and support for the Namibian cause, both within the Council and outside it, scarcely need reiteration. We have extended both moral and material assistance to SWAPO. The world will remember that India was the first country, in 1946, to impose comprehensive voluntary sanctions against the *apartheid* régime of South Africa. We believe that our efforts can succeed only if South Africa can be totally isolated. That in turn requires the display of political will on the part of all concerned.

60. Finally, I should like also to express a word of appreciation for the front-line States of Africa, which have shown exemplary solidarity and leadership in their advocacy of the cause of the Namibian and South African peoples. They have time and again been the victims of South African aggression, as well as of other acts of subversion and provocation. Their economies and their social fabric have been disrupted. But they have been steadfast in their support of the objective we together cherish.

61. For too long now, South Africa has continued to scoff at world opinion. Our patience is wearing thin. It would be naive of Pretoria to think that it can either suppress the will of the Namibian people by brute force or can win their allegiance through political manoeuvres involving puppet institutions imposed from without. I shall only quote what the Prime Minister of India, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, said earlier this year when referring to the struggling people of South Africa and Namibia:

“May every year, rather every day, bring greater strength to those who are fighting. May it bring courage and understanding among those who are still doubtful or those who, for their own narrow purposes, are trying to halt the march of history. I have no doubt that no one can stop freedom. There is no act of repression, there is no brutality, which can stop the forward movement of a great idea and there can be no greater idea than the freedom of the human being. That will win.”

62. Mr. ROA FLOURÍ (Cuba) (*interpretation from Spanish*): The question of Namibia, together with the heroic struggle of the Palestinian people for the attainment of their inalienable rights and the establishment of their own State in Palestine, is one of the crucial issues of our time. There can be no talk of the decline of colonialism as long as colonial domination is not completely removed from the face of the earth and as long as there exist peoples which, like the people of Namibia, are still under the yoke of foreign oppression—hence, the full force of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) and the need to redouble our efforts to achieve its full implementation in this decade.

63. In recent years, since the adoption of Security Council resolution 435 (1978) and particularly since the independence of Zimbabwe, the international community has been justified in thinking that the long trials and tribulations of the Namibian people, which have

suffered for so long under the illegal occupation of the Pretoria racists, were coming to an end. Recently, talks held in New York between the sole legitimate representative of the Namibian people, SWAPO, and the front-line countries, on the one hand, and the member countries of the so-called Western contact group, on the other, gave rise to optimism when it was known that fundamentally the way had been cleared for the implementation of the United Nations plan for Namibia.

64. However, some new conditions were very soon made public which one of the members of that group, the United States, wished to impose on the Namibian people and on the front-line countries before the process leading to the independence of Namibia could be completed.

65. Under the euphemism of "other pending matters in southern Africa", the imperialist North American Government—the main ally and supporter of the South African fascist régime—wants nothing less than to make the independence of the Territory dependent on the fulfilment of certain conditions which are completely alien to the issue, in particular, on the withdrawal of the Cuban internationalist forces from the People's Republic of Angola.

66. I should like to make clear, first and foremost, that the presence of Cuban troops in Angola is something which is the exclusive concern of the sovereign independent Governments of my country and the People's Republic of Angola. Those troops are there, pursuant to an agreement between the two Governments, to contribute to the defence of Angola's territorial integrity, sovereignty and independence, which are threatened by racist South Africa, and they will be withdrawn only when the acts of aggression carried out against Angola from Namibian territory have finally ended and when the Government of the People's Republic of Angola so decides—not before and not after and, of course, never as a result of the pressure or blackmail of the imperialist Government of the United States or its cronies in Pretoria.

67. In any case, these imperialist pretensions have been firmly rejected by the Government of the People's Republic of Angola, by the other front-line countries and by all the independent States of Africa, as was reaffirmed in the Declaration on Namibia, issued at Tripoli in November 1982. A few days ago, the Presidents of Angola and Zambia categorically declared their opposition to any attempt to link Namibian independence with matters quite separate from that issue, especially the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola. Both 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 have clearly expressed their rejection of imperialist attempts to set conditions for or further delay the strict implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978) and, consequently, the Territory's complete independence.

68. The imperialists' machinations—because what is involved here is a North American political objective and not a requirement of the South African régime, as some would have us believe, since that régime is a mere pawn of Washington—clearly further Washington's counter-revolutionary strategy in the African

continent. Specifically, they have the following objectives: to foster the establishment of a puppet Government in Namibia, through an "internal arrangement" managed by the illegal occupiers, which would prevent the holding of genuine elections and hence prevent SWAPO's victory; and to weaken the capacity of the People's Republic of Angola to defend itself, with a view to overthrowing the revolutionary Government of the Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola [MPLA]—Partido de Trabalho, replacing it with Washington's henchmen and hirelings and thus returning Angola to the imperialist neo-colonial system.

69. As always, the political short-sightedness of North American imperialism goes hand in hand with its unscrupulous conduct. The Angolan revolutionaries are not prepared to allow the destiny of their people to be compromised or the genuine process of liberation which has been undertaken to be reversed, nor will the Namibian patriots relax their heroic struggle for genuine independence until they have achieved it for ever and incontestably. Both will use all the means necessary to foil any attempt to spoil the fruits of their historic struggle.

70. The United Nations has entered into a political and moral commitment to the people of Namibia which cannot be renounced—that of helping it to achieve real and effective independence, without vacillation or prevarication. The United Nations Council for Namibia, the sole legal Administering Authority for the Territory until such independence has been achieved, must enjoy our total support and commitment, and SWAPO, the sole legitimate representative of the Namibian people, must be able to rely on our resolute support, so that it can step up its just struggle against the racist oppressors until final victory is won.

71. Our aim can be none other than a united, independent Namibia, including Walvis Bay and the offshore islands—Penguin, Ichaboe, Hollansbird, Mercury, Long, Seal, Halifax, Possession, Albatross Rock, Pomona, Plum Pudding and Sinclair's. Any action by South Africa to separate them from the Territory or to claim sovereignty over them is illegal, null and void and must be so regarded by the international community.

72. The activities of foreign economic interests in Namibia—principally, those of British, North American, German and French transnational corporations—are an obstacle to the Territory's independence and expressly violate Decree No. 1 for the Protection of the Natural Resources of Namibia,⁴ enacted by the United Nations Council for Namibia. We must therefore take the necessary measures to prevent the continued exploitation of resources which by right are the sole heritage of the people of Namibia, as well as to guarantee that, once the Territory has achieved independence, those interests will properly compensate the people of Namibia for the indiscriminate plunder of their heritage.

73. The General Assembly must condemn the racist régime of South Africa for having increased its military force in Namibia, for recruiting Namibians to serve in its armed forces in the Territory, for using mercenaries to strengthen its illegal occupation and for using Namibia as a springboard for acts of aggression

against neighbouring independent countries, in particular the People's Republic of Angola. In this regard, there should be special condemnation of the recent act of aggression by the South African racists against the Kingdom of Lesotho, which claimed innocent victims and resulted in loss of property, and of their criminal policy of intimidation of countries such as Mozambique, both carried out in flagrant violation of the United Nations Charter and of international law.

74. It is also imperative for the Security Council to act resolutely—as called for 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—to counter all the delaying tactics and fraudulent plans of the illegal occupation régime designed to thwart the legitimate struggle of the Namibian people. In view of the serious threat that South Africa poses to international peace and security, the Security Council must respond positively to the call of the overwhelming majority of members of the international community by immediately imposing on that country the comprehensive, mandatory sanctions provided for in Chapter VII of the Charter.

75. My delegation must condemn the abuse of the veto by the Government of the United States and other Western countries in the Security Council to prevent that body from imposing the relevant sanctions on the criminals in Pretoria for their continuing illegal occupation of Namibia, the plunder of that country's natural resources and their brutal, aggressive policy towards other independent African States.

76. We therefore condemn the military and, in particular, the nuclear collaboration of several capitalist States, including the United States and the Israeli Zionists, with the *apartheid* régime. We also condemn all other forms of collaboration with the Pretoria racists. In this regard, we draw the attention of the international community to the growing links of the Pinochet régime in Chile and other South American Governments with the South African racists, as well as to the imperialist plans—which have been enlarged since the British military occupation of the Malvinas Islands and the start made on the construction of strategic bases in that part of Argentine territory—to create a reactionary military alliance, in the service of their dubious interests, in that part of the Atlantic.

77. The collusion of several imperialist Powers, first and foremost the United States, with the racist Pretoria régime has further been made clear by the decision of the IMF to grant that régime a credit of \$1 billion in open disregard of General Assembly resolution 37/2. It is therefore essential for all those States which are genuinely concerned to see United Nations decisions on Namibia implemented and which support the elimination of the odious system of *apartheid* to adopt the appropriate measures to isolate South Africa politically, economically, militarily and culturally, in conformity with General Assembly resolutions ES-8/2 and 36/121 B.

78. There can be no doubt as to what needs to be done to ensure the genuine, definitive independence of Namibia. The parties to the conflict were defined a long time ago—South Africa, the illegal occupying force in the Territory, and SWAPO, the sole legitimate

representative of the Namibian people—as was the framework of action, which was set quite clearly in Security Council resolution 435 (1978). What is necessary now is to get the process going without further delay. The international community and the overwhelming majority of the peoples of the world are waiting for the Security Council to adopt appropriate measures so that the Namibian people can accede to independence in 1983. The commitment of the United Nations is clear and unequivocal. It is our duty to fulfil it.

79. Mr. ULRICHSEN (Denmark): I have the honour to speak on behalf of the 10 member States of the European Community.

80. Namibia is a particular responsibility and concern of the United Nations. For a great number of years, it has been one of the most serious problems that the Organization has faced. The international community has consistently reiterated the view that the unlawful occupation of Namibia by South Africa must be brought to an end in accordance with Security Council resolutions 385 (1976) and 435 (1978). Regrettably, this aim has yet to be achieved.

81. The Ten have repeatedly and firmly expressed their conviction that the people of Namibia must be permitted to determine its own future through free and fair elections, under the supervision and control of the United Nations, in accordance with Security Council resolution 435 (1978). The plan for implementation endorsed in that resolution was accepted by both SWAPO and the Government of South Africa.

82. In the view of the Ten, the United Nations plan endorsed in resolution 435 (1978) provides the only possibility of a peaceful transition to internationally recognized independence for Namibia.

83. The past years have seen strenuous efforts by the Secretary-General and his Special Representative, by the front-line States, Nigeria, SWAPO and the Organization of African Unity [OAU], and by the five Western States which were the authors of the plan. The Ten have consistently supported those efforts.

84. Since the last session of the General Assembly, we have seen an intensification of the negotiations. We have been encouraged to see that, this summer, all parties accepted the principles concerning the constituent assembly and the constitution of an independent Namibia put forward by the five Western States. In the light of the substantial progress that has been achieved, we hope that implementation of the United Nations plan for Namibian independence is now within reach.

85. The Ten urge all parties concerned to facilitate the conclusion of the negotiations without further delay and to refrain from any action which could endanger the agreement reached. South Africa's intervention in Angola cannot but complicate this process. The Ten have condemned the violations of Angola's sovereignty and territorial integrity.

86. The Ten deeply deplore all acts of intimidation and violence perpetrated in Namibia. Those acts, as well as the continuing practice of arbitrary arrest and detention without trial, create a cycle of violence which causes suffering to the local population.

87. The Ten reiterate their rejection of any attempt to impose an internal settlement on Namibia. They remain firmly opposed to any solution that is not internationally acceptable and that could condemn Namibia to international isolation.

88. The Ten reaffirm their support for all the parties that have striven over the last year to bring about the achievement of independence, peace and prosperity by Namibia. They commend them for their untiring efforts to seek a speedy solution in accordance with Security Council resolution 435 (1978). They urge all concerned not to throw away the progress that has been made.

89. In our common statement in the general debate [8th meeting], we called for statesmanship and courage and warned that the world community would react strongly to attempts to delay Namibia's independence. Today, we wish again to underline the grave consequences of delay in the implementation of the settlement plan. The Ten therefore urge all the parties concerned to conclude the negotiations in a spirit of co-operation so that the United Nations plan for Namibia can be implemented without further delay.

90. Mr. ABULHASSAN (Kuwait): At the thirty-sixth session [66th meeting], Kuwait expressed its fear that the international community was arriving at an impasse, an impasse indicated by the interest shown by South Africa in veering away from elections supervised by the United Nations unless it is promised the victory of the so-called internal parties rather than of SWAPO, the sole and authentic representative of the Namibian people. That is why we fear that we are entering another cycle, and that is why we fear that the new deadline may become a mere date that in the future will be discussed in retrospect. We said last year, "We hope that our fears are unfounded". That again was wishful thinking on our part.

91. The Pretoria régime, acting with disdain towards every effort to solve the Namibian problem by peaceful means, wants the international community, the neighbouring States and the Namibian people to acquiesce in its own perception of a peaceful solution. The Pretoria régime imposes its own interpretation of the guidelines set out by the international community. It indicates its choice, the kind of government Namibia should have, and also the allies and the political régimes of the neighbouring States. Should the world community acquiesce in this, then invasion, terror, displacement and exile will be the lot of the colonized people of Namibia and of the independent African States of the region.

92. Today, while we are speaking on Namibia, the Security Council again has before it a complaint of yet another act of aggression by South Africa, namely, the invasion of Lesotho, causing havoc and death in that hapless country. Kuwait condemns this wanton attack. It is yet another manifestation of the ill-will harboured by the Pretoria régime towards the independent African States and the settlement of the Namibian problem.

93. Pretoria's apparent willingness to negotiate a peaceful settlement will be viewed with disbelief as long as it persists in following a militaristic policy towards neighbouring States. The international community witnesses the situation with dismay. It sees that South Africa is deriving comfort from the lack of enforcement measures against it. South Africa has been assured

repeatedly that the international community will not apply effective sanctions against it. Pretoria is not only deriving comfort from that assurance; it has been given unlimited license, deliberately, on the best interpretation, inadvertently, by the one Power that purports to have an interest in solving the Namibian problem. We are referring to the policy of the Reagan Administration of so-called "constructive engagement", a policy which has led to increased collaboration with the Pretoria régime. We fear that the campaign to rehabilitate the *apartheid* régime will only serve to derail whatever prospects still exist for a settlement. Such a policy certainly brings into question the intentions of a major party.

94. The United States, together with France, the United Kingdom, the Federal Republic of Germany and Canada, have taken upon themselves the responsibility of pursuing efforts towards implementing Security Council resolution 435 (1978). Intermittent flurries of activity have taken place during the past few years. While reaffirming that it is the prime responsibility of the Security Council to implement the United Nations plan for the independence of Namibia, we must underline the role of the Five in making that a reality. Their collective or individual pressure should be brought to bear on South Africa. Unfortunately, that responsibility was shunned lately when they chose to encourage the IMF to grant the *apartheid* régime a credit of \$1.1 billion in defiance of a General Assembly resolution. In our view, that action is deplorable.

95. On the other hand, we note with satisfaction the position taken by one member of the contact group, France, in rejecting the linkage between the independence of Namibia and the withdrawal of Cuban forces from Angola. Such constructive attitudes will help to underline the basic issues and facilitate the negotiating process. Regrettably, this attitude is not shared by another member of the group of five States, namely, the United States. The American attempt to establish that linkage contravenes the principles of the Charter of the United Nations, is in contradiction with Security Council resolution 435 (1978) and retards the settlement of the problem. The manipulation of this situation by South Africa will only perpetuate its hegemony in and around the area. Moreover, the presence or the withdrawal of the Cuban forces is an issue extraneous to the settlement plan. It is a question strictly within the sovereign domain of the Angolan Government. For these reasons, we reject and condemn all attempts at linkage or parallelism.

96. We have been repeating, from this platform and in other forums, our call for a just solution of the Namibian problem. It is our duty to reaffirm Security Council resolution 435 (1978), which approved guidelines for a negotiated settlement. The imposition of other principles or structures would mean the erosion of guidelines. Any deviation from the principles of Security Council resolution 435 (1978) would only be to the detriment of the Namibian people.

97. Mr. PRADHAN (Bhutan): South Africa's refusal to implement Security Council resolution 435 (1978) has been the biggest hindrance to the achievement of Namibia's independence. The inability of the Security Council to agree on suitable measures against South Africa has also made South Africa less amenable to reason and international public opinion.

98. The international community has been fed periodically with news which has given rise to hopes that Namibia would gain independence in the immediate future. However, each time we hear of positive developments in the negotiations with South Africa, extraneous or other issues are brought out, thereby hindering the process of Namibian independence. For instance, the independence of Namibia and the freedom and self-determination of its people have been linked to the presence of some 20,000 Cuban troops in Angola. My delegation, on grounds of principle, has always had reservations on the presence of foreign troops in any country, unless, of course, it is explicitly the result of a sovereign and independent decision of the countries concerned. Nevertheless, in this instance we cannot agree to the linkage of the Cuban troops in Angola with the independence of Namibia from South Africa's racial, political and economic domination.

99. In this context, an article in *The New York Times* of 23 November 1982 was very revealing. As soon as South Africa learnt that Namibia's independence could be linked with the withdrawal of the Cuban troops, the article says:

“... Pretoria did drop most of its objections to Namibian elections and seized on the withdrawal idea as a political gain. But there is no sign that its leaders are reconciled to setting Namibia free. A new wrangle in Pretoria over installing a malleable... head of the territory's provisional régime is just one more disturbing sign.

“In the eyes not only of ... Africa but most of the rest of the world, South Africa is the arrogant transgressor.”

100. My delegation has always believed that it is up to the people of a nation to choose the type of government they want. In the case of Namibia, it is the responsibility of the United Nations to ensure the self-determination and independence of this international Territory. Accordingly, we have called for United Nations-supervised elections in Namibia for the installation of a legitimate government. No matter what type of government came into power through such elections, it would simply fulfil the wishes of the people and have their mandate to govern. South Africa's current attempts to manipulate constitutional processes in order to install the type of government of its choice and suppress SWAPO is a gross violation of the rights of the people of Namibia. Hence, my delegation has consistently urged that Namibia's independence should be within the framework of Security Council resolution 435 (1978).

101. By delaying the implementation of United Nations resolutions on Namibia's independence, South Africa is only exposing itself and its true intentions. When we look back and examine South Africa's attitude, it seems quite clear that its intentions are to prolong its hold on the international Territory of Namibia as long as it possibly can. Such occupation of Namibia guarantees South Africa, and the multinational companies involved, continued and profitable exploitation of Namibia's rich natural resources. It also helps South Africa to consolidate its hold on those Namibian territories which it intends to annex, particularly Walvis Bay. Further, the diversion by South Africa of the attention of the world towards Namibia

blurs the focus of the international community on South Africa's own policy of *apartheid* and other violations of human rights.

102. My delegation has always attached a great deal of importance to the dialogue between the front-line and other African States and the Western contact group. Though we continue to urge that group to do all it can to ensure the early independence of Namibia, we have noted that South Africa's recalcitrant attitude has blocked all progress so far. The group must not allow extraneous elements or issues to be brought in, as these would only create unnecessary diversions. Should these talks fail to produce the desired results in the immediate future, my delegation urges the members of the Security Council, and particularly those who hold the power of the veto, to impose suitable sanctions on South Africa within the framework of the Charter. There would be no way left to expedite the independence of Namibia but to resort to firm and adequate sanctions.

103. Finally, my intervention would be incomplete if I were not to express my delegation's total indignation at the recent unprovoked aggression against the small, land-locked and non-aligned State of Lesotho by the Government of South Africa. We vehemently condemn this aggression and urge that appropriate steps be taken to safeguard the security, territorial integrity and independence of the Kingdom of Lesotho and other neighbouring front-line States.

104. Mr. FISCHER (Austria): Austria's position on the modalities for achieving a negotiated settlement in Namibia has been consistent over the years. Austria has from the outset fully associated itself with the United Nations plan for Namibia's peaceful and negotiated transition to independence. We regard this plan as the most promising way of ending South Africa's illegal occupation of the Territory and of fulfilling the inherent right of the Namibian people to self-determination, territorial integrity and independence and to elect its own government free from any outside interference or coercion.

105. In the view of the Austrian Government, any political settlement which aims at stability and durability must rest on the broadest possible basis, comprising all the parties concerned. The United Nations plan, originally put forward by five members of the Security Council and subsequently endorsed by the Council in resolution 435 (1978), meets these basic requirements. It provides for true self-determination on the basis of democratic and internationally supervised elections and, in our opinion, constitutes the only feasible way for the United Nations to discharge its special responsibility for this Territory and to arrive at the genuine and peaceful transfer of power to the Namibian people.

106. Four years of intense and painstaking negotiations on the basis of Security Council resolution 435 (1978) have resulted in a wide area of agreement on the details of the implementation of the transition plan. We wish to express our gratitude and appreciation for the determined efforts exerted by the Western contact group, the Secretary-General and his Special Representative, the front-line States and other Governments involved and, above all, by the leadership of SWAPO. The co-operative spirit and construc-

tive attitude of all parties has helped to overcome many stalemates in the negotiations and to keep alive their momentum.

107. During four years of negotiations, the original plan has been refined and new elements, such as the concept of a demilitarized zone, have been introduced. We regard this as a natural phenomenon. While the established guidelines for Namibia's transition to independence have remained unchanged, new proposals have been accommodated because they met with the approval of the parties most directly concerned and were directly related to the cause of independence for Namibia. In our opinion, this is the question of paramount importance: whether a new proposal will truly benefit the Namibian people, who have already been deprived of their most basic national rights for too long.

108. In the recent past, however, we have seen the introduction of new elements into the negotiations which have been rejected by several of the parties and whose concrete relevance to the independence of Namibia has not been established. Austria feels that such issues should not be linked to the United Nations transition plan for Namibia. Rather, they should be discussed directly between the interested Governments and should not be permitted to constitute yet another impediment to the implementation of the United Nations plan. We hope that the talks now being undertaken by South Africa and Angola will lead to mutually satisfactory results.

109. As far as the United Nations transition plan for Namibia is concerned, Austria wishes to emphasize once again that the time has come to bring the protracted negotiation process to a successful conclusion and to start the implementation of resolution 435 (1978) in all its parts without any further delay.

110. Urgency is called for not only with regard to the situation in southern Africa as a whole but also with respect to the internal situation in Namibia. According to reports of representatives of religious and international relief organizations, the economic, agricultural and social situation has gravely deteriorated. International economic developments have had an adverse impact on economic conditions, thus adding another serious aspect to the prevailing political instability in Namibia. The recent unilateral decision of the South African Government to prolong the mandate of the present internal régime in Namibia clearly illustrates the political situation and the true extent of authority exercised by South Africa in that country.

111. In our view, the activities of the Nationhood Programme for Namibia and the United Nations Institute for Namibia have a special bearing on the future development of an independent Namibia. Both programmes have received and will continue to receive the support of the Austrian Government. I might add that, in addition to its financial contributions, Austria has also made available two scholarships for Namibian students.

112. A word of appreciation is also due to the United Nations Council for Namibia, which, under the experienced guidance of Mr. Lusaka, of Zambia, skilfully promotes the cause of the Namibian people in world public opinion.

113. We have learned with deep concern and dismay of the recent commando attacks of the South African Defence Force on the capital of Lesotho, which claimed many civilian lives and caused heavy damage. The Austrian Government, as a matter of principle, rejects such acts of aggression as a flagrant violation of international law and of the obligation of all States to respect the sovereignty and territorial integrity of other States. We extend our sincere condolences to the Government and people of Lesotho, which have become innocent victims of a regional crisis and of unresolved disputes prevailing in the area.

114. The frequency of such military actions directed against Angola, Mozambique, Zambia and now Lesotho underscores the urgent need to stabilize the situation in southern Africa as a whole. There is no doubt that a peaceful negotiated solution of the question of Namibia would largely contribute to such an objective.

115. In conclusion, I should like to state once again that Namibia is a special trust of the United Nations and, hence, of the whole international community. For four years now, the United Nations plan has awaited implementation. Surely the time has come for ending this untenable situation.

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

116. Mrs. NGUYEN NGOC DUNG (Viet Nam) (*interpretation from French*): Sixteen years have elapsed since the United Nations undertook direct responsibility for leading Namibia to independence.

117. It is indeed to be regretted that throughout these 16 years thousands of transnational corporations have ruthlessly plundered the valuable national resources of Namibia. Throughout these 16 years, the anachronistic *apartheid* régime in Pretoria has constantly carried out brutal repression and killings of the Namibian population in order to impose its neo-colonialist domination. It was also during this period that the Washington-Pretoria strategic alliance implemented its plan to militarize Namibia for use in the global imperialist strategy.

118. Imperialism is still hanging on to Namibia, trying to perpetuate its occupation by using its own troops, its agents or mercenaries, despite the fierce resistance of the peoples of the region, which are waging an all-out struggle to abolish the selfish monopolistic interests and to regain their own fundamental national rights. In the imperialist strategy, Namibia is an ideal place to set up military bases and facilities in order to threaten the independence and sovereignty of countries throughout Africa.

119. Let us look closely at what the five Western countries have been doing since 1978 in putting forward one plan or solution after another. People of good will—however persevering or understanding they may be—cannot have any confidence at all in the effectiveness of those plans as a contribution to independence for Namibia. It is clear that those plans are only political manoeuvres designed to postpone decolonization in Namibia and prolong South Africa's illegal occupation of the country, so that it will have time to prepare the ground for a so-called internal settlement, which in essence means establishing a disguised colonial régime.

120. So it was no surprise in April 1981 to see the three Western countries that are permanent members of the Security Council veto a draft resolution of the Security Council on comprehensive mandatory sanctions against South Africa, under Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter.

121. Then, four months later, in August 1981, the United States representative in the Security Council once again used the veto to prevent the Council from shouldering its responsibilities, at a time when South Africa was launching a massive, insolent armed invasion of Angola, an independent and sovereign State Member of the United Nations.

122. In expressing the great outrage felt by the international community, the General Assembly, at its eighth emergency special session, unanimously adopted resolution ES-8/2, paragraph 10 of which states that the General Assembly "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)...". That resolution also reaffirms that "the United Nations plan for the independence of Namibia is the only basis for a peaceful settlement" and "demands the immediate commencement of the unconditional implementation" of that plan by South Africa "without any prevarication, qualification or modification and not later than December 1981".

123. My delegation feels that that was a very relevant and fully justified demand by the international community as a whole and that it also expressed the United Nations commitment to fulfil its responsibility with regard to the Namibian problem.

124. Today, South Africa, flouting international law and the resolutions of the Security Council and the General Assembly, continues to occupy illegally not only Namibian territory but also a part of southern Angola. According to information imparted to us by the Angolan Foreign Minister from this very rostrum [16th meeting, para. 200], during the first nine months of 1982 alone the South African army carried out 580 reconnaissance flights, 18 air bombardments and 96 landings of helicopter-borne forces in Angolan territory, resulting in 31 persons dead, 65 wounded and 38 missing on the Angolan side.

125. As for Mozambique, only a few weeks ago South Africa concentrated its armed forces in the Rosano García region, 120 kilometres from Maputo, the capital, seriously threatening the country's security and the security of neighbouring front-line countries. More recently, just four days ago, on the morning of 9 December, the South African Defence Force launched a raid against Maseru, the capital of Lesotho. That most cynical deed was carried out by means of military aircraft and helicopters and took the lives of 31 innocent people, including women and children.

126. Once again, our delegation strongly condemns those savage acts of aggression and warfare perpetrated by South Africa against Angola, Mozambique and Lesotho.

127. Nobody can deny the fact that the South African authorities dare to be as arrogant and aggressive as they are because they are assured of the special assistance and encouragement of the United States and its allies, who are now using every possible means to

protect South Africa and to shield it from any kind of sanctions by the United Nations, as well as to protect it from the wave of condemnation by almost all the States in the world.

128. As for assistance to South Africa on the political, military and financial levels, those forces are also doing their utmost to provide this. At the beginning of the present session of the General Assembly, the international community had occasion to express indignant condemnation of the IMF for granting a loan to South Africa of \$1.1 billion in special drawing rights, doubtless to help it continue its policy of repression and aggression against the people of Namibia and against other African countries in the region.

129. It is the policy of collusion between the imperialist, colonialist, racist and *apartheid* forces and the economic monopolies and military-industrial complexes that is hampering the Namibian people from exercising their right to self-determination and independence.

130. In order to offset the increasingly strong condemnation by world public opinion, which is calling upon them to implement the United Nations plan for the decolonization of Namibia immediately, the imperialist forces and the South African authorities have put forward the ridiculous pre-condition that the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola be linked with the ending of their colonialist policy in Namibia. In this connection, the Heads of State and Government of the front-line countries, meeting in Lusaka on 4 September 1982, condemned with outrage this attempt to link negotiations for the independence of Namibia with the withdrawal of Cuban forces from Angola, which, they stated, was contrary to the letter and the spirit of Security Council resolution 435 (1978) and constituted inadmissible interference in the internal affairs of Angola. The Heads of State and Government also rejected any attempt to hold the People's Republic of Angola responsible for delaying the rapid conclusion of the negotiations on the independence of Namibia.

131. The Vietnamese people paid dearly for their national liberation, and we warmly support the struggle of the Namibian people, which we consider to be our struggle also. In August 1981, a delegation of the United Nations Council for Namibia, which was visiting Viet Nam, was able to appreciate this profound solidarity of the Vietnamese people.

132. On 27 October of this year, during the Week of Solidarity with the People of Namibia and their Liberation Movement, SWAPO, organized by the General Assembly, our President, Pham Van Dong, Chairman of the Council of Ministers, in his message addressed to Mr. Lusaka, President of the United Nations Council for Namibia, stated:

"The people and Government of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam resolutely support the just struggle of the Namibian people in all its forms for their independence, freedom and fundamental national rights and are firmly convinced that the Namibian people, led by SWAPO, their sole legitimate representative, and with their tradition of unity and determination to fight on to final victory, strong in the powerful support of the international community, will finally gain their most noble goal,

namely, independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity for Namibia.”

133. Today, the General Assembly is once again faced with the serious situation in Namibia resulting from the obstinate occupation of Namibian territory by the authorities of Pretoria, with the support of the United States. Those authorities, through their inhuman policy of *apartheid* and colonial domination, are now trampling on all the fundamental national rights of the Namibian people and carrying out acts of war and aggression that threaten the independence of States in the region, thus creating a serious threat to peace, security and stability in southern Africa.

134. My delegation would like to propose that this session of the General Assembly take more effective measures designed to help the Security Council translate into reality comprehensive mandatory sanctions against South Africa, in accordance with Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter.

135. That would be the best possible proof of our active solidarity in supporting the cause of the national liberation of the Namibian people as we draw to the end of 1982, the year that was declared by the General Assembly as International Year of Mobilization for Sanctions against South Africa.

136. Whatever the manoeuvres of the Pretoria authorities and their allies across the Atlantic, there is for us not the shadow of a doubt that the heroic Namibian people, led by SWAPO, will have the last word.

137. Mr. CHADERTON MATOS (Venezuela) (*interpretation from Spanish*): On 29 September 1978,⁵ Venezuela, which was then a member of the Security Council, supported the adoption of resolution 435 (1978), by which the Council endorsed the United Nations plan for the independence of Namibia submitted by the five Western States, at that time all members of that important body. The adoption of the plan came about after long years of effort on the part of the United Nations to achieve the independence of Namibia and at a time of cautious optimism which allowed people to think that there was a change of attitude on the part of South Africa.

138. However, a few weeks after the adoption of that resolution, States Members of the Organization had their good faith once again shaken by the actions of South Africa when, in violation of United Nations decisions, it unilaterally held what were improperly termed “internal elections” in Namibia, at the same time that it was appearing to accept negotiations on elections for the independence of the Territory under the supervision and control of the United Nations. Such action dealt a severe blow to the Organization’s effectiveness and, of course, to its authority, since the important Security Council resolutions 385 (1976) and 435 (1978) were blatantly flouted.

139. Recently, when reference was made to a possible settlement of the problem created by South Africa and its obstinate illegal occupation of Namibia, the Secretary-General, in his report on the work of the Organization, said:

“In the case of Namibia we now see some signs of the possibility of a solution after many setbacks. Let us hope that this will prove a welcome exception to the general rule. But the lesson is clear—some-

thing must be done, and urgently, to strengthen our international institutions and to adopt new and imaginative approaches to the prevention and resolution of conflicts.” [A/37/1, p. 2.]

140. These hopes were once again dashed by South Africa’s persistence in using extraneous matters to divert attention from the central issue and to avoid implementing resolution 435 (1978), thus perpetuating its illegal presence in the Territory.

141. Today, when the item is again being considered by the General Assembly, there is a continuing question mark over the future of Namibia, and once again the States represented in this chamber must review their attitude in the light of the constant flouting of the international community by the racist Government of South Africa. The attitude we take will mean either that Namibia can exercise its legitimate right to self-determination without delay, or that we allow might and injustice to prevail and, in consequence, political repression, the plundering of the natural resources of Namibia and the inhuman exploitation of Namibian workers to continue. This second possibility, we must admit, can come about only if we become accomplices by omission, which we are sure will not happen. To put it another way, to ally oneself with colonialism is not the only way of being pro-colonialist; to do nothing against colonialism is another way of helping colonialism, and therefore of being a colonialist.

142. It is 16 years since the General Assembly placed the Territory of Namibia under the direct responsibility of the United Nations, and the Namibian people are still awaiting more resolute action by Member States which would enable them to exercise their right to self-determination and to attain genuine national independence. Venezuela shares with the Namibian people their aspirations for peace, freedom, social justice and sovereignty, in full measure, unreservedly, and without any provisos or conditions.

143. Venezuela joined the United Nations Council for Namibia in 1978 with the aim and purpose of working more actively for the Namibian people and contributing towards strengthening the Council in its powers as the sole legal Administering Authority for the Territory until it gained its independence. Venezuela’s decision, not taken lightly, to become a member of the Council is but one stage in its long and notable history as a country tenaciously opposed to colonialism, whose practices, supported by military and economic force, have been the cause of many conflicts which are still to be resolved.

144. Venezuelan action in the United Nations Council for Namibia is supplemented by a number of measures which my country puts into practice in fulfilment of the relevant United Nations resolutions and in application of principles which govern its own foreign policy, quite apart from whether or not there are United Nations resolutions on the subject. Among other things, Venezuela does not maintain any kind of relationship or exchanges with South Africa, of a political, diplomatic, trading, sporting, academic or military nature. In this regard, let us recall that Venezuela co-sponsored a draft resolution [A/37/L.28 and Add.1], adopted by the General Assembly at the 93rd meeting, on an oil embargo against South Africa as a further contribution to the sort of actions designed to consolidate the sanc-

tions decided upon by the Security Council and the General Assembly, as well as by the International Conference on Sanctions against South Africa, held in Paris in May 1981, whose decisions were endorsed by the General Assembly.

145. We are persuaded, however, that it will be more difficult to move towards a solution of the problem unless practical action is taken to implement effectively and completely the plan of the five Western countries for Namibia's independence, not only without further delay, but also without further retrogression. This plan is more than a plan; it is a commitment entered into by the five.

146. Venezuela considers that plan to be a serious-minded and valuable effort by the United Nations that deserves to be defended and applied without further delay, since it was the outcome of intensive talks and negotiations. The introduction of additional elements into the initial agreements does not contribute to the favourable development of the decolonization process in Namibia.

147. The prolongation of the present situation obviously would involve additional tension and bloodshed in southern Africa, with repercussions for peace and stability throughout the rest of the world. Let us therefore avoid committing the crime of such a senseless prolongation. Let us in the Assembly ratify our support of the people of Namibia and their legitimate representative, SWAPO, in their struggle for independence and against tyranny.

148. The recent armed aggression committed by the South African racists against the Kingdom of Lesotho is further proof of the kind of interlocutor with which we are dealing. We must not make it a present of extra time by accepting such absurd pretexts for delay as that which we have mentioned today.

149. In closing, we wish to address expressions of affection and gratitude to Mr. Paul Lusaka, President of the United Nations Council for Namibia, for the zeal and dedication he has shown in carrying out the task entrusted to him, in recognition of his competence and trustworthiness, by the General Assembly. His professional capacity and firmness, backed up by effective caution and broad political vision, make us proud that he represents the third world and give us hope that we shall really see an independent Namibia represented in this Assembly of sovereign States.

150. Ms. GRØNDAHL (Norway): Once again the General Assembly is discussing the question of Namibia. Once again the deliberations are taking place in a situation characterized by stalemate. The aspirations of the Namibian people to independence and self-determination are yet to be fulfilled.

151. Even though a final breakthrough has not been achieved, we should not forget that solutions were found last summer to a number of issues. The question of United Nations impartiality and matters relating to UNTAG, the peace-keeping force in Namibia, have been resolved. Substantial progress has also been achieved regarding the future electoral system for a constitutional assembly in Namibia. The apparent willingness to find mutually acceptable solutions to outstanding issues on the basis of Security Council resolution 435 (1978) left us with the impression that the independence of Namibia was finally to be realized.

However, we were wrong. As old obstacles were removed, new issues blocking the way to Namibian independence emerged. The Cuban military presence in Angola rapidly became the focal point of the discussions and brought the negotiating process to a halt.

152. The Norwegian Government has given its full support to the United Nations plan for Namibia, based on Security Council resolution 435 (1978). This plan provides the required framework for the achievement of the independence of Namibia. Although we recognize that other issues—such as the presence of Cuban troops in Angola—may give rise to questions of importance to the countries in the region of southern Africa, the Norwegian Government is of the opinion that such issues should not be allowed to obstruct the implementation of the plan already approved by the Security Council. However important such issues might be for South Africa, they remain questions unrelated to Namibia's independence. My Government, therefore, takes this opportunity to appeal to all the parties involved in the negotiations on the implementation of the United Nations plan for Namibia to see to it that the unanimous decision of the Security Council is implemented as soon as possible and on its own merits.

153. My delegation has noted the declaration made by the Government of Angola that the Cuban forces will be withdrawn as soon as the present threat to Angola ceases to exist because of South African withdrawal from Namibia. We welcome that statement. Norway holds the view that conflicts on the African continent should be solved by the African countries themselves, without foreign interference. The withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola would, in our opinion, be an important factor in enhancing the security of the region. It would also facilitate the process of consolidation after the wars of liberation in both Angola and Namibia.

154. The Norwegian Government sees no realistic alternative to continued negotiations for the attainment of Namibia's independence. We welcome all deliberations that can bring us closer to this goal, whether they take place through the Western contact group or directly between the parties concerned. If the idea of the parallel withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola and South African troops from Namibia, or expanded demilitarized zones—as originally proposed by the late President Neto—can point the way out of the current impasse, Norway for its part would welcome that.

155. The Norwegian Government believes that it is now more urgent than ever before to find a solution to the problem of Namibia. The situation in southern Africa is becoming increasingly dangerous. South Africa's attempts to destabilize the internal situation in many neighbouring countries have not diminished. The many attacks on Angola and the latest raid on Lesotho are grim examples of that policy. Those acts, whether they occur as regular armed attacks or in more subtle forms, are totally unacceptable. In the present circumstances, the bitterness and frustrations of the black peoples in the region can only increase and make peaceful solutions more difficult to attain, although they are more desperately needed.

156. The Norwegian Government has only limited possibilities of influencing the parties to the conflict.

We are, however, prepared to assist in a peaceful way in bringing about Namibian independence and promoting peace and progress in the tormented region of southern Africa. This commitment has taken the tangible form of extensive aid to and co-operation with several front-line States with a view to strengthening those nations and lessening their economic and technical dependence on South Africa. We have also recognized the tremendous need for humanitarian assistance to the many refugees in the region. The Norwegian Government is participating in a number of United Nations projects and conducting several bilateral programmes designed to meet the needs of these refugees. Our commitment to these activities will remain firm.

157. Mr. OGNIMBA (Congo) (*interpretation from French*): What strikes us—or should I say, what shocks us—first in the debate which the General Assembly once again this year is devoting to the question of Namibia is without a doubt the impression of powerlessness, the impression that the united efforts of the international community to enable the Namibian people to exercise its right to self-determination and independence seem once again doomed to failure because of the obstinate refusal of the racist South African Government, helped by certain Western Powers, to abide by the relevant decisions of the United Nations. Each of us here has indeed been struck by the very disturbing logic of the solidarity shown with the racist colonialist régime of Pretoria by certain permanent members of the Security Council which are prisoners of their economic commitments in South Africa, where those who believe in *apartheid* are using international trade in a most perfidious manner, so that it has degenerated in their hands into an instrument of blackmail—blackmail in the form of the so-called communist threat, blackmail in the form of the Christian values in the name of which millions of Africans have been crushed, despised and deprived of their most fundamental rights, and blackmail by challenging the ideals underlying the United Nations Charter. But all those subterfuges no longer mislead international public opinion; it has been enlightened by the unending web of crimes committed by the oppressive machinery of the Pretoria soldiery, which is sowing terror in Namibia and in neighbouring African States, trying in vain to check the course of history.

158. Sixteen years have passed since the United Nations adopted the historic decision that ended South Africa's mandate over Namibia, the Territory which Pretoria was trying to integrate as quickly as possible as a fifth *de facto* province of the Republic of South Africa. The collapse of the Salazar dictatorship and the crumbling of Portuguese colonialism in Africa, which enabled the heroic peoples of Angola, Mozambique, Guinea-Bissau, Cape Verde, and Sao Tome and Principe to succeed in their struggles for national liberation and independence, won at the cost of the sacrifice of thousands of African women, children and men, led the Government of Pretoria to reconsider its strategy in Namibia. Its main goal remains the same as in the past, namely, to thwart all efforts by the Security Council and the General Assembly, using all possible subterfuges, to prevent the Namibian people from moving towards real independence, and to grant a form of administrative autonomy as rudimentary as it is

ridiculous to this colonial Territory so as to placate the NATO partners and at the same time mislead international public opinion, which in the West was carefully prepared by considerable arrangements in favour of the South African authorities, whose bad faith was illustrated irrefutably in their intensified efforts to prevent the United Nations Council for Namibia from properly carrying out its mandate. My delegation must here pay tribute to the lucid and courageous work done by the Council and its President, Mr. Lusaka, of Zambia, whose competence and devotion are admired by all delegations present.

159. In this very Hall, we have often been reproached, by those who now want to maintain the *status quo ante* in the colonial territories, for being unrealistic. But we reject a blinkered and arid realism which can only lead to a serious compromise on the fate of colonial peoples. In the case of Namibia, however, although we are firmly convinced of the incoherence and constantly repeated contradictions of Pretoria, we have left the field free to the five Western Powers so that they might carry out negotiations on a constitutional settlement of the problem of Namibia without hindrance. The long and inextricable negotiations, constantly subjected to unexpected about-turns by the South African racists, often dismayed even their closest allies and, in any case, shattered the face of respectability that the Botha Government wanted to present. And yet, one may recall that it was South Africa that, on 2 May 1978,⁶ appealed to the United Nations to assure the peaceful accession to independence of Namibia, in accordance with the conditions of the settlement plan of the five Western Powers. That plan, which the former Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, submitted to the United Nations on 29 August 1978, set forth the stages of a process that was to lead to the independence of Namibia.

160. Four years later, we are still following the meanderings and Machiavellian whims of those who believe in *apartheid*, who are presenting obstacle after obstacle and who are creating delaying tactics in order to strip Namibia of its important natural resources. Our delegation has constantly condemned the collusion between South Africa and the transnational corporations that savagely plunder Namibia's wealth and that increase the number of barriers to the exercise by the Namibian people of their inalienable right to self-determination and to independence, giving comfort to the South African administration and army in their illegal occupation of that colonial territory.

161. For some time now, it has been fashionable in certain Western capitals to link the settlement of the Namibian question with the departure of Cuban troops from Angola. The head of the Congolese delegation and Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr. Pierre Nze, from this very rostrum [*31st meeting*], said that our country considers this legal quibbling to be absolutely unfounded. Called upon within the context of proletarian internationalism to support the young People's Republic of Angola in its sacred task of assuring the security of the Angolan people and defending the gains of the revolution against the vicious aggression of South Africa, those troops will leave Angolan territory when the sovereign Angolan Government decides they should leave—freely and not under the dictates of third countries that have nothing to do with the agreement

between those two friendly States. To continue to insist on this completely illegal step is an unacceptable act of interference in the internal affairs of an independent State Member of the United Nations and is in violation of the relevant provisions of the Charter.

162. The paranoid convulsions that have engulfed South Africa lead that country, with unequaled insolence, to carry out acts of aggression against independent front-line African States. None of them is safe from that blind violence that the South African soldiery commits in southern Africa. Defying international opinion, assured of the unconditional support of its Western allies, which seem thus to encourage its criminal acts, the Government of Pretoria constantly violates the national sovereignty of Angola, Mozambique, Botswana, Zambia and Lesotho, kills and destroys everything in its path and occupies with impunity part of the territory of those independent States, leaving the United Nations no choice but shamefully to admit its impotence and the people of Namibia no choice other than to struggle for national liberation under the leadership of SWAPO, its sole and only legitimate representative.

163. SWAPO has been able to channel the aspirations of the Namibian people for freedom and independence; their struggle for independence in unity and national integrity against an enemy that is among the most cruel anywhere deserves our full support and assistance. The crude attempts by South Africa to create pseudo-nationalist parties, which are in fact nothing but puppets worked by Pretoria, and its designs on Walvis Bay will never succeed in catching us unawares. For our part, we condemn all those manoeuvres, which are part of the classic strategy of the former and new colonialists. For the People's Republic of the Congo, there is no doubt that under the leadership of SWAPO, with the support of those nations that love peace and respect the ideals of the United Nations, the Namibian people will be able to gain respect and admiration. The day is not far off when that African people will in turn swell the ranks of the OAU, which the forces of evil are trying to divide. To those friends of Pretoria who are tempted to introduce into the settlement of the Namibian question the dusty arsenal of the East-West cold war, we would say that nothing is less true than to see in the legitimate struggle of the people of Namibia the influence of a foreign Power.

164. The great tempest that enabled many African countries to free themselves from the humiliating chains of colonial enslavement will without the shadow of a doubt sweep away the last bastions of colonialism and racism in Africa. In today's world of rapid change, it is time that South Africa, if it wishes to have a say in the future, view the present with lucidity and avoid adding its hallucinations to the distress that grips the world today.

165. Mr. SLIM (Tunisia) (*interpretation from French*): As we begin our consideration of the question of Namibia, I should like first of all, on behalf of my delegation, to express our gratitude to the President and the members of the United Nations Council for Namibia for the report which they have presented to the Assembly [A/37/24] and to express our appreciation for their sustained efforts to mobilize the international community in favour of the cause of Na-

mibia and to prepare the Namibian people to take charge of their own destiny.

166. The Tunisian delegation fully supports the recommendations and conclusions in the report and considers that in their realism they constitute an objective basis and a balanced plan for leading Namibia to independence.

167. I am also pleased at this time to pay tribute to the Secretary-General and to the United Nations Commissioner for Namibia for the tireless efforts that both are making to ensure the speedy accession of Namibia to national sovereignty.

168. Several years have gone by since the United Nations declared that the occupation of Namibia by the Republic of South Africa was illegal. Four years have gone by since the Security Council adopted resolution 435 (1978), which endorsed a plan for the settlement by peaceful means of the question of the independence of Namibia.

169. Today, the entire problem remains. No substantial progress has been made towards guaranteeing the people of Namibia the exercise of their right to self-determination and independence. The path to liberation remains beset with obstacles, and the situation in the region continues to deteriorate.

170. The Pretoria régime obstinately maintains its domination over Namibia and continues its policy of intimidation of and aggression against independent neighbouring countries. Day by day, it tightens its grip on Namibia and strengthens its policy of occupation and domination. It increasingly opens up the Territory to exploitation and plunder by transnational corporations, speeds up the recruitment of mercenaries and the training of tribal armed forces and extends the system of bantustanization and the creation of puppet parties and administrations. At the same time, it intensifies its repression of the people and its attacks on militants and combatants of SWAPO, thus showing its determination to liquidate the sole authentic representative of the Namibian people. It also pursues a systematic policy of armed aggression against neighbouring independent, sovereign States.

171. Just as the Assembly was about to begin its debate on the question of Namibia, South Africa again unleashed its savage hordes against the Kingdom of Lesotho, killing innocent men, women and children and committing deliberate aggression against a small, peaceful country whose only fault was to have offered its hospitality to refugees fleeing the inhuman practices of Pretoria. At the same time, Mozambique, another independent country and a State Member of the United Nations, was the victim of similar punitive expeditions and once again was the subject of premeditated armed aggression.

172. What, then, are the objectives which the Pretoria authorities are pursuing, at a time when a press campaign has been started to make us believe in a pseudo-alteration in the attitude of South Africa?

173. That régime, which has systematized racism and made a State policy of terrorism and which has so accustomed us to crude manoeuvres, can be accorded no credibility, far less any trust.

174. Nevertheless, that régime still finds favour with some. It still finds for its policy, if not avowed accom-

plices, at least firm protectors, as well as active defenders, as we have just seen in the IMF, which has been unhesitatingly used as a means of financing and strengthening *apartheid* and colonialism.

175. It is true that South Africa sets itself up in the region as the defender of the achievements of the free world and of the values of Western society. But that such a mission should have been entrusted to such a régime could be ascribed to ignorance or even to tragic error, primarily for those very values of Western society. For, if there is a battle for the defence of the ideals of liberty and justice, the right to dignity and independence, then it is the South African and the Namibian peoples that are waging it, with all the faith and determination which we know they have.

176. The General Assembly has frequently denounced and condemned the continued occupation of Namibia. It has frequently demanded the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of the South African armed forces and administration; and it has demanded the exercise without delay by the Namibian people of their right to self-determination and independence.

177. The will of Member States to seek a political settlement to the question of Namibia found its unanimous expression in the full support given to Security Council resolution 435 (1978), which, while approving the plan for the independence of Namibia, recommended the organization of free and democratic elections under United Nations supervision and control.

178. Those efforts have been and continue to be defied by the Republic of South Africa. Throughout the four years of negotiations on the implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978), South Africa has not ceased to place obstacles in the way of Namibia's accession to independence and the faithful application of the provisions of the resolution. It seeks to introduce new conditions at every stage of the negotiations.

179. The conclusion of those negotiations had, however, been promised us for the end of this year or the beginning of 1983. The members of the contact group committed themselves to this when they asked Africa and the international community to give them more time and to have greater patience.

180. We have pointed out to the members of the contact group, who maintain, it is true, difficult contacts and for whom we have never spared encouragement, that negotiations with the South African authorities cannot be prolonged indefinitely and that recourse to other methods marked by greater firmness and real pressures will no doubt prove necessary.

181. It is clear today that these negotiations are only one more way for South Africa to gain time, strengthen its domination over Namibia and wear down the resistance of the international community, so that it may impose on Namibia the solution of its choice. It is up to the contact group to draw the obvious conclusions and to provide itself with means of keeping its promises.

182. My delegation believes that the United Nations plan as it stands still constitutes a basis for the comprehensive settlement of the question of Namibia and that the responsibility for the Territory of Namibia until its accession to independence and sovereignty rests

exclusively with the United Nations. Any attempt to settle the problem outside the framework of the United Nations is contrary to the interests of the Namibian people and its right to self-determination and independence.

183. My delegation reaffirms that it is in favour of the immediate ending of the illegal occupation, the withdrawal of the South African administration from Namibia, including Walvis Bay and the offshore islands, and the transfer of power to the sole authentic representative of the Namibian people, SWAPO.

184. South Africa's repeated attempts to block the efforts of the United Nations to bring about the independence of Namibia not only prove the bad faith of the South African régime but also reveal Pretoria's true intentions in southern Africa and the effective role which its partners and allies have assigned to it.

185. Today we must accept as proven that mere condemnation of South Africa and mere expressions of support for the legitimate struggle of the Namibian people, under the leadership of SWAPO, have not brought about the desired change. The promises of the contact group, which have still not been fulfilled, and the new demands which have been made—which have no direct link with the situation of the Namibian people, who are still under the yoke of colonialism—produce in us the greatest scepticism.

186. The only alternative, given the uncertainties about a political solution, is the intensification of the struggle at every level, including the armed struggle. No one can reproach the SWAPO patriots and fighters for this, and the community of nations can only give them sympathy and support.

187. South Africa cannot for ever impose its domination on a people determined to recover its freedom and dignity. South Africa's policy of repression and exploitation certainly might delay the accession to independence of the Namibian people, but the struggle of that people for its liberation will finally end foreign domination and restore to Namibia its inalienable rights. The cost will be high, but it will be even higher for South Africa and for the interests which it claims to defend.

188. The situation in southern Africa is a source of concern and disquiet for the United Nations, since it contains the seeds of an explosive conflict and of a general confrontation. It is the duty and the responsibility of the international community to act resolutely to defuse the situation and to put suitable pressure on South Africa.

189. The conduct of the Pretoria authorities clearly justifies the renewed calls for effective measures and specific action against the Republic of South Africa. The time has certainly come to have recourse to enforcement measures and to apply comprehensive mandatory sanctions against the racist Pretoria régime.

190. Only through the effective application of the broadest sanctions will the international community succeed in isolating South Africa and compelling it to implement the United Nations plan for the independence of Namibia on a democratic basis.

191. Mr. IBRAHIM (Ethiopia): For over three decades, the United Nations has been seized of the question of Namibia. In the process, much has been

said in support of early independence for the Namibian people and, indeed, much has also been done to accelerate the process of decolonization. Therefore, not much remains to be done, but it is critical and perhaps decisive.

192. Here I am referring particularly to enforcement measures by the Security Council under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations. Time and again, the international community has called for the imposition of mandatory sanctions against South Africa. So far, that call has gone unheeded, and the prospects for the future do not look bright. So long as the Western members of the Security Council feel that their economic and military interests are better served by the perpetuation of racism and colonialism in southern Africa, and so long as they feel threatened by the political and social emancipation of the oppressed masses of the region, so long will it be futile to expect any meaningful contribution by the Security Council to ensuring the independence of Namibia.

193. And so long as the Security Council is prevented from exercising the full range of its functions and powers, so long will the option of a peaceful and negotiated settlement of the problem, in accordance with the United Nations plan endorsed by Security Council resolution 435 (1978), definitely be closed. I say this because we in Ethiopia find it impossible to believe that the South African régime either has the good will or feels the need for the speedy implementation of the United Nations plan, particularly now that a lack of political will on the part of the original authors of the plan to exert the much-promised pressure on Pretoria is clearly evident. Indeed, if any need is felt by Pretoria, it is the need for the continued occupation of Namibia, without which it would be deprived of the economic and military advantages that it now has in consolidating *apartheid* and destabilizing the front-line States.

194. Far from being penalized for its prevarications and intransigence, racist Pretoria has in fact recently been awarded the privilege of "constructive engagement", whereby some Western States—more specifically the United States—not only continue to strengthen existing ties but also explore new areas of co-operation.

195. Moreover, through the introduction of extraneous issues into the process of implementing the United Nations plan, attempts are also being made further to delay the inevitable independence of Namibia and to clear the racist régime in Pretoria of responsibility for the imminent collapse of the entire negotiating process.

196. In this regard, I should like to state the position of the Ethiopian delegation. First of all, we view the linkage of the termination of the illegal presence of racist South African troops in Namibia with the withdrawal of the legitimate and lawful presence of Cuban internationalist forces in Angola as a clear stratagem to paralyse the process of implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978). Furthermore, we also view this linkage as arrogant interference in the internal affairs of Angola and a challenge to Africa. Ethiopia not only rejects this vicious ploy but also condemns its well-known proponents. We are convinced that Pretoria and a number of countries members of the Western contact group are keen not so much on the imple-

mentation of resolution 435 (1978) as, it appears, on the destabilization of the Government of the People's Republic of Angola.

197. More than five years have elapsed since the five Western States embarked on a diplomatic initiative ostensibly to find a negotiated settlement of the question of Namibia. During those years, Africa and SWAPO have shown an incredible spirit of accommodation and statesmanship. They have accommodated all the concerns that Pretoria and the Western contact group have expressed, without, of course, compromising the principle of genuine independence for Namibia. In short, they have done all they could possibly do. What Africa is being asked to do today, unfortunately, is to infringe upon the sovereign right of a sister African State in clear contravention of the principles and purposes of the United Nations Charter. That Africa cannot oblige Pretoria and the United States in this has been stated unequivocally by African States, both individually and collectively. Hence, as far as Africa is concerned, responsibility for the imminent collapse of the process of implementation of the United Nations plan rests fully and squarely with the racist régime of Pretoria and the Western contact group.

198. After more than five years of diplomatic struggle, the people of Namibia and their sole and authentic representative, SWAPO, are left with no viable alternative but to wage with increased vigour and determination their legitimate armed struggle to regain their freedom and independence in a united Namibia. To this worthy goal my country, Ethiopia, is fully committed. We have no doubt that this commitment is shared by all peace- and freedom-loving peoples the world over.

199. Mr. LOBO (Mozambique): The question of Namibia is once again being considered by the General Assembly. This question continues to be the burning issue in the situation prevailing in southern Africa. The racist régime of South Africa continues, with impunity, its barbarous and hideous acts of aggression against countries and peoples peacefully seeking a solution to the Namibian problem.

200. Our countries are still in a state of permanent confrontation with the *apartheid* régime, which obstinately refuses to accept the principle that all peoples have the right freely to choose their own destiny.

201. While South Africa intensifies its attacks and continues its occupation of part of the territory of the People's Republic of Angola, it is at the same time supporting and promoting puppet groups such as the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola [UNITA].

202. South Africa systematically commits acts of armed aggression against Botswana, Lesotho, Mozambique, Zambia and Zimbabwe. It violates the territorial integrity of those sovereign countries, showing no respect whatsoever for the principles contained in the Charter of the United Nations.

203. On 9 December, a heavily armed force of South African commandos attacked Maseru, the capital of Lesotho, murdering at least 37 defenceless refugees. We have learned that the South African commando forces attacked 12 separate sites around the capital of Lesotho with bazookas, machine-guns, grenades and incendiary devices to blow up houses, vandalize

residences and massacre people, and it levelled some buildings completely.

204. It is clear that these latest South African attacks on the capital of Lesotho are part of an overall effort to undermine economic development and what has already been accomplished in the context of regional co-operation. In attacking the economic objectives of the Southern Africa Development Co-ordination Conference [SADCC], the South African régime is attacking the independence of the countries of the region.

205. Last week, the People's Republic of Mozambique was a victim of two armed aggressions carried out by South African troops. On 6 December, a South African force invaded our territory in the region of Mapulanguene, in the province of Maputo. The invading force violated our territorial integrity by entering 9 kilometres inside Mozambique and wounding 16 persons, among them women and children, before destroying a lot of agricultural equipment. On the very day of the racist aggression in Lesotho, a special South African commando group launched another attack against those Mozambican infrastructures of vital importance to some of the SADCC countries, setting fire to storage tanks feeding the pipelines to the neighbouring States.

206. South Africa, the main bastion of backward ideas for the maintenance of the *status quo* in southern Africa, invaded Angola with the precise aim of preventing that country from expressing its solidarity with the people of Namibia in their struggle for self-determination and independence.

207. In invading Angola, South Africa was aiming at preventing that sister country from complying with the pertinent resolutions of the OAU, the United Nations and the non-aligned countries which reaffirm the justice of the Namibian people's armed struggle for national liberation, freedom and human dignity.

208. This hideous act of the Pretoria régime is part of the global imperialist strategy to destabilize the countries of southern Africa that seek independent development for the region. The South African invasion is designed to create in southern Angola a buffer zone which will prevent progress and development of the activities of SWAPO's fighters.

209. On the other hand, it should be borne in mind that the present situation could make way for the secession of the southern part of Angolan territory from the rest of the country, which would then be handed over to so-called UNITA, a puppet movement created by Portuguese colonial fascism that continues to be maintained and encouraged by South Africa.

210. We should be alert to this possibility and spare no effort to prevent the partition of Angola by the enemies of Africa. We cannot allow part of the territory of a State Member of the United Nations to be handed over to bands of murderers.

211. By aggression and by promoting puppet groupings for the destabilization of neighbouring countries, South Africa seeks to transfer the contradictions of the *apartheid* régime beyond its borders. It seeks to export its internal conflict and contradictions across the borders to our own countries.

212. To our amazement, these aggressions against sovereign southern African countries take place at the same time as negotiations aimed at bringing about a lasting peace and a solution to the Namibian problem are being carried out.

213. Arrogant and irresponsible, South Africa continues to use dilator manoeuvres to delay self-determination and independence for the people of Namibia. The people of Namibia, like every other people, has a right to its own freedom and independence.

214. In Namibia, it is the people who are fighting for independence. This is the reality that is being obliterated. This is the reality that is being conspired against. This is why Africa has repeatedly said that any attempt at linking, either directly or indirectly, the independence of Namibia with the withdrawal of internationalist Cuban forces from Angola is not only intolerable interference in the internal affairs of the People's Republic of Angola but a crime against the people of Namibia, because with this subterfuge an effort is being made to prolong the war and the massacres.

215. Before anything else is contemplated, we must demand the unconditional withdrawal of the invading South African troops from Angolan territory and an absolute guarantee that such aggression will not be repeated.

216. The only foreign forces that frequently invade and occupy the territories of independent States in our zone are the forces of South Africa. We consider it an absurdity to set the security of South Africa as a precondition of the independence of Namibia. We have said on many occasions that the forces that will overthrow the *apartheid* régime will not come from outside South Africa. It is the sons of South Africa that will overthrow the racist régime of *apartheid*.

217. The People's Republic of Mozambique reaffirms once again its unconditional support for the struggle of the people of Namibia, under the leadership of SWAPO, their only legitimate representative.

218. As far as we are concerned, Security Council resolution 435 (1978) remains the political and juridical basis for the fair solution of this problem.

219. Last summer, the front-line States, together with Nigeria and SWAPO, in their effort to tackle the question of a solution of the pending problems concerning the implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978), agreed to hold informal consultations with the five Western countries of the contact group; the result has been an endless wait for an answer from South Africa which has never come. We deplore the South African manoeuvres, which continue to delay the implementation of that resolution.

220. We reaffirm our position that the method of the electoral system should be known before the adoption of the enabling resolution by the Security Council. We believe that, with the necessary political will of the international community, it will be possible to solve all the remaining problems concerning the early accession to independence of Namibia, provided that the right kind of pressure is applied to South Africa. The struggle continues.

221. Mr. SHELDON (Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic) (*interpretation from Russian*): The ques-

tion of the exercise of the inalienable right of the Namibian people to self-determination and independence is at present the fundamental decolonization issue in southern Africa.

222. Notwithstanding the numerous United Nations decisions and the demands of the international community, the Pretoria régime continues its unlawful occupation of Namibia, conducting a campaign of brutal terror and oppression against the Namibians, in particular the members of SWAPO, continuing its militarization of the Territory and working hard to turn it into a beach-head for aggression against neighbouring sovereign States.

223. Recently, the world has seen how the South African racists, continuing their aggressive policy, invaded Lesotho and Mozambique, as a result of which many innocent lives were lost.

224. With the support of the Western Powers, the Pretoria régime continues to build up its military potential and consolidate its occupation of Namibia. In a working paper 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,⁷ we learn that the South African military budget has increased sixfold in the past decade. Last year, nearly 3 billion rand of the South African State defence allocation were devoted to those purposes. Notwithstanding the embargo on arms deliveries to South Africa established by Security Council resolution 418 (1977), United Nations documents reveal that the co-operation of the leading Western Powers with South Africa in the military sphere is still going on.

225. More than 110,000 members of the South African occupation forces and their puppets in Namibia continue to suppress the aspirations and desires of the Namibian people for freedom and independence. In addition to their war machine, the Pretoria racists are forcing young Namibians into the so-called territorial forces and cynically using them in the struggle against the African people of that country.

226. The racist South African régime continues to use the Territory of Namibia for systematic acts of aggression against neighbouring sovereign States, particularly Angola. South African aggressors armed to the teeth, including a considerable number of mercenaries from several Western countries, have invaded the border territory of Angola to a considerable depth, in order to destabilize the political situation of that sovereign African country and to try to intimidate the Angolan people and compel them to renounce support for and assistance to SWAPO. In fact, the Pretoria régime is waging a permanent undeclared war against the people of Namibia and the neighbouring sovereign States, employing methods and devices that are extensively used by its fellow international brigand, that is, Israel, in its action against the Palestinian people and the neighbouring Arab States. This is no random analogy. Aggressiveness and expansionism on a racial basis are inherent in both those countries and in both cases their protector is the same, American imperialism.

227. The imperialists are openly using the South African régime in order to carry out, through that régime, armed action and subversive activities against

the sovereign States of southern Africa. They are flouting the United Nations decisions on the granting of independence to Namibia and doing all they can to keep that country for many years to come as a sanctuary for racism and oppression, ringed by barbed wire.

228. In their criminal acts against the Namibian people and the neighbouring African States, the South African racists are relying on comprehensive economic and financial support such as that represented recently by the loan of more than \$1 billion granted to South Africa, and on the military, political and diplomatic support of the United States and other leading Western Powers, members of NATO. The basis of the alliance of the racists with the imperialist Western circles and their monopolies is well known. It consists in the dovetailing and interlocking of their international, political and strategic interests in South Africa and the desire to continue the cruel exploitation of the Africans and the natural wealth of the area, particularly in Namibia.

229. There is no need to go into detail again about the acts of plunder by the Western economic and other circles in Namibia and the disastrous consequences for Namibians and the future of that country; this is common knowledge. The Tsumeb Corporation, Consolidated Diamond Mines of South West Africa, Ltd., Rössing Uranium, Ltd.—those and other Western and South African monopolistic octopuses have long become the embodiment of imperialist plunder and merciless exploitation of the indigenous population. Diamonds, gold, polymetals and, particularly, Namibian uranium, together with cheap labour provided by the indigenous Africans, are what fan the frantic desires of the imperialist monopolies.

230. It is precisely the thoroughly selfish greed and the military, strategic and political interests of the monopolist circles of the West that account for the greatly intensified activities of the leading Western Power and other NATO countries in Namibia and their position concerning a settlement of the Namibian question.

231. The actions of the NATO countries, particularly the United States, clearly show that what concerns them is not the question of the granting of independence to Namibia but quite the opposite, that is, how to continue the present defective colonial situation in the country and how to impose on it a neo-colonialist future. And they show that their interests coincide entirely with those of racist South Africa, which illegally occupies Namibia.

232. It is several years since the Security Council adopted resolution 435 (1978), which was an internationally recognized consensus on the question of a political settlement in Namibia. Yet what has happened in the meantime? We have seen how the Pretoria régime, with the connivance and support of that self-same group of five, has each time engaged in every conceivable political machination and manoeuvre, and, indeed, outright blackmail, in order to impose on SWAPO its own terms for a settlement in Namibia. And what was the so-called contact group doing all this time? With a persistence which deserved to be put to better use, it was putting constant pressure not on the colonialist and racist régime of Pretoria to compel it to carry out the United Nations decisions but rather on SWAPO, in an attempt to secure further concessions for South Africa. Attempts were made to limit the role

of SWAPO in the Namibian settlement and to have the question settled entirely outside the United Nations.

233. At this time, we are witnesses to the most flagrant, overt and massive pressure being exerted on SWAPO and the front-line States by the United States and other Western Powers for the very same purpose, that of preserving the racist and imperialist rule in Namibia. Use is being made of the well-known tactic of arm-twisting, in combination with proposals for the most absurd conditions. Now, the proponents of all sorts of linkages are trying artificially to link the question of a settlement in Namibia with the presence of Cuban internationalist contingents in the People's Republic of Angola, contingents which are there at the request of the Government of that country and fully in compliance with the United Nations Charter. Acting, as it were, in tandem, the United States and racist South Africa are cynically insisting on such a linkage; otherwise they threaten yet again to disrupt a Namibian settlement.

234. There is no need to demonstrate the incompatibility of two substantially different matters—the decolonization of Namibia and the sovereign right of Angola to provide for its security against unceasing acts of aggression by the South African racists.

235. The United Nations cannot and must not passively view the constant manoeuvres by South Africa and its Western protectors on this question of a Namibian settlement. Its role is to rebuff most decisively the neo-colonialists and racists, to unmask them and foil their scheming; it must press for the implementation of the decisions it has adopted on this question. The United Nations has borne and must continue to bear responsibility for the fate of the Namibians and the attainment of their independence. It is precisely United Nations decisions which determine the ways and means for moving Namibia on to independence and endorse the role of SWAPO as the sole legitimate representative of the Namibian people.

236. It is obvious that the manoeuvres of the United States and the other Western Powers in regard to a Namibian settlement have the purpose of delaying, under various pretexts, the solution of this question in order to undermine the basis of the political settlement inherent in United Nations decisions, particularly those of the Security Council, to legalize the puppet groupings in Namibia, to impede the participation of SWAPO in the determination of the future of the country and to resolve the Namibian problem on a neo-colonialist basis, outside the United Nations altogether.

237. In the light of events in connection with the settlement in Namibia, it is particularly clear that there is an urgent need to adopt comprehensive mandatory sanctions against South Africa, under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations. There must be no delay in this matter. The racist régime in Pretoria is not just the basis for colonialism in southern Africa; it is also the source of mounting danger for the cause of peace on the African continent.

238. In conclusion, the delegation of the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic again strongly advocates the prompt exercise by the Namibian people of their inalienable right to self-determination and independence, on the basis of the preservation of the unity and

territorial integrity of Namibia, including Walvis Bay and the offshore islands; the prompt and complete withdrawal from Namibia of all South African troops and the South African administration; and the transfer of full authority to the people of Namibia in the person of SWAPO, which is recognized by the United Nations and the OAU as the sole legitimate representative of the Namibian people.

239. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Arabic*): The last speaker this evening is the observer of the League of Arab States and I now call upon him, in accordance with General Assembly resolution 477 (V) of 1 November 1950.

240. Mr. MAKSOUD (League of Arab States): As we follow the evolution of the situation in Namibia, we discern a strategy of delay and procrastination adopted by South Africa while at the same time it is paying lip service to a vague commitment that Pretoria will accept the United Nations plan for the independence of Namibia. The strategy has become well known. It entices the parties concerned into a framework of negotiations and then it conjures up excuses whereby it pre-empts the outcome and sabotages the process itself—witness what took place in Geneva in January 1981, when South Africa sought to proliferate the "parties" who claimed, but did not actually have, representative capacity. The purpose of the attempt was clear: to deny SWAPO its recognized right to represent the Namibian people's rights and be their sole legitimate representative.

241. Furthermore, South Africa rejected the well-established democratic method of free elections, in which each individual has one vote, and instead sought to establish the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance in order to institutionalize the system of *apartheid*, linked with quislings whom the racist régime would seek to promote.

242. What does this remind us of? What immediately comes to mind is the similar process which Israel introduced in the occupied Palestinian and Arab territories, where the occupation authorities seek to provide the illegal settlements with the status to which Israeli jurisdiction applies, thus introducing a system of *apartheid* in the West Bank and Gaza, while simultaneously trying to promote the so-called village leagues—all in a deliberate, reckless and racist attempt to pre-empt the outcome of self-determination for the Palestinian people and to divert the Palestinian people's focus and commitment to the PLO as their sole legitimate representative.

243. South Africa's strategy is clear in its attempt to maintain illegal control over the natural resources and wealth of a trust territory, namely, Namibia, by attempting to introduce phantom political parties and institutional and legalistic trickery in the hope of sapping the credibility and representativeness of SWAPO, on the pretext that independence through SWAPO would lead to the emergence of a so-called Soviet client State.

244. Once again, what does this remind us of? Of course, it brings back vividly to our memories the excuse, the pretext, the pretence that Israel uses in its deliberate plan of controlling the land, the resources, the wealth of the occupied territories and manipulating the economic system, as we mentioned during the

debate on the question of Palestine, by all sorts of legal trickery and "military orders" whose frequency and multiplicity is intended to confuse, distract and disable the people of Palestine in determining their rights and their security. Once again, all this is done on the pretext and with the excuse that if the Palestinian people exercise their right of self-determination they will undoubtedly have a PLO-oriented independent State, which, of course, will be a "Soviet client State".

245. South Africa's strategy at this time links the withdrawal of its illegal occupation of Namibia with the withdrawal of the Cuban troops from Angola. Notwithstanding the fact that the administration of Namibia by South Africa was terminated by the United Nations and that the United Nations Council for Namibia was entrusted with the task of administering the country, South Africa continues its occupation, in defiance and contempt of United Nations resolutions calling for its withdrawal and the realization of the independence of Namibia. This clearly shows that South Africa wanted any excuse to perpetuate its illegal occupation and is now using, as the latest pretext, the presence of Cuban troops which are there at the request of the Angolan Government and whose departure depends on the exercise of the sovereign right of Angola to keep them or ask them to leave.

246. Besides, the fact is that there is absolutely no evidence of Cuba wanting to stay in Angola beyond the period agreed for the presence of its troops by the Angolan Government. Hence, that linkage is a deliberate South African delaying tactic in the process of the achievement of Namibian independence in accordance with Security Council resolution 435 (1978), which was unanimously adopted.

247. What does this remind us of? It reminds us of what Israel is at this moment trying to do, namely, to link its withdrawal—which has been determined and dictated by the unanimously adopted Security Council resolutions 508 (1982) and 509 (1982)—with the withdrawal from Lebanon of the Arab deterrent forces, which came to Lebanon at the request of the legitimate Government of Lebanon and the decision of the League of Arab States and would leave at the request of the Lebanese Government.

248. Thus, Israel's linking of its illegal presence in Lebanon with the condition of withdrawal of the Arab deterrent forces is evidence of the same stonewalling tactic which South Africa exercises in Namibia. It is also a clear example of the built-in contempt for unanimously adopted Security Council resolutions by the two remaining racist and colonial entities in the world. It also signals that both South Africa and Israel are intent on demolishing the credibility and effectiveness of United Nations machinery in order to perpetuate their obvious racist, Fascist and colonial settler policies.

249. South Africa's strategy is to keep the Western countries guessing about its intentions. It involves South Africa in duplicity, seeking to placate the Western world by making rhetorical and cosmetic changes in the *apartheid* system in order to divert the conscience of the Western world from pursuing the questioning of, and opposition to, South Africa's *apartheid* policies and colonial behaviour. Furthermore, South Africa seeks to buy time in order to consolidate its

devastating military ability, both nuclear and conventional, in a bid to frustrate the African front-line States from acting as leverage and sustenance for the Namibian people's struggle to achieve their internationally recognized rights to independence and freedom. By so doing, Pretoria is holding the whole continent of Africa hostage to its potential military striking power, which it exercises intermittently—at times in Mozambique, at times in Angola and, most recently, in Lesotho.

250. What does this remind us of? I suppose that it is very easy to find more than similarity with Israel's posture, ideology and behavioural pattern. One can speak of something much more precise than mere similarity, for there exists an identicalness. How else can we explain Israel's stonewalling strategy of keeping the Western world, especially the United States, guessing at its attempts to buy time in order to consolidate its occupation and pursue its annexationist policies and then signalling to the Western world, and particularly the United States, that, if a negotiating process is undertaken, it might—I repeat, might—undertake what it calls "concessions", as if compliance with United Nations resolutions, international law and the will of mankind was an act of concession rather than a duty. It is to be expected that Israel should seek to buy time in order to maintain and reinforce its striking power for the purpose of keeping the whole region hostage to its military prowess, as it has done repeatedly, for example, in its strike against the nuclear facility in Baghdad, in using its military occupation to annex both Jerusalem and the Golan Heights, in its brutal invasion of Lebanon, in its reckless bombing and destruction of Lebanese cities and its inhumane siege of Beirut—all testifying to the fact that Israel seeks to create a military advantage, both conventional and nuclear, in order to frustrate the Arab and overall international commitment to the rights of the Palestinian people to independence, freedom and statehood.

251. South Africa's strategy seeks, through deliberate ambiguity, to thwart any serious attempt to restrain it in the pursuit of its objectives. It is well known that South Africa, aware of the international outrage against its behaviour, its policies and its racism, resorts to geopolitical considerations in order to frustrate international legitimacy and the will of the international community. South Africa seeks to prevent the international community from taking the necessary measures to ensure South Africa's compliance with United Nations resolutions and restrain its proclivity to pursue its aggression and generate a situation in which Western Powers seek to placate it under the pretext of persuading it. Hence the resort to the veto whenever the issue of sanctions arises.

252. What does this remind us of? Does it not remind us of Security Council resolutions unanimously condemning Israel's behaviour? And yet, when it comes to taking effective measures to constrain Israel's proclivity for expansion and aggression, the right of veto is exercised or there is a threat that the right of veto will be exercised. Sanctions, which are provided for in the United Nations Charter to curtail behaviour analogous to that of South Africa and Israel, have in many instances been rendered dysfunctional. Why? Because of the prevailing doctrine that the aggressor has to be placated in order to be persuaded.

253. Until when will this doctrine be allowed to continue? Until when can we allow South Africa and Israel to establish a counter-legitimacy to the legitimacy of this world body, its resolutions, its Charter and the international consensus? Until when are we going to make believe that an aggressor must be persuaded rather than penalized? But we can see that aggression without sanctions opens the floodgates for a series of violations, acts of aggression and brutality: Until when will the people of Namibia and Palestine remain disenfranchised from partaking in human equality and enjoying independent statehood? Until when should the people of Namibia and Palestine bleed and suffer persecution and humiliation? Is it until we discover the results of the Western equation of placating in order to persuade?

254. We in the League of Arab States have decided to match our utterances with performance on the issue of Namibia. We have decided to render our policies action-oriented from the Arab perspective and experience. Aggressors should never be placated. They should be penalized.

255. At its meeting in Tunis in September 1981, the Council of the League of Arab States emphasized and reaffirmed the firm resolve of the Arab States to isolate the South African régime and apply a boycott against it in all fields, particularly in the field of petroleum and oil, as mentioned in resolution 26/5 of the Council of

Ministers of the Organization of Arab Petroleum Exporting Countries, dated 6 May 1981.

256. On behalf of the League of Arab States, I should like to commend the work of the United Nations Council for Namibia and its President and members and to reaffirm the collective Arab commitment to the struggle of the Namibian people and the people of South Africa to achieve as rapidly as possible the right to independence, equality and human freedom. We shall spare no effort in our resolve to achieve this noble aim.

The meeting rose at 7.05 p.m.

NOTES

¹ *Report of the International Conference on Sanctions against South Africa, Paris, 20-27 May 1981 (A/CONF.107/8), sect. X.*

² Frente Popular para la Liberación de Saguia el-Hamra y de Río de Oro.

³ Frente Revolucionária de Timor Leste Independente.

⁴ *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-fifth Session, Supplement No. 24, vol. 1, annex II.*

⁵ See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-third Year, 2087th meeting.*

⁶ *Ibid.*, *Thirty-third Year, Supplement for April, May and June 1978, document S/12678.*

⁷ A/AC.109/704.