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at 11 a.m.

NEW YORK

President: Mr. Imre HOLLAI (Hungary).

AGENDA ITEM 33

Policies of *apartheid* of the Government of South Africa
(concluded):*

- (a) Report of the Special Committee against *Apartheid*;
- (b) Report of the *Ad Hoc* Committee on the Drafting of an International Convention against *Apartheid* in Sports;
- (c) Reports of the Secretary-General

1. The PRESIDENT: As I announced at the 101st meeting, the Assembly will first consider draft resolution A/37/L.54, entitled "Invasion of Lesotho by South Africa", submitted on behalf of the Group of African States. I shall now call on the representative of the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya to introduce the draft resolution.

2. Mr. TREIKI (Libyan Arab Jamahiriya) (*interpretation from Arabic*): Allow me briefly to present draft resolution A/37/L.54, which my delegation has the privilege of introducing to the General Assembly on behalf of the Group of African States, of which I am Chairman for this month.

3. This draft resolution deals with very serious matters which involve a threat to peace and security, not only in the southern part of Africa but in all of Africa. The racist régime in South Africa, in addition to following a policy of oppression and repression against its own black citizens, follows a terrorist policy with continuing acts of aggression against the front-line countries. The latest of these brutal attacks was that suffered by the capital of Lesotho in the form of aggression and invasion, perpetrated by the racist régime on 9 December, which caused great loss of life among innocent men, women and children, and the destruction of property and vital installations in the capital of Lesotho.

4. Everyone present here is fully aware that the racist régime in South Africa would not have dared to perpetrate continuing acts of aggression against Lesotho and other independent African countries, and totally to disregard General Assembly resolutions and Security Council decisions, were it not for the support it receives from some Western countries, especially the United States and the Zionist racist régime in occupied Palestine. The two racist régimes, in South Africa and in occupied Palestine, are two sides of the same coin. An equal danger is posed by each of them, since they both strive to achieve the same ends and apply a terrorist, racist policy against the neighbouring peoples.

The Zionist racist entity escalates its terrorist attacks against Palestine and neighbouring Arab countries. This is also the case of the fascist racist régime of Pretoria, which launches brutal and repeated attacks against the front-line African countries. The latest attacks were those against Lesotho and Mozambique, and the occupation of large parts of Angolan territory continues.

5. In its preamble, the draft resolution refers to the continuing acts of aggression by the racist régime in South Africa against Lesotho and other neighbouring African countries, in complete disregard of General Assembly and Security Council resolutions; to the tragic loss of human life and the destruction of property; and to the need to support Lesotho to enable it to oppose the *apartheid* policy of South Africa and to provide sanctuary for South African refugees who are fighting against the racist régime.

6. Operative paragraph 1 reflects the condemnation by the General Assembly of the invasion of Lesotho by the racist régime, which resulted in the loss of innocent lives and the destruction of property. In operative paragraph 3, the Security Council is urged to take immediate steps to deter South Africa from repeating its acts of aggression against Lesotho and from destabilizing other neighbouring States.

7. Because of the nature of this draft resolution, and taking into account previous General Assembly resolutions on South African practices, the Group of African States calls upon all countries without any exception to adopt this draft resolution unanimously, without even putting it to the vote.

8. The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will now take action on draft resolution A/37/L.54, entitled "Invasion of Lesotho by South Africa". May I take it that the General Assembly adopts this draft resolution without a vote?

The draft resolution was adopted (resolution 37/101).

9. The PRESIDENT: I shall now call on those representatives wishing to explain their position. May I remind representatives that explanations of vote are restricted to 10 minutes and should be made from their seats.

10. Sir John THOMSON (United Kingdom): The British Government has condemned in no uncertain terms the flagrant violation of Lesotho's sovereignty and the tragic loss of life as a result of South Africa's attack of 9 December. We accordingly supported the draft resolution, although we have reservations about some of the language used in it and about those parts of it which go beyond the immediate issue. Furthermore, we doubt whether the procedure chosen does anything to enhance the effectiveness of the policy contained in the draft resolution.

* Resumed from the 93rd meeting.

11. We note that the Kingdom of Lesotho, the Member State most directly concerned by the incident in question, has requested an urgent meeting of the Security Council to consider it. This request, which we fully support, was contained in a letter of 9 December 1982,¹ from the Chargé d'Affaires of the Permanent Mission of Lesotho, and consultations have been under way since the arrival of the Foreign Minister of Lesotho on Saturday in preparation for the meeting of the Security Council, which is due to take place today.

12. We wonder whether any real purpose is served by passing the present draft resolution in the General Assembly when the Security Council has been asked to address the same matter and is on the point of doing so. Our concern is increased by some of the intemperate comments that were made by the representative who introduced this draft resolution, which seemed to go far beyond what we think is proper in the General Assembly on the very day on which the Security Council is to address the question at the request of the Government of Lesotho. We shall make our views on the substance of the question known in the appropriate place later today.

13. Mr. LEVITTE (France) (*interpretation from French*): My delegation will have occasion to express in the Security Council its strong condemnation of the South African raid on the Kingdom of Lesotho. Our political position prompted us to vote in favour of draft resolution A/37/L.54 submitted to the General Assembly, in spite of some of the language contained therein. The delegation of France would like, however, to observe that, under Article 24 of the Charter of the United Nations, States Members of the Organization have conferred primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security upon the Security Council. We note that the main party concerned, Lesotho, has already placed this matter before the Security Council.

14. Mr. PADILLA (United States of America): I should like it to be noted that the United States did not participate in the adoption of the draft resolution. Our views on this issue will be stated in the Security Council, which is now seized of this matter.

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

15. Mr. RÁCZ (Hungary): The question of Namibia is one of the most important issues of world politics the United Nations has to face today. As a matter of principle, the process of decolonization must be completed, the remnants of colonialism must be abolished in the southern part of Africa and the Namibian people must be given independence forthwith. This demand has, as in previous years, been emphasized by the overwhelming majority of delegations in the debates of the Fourth Committee at the current session. It has also been pointed out that Namibia is the most glaring case

of colonialism. It is practised by the racist régime of South Africa, which has a particularly negative record because of its defiance of the resolutions of the United Nations and its rigid, inhuman system of *apartheid*.

16. Despite the numerous resolutions of the United Nations and the Advisory Opinion of the International Court of Justice of 21 June 1971², the Pretoria régime continues the illegal military occupation of the Territory of Namibia, using it as a springboard for aggression against the front-line States. In recent years Angola has been the most frequent target of military aggressions by the racist régime. This is a gross violation of international law that could not have taken place without the collaboration and support of the racist régime by its Western allies. The economic and military interests of some Western States in South Africa and Namibia continue to play a decisive role in their policy towards the settlement of the question of Namibia. The openly declared strategic alliance between the United States and South Africa has been one of the major factors in the racist régime's aggressive and intransigent policy.

17. In January 1981, direct discussions in Geneva among the parties concerned failed because of the delaying tactics of the Pretoria régime. The South West Africa People's Organization [SWAPO] was ready to accept an immediate cease-fire and enter into direct talks. This was a demonstration of the flexibility and good faith of the liberation movement in an attempt to bring about a fresh start in the long-delayed process aimed at a settlement. But the other side was unwilling to contribute towards that aim. On the contrary, the representatives of the racist régime and their puppets in Namibia made desperate efforts to block any solution of the problem.

18. During the past year, the so-called contact group was basically unable to achieve any results in the settlement of the question of Namibia. Sometimes an atmosphere of optimism was deliberately spread with a view to creating false expectations. The fact is that all the initiatives and suggestions failed because of the intransigence of the racist régime of South Africa.

19. As far as the recent stage of discussion is concerned, my delegation has concluded from available information that the talks on the settlement of the question of Namibia are totally deadlocked. The main factor in this stalemate is the linking of the question of Namibia with the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola. My delegation fully shares the view of the African States that this linkage is unjustified and totally unacceptable. The independence of Namibia cannot be subject to pre-conditions. The presence of the Cuban forces falls within the internal jurisdiction of Angola and is covered by a bilateral agreement between the Governments of Angola and Cuba. The Government of Angola asked for help because of the constant threat and the armed aggressions against its territory by the military forces of the racist régime. That threat must first of all be eliminated through the total withdrawal from Namibia of the racist forces.

20. In the current discussion of the question of Namibia, the General Assembly is again trying to find answers for the failure of recent efforts aimed at achieving the independence of that Territory. Our first

subject of inquiry must be the real intentions of the Pretoria régime. It has become crystal clear that the South African régime has been making desperate efforts to block any solution which coincides with the interests of the Namibian people and is in accordance with the relevant resolutions of the United Nations and the will of the majority of the international community. The rulers of Pretoria want to force a solution that preserves their colonial positions in Namibia.

21. We have to bear in mind that, in December 1978, Pretoria made an illegal attempt to impose a so-called internal settlement on Namibia by staging elections, in contravention of the relevant resolutions of the United Nations, and putting a puppet régime in power in Windhoek. The racist régime is once again trying to set up a new "interim government" with the understanding of certain of its Western allies. But, ironically, this time South Africa's puppet, the so-called Democratic Turnhalle Alliance, has opposed the plan for a new "interim government", which is, in fact, intended to be an alternative to implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978), and is also intended to exclude from the settlement the sole and authentic representative of the Namibian people, SWAPO.

22. As a result of the policies of the *apartheid* régime, the situation in Namibia has deteriorated further. The racist authorities have waged a campaign of terror against the population. According to Special Report No. 1 by the Lawyers' Committee for Civil Rights Under Law, which is based in Washington:

"By various proclamations of the Administrator General of Namibia, any Namibian deemed likely to be a threat to law and order can be detained and held incommunicado for 30 days and beyond without recourse to legal counsel. Detention and interrogation in any part of Namibia are reportedly accompanied by beating, torture, spare diet, and solitary confinement."

23. As in South Africa itself, the so-called Terrorism Act is also used in Namibia in trials against SWAPO combatants. According to the report just referred to, there have been cases in which captured SWAPO fighters were shot without trial, although they should have been treated as prisoners of war in accordance with the Geneva Convention relative to the Treatment of Prisoners of War, of 12 August 1949.³

24. The acts of terrorism against the Namibian people are the most dramatic indicators of the extremely harsh social conditions under which they live. In addition to the oppressive measures by the racist authorities, there are other negative features in the everyday life of Namibia. According to figures published in August 1981, one third of the labour force was unemployed or underemployed; poverty, malnutrition and overcrowded living conditions continue to be the main causes of disease among the black population; medical facilities are concentrated in the urban areas populated mostly by whites; and the health service of Namibia is racially segregated and inadequate for the black population.

25. Those political, economic and social conditions will not change as long as Namibia is under the illegal military occupation of the racist régime of South Africa.

26. As the latest act of aggression by South Africa against Lesotho has demonstrated, the aggressive nature of the racist régime has not changed. My delegation resolutely condemns this aggressive act against a sovereign State, which took the lives of innocent people and again heightened tension in the southern part of Africa. The military action against Lesotho once again demonstrated the urgent need for concerted international action against South Africa. Only comprehensive and mandatory sanctions can compel it to respect the norms of international law.

27. As far as the settlement of the question of Namibia is concerned, I should like to summarize my delegation's position as follows. The people of Namibia has the right to independence and self-determination; in order to exercise that right, the racist régime of South Africa must withdraw immediately from the territory of Namibia. Namibia is the direct responsibility of the United Nations, and that is why any attempt to reach a final settlement without United Nations participation should be rejected. The future political system of Namibia must be determined by its own people; nobody has the right to impose on the Namibian people a solution from the outside. The democratically elected bodies should determine the constitutional principles, the structure of government and the political future of the country.

28. The people and the Government of the Hungarian People's Republic have always followed with great sympathy and solidarity the just struggle of the Namibian people for independence and sovereignty. We are confident that the people of Namibia, under the leadership of SWAPO, its sole legitimate representative, will win the final victory very soon and Namibia will be able to take its place in the United Nations.

29. In accordance with the resolutions of the United Nations, my Government will continue to support the national liberation movements, as it has done in the past, in their just struggle for independence, sovereignty and social justice.

30. Mr. ABDEL MEGUID (Egypt) (*interpretation from Arabic*): Once again we are debating the question of Namibia, for which the United Nations has had particular responsibility ever since the General Assembly terminated South Africa's mandate over Namibia. I believe that I need not repeat Egypt's stand on this question, since it is a constant and steadfast position which has been reiterated many times.

31. Egypt was the first country to recognize SWAPO as the sole legitimate representative of the Namibian people. The first SWAPO Office was established in Cairo in 1963. Egypt gives political and material support to the Namibian people, under SWAPO's leadership, in their just struggle. Egypt participates, as a member of the United Nations Council for Namibia, in formulating the positive recommendations of that body.

32. We wish to take this opportunity to commend the sterling work of Mr. Lusaka, the President of the United Nations Council for Namibia, in conducting the activities of the Council and mobilizing world public opinion.

33. The development of the question of Namibia is well known to everyone. The question occupies a prominent position among current political problems in

international relations. Every international forum has discussed the issue and, therefore, I shall not go into details that are well known to everyone. However, I would like point out certain developments that have taken place since our meeting last year.

34. First, during the past summer months, negotiations were undertaken between the members of the contact group, SWAPO, the front-line States and South Africa with a view to implementing a plan for a peaceful solution. The contact group confirmed its position with regard to a special agreement on constitutional principles. This led the Secretary-General to mention, in his report on the work of the Organization [A/37/1], the fact that there were certain indications as to the possibility of attaining a settlement of the question of Namibia. A wave of optimism swept over the international community, since it was thought that a peaceful settlement was imminent. The international community was awaiting news of the signing of an agreement, the cessation of hostilities and the implementation of the various phases of a peaceful settlement. We have all been surprised by the tactical manoeuvres of South Africa, designed to perpetuate its occupation of Namibia and establish a puppet régime, because the South African Government has called for the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola as a pre-condition for arriving at a peaceful solution of the question of Namibia.

35. Secondly, at their 4 September meeting in Lusaka, the Heads of State and Government of the front-line States, in their communiqué, rejected all attempts to link the achievement of independence by Namibia with the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola. They reaffirmed that that linkage contradicted the letter and spirit of Security Council resolution 435 (1978) on a peaceful settlement plan for Namibia. Moreover, in his statements in Dar es Salaam and Nairobi, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of France—and we all know that France is a member of the Western contact group—rejected the linkage of a settlement of the question of Namibia with the withdrawal of Cuban forces from Angola. We wish here to commend the French Government's position on this question.

36. Thirdly, in spite of the fact that SWAPO, because of the wisdom and policy of its leaders, adopted a moderate position during the negotiations and allowed South Africa to choose the electoral process, and although the negotiations ended last summer, South Africa has not yet decided on the type of electoral process it prefers. In addition, the racist régime has increased its arrogance and manoeuvres and continued to plunder Namibia's resources and to consolidate a puppet régime in the Territory so as to perpetuate its domination. Furthermore, it has not ceased its acts of aggression against the front-line States, in particular Angola and Mozambique.

37. In further disregard of and contempt for the international community, on the eve of the adoption by the General Assembly of certain resolutions aimed at putting an end to the policy of *apartheid*, the racist régime has just carried out a brutal attack against the capital of Lesotho, an independent State, on the pretext of eliminating the African National Congress [ANC]. The Government and the people of Egypt condemn this brutal attack and call upon the international community to take effective measures to put a

stop to the arrogance and intransigence of the racist régime.

38. Fourthly, it is now a well-known fact that, thanks to the assistance of some countries, the South African régime continues to flout United Nations resolutions and the will of the international community.

39. Since these are the basic facts of the situation, what can we do to promote a peaceful solution? The Egyptian delegation considers it necessary that we take the following measures.

40. First, we must emphasize the need for the contact group to continue its efforts to ensure that a start is made on the implementation of the plan for a peaceful settlement endorsed by Security Council resolution 435 (1978), since that is the only internationally acceptable plan that would lead to a peaceful settlement. Of course, we stress the necessity for comprehensive implementation of the plan, without any modifications and within a defined time-frame.

41. Secondly, in order that the efforts of the contact group may bear fruit, we appeal to the United States to review its policy of "constructive engagement" *vis-à-vis* South Africa, since that policy has not been and never will be fruitful and is being exploited by the Pretoria régime so as to gain time and perpetuate its colonialist policies in Namibia and its inhuman policies in South Africa. We address this appeal to the United States so that independence for Namibia may be achieved as soon as possible, stressing at the same time that experience has shown us that the African countries will not accept mere slogans but wish to devote their energies to achieving real development.

42. Thirdly, South Africa will not voluntarily bow to the will of the international community. Hence, mandatory sanctions must be imposed and the Security Council must shoulder its responsibilities in this respect. Certain permanent members of the Council should not oppose the imposition of sanctions. We reaffirm this so that the United Nations may preserve its reputation and its very existence by not allowing South Africa's flouting of its resolutions to become the first step towards the demise of this international Organization. We call upon all countries in favour of the General Assembly resolutions on the imposition of sanctions to couple their statements of support for the Namibian people with practical measures by beginning voluntarily to apply such sanctions against South Africa.

43. Fourthly, the international community is aware that SWAPO and the African countries have adopted a moderate stand in the negotiations in a bid to achieve a peaceful solution. However, their patience is nearing an end and they cannot continue unfruitful an unending negotiations. Thus, in order to arrive at a peaceful solution, SWAPO has no choice but to intensify its struggle. Here we wish to reaffirm our material support for the people of Namibia, under the leadership of SWAPO, until full independence for Namibia is achieved.

44. In this respect, I should like to mention that the Government of Egypt announced its financial contribution to the United Nations Fund for Namibia and material assistance to SWAPO during the visit of the United Nations Commissioner for Namibia to Cairo last month.

45. The situation in southern Africa is extremely critical and could lead to a bloody conflagration going beyond the African continent. It has led a prominent international personality, Mr. Robert McNamara, a former United States Secretary of Defense and former President of the World Bank, to speak of the time-frame for such an explosion as being from 10 to 20 years. In view of the deteriorating situation, President Kaunda of Zambia, who is observing the events at first hand, considers that the conflagration will come within three to four years.

46. In the circumstances, the international community must shoulder its responsibilities now, before it is too late.

47. Mr. LING Qing (China) (*interpretation from Chinese*): Namibia is the only country left on the African continent that has yet to achieve independence. The independence of Namibia is a problem that presses for solution in the struggle for decolonization not only in Africa but also throughout the world. It is a major international issue of intense concern to the United Nations and the international community.

48. More than a year has elapsed since the eighth emergency special session of the General Assembly, devoted to the question of Namibia. Namibia, however, still remains under the illegal rule of the South African colonial régime and its people are still living in utter misery. The policies of racism, colonialism, aggression and expansion stubbornly pursued by Pretoria pose an increasingly grave threat to the peace and security of southern Africa. This dangerous situation cannot but cause serious concern and anxiety among all peace-loving and justice-upholding countries and peoples.

49. In order to preserve their reactionary racist rule and colonial interests, the South African authorities have tried by every means possible to obstruct the achievement of independence for Namibia. They have openly defied the resolution adopted by the General Assembly in 1966 to terminate South Africa's mandate over Namibia. Repeatedly raising extraneous issues and making up all sorts of excuses, they have refused to implement Security Council resolutions 385 (1976) and 435 (1978) concerning the holding of free elections under the control and supervision of the United Nations and the realization of Namibia's independence. At the same time, they have stepped up efforts to foster pro-South African forces in Namibia, set up puppet armed forces and police and push the so-called internal settlement and bantustanization. Even today, in the 1980s, the South African authorities still cling to their illegal occupation of Namibia and continue to pursue barbaric racism and colonial domination. They frenziedly plunder the natural resources of that Territory, brutally exploit the local inhabitants, cruelly suppress the national liberation movement there and hold large numbers of patriots in prison. Furthermore, the reactionary South African authorities have used Namibia, which is under their illegal occupation, as a base from which to carry out unscrupulous military provocations against and armed incursions into neighbouring countries, such as Angola, Zambia and Botswana. During the past year, South African forces have repeatedly invaded Angola, penetrating deep into that country and savagely massacring Angolans and Namibian refugees. To date, these forces are still

occupying part of southern Angola. Pretoria has also carried out threats of force and subversive activities against Mozambique and Zimbabwe. A few days ago, South African forces wantonly invaded Lesotho, killing innocent people of that country and South African refugees. Numerous facts show that the South African authorities are not only the chief obstacle to Namibia's independence but also the main menace to peace and security in southern Africa.

50. It must also be pointed out that in order to preserve its vested interests the United States has always regarded South Africa as an ally and provided it with political, economic, military and other assistance, thus swelling the reactionary arrogance and truculence of Pretoria. For some time now, the United States and South Africa have even attempted to create a new obstacle to the independence of Namibia by demanding that this question be linked to the withdrawal of foreign troops from Angola. It is only natural that the people of Namibia and Angola have categorically rejected such an absurd condition. The final communiqué adopted at the meeting of the Heads of State and Government of the front-line States at Lusaka on 4 September also rejected this unreasonable demand in clear terms. All these just positions have won the sympathy and support of the vast number of African countries and peoples. On 26 November, the Heads of State and Government of 31 African countries issued in Tripoli a declaration on Namibia condemning the attempt at such a "linkage". The declaration points out that the persistence of such attempts could only retard the decolonization process of Namibia. The Chinese Government and people support this solemn and just position of the Namibian people and other African countries.

51. No matter how stubbornly the South African authorities may attempt to put the clock back, the historical trend of the Namibian people's struggle for national liberation is irresistible. Under the leadership of SWAPO and with the powerful support of the front-line States, the heroic Namibian people have carried on a valiant and tenacious struggle against the South African colonialists. In recent years, while earnestly seeking a negotiated settlement, SWAPO has strengthened its armed struggle in order to resist Pretoria's bloody suppression. With the active participation and support of the Namibian people, it has launched attacks on South Africa's military bases in Namibia, dealing heavy blows to the colonial forces. The Namibian people are pressing forward on the road to victory. We are convinced that the Namibian people, who have a glorious tradition of struggle, will certainly smash the hated colonial yoke and win their national independence and liberation.

52. The just struggle of the Namibian people enjoys support from all peace-loving and justice-upholding countries and peoples of Africa, the third world and the entire international community. The world-wide call for the early attainment of independence for Namibia is mounting. The Organization of African Unity [OAU], the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries and the United Nations have all expressed their solidarity with the struggle of the people of Namibia and southern Africa. The General Assembly last year adopted resolution 36/172 B designating 1982 as International Year of Mobilization for Sanctions against South

Africa. A new upsurge is being felt throughout the world in support of the struggle of the Namibian and southern African people and demanding sanctions against South Africa. The South African authorities have landed themselves in an extremely isolated position.

53. Over the past year, the United Nations Council for Namibia, under the outstanding chairmanship of Mr. Paul Lusaka, of Zambia, has done a great deal of work contributing to the enhancement of support from the international community for the Namibian people's struggle. The Chinese delegation would like to express its appreciation to the Council, and we will continue actively to support and participate in its activities.

54. The Chinese Government and people have always strongly condemned South Africa's racist policies and its illegal occupation of Namibia, as well as its aggression against and subversion of the front-line States. We are opposed to all external forces that interfere in and sabotage the Namibian people's cause of national liberation. We call for the strict implementation of the arms embargo against South Africa and the adoption of effective new sanctions against it so as to compel it to implement all United Nations resolutions and plans on Namibia and to enable Namibia to achieve genuine independence at an early date in accordance with the wishes of its people. The Chinese Government and people will, as always, firmly support the Namibian people in their struggle against the South African colonial rule and for national liberation and independence and will support all efforts by SWAPO and the front-line States to expedite the independence of Namibia. We support the International Conference in Support of the Struggle of the Namibian People for Independence, to be held in Paris next April, and we wish it success.

55. We are deeply convinced that, with the support of Africa and the international community as a whole and by persisting in their struggle and advancing from victory to victory, the Namibian people will certainly be able to crush the last remaining racist régime in Africa and achieve the sacred goal of national independence and liberation, thus contributing to the complete emancipation of the whole African continent.

56. Mr. TSVETKOV (Bulgaria) (*interpretation from French*): Sixteen years ago, the General Assembly decided, in resolution 2145 (XXI), to suspend South Africa's mandate over the international Territory of Namibia, and asked that the Pretoria régime withdraw from that Territory. Since then, the world has witnessed the liberation of nearly all the colonial territories on the African continent. The people of Namibia, however, in spite of their long struggle to exercise their inalienable right to self-determination and independence, continue to suffer under the illegal occupation of the racist Power. The *apartheid* régime, scorning the many resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council, and in spite of the indignation of world public opinion, refuses to withdraw from the Territory. What is more, it has taken action aimed at strengthening its presence there, has intensified its repression against the Namibian patriots and has extended its policy of aggression against independent African States.

57. The struggle for the liberation of Namibia is in a final decisive stage. Although the country has been

made into a veritable military camp, and in spite of imprisonments and torture, history teaches us that a people fighting for its freedom can never be vanquished. For the past five years, South Africa has engaged in deceitful manoeuvres aimed at continuing its domination over the Territory, at damaging international support for the sole legitimate representative of the Namibian people, SWAPO, and at creating conditions for bringing about a neo-colonialist "solution" to the problem. In its various activities, Pretoria has enjoyed the complete support of its Western partners, and primarily that of its staunchest protector, the United States. The scope of this support has been exposed on many occasions by the Assembly. This co-operation between South Africa and its Western partners has deep economic and political roots. The natural wealth of Namibia and of South Africa, including deposits of strategic materials, the exploitation of the slave labour of the indigenous African population and the "special" conditions supplied by the *apartheid* laws are irresistibly attractive to Western capital. More than 3,000 transnational corporations operate in South Africa, and some of the most important branches of the economy are controlled by American and British capital. In Namibia itself, more than 200 Western and South African companies have been plundering the natural resources of that country, in violation of Decree No. 1 for the Protection of the Natural Resources of Namibia,⁴ enacted on 27 September 1974 by the United Nations Council for Namibia, the sole legal Administering Authority of Namibia until its independence, and in violation of many resolutions of the General Assembly, of international conferences and of other forums of the OAU and the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries.

58. In spite of the propaganda allegations which refer to the alleged positive role being played by the transnational corporations and about certain "codes of conduct" which they are allegedly following, it is undeniable that Western capital has been incorporated in the *apartheid* system and acts fully in keeping with that system in South Africa and in Namibia. It is perfectly obvious that this capital profits to the full from the "advantages" that that system provides. The salaries, housing conditions and medical services for the indigenous African workers cannot be compared to those of the white workers.

59. The activities of the transnational corporations in Namibia have had a catastrophic impact on its economy. But it is not just private capital that wants to see the plundering of the Territory's natural wealth continue. The international community has on many occasions expressed profound concern over the dangerous co-operation in the nuclear field between certain Western countries and South Africa, co-operation based on the exploitation of Namibian uranium, which has already resulted, according to the conclusions of experts, in endowing Pretoria with a nuclear capability. The possible consequences of this co-operation for international peace and security are particularly alarming, given the innate aggressiveness of the racist régime. Notwithstanding the condemnation of the General Assembly, notwithstanding its appeals for the cessation of this co-operation, it has continued to this day.

60. In the past few years, we have witnessed imperialism's constant efforts to thwart the implementation

of the United Nations plan for the granting of independence to Namibia endorsed in Security Council resolution 435 (1978). A new scenario to sabotage that plan has been concocted this year. After an atmosphere of optimism had been created, promising an imminent solution to the problem of Namibia following the alleged major concessions by South Africa, a new condition, having nothing to do with Security Council resolution 435 (1978), was laid down: the withdrawal of Cuban troops from the People's Republic of Angola. The establishment of a link between the granting of independence to Namibia and the presence of Cuban troops who are on Angolan territory at the invitation of the legitimate Government of that country is but one further attempt to perpetuate colonial domination over Namibia as part of imperialism's global strategy.

61. Only a few days ago, the world learned with deep indignation of a new crime by the Pretoria racists—the unprovoked attack against Lesotho, in the course of which civilians, including women and children, perished.

62. The People's Republic of Bulgaria vigorously condemns the aggressive policies of South Africa and insists on the immediate cessation of military raids against independent African countries and attempts to destabilize their Governments. My country believes that any attempt to link the question of the granting of independence to Namibia to the question of the withdrawal of Cuban troops from the People's Republic of Angola must be resolutely rejected. The only way to the independence of Namibia lies in the unconditional withdrawal of the illegal *apartheid* régime and the holding of free elections, under United Nations auspices. Pretoria must be forced to abide by the resolutions of the world Organization on this subject by the application of mandatory measures, under Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter.

63. My country will continue in the future to give support in many forms to the sole legitimate representative of the Namibian people, SWAPO, in its just struggle for independence and freedom. As a member of the United Nations Council for Namibia, the People's Republic of Bulgaria will continue actively to discharge its mandate and wishes to express its support for the report of the Council which is before this session [A/37/24].

64. Mr. OTT (German Democratic Republic): The just and durable settlement of the question of Namibia is one of the most urgent tasks facing the United Nations. This task allows of no delay, all the more since its achievement constitutes a crucial element in the establishment of peace and security in southern Africa and of world peace in general.

65. Precisely because the Territory of Namibia is the direct responsibility of the United Nations, energetic measures are imperative. These include reaching an understanding on the necessary steps to be taken for the immediate and unconditional implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978), and the resolute rejection of all attempts to delay the attainment of independence by Namibia through new and artificial obstacles and to exclude the United Nations from the process of negotiations.

66. The present situation in southern Africa has become severely aggravated. This is due to the plotting

of imperialist States with the South African *apartheid* régime. The facts show that this conspiracy is directed against the national liberation movement of South Africa and the independent and progressive development of free African States. Since the middle of this year, Pretoria has been escalating its aggression carried out from the territory of illegally occupied Namibia against the People's Republic of Angola. In Mozambique, gangs paid by the racist régime are committing acts of terror and sabotage. Now, alarming news has been heard that South Africa has massively concentrated its troops on the border with Mozambique.

67. South African soldiers have repeatedly invaded Zimbabwe, Zambia and other African States. The latest attack on Lesotho is another manifestation of the *apartheid* régime's long-standing policy of aggression against and destabilization of neighbouring African States. The threat to international peace and security which emanates from Pretoria's policy of aggression has reached an extremely dangerous level.

68. The German Democratic Republic has repeatedly called attention to the perils to peace in the region and in the world at large posed by the *apartheid* régime in South Africa and by its policy of terror at home and aggression against other countries. It has emphasized over and over again that Pretoria can pursue that policy only thanks to extensive political, economic and material support from imperialist States. Those who have provided South Africa with weapons systems and with the money to finance its policy of aggression, and who have opposed United Nations resolutions condemning South Africa and calling for discontinuance of support for the *apartheid* State, should not shed crocodile tears in the face of the latest massacre. It is not by chance that the escalation of Pretoria's policy of aggression and destabilization coincides with the stepping up of the confrontational course of the most aggressive forces of imperialism.

69. It is obvious that South Africa is being encouraged by the States of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization [NATO] to pursue such a policy; this is no coincidence. By plundering the human and natural resources of Namibia, the transnational corporations are making huge profits. The fact that some States persistently refuse to provide the Centre on Transnational Corporations with information about the activities of their corporations in Namibia shows clearly what one must think about the so-called social mission of these corporations. The United States gets from Namibia 98 per cent of its cobalt, 80 per cent of its platinum, 100 per cent of all its industrial diamonds, 58 per cent of its uranium, and other important strategic raw materials.

70. The direct investments made by United States banks in South Africa amount at present to \$2 billion. It is characteristic that 53 out of the 88 transnational corporations of imperialist States which operate in Namibia have their headquarters in countries of the so-called contact group, which has been pretending for years to be interested in early independence for Namibia. What one is to think of these declarations became clear to the world very recently when the United States openly admitted its partnership with the *apartheid* régime, a partnership which leads that country,

together with the racists, to pile up new obstacles intended to delay Namibia's independence indefinitely.

71. The history of the United Nations is inseparably linked with efforts for the implementation of the Namibian people's right to self-determination. It is, however, also marked by imperialist manoeuvres to prevent that country from gaining its independence and to support South Africa, overtly or covertly, in maintaining its rule of terror. The attempt is now being made to link the solution of the Namibian issue with questions which have nothing to do with the problem and which fall exclusively under the jurisdiction of sovereign States. It seems appropriate to recall that, in its resolutions 385 (1976) and 435 (1978), the Security Council adopted clear decisions concerning the settlement of the question of Namibia. It appears to be necessary to underline once again that the front-line States and the national liberation movement have done everything possible to translate these decisions into reality. But all efforts have failed up to now due to the manoeuvres engaged in by South Africa and its imperialist accomplices. Those manoeuvres are clearly aimed at denying the Namibian people its independence and its right to self-determination. It is the responsibility of the United Nations to stop these dangerous intrigues.

72. The General Assembly, at its thirty-seventh session, should reaffirm once again that it is necessary to ensure the Namibian people's right to self-determination, freedom and national independence, and resolutely to reject all attempts further to obstruct the granting of independence; that it is necessary to increase the support for the Namibian people, fighting under the leadership of SWAPO, its sole authentic representative; that it is necessary completely, immediately and truly to implement the decisions adopted by the United Nations, in particular Security Council resolution 435 (1978), with regard to Namibia; and that it is necessary to eliminate the serious threat to international peace and security posed by South Africa. Mandatory sanctions must be imposed by the Security Council as provided for in Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter, and any collaboration with South Africa must be terminated. This is in line with our responsibility towards the Namibian people and our responsibility for peace.

73. The German Democratic Republic is linked in solidarity with the Namibian people in its struggle, under the leadership of SWAPO, its national liberation movement. It condemns most emphatically the continued attempts at destabilization and acts of aggression committed by the South African *apartheid* régime against sovereign African States, in particular the People's Republic of Angola, the People's Republic of Mozambique and the Kingdom of Lesotho. It demands the immediate cessation of all acts of aggression by the *apartheid* régime, reparation for the damage caused and an end to the *apartheid* policy. It urges that all support for Pretoria be stopped and that sanctions be imposed against the racist State. The German Democratic Republic has always backed the African peoples in their struggle for independence and social progress. It gives the peoples and liberation movements in southern Africa its renewed firm assurance of unflinching solidarity.

74. Mr. NISIBORI (Japan): Sixteen years ago, the General Assembly adopted resolution 2145 (XXI),

thereby terminating the mandate that South Africa exercised over what was then known as South West Africa. South Africa, however, continues to defy that resolution and is still occupying the Territory, despite the attempts made in various quarters to put an end to this illegal situation. In early 1977, when five countries serving on the Security Council formed the contact group and took the initiative of producing a solution along the lines of Security Council resolution 385 (1976), it seemed that a concrete plan for the achievement of the long-awaited independence of Namibia was finally emerging.

75. But the subsequent series of advances and setbacks has taught us that the issue is an extraordinarily complex one and that there are many obstacles to be overcome before it can be settled. Nevertheless, Japan firmly supports the valuable efforts of the contact group, and we are convinced that its efforts, together with those of the front-line States and the efforts of the United Nations as a whole, will one day be rewarded with the achievement of independence by Namibia.

76. What is required first of all, however, is that the parties concerned demonstrate a degree of mutual trust and tolerance. Thus, we learned with great interest of recent reports that direct talks were held at a very high level between representatives of two of the countries directly concerned. We sincerely hope that this development will lead to the solution of one of the serious difficulties in bringing about an independent Namibia. Indeed, my delegation would encourage all the parties closely concerned to renew their efforts to break the current deadlock so that Security Council resolution 435 (1978), which provides the basis for Namibian independence, may be implemented without further delay.

77. The Government of Japan, for its part, has been co-operating to the best of its ability in the joint efforts of the international community, and I wish at this time to reiterate some of the measures it has taken in this regard.

78. First, in response to various General Assembly resolutions, Japan, as early as 1969, prohibited direct investment in Namibia by Japanese nationals or corporate bodies under its jurisdiction, and it has continued to do so. No Japanese national is participating in the management of any enterprise in Namibia.

79. Secondly, the Government of Japan has brought to the attention of all Japanese companies concerned Decree No. 1 for the Protection of the Natural Resources of Namibia,⁴ of 1974, by publishing it in an official Japanese trade bulletin. Moreover, no Japanese national or enterprise has a mining concession in Namibia and no Namibian uranium is imported into Japan. My Government recently welcomed the opportunity to consult with an expert whom the United Nations Council for Namibia designated to study the observance of Decree No. 1. We believe that his findings will once again show the range of measures Japan has been taking in this regard.

80. Thirdly, as regards our support for the Namibian people, Japan has made voluntary contributions to the United Nations Fund for Namibia, the United Nations Institute for Namibia and the United Nations Educational and Training Programme for Southern Africa. In view of the crucial importance of the

development of human resources in preparing for independence, my Government will continue to extend co-operation to these programmes.

81. Fourthly, my Government widely publicized the question of Namibia on the occasion of Namibia Day, 26 August. In addition to a message from the Minister for Foreign Affairs to the President of the United Nations Council for Namibia, periodicals of the Foreign Ministry carried articles on Namibia, and the Director of the Second African Affairs Division gave a lecture, which was reproduced and circulated widely among the public. We will continue such programmes to enable the Japanese people to gain a deeper understanding of the question of Namibia and, more important, to gain their co-operation in the measures the Government has been taking with regard to Namibia.

82. My delegation reaffirms its intention to continue to co-operate with the United Nations in pursuing our common goal: the early realization of Namibia's independence by peaceful means. As part of its contribution to efforts to ensure Namibia's peaceful transition to independence, Japan has indicated that it will extend positive support in various forms to the operation of UNTAG once it is established. It is our earnest hope that UNTAG will be established and start functioning in the near future. Following the achievement of independence, Japan will make every possible effort to continue to extend its co-operation to the people of Namibia throughout the period of nation-building.

83. It is all too clear that, before Namibia can achieve its independence, there are many difficult and complex problems that must be resolved. Nevertheless, I am confident that through our concerted and determined efforts, this worthy and long-cherished goal can be attained in the very near future.

84. Mr. RASON (Madagascar) (*interpretation from French*): Six years after the adoption of Security Council resolution 385 (1976), which laid the bases for a negotiated settlement of the Namibian problem, and four years after the adoption of Security Council resolution 435 (1978), which endorsed the United Nations plan for the independence of Namibia, South Africa continues to occupy Namibia. At the same time, the Namibian people, under the leadership of SWAPO, its sole legitimate and authentic representative, continues the struggle for the liberation of its country in the face of immense difficulties and at the cost of tremendous sacrifice.

85. As the years pass it becomes increasingly obvious that collective efforts to bring about the fundamental changes that the United Nations has been demanding for so long in the name of the Namibian people not only are at a dangerous deadlock but might very well be deliberately diverted from their objectives. More and more, recognized principles—namely, that, on the one hand, the question of Namibia is a question of decolonization, under General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV), and that, on the other, the United Nations is directly responsible for leading the Territory to independence—are being set aside.

86. Instead, there is an inescapable impression that South Africa is determined to maintain the advantages gained from its illegal occupation, especially now that it has managed to secure the privilege of being consulted by the contact group without any qualification

authorizing it to speak for or about Namibia and still less to decide the future of this international Territory.

87. The record of the negotiation process for the implementation of the United Nations plan clearly shows that South Africa has continually raised the stakes, increasing its demands and conditions each time progress seems imminent.

88. After calling for a so-called climate of confidence—this led to the failure of the pre-implementation meeting, held at Geneva in January 1981—South Africa demanded constitutional guarantees for the protection of the minorities in a future independent Namibia. Now, with the support and protection of certain Powers, South Africa says that the Namibian problem cannot be isolated from the strategic factors at play in southern Africa and that only the withdrawal of Cuban forces from the People's Republic of Angola will make possible a viable settlement of the question of independence for Namibia.

89. All this amounts to a smoke-screen to camouflage Pretoria's true intentions to gain time to consolidate its illegal occupation and then blame others for the possible failure of the dealings with the contact group.

90. Unless one claims to be a direct or indirect supporter of *apartheid*, how can one imagine confidence-building measures in regard to the Pretoria authorities? In the distorted view of those authorities, peace, stability and tranquillity can only mean an end to the challenge to *apartheid* and the unlawful occupation of Namibia, whether this challenge comes from the United Nations or from any member of the international community. According to South Africa, SWAPO and the ANC, which are in the forefront of this challenge, must disappear from southern Africa with the Cubans before we can even talk about the future of Namibia. Thus, the confidence that the régime allegedly needs would require the Namibian people and the African majority in South Africa, from which SWAPO and the ANC emanate, to stop demanding the end of oppression and the restoration of their freedom and human dignity; it would also require the African countries, especially the front-line countries, to put an end to their support for the Namibian and South African people, and the international community to abandon any desire to bring pressure to bear on the neo-fascists in Pretoria.

91. We greatly fear that this idea of confidence is an upside-down idea, taking no account of justice and equity.

92. In the confrontation between Pretoria's oppressive and repressive violence, on the one hand, and the revolutionary struggle of the liberation movements, on the other, we must not limit ourselves to comparing the means being used but must also consider on which side there is justice and right—and certainly they are not on the side of the racist régime.

93. As regards relations between the country of *apartheid* and its neighbours, one can safely say that no African country has yet attacked South Africa, whereas the opposite has taken place on a number of occasions and in various forms, with, regrettably, a scandalous amount of arrogance and impunity. Here again I ask: Who needs to be protected? Who needs confidence and for what reason? Certainly not South Africa, which has just flagrantly violated the sovereignty and territorial

integrity of Lesotho, which occupies part of Angolan territory and which is trying to destabilize the governments of other countries, such as Mozambique, Zimbabwe and Seychelles.

94. As for the discussions on the so-called constitutional guarantees for the white minority in Namibia, the least that can be said is that they are not provided for in the United Nations plan originally accepted by the parties. One can only be touched by this solicitude for a group which for decades, while it held the reins of political and economic power, had no concern for the rights of the African majority.

95. We can certainly understand that a policy of "an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth" must be avoided, when the situation is reversed and political power passes from the minority to the majority. But we are not certain that the requirement of constitutional guarantees must be limited to that consideration. Indeed, the repeated statements of the racist leaders in Pretoria make one fear that what is involved is a predetermination of political, economic and social guidelines for the future independent State of Namibia. We should repeat that in our view the United Nations plan is aimed solely at bringing about a peaceful and democratic transition to independence in Namibia and that, like the right of the Namibian people to self-determination, the independence and sovereignty of the future Namibian State cannot be negotiated and cannot be restricted a priori. To claim the opposite would amount to imposing unjustifiable limitations on the future constituent assembly of Namibia and to recognizing that a given country or group of countries has a right over the internal affairs of an independent Namibia, which would, of course, be contrary to the Charter of the United Nations and international law and could lead to future controversy.

96. Can one justifiably claim that a solution to the Namibian problem—which, let us again recall, is a question of decolonization—cannot be isolated from the strategic factors at play in southern Africa and that only the withdrawal of Cuban forces from Angola will lead to a viable settlement? We shall not revert to the position of the Angolan and Cuban Governments, which is well known and quite unambiguous and which we respect and support.

97. Our purpose, rather, is to point out that the links proposed to be established between two completely different and separate subjects are quite arbitrary and, to say the least, disturbing. Indeed, the absurdity of this can be shown by a *contrario* reasoning—that is, that recently independent countries could or should be recolonized if regional strategic factors required this, or if it could be proved that these factors had been neglected when those countries achieved independence. The Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, contained in General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV), would probably have had little effect if the strategic considerations of the super Powers could have suspended implementation of the principles contained therein. Rarely has one seen such little concern for the right of peoples to self-determination and independence. It is our painful impression that the people of Namibia is being held hostage while South Africa and those who share South Africa's views obtain satisfaction

regarding a plan which does not really concern or interest that people.

98. It is, to say the least, wrong for one or more countries, claiming to speak on behalf of the Security Council or claiming to act to bring about the implementation of a resolution adopted by the Council unanimously—that is, resolution 435 (1978)—to assume the right to put forward a proposal that not only does not appear in that resolution but goes against it and against the interest of the Namibian people and generally recognized principles concerning the right of peoples to self-determination.

99. This perversion of the intention of the Security Council is also a subversion of its authority, and that has regrettably caused a division in world public opinion, which only the racist régime can welcome. As we are aware, that régime has acted in such a way as to make it possible eventually to blame Angola for the failure of the talks with the contact group, and that is unacceptable to us. Thus, South Africa has prepared for itself a convenient loophole, and we wonder how the contact group can now bargain and what pressure it can exert to bring about the faithful implementation, without modification, of the United Nations plan.

100. We fear that the conscious or unconscious support of its strategic allies will make it possible for South Africa to achieve its goals with a minimum of effort—namely, to create in Namibia a *fait accompli* contrary to the resolutions of the Security Council and the General Assembly. It has been Pretoria's aim to create a Turnhalle puppet régime following elections recognized by neither the United Nations nor the international community. In the light of recent statements by Botha, South Africa appears to be planning to complete the process of unilateral independence by next February if it becomes clear that between now and then no elections under international supervision can be organized. The hypocrisy of that statement can escape no one, for South Africa has managed to act in such a way as to ensure that such an election will not take place, at any rate by the established deadline, and its strategic allies have acquiesced in this.

101. The delegation of the Democratic Republic of Madagascar believes that the international community must act swiftly, through the Security Council, to reverse the course of events and prevent anything irreparable happening. If it is to be effective, that reaction must include the adoption of measures that will force South Africa to abandon its policy of occupation and repression. The time has come for Member States to fulfil their obligations *vis-à-vis* Namibia stemming from their decision to make Namibia the direct responsibility of the United Nations. We can act individually and collectively to exert effective pressure on the racist South African régime to see to it that the will of the Organization is respected.

102. On a number of occasions, and quite justifiably, the General Assembly has proposed the adoption of necessary measures on the political, economic, military and cultural levels to force South Africa to abide by the norms, principles and decisions of the United Nations, in particular the provisions of Security Council resolutions 385 (1976) and 435 (1978). The Council must, moreover, shoulder its responsibility to ensure the implementation of the plan and decide to

apply the measures provided for in Chapter VII of the Charter.

103. The Democratic Republic of Madagascar has consistently given its effective support to the right to self-determination and independence of peoples and the struggle against all forms of colonial, neo-colonial and racial oppression. We therefore fully support the legitimate struggle of the Namibian people to regain their dignity and independence and to secure the complete liberation of their territory, including Walvis Bay and the offshore islands. Namibian independence cannot be achieved without the full and direct participation of SWAPO in all efforts to implement Security Council resolutions 385 (1976) and 435 (1978), which, in our opinion, are the only bases for a negotiated settlement of the Namibian question. We support the Declaration of the Heads of State and Government of 31 African countries who met in Tripoli from 23 to 26 November, rejecting any attempt to establish a link between Namibian independence and any other question alien to the spirit of resolution 435 (1978) and denouncing the fraudulent constitutional and political plans that South Africa is even now concocting to perpetuate its colonial domination of Namibia.

104. We subscribe to the decision of the non-aligned countries that the United Nations remain primarily responsible for the transition of the Territory of Namibia to independence. We therefore support the measures of the United Nations Council for Namibia at present under consideration by the Assembly.

105. In conclusion, we should like to join those delegations that have warmly congratulated and thanked the United Nations Council for Namibia, in particular its President, Mr. Lusaka, of Zambia, for the work it has done as the Administering Authority for Namibia until its independence.

106. Mr. GÖKÇE (Turkey): Today, at the end of 1982, the legitimate aspirations of the people of Namibia, as well as of the whole community of nations, regarding independence for that country are still unfulfilled. This is so in spite of the 16 long years which have passed since the United Nations ended South Africa's mandate over Namibia in order to enable the Namibian people to exercise their fundamental right to determine their own future, to be masters of their own destiny, to enjoy and develop their own land and their own natural resources.

107. The fact that South Africa's mandate was terminated did not and still does not enable the Namibian people to regain any of their natural rights and freedoms. Today, the South African Government fully maintains its illegal occupation of Namibia and continues in its attempts to impose its unlawful and cruel policies of oppression and intimidation inside and around Namibia, in defiance of the concerted efforts of the international community as exemplified by the historic decisions and resolutions of the United Nations and the International Court of Justice.

108. As we speak today, South Africa is trying to force upon the Namibian people illegal political formulas to consolidate and prolong its occupation of that country. It has stepped up its acts of destabilization and aggression against the neighbouring African States to the extent of violating their territorial integrity and

sovereignty. The most recent South African incursions into Angola, and now Lesotho, are blatant examples of these dangerous and harmful policies. When viewed together with the nuclear aspirations of South Africa, the threatening nature of these violations of basic principles of international law and international relations, as well as their ramifications for international peace and security, become all the more clear.

109. South Africa, while continuing these aggressive policies in and relating to Namibia, is also pretending to be interested in the settlement of the Namibia issue through peaceful negotiations. A brief glance at South Africa's past practices in this respect allows us to draw no conclusion but that it is trying to deceive world public opinion.

110. Only a few months ago, the negotiating process appeared to be on the verge of success. Although the delicate nature of those negotiations has not, understandably, allowed a wide-scale public dissemination of the details of the discussions, it was largely felt that the date for the implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978), which endorses the United Nations plan for the independence of Namibia, could be established soon. We had witnessed the statesmanlike, patient and generous manner in which the front-line States and SWAPO, the only true representative of the Namibian people, participated in those negotiations. Their attitude in this respect deserves the highest praise and appreciation of the international community.

111. However, as has been the case so many times on previous similar occasions, these efforts to achieve a peaceful settlement in Namibia on the basis of Security Council resolution 435 (1978) have met with last-minute intransigence and delaying tactics of the South African régime. The last-minute change of heart shown by South Africa brings to mind, of course, the pattern that South Africa has followed in the past to appear to be involved in serious negotiations and then to block their ultimate success. One only need remember the attitude of South Africa in the crucial negotiations which were held in Geneva, in January 1981, on the implementation of resolution 435 (1978).

112. In fact, the whole history of the Namibian question is one of South Africa's intransigence and delaying tactics at the negotiating table, on the one hand, and its attempts illegally to consolidate its domination and exploitation inside Namibia, on the other.

113. As a result of that dual and deceptive strategy followed by South Africa, the present negotiations face serious obstacles. However, we cannot ignore the fact that, at least in laying the foundation for the implementation of resolution 435 (1978), considerable progress has been achieved, largely owing to the conciliatory and responsible attitude shown by the Namibian people, represented by SWAPO, and the front-line African States. They have been generous for the sake of achieving an early settlement of the Namibian problem and putting an end to the prolonged suffering of the Namibian people as soon as possible. They have shown this conciliatory attitude in an atmosphere laden with South African provocations and obstructionism. Therefore, we feel that this most recent and crucial opportunity should not be allowed to slip away. The people of Namibia should not be allowed to lose

their important chance to gain their rights and freedoms, in accordance with the United Nations Charter and all the relevant resolutions of the world Organization.

114. As each effort in this direction has brought us closer to the full realization of the inalienable rights of the Namibian people, the commitment of the international community has increased accordingly. At this crucial moment, each and every member should do everything in its power to compel South Africa to implement the decisions of the United Nations. Effective and comprehensive measures envisaged in the Charter remain the most important tools to be employed against South African intransigence. And the Namibian people are left with no recourse but to intensify their rightful struggle against South African occupation.

115. Also at this important time, we should like to draw attention to the vital rôle played by the United Nations Council for Namibia, of which Turkey is proud to be a founding member, for safeguarding the interests and rights of the Namibian people. We should like to commend and express our appreciation for the leadership displayed by Mr. Paul Lusaka, of Zambia, in the wide-ranging and important work undertaken by the United Nations Council for Namibia as the legal Administering Authority for Namibia until independence is achieved. The Nationhood Programme for Namibia and the United Nations Institute for Namibia deserve particular mention in this respect because their activities are instrumental in preparing especially the young generations of Namibians for the day they will be assuming their responsibilities in a free and independent Namibia. These programmes need and deserve our full support.

116. My Government, for its part, is fully committed to the efforts being exerted by the United Nations to achieve the full independence of Namibia on the basis of resolution 435 (1978). Turkey fully abides by all relevant United Nations resolutions in this respect. Turkey does not engage in any kind of relations with South Africa in the diplomatic, political, economic, commercial and military fields. Although in modest terms, Turkey is pleased to contribute to the United Nations funds directed at providing the necessary assistance to the suffering and oppressed peoples in Namibia and southern Africa. In so doing, Turkey is guided not only by the universal principles enshrined in the Charter but also by the memory of its own struggle for independence—the first such struggle to end in victory in the twentieth century. It is in this spirit that we perceive and support the valiant struggles and sacrifices of the Namibian people under the leadership of their sole and true representative, SWAPO, against the seemingly great obstacles they are facing on the path to freedom and independence. It is with the same conviction that we express our full confidence that they will emerge victorious in the very near future.

117. Mr. GOLOB (Yugoslavia): The problem of Namibia, its independence and sovereignty and the freedom of the people of Namibia, remains unresolved 16 years after the United Nations proclaimed that South Africa was illegally occupying Namibia and that that Territory should be independent.

118. There were heightened expectations and bitter disappointments during the year that has elapsed since

the General Assembly last discussed this question. Ever since the adoption of Security Council resolution 435 (1978) four years ago, the hopes of the international community for a solution of the problem of Namibia have been rekindled every year, only to be left unfulfilled by the lack of any real progress by the time the General Assembly takes up that matter again. It is therefore difficult to avoid the impression that action outside the framework of the United Nations is calculated to create the appearance of movement towards the implementation of the United Nations plan and to provide South Africa with more time to consolidate its illegal colonial occupation of Namibia.

119. This past year, the semblance of progress went somewhat further than usual. The informal consultations of the Western contact group with representatives of the front-line States and SWAPO, on the one hand, and with South Africa, on the other, which were held last summer in New York, seemed to have produced agreement by South Africa on a number of issues related to the implementation of resolution 435 (1978). As reported, the only issue left pending was the question of the electoral system, in which South Africa was given time to make a choice between the two proposed systems. Some technical questions were not fully resolved, but, on the assumption that they would not pose significant problems once the process of implementation of resolution 435 (1978) got under way, the United Nations Secretariat undertook preparations for the initiation of the United Nations plan. Optimism soared and independence for Namibia seemed within reach.

120. Yet, for careful observers of developments in Namibia, there were no signs that the alleged readiness of the South African régime to go along with the implementation of the United Nations plan was matched in actual deeds. Instead, what we witnessed in the meantime was yet another series of attempts by the *apartheid* régime to reshuffle the dissolving puppet formation it had installed in Namibia in a vain attempt to give it internal and international credibility. Exploitation of Namibian natural resources, in collusion with transnational corporations of Western countries, continued unabated. Attacks on neighbouring independent African States continued unabated as well. That is hardly behaviour by an occupier preparing to grant independence to a territory it holds.

121. On top of it all came the realization that the contact group—or at least some of its members—intended to link the question of independence for Namibia with unrelated issues which had never been the subject of discussion at the consultations in New York. Such linkage encroached upon the sovereignty of an independent country which is the constant target of South Africa's attacks, and was therefore universally rejected. I should like to remind the Assembly that the Heads of State and Government of 31 African States, gathered in Tripoli from 23 to 26 November, adopted a declaration in which they condemned and rejected the attempts at linking independence for Namibia with the question of the presence of foreign troops in third countries. So, the net result of the much-heralded action outside the United Nations at this time is that the independence of Namibia is no closer than it would have been had there been no such action at all.

122. Last week, the racist régime of South Africa once again showed its true face by its aggression against the independent and sovereign State of Lesotho, this time killing dozens of innocent people, in brutal defiance of the United Nations Charter. The South African *apartheid* régime once again used violence and aggression against a neighbour, defying the basic rules of international behaviour and once again assuming the role of policeman, judge and executioner and bringing about suffering and death. The list of South Africa's brazen acts of violation and aggression against neighbouring States is making the people of those countries and the international community all the more determined selflessly to support the cause of the Namibian people and SWAPO. This crime of aggression calls for condemnation, and the people who are suffering are rightly expecting our support.

123. In our view, the present phase of the Namibian problem is giving rise to grave concern and calls for the intensification of all efforts within the United Nations aimed at promoting the cause of independence for Namibia.

124. We believe that the United Nations, and the Security Council in particular, must continue their efforts to secure the speedy implementation of resolution 435 (1978). The General Assembly must once again strongly reassert the direct responsibility of the United Nations for the solution of the problem of Namibia, especially in view of the latest signs that the problem might become the subject of inter-bloc bargaining, and must reject all attempts at both retaining the so-called *status quo* and "solving" the problem in disregard of the principles of the Charter and the decisions of the Organization. Attempts at a *de facto* revision of resolution 435 (1978) must be rejected, and the United Nations should secure its implementation with all means at its disposal. It may very well be necessary to exert new pressure on South Africa in order to bring Namibia finally to independence.

125. The course of events in and around Namibia clearly shows that the continuation of the illegal occupation of Namibia is opening the door ever more widely to bloc confrontation in southern Africa and threatening peace and security in the region, in addition to prolonging the suffering of the Namibian people. It is therefore necessary to intensify the pressure of the international community on South Africa in every possible way until the final liberation of Namibia. The Western countries members of the contact group which are engaged in economic and other co-operation with South Africa are in a position to exert the necessary pressure on the Pretoria régime. They must once again be made aware of their special responsibility to do so. Their actions should not provide the racist régime with excuses and time to commit acts of aggression and pursue plans for so-called internal solutions.

126. The United Nations Council for Namibia is in the forefront of the international action for the liberation of Namibia and for giving assistance to the people of that Territory. My delegation participates in its work and gives it full support. The results of the work of the Council, under the able and dynamic presidency of Mr. Paul Lusaka, have also in the past year, as contained in its report, shown that the Council has been

active in fulfilling its mandate. The Council's programme of work for next year is comprehensive and varied, and it will have to devote a great deal of time and energy if it is to carry it out effectively.

127. Direct support for the people of Namibia to realize its inalienable rights is a further contribution to the cause of independence for Namibia. The only true solution of the problem of Namibia is one that safeguards the genuine independence of the Namibian people. Such independence can be achieved only with full support for the sole authentic representative of the Namibian people, which is its liberation movement, SWAPO. Its struggle is the true expression of the striving of the people of Namibia for self-determination and independence. Support by the United Nations for SWAPO is part of the efforts for the application of principles on which the United Nations is based. For its part, SWAPO has displayed statesmanship and political wisdom by accepting the political process inherent in the United Nations plan—a position which, unfortunately, has not been met by reciprocal action by the South African régime. The General Assembly should this time too invite all members to extend effective material, financial, political and diplomatic assistance to SWAPO.

128. At the same time, the international community should lend support and assistance to the front-line States, which, owing to their support for the liberation struggle of the people of Namibia, are exposed to onslaughts on their territorial integrity, on their security and on their economic structure, and suffer loss of human lives and material damage.

129. For its part, Yugoslavia is, as in the past, ready to participate fully in the implementation of the United Nations plan. It is also giving full support and assistance to SWAPO in its just struggle to achieve self-determination of the people of Namibia. It will continue to do so as long as Namibia is occupied and exploited.

130. The Namibian people, like any other people, should have the right to govern themselves and to dispose freely of their natural, social and economic potential. They should have the right to be free of any and all forms of subjugation by foreign Powers, to achieve and safeguard their freedom and independence in their internal development and in their relationships with other countries and to secure true and equal participation in the development of international relations.

131. These are the objectives Yugoslavia has been advocating in international relations at large, and these are the objectives we share with other non-aligned countries, with the people of Namibia and with their sole authentic representative, SWAPO, an organization that is a fully fledged member of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries.

132. Mrs. IDER (Mongolia) (*interpretation from Russian*): Sixteen years have passed since the United Nations, in implementation of the historic Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, terminated South Africa's mandate over Namibia.

133. The United Nations assumed responsibility for granting independence to the people of that Territory and, in 1967, established the United Nations Council for Namibia [resolution 2248 (S-V)], with authority to settle the Namibian question.

134. However, the racist South African régime, flouting the will of the international community and the demands of world public opinion, continues to occupy that Territory illegally. Obviously, the maintenance of Namibia's colonial status is an important factor in the strategic plans of imperialism and racism.

135. The rich natural resources of Namibia are a source of enormous profits for South Africa and its Western partners. Those profits go primarily to develop the military industry of South Africa and to build up its racist army. Pretoria is now tenth in the world in arms production, and 10 per cent of the population of South Africa is armed.

136. The Pretoria régime systematically perpetrates aggressive and provocative acts against neighbouring sovereign States. A glaring example of the aggressive policies of Pretoria against the independent countries of Africa was the recent armed aggression against Lesotho, as a result of which there were civilian victims, including women and children.

137. The negotiations that have been undertaken since 1978 by the so-called contact group of five Western States have not led to any substantive result. The well-known Security Council resolution 435 (1978) remains unimplemented. The activity of the contact group has shown that its efforts boil down really to various kinds of machinations designed to postpone the process of the decolonization of Namibia. *The New York Times*, which can hardly be suspected of being sympathetic to the Namibian people's national liberation movement, only a week ago, on 7 December, drew an interesting conclusion with regard to the contact group's talks. It stated: "But after rosy predictions early this year, collapse is looming. The U.S. will be blamed."*

138. The true purposes of the "Western Five" were exposed in the discussion with regard to sanctions against South Africa in the Security Council on 30 April 1981,⁵ when three of the five States vetoed the draft resolution on comprehensive mandatory sanctions against South Africa. The United States again used its right of veto on 31 August 1981⁶ in voting against the Security Council draft resolution condemning South Africa's act of aggression against Angola.

139. Recently, the racist régime of South Africa, not without the support of its Western partners, has had recourse to even more sophisticated stratagems to perpetuate and strengthen its colonial domination over Namibia.

140. Manipulating the provisions of the Security Council resolution on the holding of elections, the Pretoria régime is doing everything it can to establish a puppet régime made up of its protégés. The international community should, we believe, decisively rebuff those manoeuvres by South Africa.

141. The Mongolian delegation strongly condemns Pretoria's attempts and those of the Western Powers artificially to link a Namibian settlement with the presence of Cuban troops in Angola. This is merely another manoeuvre designed to delay the settlement of the Namibian question and to circumvent the United Nations plan endorsed in Security Council resolution 435 (1978).

142. The untenable nature of that linkage is quite obvious. The settlement of the Namibian problem is a question of decolonization, and the presence of Cuban forces in Angola, at the request of that country's Government, relates to Angola's sovereign right to defend its security. It is interesting that many African countries, including the front-line States, have directly condemned that manoeuvre and exposed its true nature.

143. Thus, the attempts of South Africa and its partners to link those two questions must be viewed as just another manoeuvre.

144. The continuing illegal occupation of Namibia by South Africa, the constant acts of aggression against independent African States and the build-up of South Africa's military potential, including the development of atomic weapons, all constitute a serious threat to international peace and the security of peoples.

145. The Mongolian delegation, therefore, like the majority of delegations, considers the imposition of comprehensive mandatory sanctions against South Africa, under Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter, and strict compliance with such sanctions to be the most effective way of bringing about a definitive and just settlement of the Namibian problem.

146. In conclusion, our delegation wishes to affirm the full support of the Mongolian people and of the Government of the Mongolian People's Republic for the just struggle of the Namibian people, under the leadership of their legitimate representative, SWAPO, for freedom and independence and against colonialism and imperialism. We are sure that the just cause of the Namibian people will triumph.

147. Mr. KRAVETS (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic) (*interpretation from Russian*): The colonial racist régime of Pretoria, brutally trampling underfoot the Charter of the United Nations and disregarding the many decisions of the Organization and the protests of world public opinion has, for years now, been illegally hanging on to power over Namibia and has imposed its own racist régime on that Territory.

148. The leaders of South Africa have been subjecting the indigenous population of Namibia, and above all their acknowledged political vanguard, SWAPO, to ruthless terror and repression, and have been barbarously plundering the natural resources of the country. A 20,000-strong invasion force is concentrated in the north of Namibia alone, to say nothing of the South African military units in other regions of the country. The South African racists are thus using the Territory of Namibia as a base from which to perpetrate acts of aggression against neighbouring independent States, primarily the People's Republic of Angola. And the latest South African raid, against Lesotho, brought death to dozens of completely innocent people.

149. Such defiant behaviour by the racist régime of Pretoria over so many years can be explained only by the broad-based support which the racist régime of South Africa has been receiving from leading imperialist Powers.

150. While hypocritically condemning in words the policies and practices of *apartheid*, certain Western Powers, primarily the United States, see in South Africa an effective way to thwart the national liberation

* Quoted in English by the speaker.

movements of southern Africa and a weapon with which to exert pressure on the African States. It is indeed the United States Administration, invoking a doctrine of its own invention that declares the national liberation struggle to be a manifestation of "international terrorism", which is constantly defending the South African terrorists. This was demonstrated most provocatively in the Security Council in August last year when the United States blocked the adoption of a resolution condemning the far-reaching aggression of South Africa against Angola.

151. It is also quite clear that the Western Powers have a selfish interest in strengthening the Pretoria régime and in maintaining colonial and racist systems in Namibia.

152. The documents of the United Nations Council for Namibia, the Special Committee against *Apartheid* and other United Nations bodies convincingly expose the plundering activities of the imperialist transnational corporations. These activities are being carried out in violation of Decree No. 1 of the United Nations Council for Namibia,⁴ which defends the right of the Namibian people to manage the mineral resources of their homeland and which declares the activities of all foreign companies in the Territory which do not have the authorization of the Council to be illegal. Despite that, however, many transnational corporations are continuing on an ever-increasing scale to pump out Namibia's natural resources—uranium, industrial diamonds, lead and rare-earth metals. A leading role in this plunder is played by United States monopolies. According to *The New York Times* of 3 November last, "some 250 American companies with subsidiaries and affiliates in South Africa account for about one-fifth of total foreign investment there". In 1981, these investments rose by 13.3 per cent to reach \$2,600 million.

153. Serious concern has been aroused in the international community by the billion-dollar injections into the South Africa economy, like the one recently made by the IMF. The so-called technical nature of the loan takes on a very different slant when it is considered in the context of South Africa's aggressiveness and the expenditures borne by the régime in connection with the undeclared war against the People's Republic of Angola. According to experts, that billion-dollar loan exactly covers the military expenditure of South Africa for 1980 to 1982. It is worthy of note that in 1976, when Pretoria received another IMF loan amounting to \$464 million, its military expenditures at that time amounted to \$450 million. Comment, as they say, is superfluous.

154. In this connection, the continuing collaboration by certain Western countries, primarily the United States and other countries members of NATO, and Israel, with the illegal white minority régime in the military sphere, and most of all the nuclear sphere, is becoming particularly dangerous. In violation of the mandatory arms embargo, decided by the Security Council in 1977, those States have not only helped to create the military machine of the aggressive Pretoria régime, but are also seeing to it that South Africa is being turned into one of the major exporters of military technology. According to the *Christian Science Monitor* of 13 September 1982: "In 1979 ... South Africa [exported] some \$60 million worth of arms".

155. The delegation of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic shares the conclusion of the International Conference on Sanctions against South Africa, held in Paris in May 1981, that the continuing political, economic and military collaboration by certain Western countries and their transnational corporations with the racist régime of South Africa is the main obstacle to the achievement by the people of Namibia of self-determination and independence.

156. The way to resolve the Namibian problem is known. It is stated in Security Council resolution 435 (1978), which provides for the holding of free elections and for the country's transition to independence under international control. However, the South African racists, with the consent of the Western Powers, are urgently implementing a policy which seeks a so-called internal settlement aimed at throwing together a puppet régime in Namibia and at isolating SWAPO, thus keeping it out of the decision of the fate of the country. In order to postpone *ad infinitum* the process of the liberation of Namibia from the colonialist and racist shackles of Pretoria, to force a neo-colonialist decision on the Namibian problem, and to take its settlement out of the United Nations context, the South African racists and their protectors from the contact group are continuing to pile up all sorts of conditions and obstacles. The question of the granting of independence to Namibia has been provocatively linked with the withdrawal of Cuban forces from Angola and the acceptance by Angola of various ultimatums. This is another attempt at gross interference in the internal affairs of a sovereign State.

157. The General Assembly should categorically condemn the attempt by South Africa and the States Members of the "contact group" to sabotage a just settlement of the Namibian problem and to establish a pseudo-independence for Namibia under a puppet régime.

158. Speaking in the United Nations, the delegation of the Ukrainian SSR has repeatedly stated that only guaranteeing the people of Namibia their inalienable right to self-determination and independence on the basis of the maintenance of the unity and territorial integrity of that country, including Walvis Bay and other offshore islands, the immediate and complete withdrawal of troops and South African administration from Namibia, and the transfer of all power to SWAPO, which is recognized by the United Nations and the OAU as the sole authentic representative of the Namibian people, will help to bring about a just political solution to the question of Namibia. That position of ours is one of principle and remains unchanged.

159. My delegation is profoundly convinced that only the joint efforts of all States in the complete isolation and boycott of the racist régime in international affairs can force it to comply with United Nations decisions on the granting of independence to Namibia and to terminate its illegal occupation. That need is urgently dictated by the interests of a speedy elimination of the last bulwark of colonialism in southern Africa and the need to strengthen peace and security, as well as the need for the further development of broad-based international co-operation and the national and social progress of peoples. Therefore, as heretofore, we fully support the demand of the African States regarding the immediate imposition by the Security Council of

comprehensive mandatory sanctions against South Africa, in accordance with the United Nations Charter.

The meeting rose at 1.20 p.m.

NOTES

¹ See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-seventh Year, Supplement for October, November and December 1982*, document S/15515.

² *Legal Consequences for States of the Continued Presence of South Africa in Namibia (South West Africa) notwithstanding Security Council Resolution 276 (1970), Advisory Opinion, I.C.J. Reports 1971*, p. 16.

³ United Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. 75, No. 972, p. 135.

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

⁵ See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-sixth Year*, 2277th meeting.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 2300th meeting.