



President: Mr. Imre HOLLAI (Hungary).

AGENDA ITEM 32

*Message of Sympathy to the Government of the
Yemen Arab Republic*

1. The PRESIDENT: On behalf of all the members of the General Assembly, I should like to extend to the Government and people of Yemen our deepest sympathy in connection with the disaster caused by the devastating earthquake which resulted in a tragic loss of lives and material damage.

2. As President of the General Assembly, I have sent the following telegram to the President of the Yemen Arab Republic:

"In the name of the members of the United Nations General Assembly, I wish to express our deepest sympathy to the people of the Yemen Arab Republic at the consequences of the earthquake which has devastated their country. We have been profoundly moved by the scope of this catastrophe, and I take this opportunity to extend our support to the Government and the people of Yemen."

I feel certain that all the nations represented in this Hall will wish to associate themselves with this message of sympathy.

3. I now call on the representative of Yemen.

4. Mr. SALLAM (Yemen) (*interpretation from Arabic*): On behalf of the Government and the people of the Yemen Arab Republic, I have the honour, Mr. President, to express my deepest thanks and appreciation for the condolences which you have expressed on your own behalf and on behalf of the international community, represented in the membership of the United Nations, over the tragic loss the Yemeni people have suffered as a result of the volcanic eruption of Al-Lessi mountain, about 85 kilometres south of the capital, San'a. The eruption, which took place at 12.15 in the afternoon of Monday, 13 December, caused an earthquake whose strength was 6 on the Richter scale.

5. The earthquake lasted for 40 seconds and increased in intensity in certain areas of Zamar, especially in Anes, Alhada, Ans and Jahran. It led to the total destruction of 11 villages of the 143 communities that were affected, among them Al-Olieb, Dhouran, Anes, Thi-wad, Basil, Jabal Ishac, Alquudada, Da'awan, Ghaiman, Al-Sayad, Hushairat and Al-higrah. So far, the number of injured is 1,104 and the death toll is 1,082. Relief work is going on as I speak.

6. I should like to thank you, Mr. President, and all the members of the Assembly, for the condolences you have expressed to the Yemeni people on the tragic loss they have suffered.

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

7. Mr. AUDU (Nigeria): As Chairman of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* and a member of the United Nations Council for Namibia, Nigeria has followed with keen interest and concern the arduous work of the Council for Namibia, culminating in the report [A/37/24] and the draft resolutions recommended to the Assembly for adoption. My delegation has carefully considered the 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 [A/37/23/Rev.1], the report of the Fourth Committee [A/37/619], and the report of the Secretary-General [A/37/203 and Rev.1 and Add.1-4] on the same issue.

8. My delegation would like to declare unequivocally here that the Government of Nigeria has abided and continues to abide by the provisions of General Assembly resolutions 36/121 B, of 10 December 1981, and ES-8/2, of 14 September 1981, which call for the effective isolation of the *apartheid* régime of South Africa politically, economically, militarily and culturally, and for the protection of the natural resources of Namibia. Towards these ends, my Government continues to ban the importation from South Africa or elsewhere of all commodities and products originating in South Africa or in illegally occupied Namibia. In the same vein, I wish to restate that there is no exportation of any kind from Nigeria to South Africa and Namibia. This shall remain so until Namibia is totally independent under the leadership of the South West Africa People's Organization [SWAPO]. Nigeria has no contact of a diplomatic, consular or business nature with South Africa, nor does it allow its nationals, singly or corporately, to do so. We do not allow our airports or seaports to be used even for fuelling by air and shipping lines which have flights or other transport links with South Africa. We do not accord persons having business links with South Africa entry visas into Nigeria.

9. In relation to the Namibian question, Nigeria is a front-line State and is actively involved in the promotion of a fair solution to the problem. At meetings with the five-member Western contact group, Nigeria's unequivocal stand for genuine independence for Namibia and opposition to *apartheid* in South Africa has been quite clear. Indeed, our position has been so well elaborated in several forums, including this one, that I need not dwell on its details here. At the United

Nations, Nigeria has always been a sponsor and has voted in favour of all draft resolutions aimed at bringing independence to Namibia. Suffice it to reassure the Assembly that Nigeria remains resolved and committed to the independence of Namibia and to the conclusive liquidation of *apartheid* in South Africa. In the words of President Shehu Shagari of Nigeria to the recent Week of Solidarity with the People of Namibia:

“Namibia is today one of the most important issues before the United Nations, and we are gratified that the United Nations, in its collective wisdom, has pronounced itself in support of the legitimate struggle of the people of Namibia for their freedom. Nigeria remains committed to the struggle of the Namibian people, which it believes to be just and legitimate, and will continue to assist the people of Namibia in every way it can to regain their legitimate birthright. Nigeria has often declared its total opposition to racism and colonialism, particularly in the continent of Africa. It will continue to maintain this position unflinchingly until Namibia becomes totally free.”

10. It is in the light of this that the Nigerian delegation remains disturbed by the actions of some States Members of the Organization that in pursuit of short-term economic interests and so-called strategic considerations erect all kinds of obstacles in the path of Namibian independence.

11. If the United Nations collectively and sincerely adopted Security Council resolution 435 (1978) and General Assembly resolutions 36/121 A and B in the interest of Namibia, why is a certain constellation of States which are all Members of the Organization toiling tirelessly, through their transnational corporations, operating in Namibia, to cushion and frustrate the penalizing hardships prescribed by the same United Nations resolutions? The decision of the Board of Governors of IMF to grant racist South Africa a drawing facility of over \$1 billion in November is also in contravention of the spirit and letter of the relevant General Assembly resolution which specifically requested IMF to refrain from granting the loan.

12. In a document of the Special Committee, the unacceptable economic situation that now exists in Namibia is described as follows:

“South African and other foreign interests based in Canada, France, the United States of America and the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland have for years monopolized the commercial sectors of the Namibian economy, principally mining.

“The co-operation between South Africa and foreign economic interests in the mining field has resulted in the creation of a narrowly based economy, which is dependent on fluctuating world market prices for unprocessed minerals. According to one estimate, 73 per cent of the Territory’s total output is exported ...

“... ”

“... Furthermore, there is no requirement that any percentage of the profits be reinvested in the Territory for development purposes. Consequently, the bulk of the profits generated by foreign investment are regularly repatriated to foreign share-

holders. Also ... money is frequently transferred from Namibia to South Africa ...

“... ”

“... In 1979 and 1980, the growth rate was minus 7.9 per cent and minus 1 per cent respectively.

“The main victim of the Territory’s economic weakness is the African population, which, even during the period of prosperity for whites, was denied a meaningful share in the wealth generated. Thousands of Africans have been thrown out of work ... and thus deprived of even meagre wages.”¹

13. The denial of Namibian independence by South Africa has also been accompanied by repressive and brutal acts against Namibians and SWAPO officials and a war of aggression against neighbouring Angola, with the killing and maiming of innocent and helpless citizens. During the past two weeks, South Africa’s racist forces invaded Lesotho and Mozambique, inflicting considerable damage to property and exacting an enormous toll in human life. South Africa draws comfort and encouragement for these murderous acts from its supporters, despite the fact that the latter are Members of the world Organization and party to United Nations resolutions aimed at achieving and promoting Namibia’s independence. Why do those States connive with South Africa? Why the extraneous and unrelated linkage between the Cuban force present in Angola—a force that is in that country at Angola’s invitation—and the implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978) on Namibia’s independence?

14. Nigeria condemns all such activities and reaffirms its faith in and support for all previous United Nations resolutions, as well as any further resolutions to be adopted by the Assembly in its collective wisdom to ensure the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of South Africa from Namibia and implementation of the inalienable right of the Namibian people to self-determination, freedom and independence under SWAPO, their authentic and sole representative.

15. Mr. THUNBORG (Sweden): When we debated the question of Namibia in the General Assembly at the thirty-sixth session, my delegation observed, at the 67th meeting, that after a period of stalemate, hopes were again raised that the United Nations plan would finally be implemented. However, having seen those hopes shattered and revived so many times since negotiations started, we warned the Assembly that such hopes, which we naturally shared, were for our part based less on any real facts than on our belief in the urgent need for progress. At the present time, we are still waiting, as we did last year and in years before, to see any real indication that South Africa is committed to the process. Regrettably, there are ominous signs to the contrary.

16. Even if, on the one hand, South Africa claims to be seriously negotiating on the basis of the United Nations plan, it is only too obvious, on the other hand, that it is quick to counter any sign of real progress. South Africa has made clear that it desires to have foreign troops removed from its vicinity. We find it most unfortunate that Pretoria has gained support for this objective as a pre-condition for the implementation of the United Nations plan.

17. Through the years, South Africa's prevarication and delaying tactics have manifested themselves by the constant introduction of new conditions for the implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978). The linkage between the removal of Cuban troops from Angola and the initiation of UNTAG is only the latest example of such tactics. The sole issue that should confront us—that is, the United Nations plan and its implementation—is being overshadowed by a new and extraneous element. The hypocritical dimension of this is demonstrated by the fact that South Africa's own actions—its aggression in southern Angola—invite the very presence of foreign troops in that sovereign country. It goes without saying that the termination of South Africa's illegal presence in Namibia and southern Angola is a prerequisite for the defusion of tension in the area.

18. Thus, South Africa shows by its deeds that it has no real intention of re-establishing peaceful conditions in its border area and creating a climate conducive to a negotiated solution of the issues related to Namibia's transition to independence. The same is only too evident from its conduct in Namibia itself. Pretoria's intimidation and repression of political dissidents, especially supporters of SWAPO, has continued unabated. Moreover, over the past few months, the South African Government has been busy trying to reshape the constellation of internal parties—once again, it seems, playing with the idea of an internal solution, which, of course, would only mean a further deterioration of the situation.

19. Negotiations on the United Nations plan have now entered their fifth year. Obviously, South Africa is in no mood to comply with international law and to make the adaptations the international community has firmly requested of it. As long as it refuses to respect international agreements, or does so only selectively, there will be no law, peace and freedom in this area of the world. South Africa's attack on Maseru, the capital of Lesotho, only last week is yet another proof of Pretoria's disregard for the fundamental international principles of the non-use of force and respect for the sovereignty of States.

20. Once again, it must be underscored that the realization of the independence of Namibia is a special obligation for the United Nations, a legal obligation that cannot be delegated or compromised away. That is why the situation, as it stands, is unacceptable.

21. We regret that the Western contact group is making no further progress, taking into account that this group has been entrusted with—and has assumed—a particular responsibility for carrying out the negotiations that would lead to rapid implementation of the United Nations plan. After the negotiations here last summer, we have again entered a period of stalemate which makes the previous exercise look strangely futile, however much hope we would like to attach to it.

22. It seems to us that the contact group or its members possess efficient and peaceful means of pressure that so far have not been used. We particularly regret that one member of the group, in dealing with South Africa, has so clearly ruled out the use of sanctions, in accordance with the provisions of the United Nations Charter, since the introduction of mandatory sanctions by the Security Council would be the most

significant means of bringing pressure to bear on South Africa.

23. My country, which has long advocated such measures by the Security Council, believes that to disregard this path to a solution runs counter not only to the interests of the majority of Namibia's population, but also to the peaceful and democratic ideals in which we believe. The key to a non-violent and stable political and economic development of this region is, in our view, the establishment of a truly independent and internationally recognized Namibia.

24. My Government has continuously reaffirmed its conviction that the people of Namibia must be permitted, as soon as possible, to determine their own future through free and fair elections under the supervision and control of the United Nations in accordance with Security Council resolution 435 (1978). We have repeatedly expressed the view that the Security Council should consider measures to implement the United Nations plan without any further delay. We have also expressed our willingness to assist the United Nations in carrying out the peaceful transition from an illegal to a legal administration to be chosen in democratic elections.

25. My country's long-standing contacts with SWAPO are based on the assessment that there can be no real solution in Namibia without true participation of this political movement which obviously enjoys widespread support among the population. SWAPO's central standing in Namibian politics has in fact been awarded negative recognition by the South African authorities themselves.

26. Pending progress in the fulfilment of our common responsibility towards Namibia, Sweden will continue to give humanitarian aid through SWAPO to the many Namibian refugees in the neighbouring countries, as well as to the various United Nations and non-governmental programmes assisting Namibia. We are particularly concerned about the refugees in Angola, who are suffering from the acts of South African armed aggression in this area. This concern likewise includes the Angolan victims of that aggression. We remain hopeful that the day is approaching when the assistance we give today to Namibians in exile will be transformed into long-term development co-operation with the Government of the new and independent State.

27. Mr. GONZÁLEZ CÉSAR (Mexico) (*interpretation from Spanish*): On behalf of my delegation, I should like to express our profound sympathy and solidarity with the Yemen Arab Republic following the catastrophe which took a heavy toll in life and property in that country.

28. From the very beginning and throughout its long and complex history, the problem of Namibia has been a perfect example of the interdependent and worldwide nature of contemporary relations among States.

29. It is not a bilateral or regional problem but a conflict which affects and is of concern to the whole international community. The United Nations Council for Namibia represents a first attempt at, and the most important example of, co-operation to control a conflict and to exercise acts of multilateral government, the most recent of which was the signing by its President, Mr. Paul Lusaka, of the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea, at Montego Bay, Jamaica.

30. Unlike other processes of decolonization, in the case of Namibia the United Nations assumed direct responsibility for safeguarding the interests of and administering the Territory of the Namibian people. This fact, which made it no longer necessary to have recourse to administering Powers, is in itself of the greatest historical significance. There are two reasons for this: one is that it gives the countries of the third world access for the first time to an institutional solution of a major political crisis; the other is that, in the face of hegemonic, disintegrating, one-sided tendencies, it stresses the gradually universal nature of the principles, bodies and rules which govern our system.
31. The General Assembly is now considering the question of Namibia against the background of negative signs that are rather ominous for a people still under the domination of a foreign Power and subjected to economic, political and racial control.
32. The question of Namibia, it must be repeated, is simple and unambiguous. The Namibian people has a right to self-determination, immediately and without interference.
33. Through its sole legitimate representative, SWAPO, the international community has learned of recent manoeuvres aimed at placing limits or conditions on the independence of Namibia.
34. Independence having become a widespread and inevitable cause, the occupying Power and its allies have resorted to various subterfuges to impose an internal administration which is an unacceptable substitute for the attributes of genuine sovereignty. These actions by South Africa have already been rejected by the General Assembly and the Security Council. Nor will they be accepted in the future.
35. My delegation wishes to repeat that the resolutions of the United Nations provide the only bases for a settlement of the question of Namibia. Any other proposal or initiative at variance with their provisions will be lacking in validity. Security Council resolution 435 (1978) is both balanced and just. Hence, the versions being bandied about to the effect that the United Nations position is aimed at favouring one segment or one group in Namibia, or that it is directed against the legitimate interests of one country or another, are unacceptable. The genuine exercise of the sovereign rights of a people can only be of benefit to all Member countries. To believe otherwise is to revert to a colonial mentality.
36. The genuine anti-colonial struggle has, over the years, exposed the many fallacies which have been spread to thwart the just demands of the peoples of the third world. The events of the past decade in the southern part of Africa have shown that racial minority governments imposed on the vast majority of the population cannot last indefinitely. The viability of a multi-racial democratic country has also been proved beyond doubt. These are particularly relevant examples that contrast with the inequality and oppression which exists in South Africa and Namibia and that has led to the desperate hardening of the racist régime's determination to maintain its privileges at any cost. Further proof of this is the toll in human life taken during the recent aggression by Pretoria against Lesotho, which we unanimously condemn today.
37. It is paradoxical that in these last bastions of colonialism new forms of domination and subjugation are emerging. An attempt is being made to replace direct control with indirect control by third parties, while maintaining absolute economic dependence. This promotes political instability and only serves to strengthen the machinery for social oppression.
38. The Pretoria régime has publicly assumed the right to maintain the stability of southern Africa. It has sought refuge in actions similar to those of some of its allies in other parts of the world. The fact that violations of international law are repeated does not make them acceptable.
39. An ideological line, a specific direction in internal affairs and limits in international relations seem now to be conditions which some wish to place on countries located near military Powers. This cannot be accepted in any circumstances, in any geographical or political area. If these efforts are not reversed, the future of the countries of the third world will be increasingly threatened with the passing of each day.
40. The countries of the area have firmly rejected all attempts to establish any link or parallel between the independence of Namibia and any extraneous issue. This is just one more attempt to prolong the illegal occupation of Namibia; it is interference in international decisions regarding Namibia.
41. This linkage is supported by some countries whose relations with South Africa are indispensable for the economic and military policies of the Pretoria régime. We hope that the almost universal opposition to these new conditions placed on Namibian independence will make their sponsors give them up once and for all.
42. The Secretary-General, in his valuable report this year on the work of the Organization, stated the following:
- “Concerted diplomatic action is an essential complement to the implementation of resolutions. I believe that in reviewing one of the greatest problems of the United Nations—lack of respect for its decisions by those to whom they are addressed—new ways should be considered of bringing to bear the collective influence of the membership on the problem at hand.” [See A/37/1, p. 3.]
43. To promote the implementation of our own resolutions, we must negotiate, we must take concerted action—but within, and not outside, the United Nations. South Africa has constantly violated and ignored the resolutions of the Organization both as regards *apartheid* and Namibia and as regards the acts of aggression that it has committed against the independent, sovereign countries of Africa.
44. The Pretoria racist régime has assumed the right to intervene in the affairs of neighbouring States and to promote mercenary action against other States. It has assumed the right to attack other countries, disregarding the elementary principles of international coexistence which are so necessary for peaceful relations between States.
45. The draft resolutions which are now being considered provide a general framework for action. They contain clear concepts in regard to the situation in and

around Namibia which must serve as a basis for our decisions and as guidance for our activities.

46. The almost universal consensus that has emerged in the international community regarding Namibia must be expanded and consolidated. The progress that has been made, the resistance and determination of the Namibian people, must culminate in the international community's discharging, democratically, its lofty mandate—proclaiming Namibia's complete independence.
47. Mr. DIACONU (Romania) (*interpretation from French*): We are participating in the current debate with a very deep awareness of the responsibilities incumbent on the United Nations in respect of peoples still under colonial domination and, in a very direct manner, in respect of the Namibian people.
48. The serious situation created in Namibia and the tremendous importance of present events for the fate of the population of that Territory require resolute action on the part of the General Assembly to implement urgently the solemn obligation it entered into 16 years ago, under resolution 2145 (XXI), to extend to the Namibian people appropriate assistance to enable it to accede to self-determination and national independence. Such a situation tests the Organization's ability to take action to translate into fact its own decisions that have been unanimously accepted, and to take prompt and effective action to defend the freedom and independence of peoples when international peace, stability and security are seriously jeopardized.
49. The General Assembly has repeatedly condemned the continued occupation of Namibia and called for the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of the armed forces and the administration of South Africa from that Territory, so that the Namibian people can freely exercise their right to choose their own path towards social and economic development within a free, united and independent homeland.
50. The will of Member States has been expressed in the broad support given to Security Council resolution 435 (1978), approving the plan regarding Namibia's attainment of independence through the holding of free, democratic elections under United Nations supervision and control, and in the efforts made to secure implementation of that resolution. Internationally, for some time now there has been broad action to mobilize public opinion in support of the independence of Namibia, and measures have been undertaken by the vast majority of States to convince South Africa that it must put an end to its domination over Namibia. However, efforts by the international community, by the United Nations, continue to be defied by South Africa. Throughout three years of negotiations aimed at the implementation of resolution 435 (1978), South Africa has continually raised new obstacles to Namibia's attainment of real independence. It has become quite clear that, for South Africa, negotiations are merely a loophole to gain time for its actions to destabilize the region, for its expansionist aims, for its plan to continue to dominate Namibia and to impose on it a neo-colonialist type of solution.
51. The cynicism with which South Africa has defied the most elementary rules of international law can also be seen in the many acts of aggression committed by the Pretoria racists against Angola and other front-line States—most recently against Lesotho—thereby creating an extremely serious situation in southern Africa, one which threatens international peace and security. Such actions, taken precisely as efforts are being made under the aegis of the United Nations to bring about an agreement to put into effect the United Nations plan for the granting of independence to Namibia, demonstrate the hypocrisy and duplicity of the Pretoria authorities.
52. South Africa's arrogant attitude forces us to the conclusion that the Pretoria authorities do not understand the changes that are taking place in the world today and that they have learned nothing from post-war developments.
53. In this respect, we cannot disregard the heavy responsibility of the States that have political and diplomatic relations with the Pretoria régime to act in such a way as to ensure that the right to independence of the Namibian people is recognized, and to take measures to ensure that their economic interests do not support racist régimes in southern Africa or put obstacles in the way of the exercise of the legitimate rights of the peoples of that region.
54. The time has come for South Africa to understand the results of colonial wars waged against oppressed peoples and their national liberation movements and what it means when former colonial Powers try to perpetuate, by old or new means and methods, their domination over colonized peoples. It is high time that the whole world, including South Africa, understood once and for all that, if contemporary society is to make progress, the final elimination of the colonial phenomenon in all its forms and as soon as possible is essential.
55. The position of my country in support of the heroic national liberation struggle of the Namibian people, under the leadership of SWAPO, and of United Nations efforts to fulfil its special responsibilities regarding Namibia has frequently been reaffirmed in the Organization, in both regular and special sessions of the General Assembly and in the Security Council.
56. The message addressed by President Nicolae Ceaușescu to the President of SWAPO in 1981 stressed the overriding need "... to accelerate, together with the intensification of the struggle of the Namibian people, the efforts of all democratic, anti-imperialist forces and of international public opinion to put an end as soon as possible to South Africa's domination and to ensure the attainment by Namibia of national independence". That position has been explained in Romania's contacts with various States in the world in an effort to mobilize international support for the immediate accession to independence of Namibia.
57. As in the past, Romania is convinced that a political settlement of the problem of Namibia presupposes that South Africa will totally and effectively respect the fundamental right of the Namibian people alone to decide their fate and to choose their own path to economic and social development, without any foreign interference.
58. As long as South Africa refuses to take that course, the United Nations must intensify action on every level against the Pretoria régime. The gravity of the situation means that even sanctions must be considered, under the Charter of the United Nations,

as rightly demanded by African countries. We should like to stress once again the responsibility of the five Western Powers which are members of the contact group to ensure that urgent action is taken to implement the United Nations plan for Namibian independence.

59. While in favour of a political settlement of the Namibian problem, we must draw attention to the rigid and anachronistic policy of the Pretoria authorities, their manoeuvres to delay the implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978) and their illegal activities in Namibia aimed at perpetuating their domination. In the circumstances, we continue to believe, as we always have, that the Namibian people are entitled to use political, diplomatic and all other means, including armed struggle, to end foreign domination and fulfil their aspirations to freedom, independence and progress.

60. As the leader of the SWAPO delegation stressed, it is necessary in these circumstances to increase support for the Namibian people in their struggle for independence and national unity and to eliminate the dangers stemming from covert and overt manoeuvres by South Africa.

61. The proposals and suggestions put forward by SWAPO and the recommendations contained in the report of the United Nations Council for Namibia [A/37/24, para. 786] provide important guidelines for activities with a view to the adoption of measures through which the United Nations can most effectively and successfully carry out its responsibilities *vis-à-vis* the people of Namibia.

62. In our view, the Security Council must act with determination to ensure the implementation of its resolutions on this Territory in order to force South Africa to abandon its harmful policies and to speed up the fulfilment of the legitimate aspirations of the Namibian people to freedom and independence.

63. The Romanian people, who for centuries carried on a struggle, involving great sacrifices, for national and social liberation, has from the beginning given its support to and manifested militant solidarity with the struggle being waged, politically and diplomatically and with weapons in hand, by the people of Namibia, under the leadership of SWAPO, to exercise its inalienable right to live in freedom and dignity. Socialist Romania and the Romanian people will continue to support the Namibian people in their struggle to throw off the yoke of foreign domination and fulfil their aspirations to freedom, independence and progress, in the firm conviction that their struggle will be crowned by complete success in the near future.

64. Romania is determined to continue to act in close collaboration with the African countries, with other non-aligned developing countries and with all States devoted to the noble purposes of the Charter so that the Namibian people may exercise their right to a free, united and sovereign country without further delay, so that Namibia may occupy its rightful place among the free nations of the world and among the States Members of the United Nations, and so that it can make a full contribution to the efforts of the international community to ensure peace and détente and to build a better, more just world.

65. We believe that the time has come to put an end to the situation in Namibia, the sufferings of the Na-

mbian people, the danger to peace and mankind caused by the maintenance of the colonial régimes in that region, and to ensure independence and an independent State for the Namibian people.

66. Mr. OLEANDROV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*interpretation from Russian*): From the first days of the October Revolution, in 1917, the Soviet State has unwaveringly followed a policy of supporting peoples struggling for their national liberation and political and economic independence.

67. Speaking on the eve of our commemoration of the sixtieth anniversary of the formation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, a great event in the life of the Soviet people, the Soviet delegation declares with pride that in its multinational State, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, there are more than 100 nations and nationalities, including peoples which lived under the Tsarist empire, liberated from colonialism and now freely developing in friendship, equality and social justice.

68. In the complex conditions of contemporary international relations, the Soviet Union, together with other socialist countries, has always followed and will continue to follow the Leninist policy of supporting peoples struggling for their freedom and independence.

69. In the forefront of decolonization problems today is that of winning true independence for Namibia, which is illegally occupied by the racist régime of South Africa.

70. Our country advocates the speedy exercise by the Namibian people of their inalienable right to self-determination and independence and the preservation of the unity and territorial integrity of Namibia, including Walvis Bay and the offshore islands. We support an immediate and full withdrawal of South African troops and administration from Namibia and the transfer of all powers to the people of Namibia through SWAPO, which is recognized by the United Nations and the Organization of Africa Unity [OAU] as the sole authentic representative of the Namibian people.

71. The situation in southern Africa remains tense and fraught with the most serious complications. The South African régime continues its acts of aggression and its subversive activities against sovereign independent States in southern Africa.

72. Using the territory of Namibia as a take-off point, the South African troops are plundering the territory of Angola. This morning, the General Assembly condemned yet another aggression by South Africa, the invasion of Lesotho; and from Mozambique we have news of a further dangerous concentration of South African armed forces on the borders of that country. Hence, it is quite clear that the Pretoria régime is not only an outpost of colonialism and racism in southern Africa but also a source of growing danger to peace in Africa.

73. South Africa is flouting the many decisions of the United Nations on the granting of independence to Namibia and continuing its policy of dismantling the very basis for a political settlement established and proposed by United Nations decisions. The position of the United Nations on Namibia is well known. In decisions of the Security Council, the General As-

sembly and other United Nations bodies, including the United Nations Council for Namibia and the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, it is stated quite clearly that Namibia is a Territory illegally occupied by South Africa. The presence of a South African administration and South African troops in Namibia is contrary to the rules of international law and to the principles of the United Nations Charter. South Africa's continuing occupation of Namibia constitutes aggression against the peoples of the Territory and a threat to international peace.

74. Sixteen years ago, the General Assembly called on South Africa to free Namibia unconditionally. But the Pretoria régime refused to do that, thus challenging the United Nations.

75. Throughout subsequent years, South Africa, relying on support from the Western Powers, did everything it could to hamper the process of the decolonization and subsequent liberation of Namibia.

76. At the same time, the Western Powers, by not permitting the adoption of effective sanctions against South Africa, under Chapter VII of the Charter, confirmed that they, supposedly, could convince South Africa to grant independence to Namibia by peaceful means. However, despite the adoption by the Security Council of its well-known resolutions 385 (1976) and 435 (1978) on the granting of independence to Namibia, endless negotiations on implementing those resolutions have been dragging on for many years now. So many promises are made, and a kind of playful optimism is expressed, but in fact a settlement is hampered by more and more artificial obstacles. New conditions are placed upon it, and the goal is not to allow Namibia to proceed to independence, but rather to preserve the country under the yoke of colonialism and racism.

77. We all know that, at first, the main obstacle to independence for Namibia was the declared absence of an agreement on how the elections should be carried out. Then, later, the so-called problem of the impartiality of the United Nations was raised.

78. Recently, after many years of delays and postponements, a new condition has appeared: the linkage of a settlement on Namibia with the withdrawal of the Cuban unit from Angola. That unit is there at the request of the Angolan Government and by agreement between Angola and Cuba. This illegal requirement is aimed at an obvious goal: to block a Namibian settlement. At the same time, it also covers up the desire to weaken the People's Republic of Angola through these threats against it by the South African aggressors. Clearly, this is gross and inadmissible interference in the internal affairs of the sovereign State of Angola.

79. The African countries and those Members of the United Nations which desire a swift granting of true independence to Namibia are being duly vigilant in this respect. At the recent meeting in Tripoli of the Heads of State and Government of 31 African countries, there was condemnation of the United States and South Africa for their attempts to establish any kind of linkage or parallelism at all between the independence of Namibia and other, incidental, issues such as—in this

case—the withdrawal of the Cuban troops from Angola.

80. It was emphasized that such attempts slow down the process of the decolonization of Namibia and are hegemonic manoeuvres around Namibia designed to prolong the illegal occupation and oppression of the Namibians, as well as being flagrant intervention in the internal affairs of Angola.

81. We can now see particularly clearly that in carrying out its plundering, neo-colonialist policy towards Namibia, South Africa is still relying on the direct complicity of the United States and a number of other members of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization [NATO]. The interest of these States in strengthening the Pretoria régime and its continuation of the colonial occupation of Namibia is based on economic, military and strategic considerations.

82. South Africa, lording it over Namibia without any curbs or controls at all, is, with the Western monopolies, rapaciously plundering the natural resources of the country, which is rich in rare non-ferrous metals, gold, diamonds and uranium. On the basis of the illegal system of using the indigenous population as slave labour, this also brings tremendous profit to the transnational corporations. Their return on investment is one of the highest in the world.

83. There are 88 transnational corporations operating in Namibia, of which 35 are based in South Africa, 25 in the United Kingdom, 15 in the United States, 8 in the Federal Republic of Germany, 3 in France and 2 in Canada. It is not mere chance that those are the very countries which are members of the so-called contact group for Namibia.

84. In order to continue its illegal occupation of Namibia, South Africa is continuing to rely primarily on foreign sources for its supplies of military equipment and technology. At the same time, the assistance of Western Powers has made it possible, according to information supplied by the United Nations Secretariat, to raise the military capability of South Africa by 70 to 90 per cent. Many firms in the United States and other Western countries have established local branches in South Africa, and the arms embargo does not apply to them.

85. A matter of particular concern to the international community is co-operation in the nuclear field between the *apartheid* régime and the United States and some other Western States, and also Israel.

86. There is no need to talk about the very serious consequences for Africa, and indeed the whole world, of the acquisition of nuclear weapons by South Africa, particularly in the light of the well-known statement by the Pretoria leaders that if necessary they would use all military resources available to them.

87. The people of Namibia continue to suffer from the most ruthless colonial oppression. They are subjected to the completely inhuman system of *apartheid* imposed by the South African authorities. At the present time, South Africa has 100,000 soldiers in Namibia, in addition to police units. That means that there is at least one policeman armed to the teeth for every 10 inhabitants of Namibia, ready to inflict penalties on them.

88. Despite the tremendous power of the military and police apparatus of South Africa being used against the liberation struggle of the Namibian people, they will not accept their situation of oppression. This has been convincingly demonstrated at this session of the General Assembly by the head of SWAPO's delegation, Mr. Mueshihange.

89. SWAPO, which now heads the liberation struggle, has won the trust and broad support of the people of the country and, indeed, support well beyond its frontiers. SWAPO has become the recognized political leader of the people of Namibia, able to shoulder the responsibility for resolving any matters relating to the attainment of independence and the government of that country. The international standing of SWAPO has risen. It is now recognized by the United Nations and the OAU as the sole authentic representative of the Namibian people.

90. The inalienable right of the Namibian people to freedom, independence and self-determination and their right to achieve that by the use of any available resources, including armed struggle, has frequently been stated by the United Nations. At the same time, SWAPO advocates peaceful means of resolving the Namibian problem and attaining a settlement on the basis of Security Council resolution 435 (1978).

91. The United Nations bears direct responsibility for the political fate of Namibia, for its decolonization and for the attainment of its independence. Decisions of the United Nations have indicated the ways and means of ensuring the attainment of Namibia's independence and the role of SWAPO as the true representative of the Namibian people. This international position of SWAPO cannot be detracted from by any political intrigue. The United Nations has not given anyone a mandate to replace it or to take over its responsibility in this business of the political settlement of the problem of Namibia. It should be emphasized that the so-called responsibility of South Africa over Namibia—which has frequently been referred to by Western propaganda—was ended by a United Nations decision 16 years ago.

92. The Soviet delegation confirms its support for decisions of the General Assembly which vigorously reject manoeuvres aimed at undermining Security Council resolution 435 (1978) or depriving the Namibian people and their vanguard, SWAPO, of the political gains that they have won during the difficult struggle for national liberation. The Soviet Union advocates a speedy attainment of a political settlement of the problem of Namibia and the need to implement all United Nations decisions on Namibia, including resolution 435 (1978). All matters relating to a Namibian settlement must be under the constant and effective monitoring and supervision of the Security Council.

93. At the same time, we would note that the United Nations should firmly condemn the undeclared war being waged by South Africa against the people of Namibia, against Angola and against other States in southern Africa.

94. The Soviet Union supports the demands of the African countries relating to the need for the Security Council's application against the Pretoria régime of comprehensive and mandatory sanctions, under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations.

It is important to ensure that all States abide by the arms embargo imposed by the Security Council against South Africa and that they all halt their co-operation with that country in the political, economic, military and nuclear fields. The Security Council must take measures to prevent South Africa's acquisition of nuclear weapons.

95. The Soviet Union unwaveringly supports the struggle of the peoples of Africa for their national liberation against the forces of imperialism, colonialism, racism and *apartheid*. We will continue to lend our support to the just struggle of the Namibian people headed by their true and genuine representative, SWAPO, in their struggle for freedom and independence and for an immediate, just settlement of the Namibian question, in accordance with decisions of the United Nations.

96. Mr. DE FIGUEIREDO (Angola): The story of Namibia is the story of Africa, the history of Namibia is the history of Africa and the tragedy of Namibia is the tragedy of Africa.

97. The history of Africa's relations with the West has been a history of plunder, exploitation, duplicity and betrayal, a history of double-dealing and double standards, a history of using Africa to achieve Western aims and a history of manipulating African issues to further Western interests. Even after 500 years there is no reason to believe that there has been any substantive change in the West's intentions. Western actions regarding the issue of genuine independence for Namibia and Western support for whatever the racist South African régime wishes to do in southern Africa serve merely to fuel our suspicions and confirm our worst fears.

98. What the *apartheid* régime of South Africa is today and what the *apartheid* régime of South Africa does today would be neither probable nor possible without the active encouragement and support of Pretoria's Western allies and partners.

99. South Africa's designs on the Territory of Namibia began a long time ago and will last a long time hence. The game that the South African minority régime has been playing in the last four years on the issue of Namibia's independence is but the continuation of South Africa's original plan for Namibia. As long ago as 1946, the Pretoria régime had wanted to incorporate Namibia into the racist Union of South Africa, whose mandate over the Territory was terminated in 1966 mainly because of Pretoria's decision to implement the recommendations of the Odendaal Commission,² which called for the establishment of separate non-white "homelands" in the Territory on a tribal or ethnic basis and a separate white area, which would have resulted in the partition and disintegration of Namibia and its absorption into South Africa.

100. Under the Odendaal Plan, 40 per cent of the Territory was partitioned into separate bantustans for the majority inhabitants, who make up over 90 per cent of the population; 43 per cent was given, as before, to the white minority settlers; and South African authorities took direct control over the rest. In other words, 60 per cent of the Territory was reserved for the 10 per cent of the minority population or was brought under direct South African administration. The "white area" com-

prised almost 51 million hectares of farming and government land, townships, diamond-rich areas and nature and game parks and contained virtually all of Namibia's rich natural resources—diamonds, uranium, cadmium, copper, lead, tin and zinc—as well as most of the commercially active agricultural and fishing sectors. It also included Walvis Bay, Namibia's only deep-water port and its chief commercial centre.

101. South Africa exploited these resources and exported them for the use and advantage of the white minority in South Africa and Namibia, using black workers from the "homelands" or from segregated towns near centres of industry who toiled in subhuman conditions in the mines and factories and on the farms.

102. South Africa extended to Namibia its *apartheid* legislation, including the Terrorism Act of 1967 and the Internal Security Amendment Act of 1976. Through its proclamation in 1976 of three "homelands"—Ovamboland, Kavangoland and East Caprivi—as security districts, South Africa in effect placed 50 per cent of the Namibian population under martial law, while the rest lived in virtual concentration camps.

103. South Africa has violated every norm of international law and has flouted every resolution and convention pertaining to the inalienable rights of the people of Namibia. South Africa has consistently violated the Charter of the United Nations, which it signed along with 50 other States in 1945. It has disregarded Security Council resolution 276 (1970), which declared the South African presence in Namibia illegal after termination of the mandate. It has ignored the Advisory Opinion of the International Court of Justice of 21 June 1971,³ and it has consistently placed obstacles in the way of implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978).

104. South Africa's creation of the puppet group, the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance, similarly has a historical precedent: in 1975, South Africa organized a constitutional conference open only to white political parties.

105. We have to admit that the racist régime in Pretoria has shown the utmost consistency and even predictability in its policies and practices in Namibia. It is the international community which has allowed itself to be duped and manipulated, sometimes through default and sometimes through Western assurances and guarantees.

106. At the eighth emergency special session, on the question of Namibia, held in 1981, the General Assembly for the first time called upon all States to impose against South Africa compulsory mandatory sanctions in accordance with the provisions of the United Nations Charter, in support of international efforts to end the illegal South African occupation of Namibia. It was pointed out at that session that, under the Charter, the main responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security is not interpreted as an exclusive prerogative of the Security Council—*vide* Articles 10, 11, 14 and 24 of the Charter. It was further pointed out that, by its resolution 377 (V), of 3 November 1950, the General Assembly recognized that failure by the Security Council to invoke Chapter VII of the Charter did not absolve Member States of their obligations nor the Organization of its responsibility under the Charter in matters regarding the maintenance of

international peace and security. Finally, the two factors which emerged from the eighth emergency special session, and which events have since further confirmed, are the existence of a threat to international peace and security in Namibia and southern Africa because of the actions of the racist régime of South Africa, and the inability of the Security Council to do anything about it.

107. The South African war of occupation in Namibia is costing the Pretoria régime at least \$1 billion annually. Those who have economic and other ties with South Africa can be compared to absentee occupiers, because they help to finance the illegal occupation and the war. All available data confirm that Western support for South Africa perpetuates Pretoria's illegal and colonial occupation of Namibia and its war against other States in southern Africa, in particular Angola.

108. When the contact group composed of five States then members of the Security Council offered to undertake negotiations designed to lead to independence for Namibia we, the front-line States, and Nigeria, accepted their offer and participated and co-operated with sincerity and good will. However, during these years of negotiations by the contact group, the racist régime has entrenched itself even more firmly inside Namibia and has extended its illegal occupation of Namibia into parts of southern Angola. It has carried out vicious and brutal acts of armed aggression against most of the sovereign States of southern Africa. It has cracked down on the majority inhabitants of South Africa and created more concentration camps called "homelands". It has held sham elections in Namibia and created a farcical "Council of Ministers". It has developed a massive military machine for State terrorism that operates inside and outside its borders.

109. The People's Republic of Angola has suffered terribly at the hands of the Pretoria régime because of our solidarity with and assistance to the people of Namibia in their struggle for independence. While parts of my country have been under South African occupation for the past 16 months and while the racist troops continue to harass and murder refugees and civilian nationals in Angola, Mozambique, Botswana and Lesotho, the members of the contact group continue to offer us private and public assurances of their continuing efforts, of their continuing negotiations and of their continuing interest in a settlement.

110. Is it pure chance that the members of the contact group are all members of NATO? South Africa's ultrasophisticated communications centre at Simonstown services NATO requirements, and South Africa is the corner-stone of the proposed South Atlantic treaty organization, NATO's southern Atlantic counterpart. Is it pure chance that between 1980 and 1981 the figures for trade with South Africa of each of the member States of the contact group registered an increase? Is it pure chance that some of those very members are South Africa's biggest trading partners? Is it pure chance that many of these commercial deals are guaranteed by the State export-guarantee organizations of some of the member States of the contact group? Is it pure chance that corporations belonging to some of these members of the contact group have recently signed contracts for activities based inside Namibia? Is it pure chance that the largest international loan in South Africa's history—\$1.07 billion—

was recently granted to the *apartheid* régime by IMF, under pressure from the United States and despite strong protests by African States?

111. All these activities are an endorsement of *apartheid* because they constitute support for the *apartheid* régime. All these activities are an endorsement of Pretoria's illegal occupation of Namibia and of parts of southern Angola because they help to finance that occupation; they are support for the prolongation by South Africa of its war against its own 24 million majority inhabitants and against the people of Namibia; they are support for Pretoria's racist attempts to destabilize sovereign Governments in southern Africa; and they are support for the cold-blooded massacre of civilians in neighbouring countries. We strongly oppose and condemn not only the actions of the Pretoria racist minority régime but also these subsidies for that régime.

112. What now for Namibia? Another sham election and sham independence to be orchestrated by Pretoria? We have seen South Africa flout international resolutions and decisions. We have seen the impotence of the international community, so far, to do anything about South Africa's violations. We have seen the unwillingness of some Western nations to ensure South Africa's compliance with United Nations decisions. The racist régime has used stalling tactics to gain time and acquire more arms and territory. The Pretoria régime has time and again created issues, raised them in the course of negotiations and then dropped them, all to give the impression that it has made concessions.

113. For a while, one such issue was the question of United Nations impartiality. Now, it is the totally unrelated issue of the Cuban forces in Angola. Next, South Africa will tie the issue of Walvis Bay or African National Congress activity to the Namibian issue; it has laid the groundwork by the recent massacre in Maseru, Lesotho. In between, of course, it does not hesitate to bring up issues as vital as the type of headgear to be worn by United Nations peace-keeping troops in Namibia.

114. For its part, the Government of the People's Republic of Angola has always co-operated with United Nations efforts to expedite the implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978). In fact, one of the last acts of our late beloved leader, Comrade Agostinho Neto, was to put forward the compromise proposals to break the deadlock created by the Pretoria régime. Since then, the President of the Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola [MPLA]—Partido de Trabalho, and President of the People's Republic of Angola, José Eduardo dos Santos, has continued to offer all possible co-operation on the Namibia issue, in keeping with resolution 435 (1978). We reject any attempts to introduce elements which are no part of that resolution, a resolution which was accepted by Pretoria in 1978.

115. The Government of Angola rejects any attempts to link the issue of the presence of Cuban forces in Angola with that of the independence of Namibia. The Cubans are in Angola at the express invitation of Angola's sovereign Government and will depart according to the terms of the communiqué issued on 4 February 1982. The defence needs of Angola are being accorded the highest priority by my Government. In this we are being guided by no less than Article 51

of the Charter of the United Nations, which provides clear guidelines for defence and security needs.

116. Angola and Angolans have made and continue to make countless sacrifices in the cause of liberation—not only our own, but that of our comrades as well. It is but imperialism that encourages South Africa to attempt to keep Namibia under its perpetual control; it is but imperialist manipulation that seeks to make Namibian independence hinge on unrelated issues.

117. We hear much talk of South Africa's legitimate security needs. We hear not one word about the legitimate security needs of Angola and other southern African States whose security is under constant attack or threat of attack by South Africa. The racist régime, alone and in concert with some of its Western allies, has often organized, financed and dispatched mercenaries to Angola and to Seychelles. As for guarantees, let us ask the few survivors of Sabra and Shatila what good these guarantees did them.

118. Our guarantee is our own determination to defend our people and our country. Similarly, the only guarantee of Namibian independence is the will and the determination of the Namibian people, under the leadership of SWAPO, to free themselves from the occupiers of their land.

119. And, if the international community wishes to help ensure that the people of Namibia achieve their aim, it must be prepared to impose and implement comprehensive mandatory sanctions against the racist and colonialist minority régime of Pretoria.

120. As long as the people of Namibia are under occupation and as long as parts of Angola are under occupation and sovereign Governments are threatened with destabilization by the racist Pretoria régime, southern Africa will know no peace. As long as southern Africa is threatened, Africa will know no peace. As long as Africa and Africans are threatened, the world will know no peace. And Namibia's tragedy will become the world's tragedy.

121. We salute the courageous people of Namibia and their vanguard party, SWAPO. We also pay tribute to all those who are facing South African aggression and who are giving up their lives in defending the honour of southern Africa.

122. In the circumstances, it is worth remembering that the tree of liberty must be refreshed from time to time with the blood of patriots. Many such trees have taken root in southern Africa and are growing straight and tall. The struggle continues. Victory is certain.

123. Mr. TRUCCO (Chile) (*interpretation from Spanish*): In 1966, the General Assembly, in resolution 2145 (XXI), terminated the mandate of the Republic of South Africa over Namibia and decided that the United Nations should assume responsibility for that Territory.

124. Subsequently, at its fifth special session, the General Assembly established the United Nations Council for Namibia [resolution 2248 (S-V)], granting it powers which make it the sole legal Administering Authority for the Territory until independence.

125. My country has been a member of that Council since its establishment. Chile, in keeping with its un-

swerving tradition, which may be seen by its actions in the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, has been fighting for the cause of the independence of Namibia since the Republic of South Africa decided not to abide by the resolutions of the Assembly and to maintain its unlawful occupation of South-West Africa.

126. For the past 16 years, my country has followed with profound concern events in the southern part of the brother continent of Africa. South Africa has categorically refused to abide by the resolutions of the Assembly and the Security Council and is persisting in its unlawful occupation of Namibia despite the condemnation of the entire international community.

127. During these 16 years, we have often seen that talks that were making progress and seemed to be about to lead to a solution have been suddenly interrupted owing to the intransigence of one of the parties.

128. In 1978, when the Security Council adopted resolution 435 (1978), my country, like many others in the international community, began to believe that a solution was imminent. With all the nations that supported the cause, we have watched with anxiety the course of the negotiations that the contact group has had with the parties.

129. My country firmly believes that there must be a peaceful solution to the question of Namibia and considers that the recent report of the Secretary-General on the work of the Organization should cause us to think about the need to make an additional effort. He said:

“In the case of Namibia we now see some signs of the possibility of a solution after many setbacks. Let us hope that this will prove a welcome exception to the general rule. But the lesson is clear—something must be done, and urgently, to strengthen our international institutions and to adopt new and imaginative approaches to the prevention and resolution of conflicts. Failure to do so will exacerbate precisely that sense of insecurity ...” [See A/37/1, p. 2].

130. The cause of Namibia is the cause of the United Nations. Involved in this and with direct responsibility for it are not only the parties directly concerned, including, of course, the front-line States, Nigeria and the members of the contact group, but all other States, too. We are all responsible for ensuring that Namibia becomes a sovereign State and a Member of the United Nations as soon as possible.

131. Therefore, we cannot fail to express our perplexity at the position of those who wish to assume sole responsibility for the Namibian cause, for this is a struggle that involves us all. That is why we most emphatically reject the well-worn accusation levelled yesterday by the representative of one Latin American country against other countries of the same region, suggesting that pacts existed with a country whose policy and practice of *apartheid* have been formally and vigorously condemned by us. This clumsy attempt at mystification must come to an end, because it has been rejected every time it has been made and because it does not contribute to the success of the noble cause that brings us all together here.

132. My delegation wishes on this occasion to reiterate its unreserved support for Security Council resolution 435 (1978). We believe that it is the basis for a peaceful negotiated solution to the question of Namibia. In this regard, we consider that the efforts to find a solution must include an urgent search for “new and imaginative approaches”. We think that this is the best way to help the cause of justice and peace.

133. Finally, I should like to conclude this statement with a sincere tribute on behalf of my delegation to the President of the United Nations Council for Namibia, Mr. Paul Lusaka, who has directed the Council with great dedication and competence. His prudence and good judgement have, on not a few occasions, helped to overcome the problems that we have from time to time encountered in our work. He has earned our affection and gratitude.

134. Mr. AMECA (Togo) (*interpretation from French*): Another year is coming to an end without bringing to the suffering people of Namibia that independence which alone can put an end to the unspeakable suffering imposed by the Pretoria régime upon that people, who love freedom and peace.

135. Thus, 22 years to the day after the adoption, on 14 December 1960, of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) containing the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, 16 years after the adoption of resolution 2145 (XXI), of 27 October 1966, in which the General Assembly ended South Africa’s mandate over Namibia and placed that Territory under the direct responsibility of the United Nations, 11 years after the Advisory Opinion of the International Court of Justice³ which declared South Africa’s continued occupation of Namibia illegal, and 4 years after the adoption of Security Council resolution 435 (1978), relating to the conclusion of a cease-fire, the deployment of UNTAG and the organization of free and democratic elections under United Nations auspices, the *apartheid* régime has succeeded, through subterfuge and delaying tactics, in winning one more year in its continued illegal occupation of Namibia.

136. Faced with this very distressing situation, the international community is asking itself two questions. The first is: How is it possible that for so many years, despite universal condemnation and numerous resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council, the abject *apartheid* régime has been able to continue its illegal occupation of Namibia, in flagrant violation of the rules of international law and, in particular, of the Charter of the United Nations? The second question merely follows from the first: What must we do now in order to obtain independence for Namibia without further delay?

137. My delegation believes the answer to the first question is as follows: barbarous repression by South Africa inside Namibia; unprecedented efforts made by South Africa to internationalize the conflict; and, finally, the support that South Africa continues to receive from certain States and foreign private interest groups.

138. The policy of repression, it is claimed, is justified by a series of texts—incidentally, illegal ones—such as the Terrorism Act No. 83, of 1967, Proclamation No. R.17 of 1972, the Sabotage Act and the

Internal Security Act. The Seminar on the Military Situation in and relating to Namibia, held at the Vienna International Centre, from 8 to 11 June 1982, by the United Nations Council for Namibia, pursuant to General Assembly resolution 36/121 C, gave an opportunity to experts and religious personages, above all suspicion, to highlight the arbitrary nature of those laws.

139. The Terrorism Act, promulgated in 1967, but retroactive to 1962 so that it could be used against Namibian nationalists held without trial since that time, is considered the most Draconian of all the security laws ever promulgated by South Africa. According to Section 6 of the law, and I quote from the records of the Seminar, "Persons may be detained without any charges being made and held in secret; thus, no court has the opportunity to decide on whether they are being detained properly or to order their release".

140. Proclamation No. R.17, on the state of emergency, prohibits meetings of more than six persons and allows arbitrary arrests and detention without trial. Section 19 of that law permits "the arrest without a warrant of any person suspected of having violated the Proclamation".

141. The Sabotage Act and the Internal Security Act allow preventive detention and banning for an indefinite period "of any person suspected by the Minister of Justice of indulging in activities endangering public order".

142. The deliberate vagueness and imprecision of the provisions of these texts are designed to cover in advance all abuses. Moreover, under the pretext of maintaining a degree of security, South Africa is devoting itself to the total militarization of Namibia. At the present time, there are some 75,000 to 100,000 South African soldiers and foreign mercenaries in Namibia. The entire Territory of Namibia has virtually become a military base. Settlers in rural areas are given military training and are organized into special commando units.

143. It is on the basis of these various measures that South Africa is carrying out in Namibia a policy of barbarous repression and intolerable violations of human rights. To prove this, it is sufficient to quote again from disclosures made at the Seminar on the Military Situation in and relating to Namibia:

"Several Namibian nationalists were detained and were the subject of banning orders and several of them were subjected to torture, including sleep deprivation, electric shock, wounds resulting from blows or cigarette burns and hanging by the wrists or ankles."

In addition, according to a report by a delegation of the British Council of Churches which visited Namibia in November 1981:

"The security forces have instituted an arbitrary reign of terror, against which the local population has not the slightest recourse ... Soldiers drive their vehicles through the villages, dragging behind them the bodies of those they have killed on the pretext that they were terrorists. The bodies of young men are shown to their relatives and even to school-children."

144. At the same time as it is carrying on this barbarous policy, South Africa is striving to internationalize the conflict. Two approaches adopted by South Africa show this to be the case. First of all, it distorts the nature of the whole issue and seems to have succeeded in convincing some States that what is involved is not a question of decolonization, pitting colonialists against the colonized, but rather that it is a geopolitical strategic East-West conflict. In this context, South Africa poses as the last bastion against communist expansion in southern Africa. South Africa is thus trying to get from those States a more direct military commitment in southern Africa, or at least a complicity of silence concerning what it is doing in the region. The other step that South Africa is taking to internationalize the conflict is to increase its acts of aggression against independent, sovereign front-line States, particularly Angola. Suffice it to recall the massacre at Cassinga, in Angola, in May 1978, and the Protea operation in August 1981, one of the largest operations ever undertaken by South Africa in Angola, judging by the military resources used, the area covered and the time it lasted. During long weeks of air and land attacks, the South African armed forces occupied a large part of southern Angola, burning and destroying everything they met on their way. These repeated acts of aggression by South Africa against neighbouring States are breaches of the peace in the region and also a threat to international peace and security.

145. Despite these barbarous acts of repression and constant aggression, despite the recognized illegality of the South African presence in Namibia, despite resolutions of the General Assembly, South Africa continues to enjoy firm support from certain States and foreign private interest groups, which enables it to continue with impunity its illegal occupation of Namibia. It is no secret to anyone that these States, Members of the United Nations, and these private interest groups, nationals of Member States, collaborate with the illegal occupation régime in Namibia. In the economic and financial field, it is not only those few States that are mentioned most often, but many other States of different political persuasions that also have economic relations with South Africa. Moreover, despite General Assembly resolutions, some international financial agencies continue to give financial support to South Africa. In the military sphere, despite Security Council resolution 418 (1977), which imposed a mandatory embargo on supplies of arms and related equipment to South Africa, a small group of States and private corporations co-operate with South Africa, a co-operation which extends to the nuclear field. In fact, the flaws in the embargo are such that it can easily be circumvented, a fact readily taken advantage of by those wishing to do so. All this has been amply demonstrated and there is no need for me to dwell on the point in this debate.

146. This is how South Africa was able to continue its illegal occupation of Namibia against the will of the international community. That being the position, a second question springs to mind: what can we do now to ensure Namibia's independence without further delay in 1983?

147. My delegation thinks that what we must do first is to establish once again the true nature of the Namibian question. It is a question of decolonization and

nothing else. In Namibia, an oppressed people under colonial domination is struggling to gain its independence. Is anything more legitimate than that? There are many precedents in history. There are the examples of national liberation struggles which led in the 1960s to independence for many countries in the third world, including my own, which are now Members of the United Nations. Further back in history, there was the shining example of the War of Independence waged in the eighteenth century by the American people who at the time were also under colonial domination. This explains why, confronted with the events in Namibia, the African peoples in general, and the suffering people of Namibia in particular, do not understand how the country that champions human rights, freedom and justice can fail to stand firmly on the side of those who, at the cost of unspeakable suffering and often of their own lives, are fighting to ensure victory for those very ideals of freedom, equality and justice. This is also why it is not desirable to establish a link between independence for Namibia and the withdrawal of foreign troops stationed in Angola. The question of the withdrawal of foreign troops in Angola is a matter exclusively within the competence of that country. The withdrawal of those foreign troops, which is desired by certain parties, would, in fact, be greatly helped by South African military disengagement in Namibia and the granting of independence to that Territory. Eliminate the cause and the effects disappear.

148. Just as the *apartheid* régime is doing today, the racist régime of Southern Rhodesia long raised the spectre of communism, but the example of Zimbabwe is sufficient proof that the peoples of southern Africa are concerned primarily with their independence and freedom. Once they have attained that, their only desire is to devote themselves to their economic and social development in strictest non-alignment.

149. Something else that the international community should do to help to settle the Namibian problem is to make public opinion in certain countries better informed. There, except for those in government circles, very few people know about the question of Namibia, and often the few people who do know something about the issue have a view of it that is very far from reality, the one presented by those who are anxious to maintain the present situation in Namibia. The lack of information, or the misinformation of public opinion, is detrimental to the legitimate struggle waged by the Namibian people, because if public opinion were better informed it could certainly exert a favourable influence on the policy of governments. So we have to ensure that public opinion in certain countries is better informed. In this area, the United Nations Council for Namibia does valuable work in providing information and in instilling a sense of awareness, as was shown by the Seminar on the Military Situation in and relating to Namibia. In my delegation's view, we should have more such seminars so as to disseminate more broadly among international public opinion the valuable information that is made available at these seminars on the situation in Namibia, particularly mass violations of human rights by South Africa in the Territory and in neighbouring States, and on collaboration with South Africa.

150. Pressure on South Africa must be stepped up. The delaying tactics used by South Africa since the adoption of Security Council resolution 435 (1978), and

particularly the tactics used during the pre-implementation meeting, held in Geneva in January 1981, and the search for a so-called internal solution excluding SWAPO are sufficient proof of South Africa's bad faith and its desire and determination to continue its illegal occupation of Namibia and its shameless plundering of the resources of that Territory.

151. Under these circumstances, we must use all possible means to force South Africa to participate in good faith and without further delay in the complete implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978). When I say that we must use all means, we mean all means that can lead to South Africa's complete isolation on the military, economic, sports and cultural levels. In other words, let us adopt comprehensive sanctions against South Africa. We are not asking for sanctions just for the sake of asking for them. We ask for sanctions because we believe that if sanctions were applied by everybody then they could be an effective means of ensuring a peaceful solution to the conflict in Namibia. In the absence of such sanctions, the Namibian people will have no choice but to continue and step up their armed struggle until final victory. My delegation believes that the five member countries of the contact group, as well as the permanent members of the Security Council, have a historic role to play to put an end to South Africa's illegal occupation of Namibia. Those countries must agree at last to bring to bear on the Government of Pretoria all the pressure that they can, and that the international community and the Namibian people are entitled to expect of them.

152. In conclusion, my delegation would like to say once again that the Government and people of Togo whole-heartedly support the heroic struggle being waged by the Namibian people for their independence, under the wise and responsible leadership of SWAPO, their sole authentic representative. The Government and people of Togo have faith in the inevitable victory of justice and right in Namibia.

153. My delegation would also like to address to the Secretary-General and to the United Nations Council for Namibia, particularly its intrepid President, Mr. Paul Lusaka, our congratulations and a word of encouragement for the tireless efforts that they continue to make to ensure independence for Namibia. My delegation, for its part, is ready to support any draft resolution and any initiative that could bring closer the day of self-determination and independence for Namibia, in the interests of international peace and security.

154. Mr. PULZ (Czechoslovakia) (*interpretation from Russian*): The question of ensuring independence for Namibia has recently become particularly acute and topical. Since 1966, when the General Assembly adopted resolution 2145 (XXI), ending South Africa's mandate over the international Territory of Namibia and calling for the withdrawal of the illegal régime of Pretoria from Namibia, the United Nations has been adopting other resolutions confirming that resolution every year. However, the rulers in Pretoria, with comprehensive support from the main members of NATO, primarily the United States, continue to disregard the 16-year-old efforts of various bodies of the United Nations, including the Security Council. They continue flagrantly to flout all the rules of international

law, cynically rejecting the principles of a just settlement of the Namibian problem.

155. Despite the numerous decisions of the United Nations calling for the immediate exercise by the people of Namibia of their inalienable right to self-determination and independence, the racist régime of South Africa is taking all kinds of measures in order to prolong its illegal occupation of Namibia and to avert a final victory of the national liberation movement of the Namibian people, led by their military vanguard, SWAPO, recognized by the United Nations as the sole legitimate representative of the people of Namibia.

156. We have no doubt that the policy of Pretoria and the maintenance of this hotbed of colonialism and racism in southern Africa are a threat to international peace and security and fully in the interests of the reactionary imperialist circles. As far as they are concerned, the racist régime has been and continues to be a strategic ally in the economic, military and political fields. Elevating racist South Africa to the rank of a friendly country, the United States is once again confirming the strategic symbiosis of political, economic and military interests. The Pretoria régime, for its part, is successfully using its strategic co-operation to continue its illegal occupation of Namibia, turning that Territory into a take-off point for aggression against independent African States, primarily Angola. Proof of South Africa's aggressive intentions and policy was provided by the recent invasion of Lesotho.

157. Pretoria has also turned Namibia's territory into a testing-ground for new weapons, new ways of organizing its armed forces and new military uses for its racist armed forces. Clearly, Namibia has become a sphere of South Africa's most intensive military interests, designed to preserve Pretoria's colonialist, racist system of repression in southern Africa.

158. As was indicated this year at the successful Seminar on the Military Situation in and relating to Namibia, held in Vienna in June, in the six years following the adoption of Security Council resolution 385 (1976), the number of South African armed forces increased more than five times, despite attempts to settle the problem in the spirit of resolution 435 (1978). By 1981, the number of troops there was estimated at 100,000, and if we take into account the civilian forces of various kinds of territorial units, the figure is more than 180,000. At the present time, the occupying troops in Namibia are based in 85 to 90 places. Despite Security Council resolution 418 (1977), placing an embargo on the delivery of arms, military *matériel* and equipment to South Africa, some NATO countries continue to supply the South African racist army. With the help of Western licences, racist South Africa has become one of the leading weapons producers. Moreover, with the help of its allies, racist South Africa is becoming a nuclear Power, and this threatens not only the security of African countries but also peace throughout the world.

159. There is no doubt that the aggressive policy of Pretoria is being helped by the granting of a loan by IMF. In the economic area, the colonialist racist system in Namibia has attracted transnational corporations of the Western countries, primarily in the mining industries. There are 88 foreign companies openly violating 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. They are plundering the natural resources of the Territory, and there are a number of other companies which intend to do so. According to United Nations data, the transnational corporations that have a leading role in this rapacious plundering of the natural resources of Namibia include corporations registered in South Africa, the United Kingdom, the United States, the Federal Republic of Germany, France and Canada. So, it is quite understandable that the principal members of NATO have even more reason to strengthen their alliance with Pretoria. They have more reason to do that than to condemn it and take effective action in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations, forcing it to heed the voice of the international community.

160. After the collapse of the Geneva meeting in January last year, those same countries, hiding behind the slogan of restraint, in fact supported—and they continue to support—the Pretoria régime's policy of continuing to use delaying tactics, thus trying to ensure a neo-colonialist solution to the problem of Namibia. This can be seen from the triple veto in the Security Council in April last year, when the Western Powers blocked the application of sanctions against South Africa. In the spirit of the so-called new regional strategy of the United States concerning southern Africa, the United States voted in the Security Council in August last year against a draft resolution introduced by African and other non-aligned countries, and they thus, in fact, helped South Africa to continue its armed aggression against the People's Republic of Angola—aggression which continues to this very day. All these facts paint a picture of the background, and once we look at that it is not difficult to see who is slowing down Namibia's accession to independence and why.

161. At the present time, on the initiative of the United States and South Africa, a new concept of linkage has been introduced whereby all sorts of issues not related to one another are thrown into the same bag. However, these artificial attempts have been categorically rejected, by those countries with competence in this area, as flagrant interference in their internal affairs. It is our firm conviction that the question of the presence of Cuban troops in Angola is a matter covered by a bilateral agreement between two sovereign States, namely, Angola and Cuba. It is not related in any way to the South African occupation of Namibia. However, attempts by the racist régime of South Africa, with the help of its ally across the ocean, to sabotage and prevent a just solution of the Namibian problem are firmly rejected and condemned, so any attempts to settle the matter outside the settlement recommended by a United Nations decision are doomed to fail.

162. As indicated in the answer of the Czechoslovak Government, which appears in the addendum to the report on the question of Namibia submitted by the Secretary-General to the thirty-sixth session,⁵ the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic has always proceeded and will continue to proceed from its policy of principle of support for the struggle against colonialism, racism and *apartheid*. It is convinced that the complete independence of Namibia is an urgent requirement in the world today. To ensure this, it is necessary that all South African military forces and administrative

bodies be withdrawn. Only when this pre-condition has been fulfilled with it be possible for Namibia to achieve independence without delay, with unity and territorial integrity, including Walvis Bay.

163. Czechoslovakia also supports the demand for the transfer of powers to SWAPO, which is recognized by the United Nations and by the OAU as the sole legitimate representative of the people of Namibia.

164. We continue to hold the view that Security Council resolution 435 (1978) is an acceptable basis for the settlement of the problem in the interests of the people of Namibia. In this context, we must condemn the efforts made by certain members of the Western contact group to impose on the people of Namibia a decision that would limit their sovereign right to determine their own future and to govern their own country independently.

165. Czechoslovakia supports the appeal addressed by the eighth emergency special session of the General Assembly to the international community to provide support and assistance to SWAPO in its struggle to liberate Namibia. Our country will provide support to SWAPO and the people of Namibia until they finally triumph. We shall also support the front-line independent African States in defending their sovereignty and territorial integrity against acts of aggression from South Africa. In this connection, we feel that the provisions of paragraph 12 of General Assembly resolution ES-8/2 are still valid. In it, the General Assembly strongly urges the Security Council to impose comprehensive mandatory sanctions against South Africa, as provided for in Chapter VII of the Charter.

166. In conclusion, the Czechoslovak delegation would like to express its great appreciation to the members of the United Nations Council for Namibia, under the competent leadership of its President, Mr. Paul Lusaka, for their efforts to bring closer the moment when Namibia, led by SWAPO, will become independent.

167. Mr. SOLTYSIEWICZ (Poland): In the long history of United Nations efforts in the field of decolonization, there have been few examples of resistance by the forces of colonialism to the liberation of an oppressed people as stubborn as that we are facing in the case of Namibia.

168. For more than 36 years, the United Nations has had the question of Namibia on its agenda, both in the General Assembly and in the Security Council. This perennial problem has been the subject of many resolutions and decisions adopted by the United Nations. In spite of those decisions, the racist régime of South Africa persists in its illegal and repressive occupation of the Territory.

169. In the light of recent developments, it must be clear to everyone that the South African régime is neither ready nor willing to agree to the United Nations plan endorsed by the Security Council in resolution 435 (1978). But the time has come to put a final end to the South African racist régime in Namibia, in keeping with the United Nations resolutions.

170. The inalienable right of the people of Namibia to self-determination, freedom and national independence in a united Namibia should be assured by the United Nations, for it is this Organization which in

1966 took the unprecedented step of assuming direct control over the Territory, with a view to enabling it to proceed to independence. Thus, the question of Namibia became not only an issue of decolonization but also the touchstone of the determination of the international community to uphold the principles of the United Nations Charter and establish peace in the region. Now the only way that the United Nations can assist in the liberation of Namibia is by taking collective measures to compel South Africa to implement the United Nations plan without modification, dilution or delay. In our opinion, all those that wish to see a peaceful solution of the Namibian problem should do their utmost to support this plan.

171. As can be seen from the report of the United Nations Council for Namibia [A/37/24], the situation in that Territory has deteriorated further. The South African régime persists in its refusal to meet United Nations demands for its withdrawal from Namibia and has been able to maintain its intransigent position for so long because of the deep involvement of a number of transnational corporations of certain Western countries in exploiting Namibian natural and human resources, and the support it is getting in various forms, including arms supplies, from its Western protectors.

172. These protectors of South Africa pretend that they are extending a helping hand to Namibia. It is obvious, however, that at the same time they are shaking hands with the oppressive régime for the sake of their post-colonial vested interests. In this situation, the Pretoria régime has escalated the war against the people of Namibia and their national liberation movement, SWAPO. That régime has also repeatedly committed acts of armed aggression against neighbouring African countries, which have resulted in the loss of many lives and in human suffering and destruction.

173. It goes without saying that this dangerous development constitutes a serious threat not only to the Namibian people and their close neighbours but also to virtually the whole of Africa.

174. In this regard, the Polish delegation fully supports the concrete proposals submitted by the United Nations Council for Namibia in the draft resolutions [*ibid.*, para. 786].

175. The Polish delegation wishes, in conclusion, to make the following remarks.

176. First, it is our considered opinion that the solution of the Namibian problem depends on the implementation of the relevant resolutions of the United Nations, in particular Security Council resolution 435 (1978), which should be implemented unconditionally, without any prevarication, qualification, modification or delay. We reject the manoeuvres by certain members of the "contact group" aimed at undermining that resolution.

177. Secondly, we reaffirm our complete solidarity with and full support for SWAPO, the sole and authentic representative of the Namibian people, and for its struggle to achieve self-determination, freedom and national independence.

178. Thirdly, my delegation responds positively to the overwhelming demand of the international community for the immediate imposition of comprehensive mandatory sanctions, as provided for under Chap-

ter VII of the Charter, and an oil embargo against South Africa. At the same time, we should condemn the activities of all foreign economic, financial and other interests operating in Namibia illegally in defiance of Decree No. 1 for the Protection of the Natural Resources of Namibia.⁴

179. Fourthly, the mandatory arms embargo imposed by Security Council resolution 418 (1977) should be strictly implemented and expanded, as some Western countries, among them the United States and Israel, are still collaborating with South Africa in the military field. The Seminar on the Military Situation in and relating to Namibia, held in Vienna in June 1982, revealed that the nuclear capability which South Africa is acquiring in collaboration with certain Powers belonging to NATO is even increasing.

180. Fifthly, the continued assistance rendered to the racist Pretoria régime by certain international organizations and institutions, in disregard of relevant resolutions of the General Assembly, should be stopped.

181. Sixthly, we fully subscribe, as we have always done, to the recommendations regarding Namibia contained in the important documents of the OAU, the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries and the United Nations Council for Namibia.

182. In the course of the 36 years during which the United Nations has had to deal with the problem of Namibia, Poland has many times expressed its support for the cause of the liberation of the people of Namibia, in accordance with their inalienable right to freedom and independence.

183. Namibia must soon find its rightful place as a sovereign State in the community of nations. World opinion will not accept further undue delay on this question.

184. In all the international efforts designed to bring about an immediate, final and unconditional solution of the question of Namibia, Poland has always been and will continue to be on the side of SWAPO and of all the African States which are fighting for the complete elimination of the vestiges of colonialism and *apartheid* from their continent.

185. Mr. JAMAL (Qatar) (*interpretation from Arabic*): My delegation would like at the outset to express, in the name of the Government and people of Qatar, our most sincere condolences to the brotherly Yemen Arab Republic for the great losses it has suffered in human lives and material damage as a result of the natural disaster that has afflicted the Yemeni people. I would ask the representative of Yemen to convey those condolences to his Government and the brotherly people of Yemen in this tragic loss.

186. The problem of South West Africa—that is, Namibia—like the problem of Palestine, is perhaps the clearest indication that recognition by the United Nations of the justice of a cause and the right of a people to self-determination and national independence is not enough in itself to ensure that justice is done and that that people achieves its national rights.

187. Despite the fact that the majority of voices, according to well-established democratic rules, essentially express public opinion and therefore the will of the community in which that majority has upheld a particular cause, this rule, which is an obvious fact and

generally accepted, does not apply to our procedures in this international Organization—or, to be more exact, its application is blocked whenever it clashes with the interests of a big Power or a group of big Powers which have the right of veto in the Security Council, whether the question is economic or strategic, as in the case of Namibia, or one of domestic political considerations, as in the case of the relations between the United States and Israel.

188. In this case, as demonstrated by the accumulation of ineffective United Nations resolutions, the self-evident rule has become an unused rule which is never applied, and the will of the international community yields to the will of a single Member which has the right of veto.

189. Sixteen years have elapsed since, on 27 October 1966, the General Assembly, by virtue of resolution 2145 (XXI), ended South Africa's mandate over Namibia, which had been entrusted to it by the League of Nations. Twelve years have elapsed since the adoption of Security Council resolution 276 (1970), in which the Council declared that the continued presence of the South African authorities in Namibia was illegal and called upon all States, particularly those which had economic and other interests in Namibia, to refrain from any dealings with the Government of South Africa which were inconsistent with that resolution. Furthermore, 15 years have passed since the establishment of the United Nations Council for Namibia, which was entrusted by the General Assembly, in its resolution 2248 (S-V) with, *inter alia*, the authority to administer Namibia until it acceded to independence.

190. Despite all these facts, we are still seized of the question of the occupation of Namibia by South Africa, and the General Assembly is still adopting resolutions in which it reaffirms its previous ones. In all probability, this vicious circle will not be broken until the Western countries cease their protection of South Africa and the United States, in particular, is convinced to end its "helpful association" with the racist Pretoria régime. This "helpful association", as Professor Robert I. Rotberg, Professor of Political Science at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, says, aimed in the first place at encouraging South Africa to withdraw from Namibia, and secondly, at urging South Africa to help the West to maintain the security of the area. However, the result of this association has been exactly the opposite. The problem of Namibia still remains unresolved, and this association also allows South Africa to intensify its internal security measures and has encouraged it to persist in its intransigence and to obstruct any settlement of the problem on the basis of United Nations resolutions. Two years ago, it claimed that it did not have confidence in the neutrality of the United Nations in supervising the election process that should take place in Namibia, but over the last two years it has added another condition, namely, its insistence that as a precondition to its withdrawal from Namibia the Cuban troops in Angola must withdraw.

191. It is really surprising that the Pretoria Government, like the other racist régime—that of Israel—not only disregards the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and United Nations resolutions but also flouts the ethical principles and norms of international conduct. At a time when it deprives the in-

digenous population, which constitutes the majority, of the most fundamental principle of freedom—that is, freedom of movement—it arrogates to itself the right to violate the borders and sovereignty of all the independent States adjacent to it, against which it continually wages wanton attacks on various false and illegal pretexts. Just last week, the South African Government launched a military attack against the capital of Lesotho, which led to the death of 42 persons, most of whom were refugees who had fled the persecution and repression of the odious racist régime. That attack against the city of Maseru took place just five days after the warning to Mozambique by the South African Minister for Foreign Affairs when he spoke of what he called activities of the African National Congress that were hostile to Pretoria and the alleged infiltration of Cuban troops from Angola into Mozambique.

192. In addition to all this, it is clear that the armed aggression committed against Lesotho and the support of a counter-revolutionary movement opposing the régime in Mozambique and the recent warning by South Africa were followed by an attempt to convince the world of its desire to resolve the problem of the occupation of Namibia by engaging in the Cape Verde talks with representatives of Angola just a few hours before the attack against Lesotho.

193. All these facts clearly reveal Pretoria's plan, which can be summed up as intending to increase the fears of Angola concerning the consequences of the withdrawal of Cuban troops from its territory. In its attacks against the front-line States, South Africa also aims at providing strong justification for Angola's maintaining the presence of Cuban troops and thus allowing South Africa to insist on its condition that those troops withdraw—in other words, allowing South Africa itself to persist in its illegal occupation of Namibia and its plundering of that Territory's resources.

194. The delegation of Qatar cannot but reaffirm its support of all the resolutions of the United Nations, especially Security Council resolutions 385 (1976), 435 (1978) and 439 (1978), which call on the Pretoria régime to end its illegal occupation of Namibia. We strongly urge the implementation of resolution 435 (1978) without further delay, as well as action to allow the Namibian people to exercise its right to self-determination and national independence, under SWAPO, its sole legitimate representative.

195. Before concluding I wish, in the name of the State of Qatar, to thank and to express appreciation to the President of the United Nations Council for Namibia, Mr. Lusaka, and all the members of the Council for their laudable efforts in the service of the heroic Namibian people.

196. BEGUM AZIZ-UD-DIN (Pakistan): Sixteen years after the General Assembly terminated South Africa's mandate over Namibia, the Namibian tragedy lingers on. In contemptuous defiance of the resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council and in disregard of the Advisory Opinion of the International Court of Justice,³ the racist Pretoria régime continues its illegal occupation of the Territory. In fact, instead of taking practical steps towards liquidating its illegal presence there, South Africa is further tightening its colonial stranglehold on Namibia by increased militarization and stepped-up repression.

197. Hopes of early independence for Namibia, aroused after all concerned parties, including SWAPO and South Africa, accepted Security Council resolution 435 (1978), were short-lived. The obstructionist attitude adopted by South Africa at the pre-implementation talks in Geneva in January 1981 and its refusal to agree to a cease-fire made transparently clear South Africa's real intentions. This stood in sharp contrast to the co-operative and flexible attitude displayed by SWAPO and the front-line States during those talks at Geneva and thereafter.

198. After the Geneva fiasco, it was to be expected that States members of the Western contact group, which were the architects of the United Nations independence plan for Namibia endorsed in Security Council resolution 435 (1978), would exert all their influence and power to secure implementation of that plan. Regrettably, while South Africa raised one obstacle after another in the way of Namibia's independence, vacillation characterized the policies and actions of member States of the Western contact group.

199. Encouraged by this lack of resolution, South Africa has introduced extraneous issues in the implementation of the Namibian independence plan. It is unjustifiably making its withdrawal from Namibia dependent on the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola. We share the overwhelming sentiment of the international community that such a linkage is unwarranted and derogatory to Angola's sovereignty and national independence. It is a matter of deep regret that an important member of the Western contact group should be taking a position which gives strength to this untenable demand of South Africa and prolongs its illegal occupation of Namibia. Pakistan rejects all attempts to establish any linkage between the independence of Namibia and any extraneous issues, or any parallelism of one with the other.

200. What is it that lies at the root of South Africa's obstinacy and brazen defiance of the will of the international community? The answer is not difficult to find. It is South Africa's confidence that countries whose political, economic and military co-operation it values and needs will not reduce their co-operation in any circumstances. It is a sad fact that, rather than ostracizing South Africa and exerting maximum pressure on the racist régime to withdraw from Namibia and to abandon its obnoxious policies of *apartheid*, certain Western countries continue to do business as usual with it. Given such an indulgent attitude on their part, South Africa feels under no compulsion to bring its position into line with the demands of the United Nations in respect of the independence of Namibia and the elimination of *apartheid* policies.

201. The policy of constructive engagement has not had the desired effect of inducing South Africa to give up its universally condemned policies. On the contrary, it has intensified repression within Namibia and is actively engaged in acts of aggression and destabilization against independent African States, some as far away as Seychelles, which was subjected to a mercenary attack last year with the connivance of South Africa. Angola, Mozambique and, now, Lesotho have been the particular target of South Africa's aggressive policies.

202. The Government of Pakistan has condemned South Africa's armed raid into Lesotho on 9 December of this year, which led to the killing of many innocent people, including women and children, in the capital city of Maseru. In the words of the spokesman of the Government of Pakistan:

"the South African act of aggression once again demonstrated Pretoria's total disregard and contempt for the norms of international conduct ... there could be no justification for such blatant aggression against the territory of a neighbouring country. ... By persisting with policies of violence, *apartheid* and armed attacks against the sovereignty of her neighbours, South Africa is further damaging the prospects of peace and racial harmony in the region".

203. The position of the United Nations on the question of Namibia is crystal clear. South Africa is in illegal occupation of Namibia and must withdraw from that Territory without delay. It should implement the United Nations independence plan for Namibia endorsed in Security Council resolution 435 (1978) without modification or qualification, for it remains the only basis for a peaceful settlement of the Namibian question. The Namibian people have the inalienable right to self-determination, freedom and national independence. So long as Namibia does not become independent, it remains the direct responsibility of the United Nations.

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

204. The Government of Pakistan has been consistently supporting the struggle of the Namibian people under the leadership of SWAPO, its sole and authentic representative, to achieve self-determination, freedom and national independence in a united Namibia. As a member of the United Nations Council for Namibia, Pakistan has been exerting full efforts to expedite the realization of Namibian independence. We remain firmly committed to this noble goal and shall continue to extend all possible moral and material support to the Namibian people in its grim struggle to achieve its inalienable rights. We believe that it is high time the Security Council proceeded with the imposition of comprehensive and mandatory sanctions against South Africa.

205. The struggle for Namibian freedom is a part of the international struggle against colonialism and racial discrimination. The struggle will continue until these evils are totally eliminated from the world. South Africa cannot succeed in imposing its domination indefinitely against a people determined to regain its freedom and dignity. The International Conference in Support of the Struggle of the Namibian People for Independence, scheduled to take place in Paris next year, will, we are sure, give a strong impetus to the legitimate struggle of the Namibian people.

206. Mr. SAIGNAVONGS (Lao People's Democratic Republic) (*interpretation from French*): Sixteen years have passed since the General Assembly adopted resolution 2145 (XXI), ending South Africa's mandate over Namibia, and four years have passed since the Security Council adopted resolution 435 (1978), confirming the United Nations plan for the settlement of the Namibian problem, but it must be said that no significant progress has been made towards guaranteeing

the Namibian people its inalienable right to self-determination and independence. On the contrary, South Africa's illegal occupation of Namibia continues, and United Nations efforts to implement resolution 435 (1978) remain fruitless. The racist régime of Pretoria continues to defy the will of the international community. It has dared to do so because it has had the understanding and support of certain Western countries members of NATO. Striking proof of this is to be found in the abuse of the right of veto by certain Western permanent members of the Security Council with regard to comprehensive mandatory sanctions against South Africa, under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations, and in the fact that the contact group of Western countries is apparently reluctant to put pressure on South Africa to make it respect United Nations decisions.

207. With the aid of its Western friends, in particular the United States, the racist régime of Pretoria is pursuing a policy of playing for time with respect to the granting of independence to Namibia and is seeking to undermine the bases of the political settlement advocated in United Nations decisions, which call for the recognition of SWAPO as the sole legitimate representative of the Namibian people and promise the full support of the United Nations for that organization in its struggle for national independence. The racist régime of Pretoria has attempted, at the national level, to win recognition for puppet tribal groups, and to equivocate about the kind of voting that should take place, and at the international level, to define the liberation struggle of the Namibian people as coming within the framework of an East-West conflict. The attempts by Washington and Pretoria to link the granting of independence to Namibia with the withdrawal of the Cuban internationalist forces from Angola are a demonstration of these latest manoeuvres.

208. The reasons that have led those in the most reactionary Western circles to support the racist régime of Pretoria are above all of an economic, political and strategic order. On the one hand, we are familiar with the economic interests of some Western countries and their multinational corporations in South Africa and Namibia; the Fourth Committee has debated this question at great length. Through their ever-increasing investments, particularly in Namibia, those corporations are unscrupulously pursuing their cruel exploitation of the Namibian people and their systematic plundering of the natural resources of that Territory—for which the United Nations has a particular responsibility—thus violating the provisions of Decree No. 1 for the Protection of the Natural Resources of Namibia.⁴ In this connection, an article in the *Washington Post* of 11 April 1982 revealed that South Africa, in its new effort to strengthen economic links with certain Western Powers, some of which have investments in Namibia, was extending its own financial interests abroad, in particular in the United States and Canada. On the other hand, the forces of imperialism consider South Africa and Namibia to be the spearhead in their struggle against the national liberation movements of southern Africa and progressive African States. In this connection, certain Western countries have for years been granting economic and military support to South Africa, in spite of the relevant resolutions of the United Nations. This has

enabled it to continue its illegal occupation of Namibia, to perpetuate its criminal policy of *apartheid* in Namibia, to militarize that Territory and to use it as a base for launching armed attacks against neighbouring States, in particular, repeated armed attacks against Angola.

209. Encouraged by this support, South Africa continues to intervene militarily in other front-line countries, particularly Mozambique and, most recently, Lesotho so as to break Namibian and South African resistance and, at the same time, discourage countries from giving it their support.

210. It goes without saying that, each time, these reprisals cause heavy loss of life among the civilian population and great material damage, thus handicapping the future development of countries that have just been freed from the colonial yoke. The Lao People's Democratic Republic vigorously condemns such barbaric acts.

211. Western co-operation with South Africa also extends to the nuclear field, to such an extent that that country may already be in a position to manufacture nuclear weapons. The possession of such weapons by the Pretoria régime would constitute a constant threat to international peace and security.

212. What is still causing concern to the international community is the decision of IMF, despite General Assembly resolution 37/2, adopted at the current session, to grant a loan of \$1.1 billion to South Africa. That loan will enable it not only to face up to the great domestic economic difficulties resulting from its policy of massive repression in South Africa itself, its illegal occupation of Namibia and its constant acts of aggression against neighbouring African States, but also to increase its military expenditures over the next two years. This will make South Africa even more arrogant and intransigent and will further delay Namibia's accession to independence.

213. It is obvious that the colonial policy of oppression, repression and aggression practised by the racist régime of Pretoria in Namibia and with regard to neighbouring African States is a serious threat to peace and security not only in that region but also in the world as a whole. The Security Council, which is responsible for the maintenance of international peace and security, must, as it has been called upon to do in several General Assembly resolutions, adopt comprehensive mandatory sanctions against South Africa, under Chapter VII of the Charter, in order to make it adopt a more reasonable attitude and respect United Nations decisions.

214. The question of Namibia, as reaffirmed by the United Nations Council for Namibia, is a problem of decolonization and must be settled in accordance with the provisions of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. The Namibian people must freely exercise its right to self-determination and independence on the basis of the immediate and complete withdrawal of South African troops from Namibian territory, including Walvis Bay. The negotiated settlement of the Namibian problem must be based on Security Council resolutions 385 (1976) and 435 (1978).

215. For its part, the Lao People's Democratic Republic finds the attempt by the United States to link the negotiations on the independence of Namibia

with the withdrawal of the Cuban internationalist forces from Angola unacceptable, because such a link not only runs counter to the letter and spirit of resolution 435 (1978), but also constitutes intolerable interference in the internal affairs of Angola.

216. The Lao People's Democratic Republic would like to reaffirm its support for the valiant Namibian people, under the leadership of SWAPO, its sole authentic representative, in its just struggle to exercise its inalienable right to self-determination, freedom and true national independence in a united Namibia. That is why my country rejects the manoeuvres of certain members of the contact group designed to undermine resolution 435 (1978) and to wrest from the oppressed Namibian people what it has gained by its difficult national liberation struggle—in other words, to preserve their zones of influence and neo-colonialist exploitation in Namibia.

217. Mr. SOGLO (Benin) (*interpretation from French*): Since the adoption of General Assembly resolution 2145 (XXI), which put an end to South Africa's mandate over Namibia, the United Nations has constantly sought and proposed solutions that might restore to the Namibian people its most inalienable, legitimate rights. Each solution and each proposal has been met by South Africa with disdain and arrogance. Finally, Security Council resolution 435 (1978), conceived by those very States which have always maintained what can only be called shameful relations with the racist régime and negotiated with all the parties concerned, seemed to be a compromise likely to gain the agreement of all the parties.

218. But even though it was consulted and gave its agreement to all stages of the negotiations on the settlement plan endorsed in resolution 435 (1978), South Africa, four years after the adoption of that resolution by the Security Council, still continues its illegal occupation of Namibia, thus persisting in its attitude of defiance of the Organization.

219. The intensification of the barbaric repression of the Namibian patriots, the policy of bantustanization, the efforts to destroy the national unity and territorial integrity of Namibia, the merciless exploitation of its people, the shameless pillage of its resources, the militarization of the Territory and its use as a base for perpetrating acts of aggression against the front-line States, particularly Angola, Zambia and Botswana, are all crimes which have created an extremely dangerous situation in southern Africa, threatening international peace and security.

220. This defiance and this unacceptable arrogance on the part of a régime which has been banished from the international community casts doubt on the ability of the Organization to translate into acts and deeds its own unanimously adopted decisions. This persistent defiance and this arrogance are not only an insult to the entire international community, but they reflect above all the inability of the Security Council and, more specifically, the political unwillingness of the great Powers to intervene promptly and effectively when international peace, stability and security are seriously threatened.

221. However profound and incurable its political blindness and however impressive its military arsenal of repression, South Africa would not be so obstinate in

its attitude of defiance were it not assured of the shameful acquiescence of certain great Powers.

222. When we consider the vehemence with which Western capitalist States condemn elsewhere those who, in different places, and according to their view, have committed violations of human rights, there is reason for puzzlement at their attitude towards a régime which has made the denial of the most elementary human rights into a system of government. We can only express our indignation and condemnation of those among them who, through an abusive use of the veto in the Security Council, opposed the adoption of concrete political and economic measures designed to isolate South Africa and force it to withdraw from Namibia.

223. Indeed, we are confused by all the precautions being taken by the five Powers in the contact group so as not to irritate South Africa by the actions they have undertaken to induce that country to take part in the implementation of the settlement plan in which it had been involved and to which it had given its agreement.

224. The truth, repeatedly revealed, is that South Africa is merely the bridgehead of a vast system of imperialist exploitation in which these Powers participate through their firms and their multinational and transnational corporations. This explains the reluctance of the States members of the contact group to exercise pressure on South Africa.

225. Thus, we can only conclude that the true nature of the problem facing the Namibian people is that it is an imperialist plot.

226. Indeed, the feigned optimism displayed by the States members of the contact group and the publicity that accompanies each of their actions are only a smoke-screen to camouflage their real manoeuvres, aimed at imposing a neo-colonialist solution on Namibia so as to safeguard their political, economic and military interests by co-operating in Pretoria's attempts to bring about international recognition of the puppets that submissively and shamefully serve its interests.

227. By approving South Africa's demand for the granting of constitutional guarantees to the white minority in Namibia, the States members of the contact group are thereby giving their approval to a racist policy aimed at ensuring that the white population will continue to benefit from privileges denied the black population.

228. By deciding to grant a loan of over \$1 billion to South Africa, against the will of the international community as clearly expressed in General Assembly resolution A/37/2, the IMF, dominated by the financial Powers, has done nothing less than contribute directly to the financing and strengthening of the apparatus of repression and oppression of the neo-Nazis of Pretoria. That decision by IMF is a defiance of the relevant resolutions of the United Nations and of international morality and an insult to the conscience of the world. It is also an encouragement of the crime of *apartheid*, an encouragement of crimes against humanity.

229. Linking the departure of Cuban troops from Angola to the decolonization process in Namibia not only represents gross interference in the affairs of two

sovereign States, but also reflects a willingness to facilitate and endorse the crimes that South Africa's troops are daily committing against the independent States and peoples of that region.

230. After their shameful failure in Seychelles, South Africa's troops have now once again launched their death squad against the peaceful populations of Mozambique and Lesotho.

231. The current debate once again gives us the opportunity not only of telling South Africa that the international community is determined to oppose its odious policy by all possible means, but also of reminding the States members of the contact group of the letter and spirit of the settlement plan endorsed in resolution 435 (1978), in the elaboration of which they played a major role.

232. My delegation, in reaffirming here its position of principle and its total support for the just struggle of the Namibian people, would also like to commend the United Nations Council for Namibia, which, under the leadership of its President, Mr. Lusaka, of Zambia, has spared no effort in discharging the responsibilities entrusted to it as the Administering Authority for Namibia until its independence.

233. My delegation shares the views expressed by the United Nations Council for Namibia in its report. The relevance and correctness of its conclusions should, if accepted by all and diligently implemented, finally enable the Namibian people to live freely on the regained land of their ancestors.

234. The People's Republic of Benin, its people, its vanguard party, the Benin People's Revolutionary Party, and its Government will continue to provide the Namibian people and their sole authentic representative, SWAPO, with their militant and unswerving support until final victory.

235. We are ready for the revolution; the struggle continues.

236. Mr. ARAPI (Albania): The Namibian question has already been discussed at many regular and special sessions of the General Assembly. The Security Council has also held a great number of meetings dealing with that problem. It still remains, however, on the agenda of the General Assembly as one of the most disturbing international questions, because the situation in Namibia has not changed and the long-suffering people of Namibia are still denied by the racists of South Africa their national rights to be free and to have their own independent State.

237. Every year, the just and final solution of the Namibian question takes on a more urgent character because the colonial domination of the racists of South Africa over this country not only constitutes a violation of the rights of the Namibian people but also nurtures a dangerous hotbed of diversion and aggression against the front-line African States, as well as against all African peoples.

238. The fierce racist régime of Pretoria, which constitutes the last bastion of the old colonialism in Africa, although condemned and isolated by the world over, still continues stubbornly and with arrogance to apply the barbarous policy of *apartheid* against the Azanian and Namibian peoples. The numerous cruel

crimes committed by this régime continue to arouse ever-growing hatred all over the world.

239. The Albanian people have condemned and will always condemn with indignation these crimes, as well as the aggressive acts undertaken by the racist régime of Pretoria against the African countries. In particular, our delegation would like on this occasion to express its deep indignation and firm condemnation of the bandit attack perpetrated by the forces of the racist army of South Africa against the territory of the sovereign State of Lesotho and the massacres committed there. This new act of aggression by the racists of South Africa clearly shows that not only do they not have any intention of giving up the policy of violence and terror against the Namibian people, but also that they are trying to extend this policy to other peoples and countries.

240. The cynicism and cruelty, as well as the methods used by the racists of South Africa to suppress the Azanian and Namibian peoples, or to launch aggressions and to perpetrate massacres in the territory of other African countries, are identical with the aggressive actions of the Israeli Zionists. The racist régime of South Africa and the Israeli Zionists, although located at the two extremes of the African continent, have in common their policy, methods and intentions. They have the same master and supporter as well. Their aggressive actions are incited and encouraged by the same imperialist forces, primarily, by United States imperialism. The close alliance existing between the racists of South Africa and the Israeli Zionists, their all-round co-operation in the economic, political and military fields, particularly against the African peoples are an integral part of the alliance of those régimes with United States imperialism.

241. No one can doubt, even for a moment, the truth that the Pretoria régime could not continue its domination and suppression in Namibia for so long, nor would it be able to launch aggressions against other African States and arrogantly challenge world public opinion, without the support of the United States and other imperialist Powers. Regardless of their efforts to exonerate themselves, the United States and other imperialist Powers cannot hide their role and responsibility for the occupation of Namibia by the racists of South Africa and for undermining a solution to the Namibian question.

242. United States imperialism and its allies have great neo-colonialist interests in Namibia and in the whole region of southern Africa. Therefore, they want the Pretoria régime to be as strong as possible and to remain in power as long as it can. The natural resources and the strategic position of Namibia are the main reason why the imperialist Powers and monopolies are in this region and why they do not want the Namibian people to achieve their full and real liberation and independence.

243. But the Pretoria régime and its imperialist masters have for years not found it easy to preserve their position in Namibia. The struggle of the Namibian people for liberation and independence has caused them a lot of trouble. The solidarity and support that the African peoples and all the peoples of the world are rendering to them in this struggle are also a heavy blow to the colonialist and neo-colonialist Powers

which want to continue their exploitation and plundering of Namibia. Therefore, for years the enemies of the Namibian people have been using both violence and political and diplomatic manoeuvres to crush the liberation struggle of this people.

244. During these last years, one of the main intentions of the United States and other imperialist Powers has been to create a deceiving psychosis that the Namibian question could be solved quickly through negotiations under their patronage. Their aim has been, and still remains, to weaken the liberation struggle of the Namibian people under the leadership of SWAPO and to impose on them solutions which do not properly take fully into account their rights and aspirations.

245. The Albanian delegation has always condemned those manoeuvres and has time and again expressed its opinion that the Namibian people will secure their rights only through their resolute struggle. Some years ago, our delegation stressed that the plans of the Western Powers to find a so-called solution of the Namibian question acceptable to the whole international community were but delaying tactics to deceive the Namibian people and other African peoples and to decrease the ground swell of indignation and anger in the world.

246. The events which have occurred during the last years, and the uninterrupted diplomatic manoeuvres regarding the Namibian question, strengthen our conviction that the enemies of the liberation and independence of Namibia—the racists of South Africa and their imperialist masters—continue to work against the liberation struggle and the rights of the Namibian people. They do not have the slightest intention of giving up their neo-colonialist domination and exploitation of Namibia.

247. The solution of the Namibian question is further complicated by the rivalry of the imperialist super-Powers, the United States and the Soviet Union, which are increasing the interference, pressures and deceptions to seize as many important economic, political and military positions in different parts of the African continent as possible. The rivalry between the United States and the Soviet Union is already felt even in the southern part of that continent where its consequences have greatly damaged the struggle of the Namibian people and created difficult conditions for other peoples as well.

248. Each of the two imperialist super-Powers exploits the interference of the other as a pretext to intensify even further its own interference. In this sphere of political and diplomatic rivalry, the two super-Powers have included the Namibian question as well. But no matter how the racists of South Africa and other imperialist Powers try to subdue and sabotage the struggle of the Namibian people, whatever the difficulties created by the interference of the super-Powers in Africa might be, the solution of the Namibian question cannot be hindered for ever. The Namibian people will achieve their independence because this is in accordance with the general trend of events.

249. We are convinced that it will be the Namibian people themselves who, in their resolute struggle under the leadership of their sole legitimate representative, SWAPO, will have the final say in the solution of the Namibian question.

250. The Socialist People's Republic of Albania and the Albanian people, as always, are in solidarity with the just struggle of the Namibian people for freedom and independence.

251. Mr. SARRÉ (Senegal) (*interpretation from French*): For more than three decades, the question of Namibia has been regularly considered by the General Assembly, both in regular and special sessions. It has also been the subject of several international meetings and conferences, in particular the International Conference on Namibia and Human Rights, held in my country, at Dakar, from 5 to 8 January 1976, the International Conference in Solidarity with the Struggle of the People of Namibia, held in Paris from 11 to 13 September 1980, and the Nordic Conference on Namibia, held in Helsinki from 9 to 11 March 1981, to mention only those.

252. This indicates the international community's particular interest in this problem which, as we know, affects international peace and security. One might even go so far as to say that this interest is equalled only by the persistent stubbornness of South Africa, which, despite the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly, the Security Council, the OAU and the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, and even the Advisory Opinion on this question handed down by the International Court of Justice on 21 June 1971,³ and despite the repeated appeals and efforts made by the international community, continues illegally to occupy Namibian territory, thereby defying the entire international community.

253. Not content merely to perpetuate its illegal occupation of the Territory of Namibia South Africa is attempting to maintain its racist and military domination of this Territory with an arsenal of repressive and oppressive laws.

254. This increased defiance has been coupled with repeated attacks against neighbouring States. This is proved by the recent invasion of Lesotho, which the General Assembly has just unreservedly condemned and the Security Council is now considering. By these attacks, South Africa is attempting to destabilize States whose only crime is to stand on the side of justice and law. The racist Pretoria régime is also violating and flying in the face of the United Nations Charter, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples and the most fundamental principles of international morals and peaceful coexistence among peoples.

255. Sixteen years have passed since the General Assembly decided to place under its direct responsibility the management and administration of the Territory of Namibia until it acceded to independence. As Members will recall, under General Assembly resolution 2248 (S-V), of 19 May 1967, that established the United Nations Council for South West Africa—which subsequently became the United Nations Council for Namibia—this independence was scheduled for June 1968 at the very latest.

256. Since that date, which marks a historic turning-point in the process of the decolonization of Namibia, the Namibian people has been waiting to join the community of free and independent nations, in conformity with its legitimate aspirations.

257. Six years ago, the Security Council adopted resolution 385 (1976), calling for the withdrawal of South Africa from Namibia and for the holding of free and fair elections under the control and supervision of the United Nations. Unfortunately, the situation has not changed a bit—far from it.

258. Because of this state of affairs, my delegation believes that the international community is now aware that simple condemnations of the Pretoria régime, like expressions of active solidarity with the Namibian people in its legitimate struggle, under the leadership of SWAPO, its sole legitimate representative, have not yet caused a radical change which would make it possible for Namibia finally to achieve independence.

259. That is why my delegation considers that, in the present situation in southern Africa, the General Assembly, in addition to ensuring the implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978), should have recourse to Article 14 of the United Nations Charter, which states that it:

“may recommend measures for the peaceful adjustment of any situation, regardless of origin, which it deems likely to impair the general welfare or friendly relations among nations ...”.

260. It is unfortunate that South Africa did not feel it its duty to abide by the provisions of resolution 435 (1978), which endorses a plan for the peaceful settlement of the Namibian problem in the drafting of which all the concerned parties participated, and in particular the Pretoria régime, which gave its agreement at that time to all the stages of the negotiations.

261. Because of the systematic refusal of the Pretoria régime to implement the provisions of resolution 435 (1978), the contact group of Western countries, whose efforts we appreciate, should demonstrate more firmness towards South Africa, to make it reconsider its policy in the region and accept the consensus of the international community.

262. Any weakness or resignation evinced by the Western countries concerning South Africa could be interpreted by it as constituting understanding or support for its policy and thus could hamper the implementation of any enforcement measures adopted against it.

263. Senegal has supported the initiative of the contact group, whose perseverance we applaud, because we continue to consider that resolution 435 (1978) contains the bases for a just and peaceful settlement of the Namibian problem.

264. As the Head of State of Senegal, Mr. Abdou Diouf, said at the eighteenth ordinary session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of OAU, held at Nairobi in June 1981: “it is still possible to lead Namibia to independence through a negotiated solution based upon strict and complete implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978)”. Less than a week ago, he reiterated Senegal's support for the implementation of that resolution.

265. My country feels that the contact group should be given encouragement in its work, but none the less we consider that if the new initiatives achieve no results, the General Assembly should envisage adopting any measures which would isolate South Africa in the international arena, especially since

Article 25 of the Charter makes it obligatory on Member States to accept Security Council decisions.

266. My delegation once again denounces the peculiar conduct of the racist, minority South African régime, which is running out of arguments and pretexts and is attempting to turn a decolonization problem into an East-West problem by putting forward unacceptable demands at each stage of the negotiations with the contact group.

267. The situation in southern Africa is a source of constant concern to the Organization, as it can degenerate into a conflict threatening the security of all mankind.

268. The international community is therefore duty bound, if it indeed wishes to safeguard the credibility of the United Nations, to exert the necessary pressure on the racist South African régime, including the appropriate sanctions, so that Namibia can achieve its independence.

269. South Africa's defiance has lasted far too long. It is necessary, indeed urgent, for the international community to evince more firmness so as to force the minority régime of Pretoria finally to heed the voice of reason.

270. My country, faithful to the principles and purposes of the Charter, and desirous of seeing peace and justice maintained throughout the world, will, as in the past, give its active support to the cause of Namibia and SWAPO. The Minister of State for Foreign Affairs of Senegal had an opportunity to recall this at the 10th meeting.

271. SWAPO, the sole authentic representative of the Namibian people, has demonstrated a spirit of initiative and openness, a will to co-operate, a sense of responsibility and political maturity in regard to settling the Namibian question. We must admire this.

272. My delegation would like to congratulate the Secretary-General—who has been helped by Mr. Ahtisaari and Mr. Mishra—and the United Nations Council for Namibia, so competently led by Mr. Paul Lusaka, on their tireless efforts to ensure that Namibia will achieve independence and join the international community, and to offer them our encouragement.

273. On 27 October 1982, during the celebration of the Week of Solidarity with the People of Namibia, the Secretary-General⁶ and the President of the United Nations Council for Namibia⁶ reiterated to the international community their firm determination to ensure a just and lasting solution of the question of Namibia. We were most pleased to note that.

274. In conclusion, I should like to reiterate the appeal made here on 29 September 1982 [10th meeting], by Mr. Moustapha Niassé, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Senegal, to the international community to be more firm towards South Africa to bring it to accept the terms of resolution 435 (1978), the strict implementation of which should finally make it possible for the Namibian people to regain its sovereignty in a united, free and independent Namibia.

275. Miss GORDON (Trinidad and Tobago): In the four years since the Security Council adopted resolution 435 (1978), South Africa has unequivocally demonstrated its position with regard to genuine self-

determination and independence for the people of Namibia. While expressing a willingness to participate in negotiations on its withdrawal from the Territory and the attainment of independence by Namibia, the South African régime has thrown up a series of untenable objections at each stage of negotiations and has used the years thus gained to tighten its hold on Namibia. Since last year, the régime has enhanced the executive and legislative powers of the illegal minority administration in Namibia so as to make it appear that the Territory is internally self-governing, although in reality it is securely tied to South Africa. South Africa has intensified its repression and brutalization of Namibia's black population so as to break their spirit and sense of identity. In this connection, we note the introduction last year of the Security Districts Amendment Bill and the Combating of Terrorism Bill and the imposition of dusk-to-dawn curfews throughout the entire northern region.

276. With a variety of military, paramilitary and police units deployed in Namibia, South Africa has turned virtually the entire Territory into a huge military garrison, incorporating increasingly larger portions of Namibia into the so-called operational area. It has sought to eradicate SWAPO and its military wing, the People's Liberation Army of Namibia, with even more vicious ruthlessness than that with which it seeks to stamp out dissent within its own borders. By forcibly conscripting black Namibians into the ethnic battalions which now form the backbone of the South-West Africa/Namibia Territory Force, the recently formed local branch of the South African Defence Force, and putting them to the task of terrorizing their own people, the régime seeks to destroy any sense of black Namibian identity and unity of purpose against a common oppressor and is creating a legacy of bitterness and suspicion which is corroding the very fabric of Namibian society. South Africa's flagrant disregard of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of its neighbours is unprecedented. My delegation joins the rest of the international community in wholeheartedly condemning last week's attack on Maseru and extends its sympathy to the Government and people of Lesotho.

277. South Africa's pillage of Namibia's non-renewable natural resources over the years, its unbridled exploitation of black Namibians as a source of cheap labour, obliged to work in the most inhuman conditions for a pittance, and the massive profits and rapid returns on capital investment which have accrued to companies active there have been well documented. We are all too well aware of the appalling despoliation of this once resource-rich, fertile land. It is quite tragic that when Namibia eventually becomes genuinely independent, its people will have to undo the effects of years of exploitation and neglect so as to build a country with a sound social and economic base. It is a sorry fact that transnational companies based in the very States which designated Namibia, or South West Africa as it then was, a United Nations trust territory have played a vital role in this shameful saga. How ironic it is that in a United Nations trust territory so extreme and pitiful an example of the evils of colonialism should be found.

278. The overwhelming majority of States Members of the United Nations have repeatedly urged the imposition of full mandatory sanctions against South Africa

under Chapter VII of the Charter, to force the régime to relinquish its illegal hold on Namibia.

279. Unfortunately, the refusal of certain permanent members of the Security Council to support this course has strengthened the régime's confidence and brazen contempt for the most basic tenets of international law and of human rights. Without the tacit support of powerful friends, the régime would not have survived so long.

280. South Africa's recent application for a \$1.1 billion loan from IMF to offset the effects of increased military spending and a drop in export earnings provided an excellent opportunity to bring pressure to bear on the régime to amend its policies. Instead, South Africa's powerful friends ensured speedy approval of the application. Now, just over a month later, the régime has attacked Lesotho in a novel gesture of appreciation to its powerful friends for the support they have given.

281. We note from a report in *The New York Times* today, 14 December, that the question of Namibia was recently discussed by the two major Powers. Given the realities of the international situation, it may well be that these exchanges will contribute to resolving the present stalemate. Be that as it may, history has repeatedly shown that the legitimate struggle of a people for self-determination and independence can be delayed but seldom halted. There will be no peace and stability in Namibia until it is administered by a freely and fairly elected Government, supported by all sectors of the community. Until this happens, repression, violence and economic decline will continue and increase. An unstable Namibia is a threat to the peace and security of the whole region, South Africa included. If Namibia is allowed to become independent in the near future, the path to social, political and economic recovery will be an arduous one, but one which it should be possible to achieve with a minimum of upheaval. If Namibian independence is further delayed, regional tension will inevitably escalate. When independence eventually comes, as inevitably it must, an internally weak Namibia in a state of economic collapse, vulnerable to negative outside influences, will be thrust into the international community, with all the attendant chaos. The choice is ours.

282. Mr. AL-SABBAGH (Bahrain) (*interpretation from Arabic*): I should like at the outset, on behalf of the State of Bahrain and its permanent mission to the United Nations, to convey to the Government of the Yemen Arab Republic and its permanent mission to the United Nations our sincere condolences and sympathy on the occasion of the tragic loss suffered by the Yemeni people. We hope that they will overcome the hardships resulting from the earthquake.

283. I should like to extend the sincere thanks and praise of my delegation to the United Nations Council for Namibia for its continuous and sincere efforts in the service of the cause of the Namibian people. I hope that the Council will be able to fulfil the mandate entrusted to it by the General Assembly to work for the full and genuine independence of the Namibian people, a people which has been struggling, under the leadership of its sole legitimate representative, SWAPO, to attain its rights and to establish a sovereign independent State on its national soil. Bahrain supports all measures

adopted by the General Assembly to bring about self-determination for the people of Namibia, and its freedom, independence and sovereignty over its territory.

284. Here we cannot but call upon the United Nations to intensify its efforts to exert pressure on South Africa to induce it to co-operate with international bodies and implement Security Council resolution 435 (1978). That resolution is the basis for any genuine peaceful settlement. It envisages a cease-fire and the establishment of a demilitarized State, with the organization of fair, free elections under United Nations auspices.

285. In 1966, the International Court of Justice handed down an Advisory Opinion invalidating South Africa's mandate over Namibia,⁷ and, in the same year, the General Assembly adopted resolution 2145 (XXI), terminating that same mandate.

286. Sixteen years have elapsed since the adoption of that resolution and South Africa is still holding the people of Namibia under colonial rule and imposing its repressive measures on them in the absence of an international deterrent.

287. In 1971, the International Court of Justice handed down an Advisory Opinion³ declaring the illegality of South Africa's domination over Namibia, but South Africa has resorted to falsehoods, bargaining and pretexts to prolong its colonial rule over Namibia.

288. The independence of Namibia is an issue of vital importance for African States and for the international community; hence appropriate and serious efforts must be made to achieve that humanitarian objective.

289. The contact group of five Western States—Canada, France, the Federal Republic of Germany, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and the United States of America—plays a basic role in implementing the United Nations plan and calling upon South Africa to withdraw its forces and its administration from the Territory of Namibia in order to allow the United Nations to provide aid to the people of Namibia in electing its constituent assembly and establishing its various national institutions to serve its aim of independence, sovereignty, freedom and self-determination, in accordance with the United Nations Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

Mr. Sikaulu (Zambia), Vice-President, took the Chair.

290. The international community views with grave concern the military measures imposed by South Africa on Namibia with the aim of achieving an internal settlement and the establishment of a puppet régime which would serve its colonialist aims. It continues to plunder the minerals and other natural resources of Namibia and to deplete its natural wealth.

291. The conscience of the world calls upon the Western States which advocate human rights and their defence, and the defence of man's liberty all over the world, not to expand their economic, commercial and nuclear co-operation with South Africa. We hope that the mining interests of those States will not take precedence over the human rights and the rights to freedom and self-determination of the Namibian people. Those States are called upon today to assist the people of Namibia to struggle against racial discrimination

and to seek a just solution to the problem of Namibia, especially after the failure of the Geneva meeting in January 1981 and the suspension of negotiations concerning Namibia. South Africa rejected the proposed agenda for the Geneva meeting and refused, on flimsy grounds, to co-operate with it.

292. Moreover, Angola, a neighbour State of Namibia, has been repeatedly attacked by the forces of South Africa, while Mozambique has been subjected to similar aggression. The recent aggression against Lesotho is living proof of South Africa's insistence on persisting in its brutal aggressions against African States, aggressions which have resulted in a dangerous economic and social situation in those States. It is incumbent upon the Security Council to impose sanctions against South Africa, in accordance with its responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security.

293. That being so, we must support the efforts of the Secretary-General and the United Nations Council for Namibia in continuing to seek an internationally acceptable and just solution to this complicated problem. Until the independence of Namibia has been achieved, the United Nations Council for Namibia, which is the legal Administering Authority, must exercise the powers assigned to it by the General Assembly for the Nationhood Programme for Namibia and for the preparation of its different stages.

294. States with leverage and influence must exert as much pressure as possible on South Africa to compel it to withdraw its occupation forces, terminate its imperialist hegemony and contribute to the reconstruction of an independent Namibia.

295. Next year, the International Conference in Support of the Struggle of the Namibian People for Independence will be held in Paris, and we therefore hope that 1983 will be a favourable year for the solution of the question of Namibia.

296. Mr. MOLI (Uganda): My delegation wishes at the outset to thank the United Nations Council for Namibia, which is the legal Administering Authority for Namibia, for its report, which covers a broad spectrum of the activities of the Council and its assessment of developments in and relating to the question of Namibia. Our special admiration and gratitude go to Mr. Paul Lusaka, President of the United Nations Council for Namibia, for the most able leadership he has given to the Council, and to other members of the Council for their vigilance in furthering the just cause of the Namibian people.

297. We also pay tribute to the United Nations Commissioner for Namibia and to the special representative of the Secretary-General for the valuable work being done by them to hasten the independence of Namibia.

298. We also commend the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples for the part of its report concerning Namibia [A/37/23/Rev.1, chap. VIII] and for its continued effort to bring an end to colonialism in Namibia. Our special tribute goes to Mr. Frank Abdulah, of Trinidad and Tobago, whose able leadership of the Committee has led to freedom for many men and women from colonial bondage. We regret that he will soon move to serve his country elsewhere. How-

ever, we are consoled by the fact that wherever he may be he will continue to work towards the total eradication of colonialism.

299. The present debate on the question of Namibia takes on special importance to my delegation because it is the most prolonged problem in Africa, a problem which has been under consideration in the United Nations since 1946. Today, we are still discussing the question of Namibia. This issue is also important to my delegation because it is being discussed at a time when our hopes have reached a dead end. The question has been uppermost in our minds because early this year we were assured through a number of reports that substantial progress towards a negotiated settlement had been reached and that Namibia would soon regain its independence. A few months ago, we also witnessed the introduction of some extraneous and irrelevant elements into the negotiations. To date, as the year 1982 draws to a close, we no longer hear of any movement towards the conclusion of the negotiations. Instead, we are told that independence for Namibia is contingent on the withdrawal of the Cuban troops from Angola.

300. After many years of concerted efforts within the United Nations, the racist régime of South Africa, with the tacit support of certain Powers, continues to disregard United Nations decisions, flagrantly flouting all the norms of international law and rejecting the basic principles for settling the question of Namibia.

301. While the international community has been given a number of assurances on the Namibian settlement, South Africa is working to impose its internal settlement aimed at perpetuating its illegal occupation of the Territory, through the racist arrangement of replacing its own white surrogate, Mr. Dirk Mudge, with a black puppet, Mr. Kalangula, in a new internal settlement. This framework, aimed at legalizing South Africa's internal settlement in the international Territory of Namibia, cannot be acceptable to the Organization.

302. Meanwhile, in an attempt to further legalize its internal settlement in the Territory of Namibia, South Africa has unleashed a reign of terror in that Territory. It continues unabated, through its over-built military machinery and puppet instruments in Namibia, to harass and intimidate the Namibian people, in particular the supporters of SWAPO and its freedom fighters, with the aim of destroying SWAPO, the legitimate representative of the Namibian people.

303. The military build-up within Namibia has not been confined just to the repression of the Namibian people. The records of the Organization are fraught with the condemnation of South Africa's acts of aggression against the sovereign States of Angola, Mozambique, Zambia, Zimbabwe, Lesotho and Botswana.

304. Last week, the Mozambique mission to the United Nations drew the attention of the Group of African States to the fact that the racist forces had, on 6 December, invaded the province of Maputo, wounding children and women and causing much destruction. On 9 December, a similar but graver act was repeated in Lesotho, causing the loss of 42 lives. By consolidating its military presence and stepping up its aggression against the front-line States, the racist

régime is clearly demonstrating that in no way does it wish to find a peaceful political solution to the question of Namibia. Rather, it is preparing the ground for a major confrontation that will engulf the entire region.

305. At the same time, while the situation in southern Africa continues to deteriorate, there continues to be some unfortunate attempt to cast the problem of Namibia in the mould of East-West rivalry.

306. Despite the progress reached thus far in the negotiations between the five members of the Western contact group, on the one hand, and the front-line States, SWAPO, Nigeria and Kenya, on the other, South Africa refused to indicate its preference for an electoral system. To compound this negative attitude, South Africa and the United States have now introduced a new element into the negotiations, linking the independence of Namibia with the withdrawal of the Cuban troops from Angola. All the developments, tragedies and ordeals that have characterized the situation in southern Africa lead us to believe that, because of the special status the racist régime enjoys in certain quarters, enough pressure cannot be brought to bear upon it to compel it to respect legitimate international opinion.

307. The position of Uganda on these developments was clearly stated on 11 October 1982 by the Minister of State for Foreign Affairs in our policy statement, as follows:

“We see no justification for any linkage between Namibian independence and the presence of Cuban military personnel in Angola. The former is a clear-cut colonial issue and has been treated as such by the United Nations and by the entire international community. The latter, on the other hand, is a bilateral arrangement, which is by no means unique, between two independent, sovereign States.” [25th meeting, para. 27.]

In this regard, my Government welcomed and continues to support the communiqué of the front-line States of 4 September 1982, in which they rejected manœuvres further to deny the people of Namibia their right to self-determination and independence through “linkage”.

308. The interest of those of our Members that still advocate endless waiting for the independence of Namibia is clear. The stake in Namibia is as high for them as it is for South Africa. It is their continued support of the racist régime that has increased its intransigence.

309. The challenge that the United Nations faces today with regard to Namibia is grave and fundamental. It strikes at the very principles and objectives upon which the Organization was founded. The United Nations must, therefore, categorically express its readiness to resolve the issue of independence for Namibia.

310. My delegation continues to maintain that the problem of Namibia remains fundamentally a colonial issue. To present it otherwise is to justify the illegal occupation of that Territory and the continuation of atrocities in Namibia and the entire region.

311. We wish to restate here that Security Council resolution 435 (1978) continues to be the only basis for a negotiated settlement of the question of Namibian

independence. We also maintain that the five Western States bear collective responsibility for the continued suffering of the Namibian people. It is, therefore, their moral and political obligation to ensure an end to the deadlock on talks which has been artificially created by a member of their camp.

312. Lastly, we salute the people of Namibia for the heroic struggle that they continue to wage, under the leadership of SWAPO, their sole authentic representative, against the occupying Power, as well as for the exemplary statesmanship that they demonstrated during the process of negotiations. They have won the admiration and support of the rest of the world. There is no doubt that their country will win its independence, for history teaches us that there is nothing stronger than a people fighting for freedom.

313. We also pay a tribute to the Governments of the front-line States for their commitment to the cause of a free and independent Namibia and their determined efforts to continue to extend, at a very high cost, political and material support to the people of Namibia and their national movement, SWAPO.

314. Mr. VIKIS (Cyprus): About six weeks ago, on 27 October 1982, we commemorated the Week of Solidarity with the People of Namibia and their Liberation Movement, SWAPO.

315. Sixteen years have elapsed since the United Nations terminated the mandate of South Africa over Namibia, and yet the United Nations Council for Namibia, the legal Administering Authority for Namibia until independence, has been prevented by the South African régime from carrying out its functions concerning the Territory.

316. Sixteen years have elapsed since the people of Namibia, headed by SWAPO, their sole and authentic representative, launched their liberation struggle against the anachronistic and cruel racist Pretoria régime.

317. For the past 16 years, Namibia has been one of the focal points to which international attention has been directed. The question of Namibia appears year after year on the agenda of the General Assembly, and the international community has had occasion to express its support for the independence of Namibia and its opposition to the intransigent attitude of the South African régime, which continues to defy all the norms of international law and morality.

318. The struggle of the people of Namibia is not a liberation war in a far-away place, over issues of which we are only vaguely aware. For us in Cyprus, for the Government and people of Cyprus, the liberation struggle of the Namibian people is a reality close to our hearts. We have lived through similar experiences; we have suffered and we are still experiencing similar historical developments. As a former British colony which had to fight for its liberation, we empathize with our Namibian brothers and feel their struggle as our own.

319. Their determination to achieve their freedom and their independence is also ours; their sacrifices and suffering in that process, and also their pride at their achievements, are also ours; and their impatience with those international bodies which have the power to pressure

the South African racist régime into yielding to the will of the international community is also ours.

320. The people of Namibia, and their national liberation movement, SWAPO, must see in the people and the Government of Cyprus a close ally and a brother.

321. The Mission of consultation of the United Nations Council for Namibia which visited Cyprus from 28 to 31 March 1982 and was received by the President of the Republic of Cyprus, Mr. Spyros Kyprianou, and by the Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr. Nicos Rolandis, had an opportunity to exchange views and to be reassured of the continuing and unwavering support of the Government and the people of Cyprus for the Namibian cause.

322. The joint communiqué issued in Nicosia, Cyprus, at the conclusion of the consultations, noted, *inter alia*, that the Government of Cyprus assured the Mission of its support for the inalienable right of the Namibian people to self-determination, freedom and national independence. The continued illegal presence of the South African régime in Namibia was vigorously condemned, as were also the continuous violence and the acts of intimidation and brutal repression by which the illegal administration attempts to perpetuate the exploitation of the people of Namibia, and support was expressed for the imposition by the Security Council of comprehensive mandatory sanctions against South Africa, as one of the most effective ways of obtaining South Africa's compliance with the relevant Security Council resolutions.

323. Our commitment, the active commitment of the international community, to the liberation struggle of the people of Namibia has been repeated and emphasized time and again. But our resolutions, our decisions, our pleas have not been heeded by the Pretoria régime, which, through brutal repression and military might, endeavours to consolidate its hold on Namibia.

324. While we have been expressing our fervent hope for a solution of the Namibian problem through the implementation of the United Nations plan for Namibia, as endorsed in Security Council resolution 435 (1978), the South African régime has been stepping up its exploitation of the Territory's natural resources; the racist régime has been using Namibia as the springboard for subversive and aggressive acts against the neighbouring States, and in particular against Angola. Only recently, South African troops launched an unprovoked attack on Lesotho, in disregard of that country's sovereignty and territorial integrity.

325. All this has been taking place while the Western contact group has been trying to find a solution to the problem through mediation. That effort, which was launched in 1978, has not produced any positive results. The delaying tactics of the South African régime have stalled any progress. Proportional representation or the single constituency electoral system have been rejected by the Pretoria régime, which is fearful of a SWAPO victory. It insists rather on an electoral system which would suit the interests of the infamous Turnhalle Alliance it set up in 1978 under the so-called internal settlement plan, which allegedly makes Namibia a self-governing territory.

326. In the same spirit of applying delaying tactics, South Africa is attempting to link Namibian independence with the withdrawal of Cuban troops from

Angola. What is a purely bilateral matter is used by the Pretoria régime as a pretext for complicating a simple matter of decolonization. This represents another effort to stall the negotiations by involving irrelevant factors in a simple problem of decolonization and occupation.

327. A national liberation struggle involves determination, tenacity, courage, sacrifice and patience. We pay tribute to the people of Namibia and to SWAPO for sustaining their struggle over the years with determination, for not losing faith in the face of hardships and torture and the intransigence of the racist Pretoria régime. We also pay tribute to the United Nations Commissioner for Namibia and to the United Nations Council for Namibia, which, under the dedicated and able leadership of its President, Mr. Lusaka, of Zambia, strives tirelessly to fulfil its mandate under sometimes adverse conditions.

328. Cyprus, as a member of the United Nations Council for Namibia, has, within the context of the United Nations and of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, been consistent in its unconditional support for the Namibian people and has endeavoured to play a constructive role in the solution of the problem.

329. Once again, we reaffirm our solidarity with the people of Namibia and with SWAPO, their national liberation movement. Once again, we reaffirm our commitment to their just struggle for self-determination and independence.

330. Mr. A. MOHAMMED (Democratic Yemen) (*interpretation from Arabic*): I should like first of all to express our deep sorrow and anguish at the earthquake which occurred in the northern part of our Yemeni homeland yesterday and to express our sympathy and condolences to our brothers in the north on this tragedy and the grave loss of life and property. We are confident that the Yemeni people, supported by the international community, will overcome the tragedy that has befallen it.

331. A few days ago, the General Assembly discussed the question of Palestine. For the last two days, the Assembly has once again been discussing the question of Namibia. It is evident that both questions are closely linked and are similar in terms of cause and effect. Just as the Palestinian people is subjected to oppression, repression and attempted genocide and is denied its right to return to its homeland, its right to self-determination and its right to establish its own independent State, the Namibian people is the victim of the racist occupation of the South African régime, which in its turn resorts to oppression, repression and the practice of *apartheid* against the Namibian people.

332. We are not surprised at the collusion between the Pretoria and Tel Aviv régimes and their exchange of experience in the techniques of repression and genocide. Just as the heroic Palestinian people struggles, under the leadership of its sole legitimate representative, the Palestine Liberation Organization, for its right to return to its homeland, its right to self-determination and its right to establish an independent Palestinian State on its national soil, so the Namibian people struggles, under the leadership of its sole legitimate representative, SWAPO, for genuine independence. The questions of Namibia and of Palestine still constitute the two hotbeds of tension, in the Middle

East and in southern Africa, posing a threat to peace and security in the two regions and in the whole world. The two problems could worsen unless they are settled in a just, comprehensive and lasting manner.

333. The questions of Palestine and Namibia live in the conscience of the African and Arab peoples, causing them constant anxiety. Those peoples will continue to struggle to put an end once and for all to occupation, oppression and repression, unleashed against the Palestinian and Namibian peoples by the Pretoria and Tel Aviv régimes.

334. We have read with interest the report of the United Nations Council for Namibia [A/37/24] and the 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 [A/37/23/Rev.1], and we would like to express our gratitude for the efforts of Mr. Paul Lusaka, President of the United Nations Council for Namibia, and Mr. Frank Abdulah, Chairman of the Special Committee, which also deals with the question of Namibia.

335. As stated in the report of the Special Committee [*ibid.*, chap. VIII], the situation in and around Namibia has continued to deteriorate as a result of South Africa's non-compliance with the decisions and resolutions of the United Nations concerning Namibia and, in particular, as a result of the tactics and manoeuvres used by South Africa to prolong its illegal occupation of that Territory and to impose an internal settlement on the Namibian people.

336. We agree with the Special Committee on the necessity for the United Nations to shoulder its responsibility for Namibia and to put an end to the intransigence of South Africa and its prevarications concerning the implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978).

337. In this regard, measures must be adopted to ensure unconditional compliance by the South African régime with United Nations resolutions, so as to allow the Namibian people to exercise their inalienable rights to self-determination and independence without further delay. The Security Council must take the necessary action to implement its resolutions concerning the full independence of Namibia.

338. As the Minister for Foreign Affairs of my country said in his statement to the General Assembly on 14 October 1982:

“We oppose all imperialist and racist attempts to obstruct the independence of Namibia by linking it to the withdrawal of the Cuban troops from Angola, because that is a matter of arrangements between two independent States, Angola and Cuba, arrangements that are governed by their bilateral relations in that respect.” [31st meeting, para. 53.]

339. According to press reports, Lesotho was recently the victim of brutal aggression by the South African régime. That aggression against the sovereignty of an independent State Member of the United Nations, that flagrant violation of its territorial integrity, are part of the continuous aggression unleashed against the front-line African States, especially Angola and Mozambique. The forces of the racist régime of South Africa still occupy part of Angolan territory and

threaten the security, stability and sovereignty of Angola.

340. South Africa aims, through such brutal aggression, to undermine the freedom fighters of SWAPO, to intimidate the people that support their legitimate struggle and to destabilize the front-line régimes. It is clear that the support of the United States and certain other Powers encourages the racist régime to continue its occupation of Namibia and to carry out aggressions against neighbouring African States. Everyone knows that the United States, through its support for the Pretoria régime, aims at implementing its policy of undermining the African national liberation movements and frustrating the legitimate aspirations of the African people: to attain national independence and social progress and to choose its own method of development.

341. My country, on the basis of its firm belief in the right of peoples to self-determination, has always condemned the occupation of Namibia by the racist régime of South Africa and the continuous plundering of the wealth of that Territory by Western monopolies. We support the efforts of the United Nations to put an end to the occupation of Namibia, and we advocate the imposition of mandatory sanctions against South Africa. At the same time, we confirm our support for the struggle of the Namibian people under the leadership of SWAPO, its sole legitimate representative, and once again call upon the Security Council to adopt measures to put an end to the prevarications of the racist régime in South Africa and to enable Namibia to achieve full independence.

342. Mr. WASIUDDIN (Bangladesh): The question of Namibia—a sad history of broken promises and broken dates and a chronicle of colonial exploitation, racism and racial discrimination based on *apartheid*—is again before the Assembly. The Assembly has the following documents relating to consideration of the question of Namibia: the report of the United Nations Council for Namibia [A/37/24], the 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 [A/37/23/Rev.1, chap. VIII], the report of the Secretary-General [A/37/203 and Rev.1 and Add.1 to 4] and the report of the Fourth Committee [A/37/619].

343. Preceding speakers have already referred to these valuable documents in their statements. Permit me to offer our sincere thanks to Mr. Paul Lusaka for his untiring efforts for the independence of Namibia.

344. My delegation's position on the Namibian question is firm and unequivocal and is founded on our enduring commitment to support oppressed people throughout the world who are waging just struggles against imperialism, colonialism and racism. It is also backed by our unswerving faith in the Charter of the United Nations and our firm adherence to General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV), containing the historic Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. It is demonstrated in our repeated reaffirmation of the inalienable rights of all peoples to self-determination, freedom and independence. It is also deeply rooted in our conviction that the process of decolonization is inevitable and that the struggle for liberty and freedom is an inexorable one. On the occasion of the Week of Solidarity with the

People of Namibia and their Liberation Movement, SWAPO, Lt. General H. M. Ershad, President of the Council of Ministers and Head of Government of Bangladesh, in his message, reiterated our firm position of principle on the issue and expressed our full solidarity with our Namibian brothers in the struggle for independence under the leadership of SWAPO, their sole representative.

345. In addressing ourselves to this question, my delegation would like to underscore one fundamental premise—that independence in Namibia can and must be achieved, in accordance with the principles embodied in United Nations resolutions, particularly Security Council resolution 435 (1978). The heart of the Namibian problem, as we all know, is remarkable in its simplicity—a people deprived of their right to national independence and self-determination and a Territory occupied by brutal military force.

346. The General Assembly adopted the historic resolution 2145 (XXI), terminating the mandate of South Africa over Namibia and placing the Territory under the direct responsibility of the United Nations.

347. The International Court of Justice, in its Advisory Opinion of 21 June 1971,³ also declared that the continued presence of South Africa in Namibia was illegal and that South Africa was under obligation to withdraw from Namibia. The decision of the General Assembly and the Advisory Opinion of the International Court of Justice clearly outline the juridical status of the Territory. The international community has, therefore, the unique responsibility to protect the rights and interests of the people of Namibia.

348. It is unfortunate that South Africa, in open defiance of the resolutions of the United Nations and the decisions of the International Court of Justice, refuses to recognize the inalienable national rights of the people of Namibia and the United Nations Council for Namibia—the legal Administering Authority for the Territory until its independence. The past history of this Territory is replete with instances of all the ills that characterize the worst form of colonialism, with the added brutality of the repressive régime of *apartheid* and its institutionalized discrimination. The logical extension of this policy has been the systematic fragmentation of the Territory along ethnic and racial lines, exemplified by the system of bantustanization. The racist Pretoria régime, at the same time, has massively deployed its armed forces to police the Territory and bolster its repression. Those troops are not only attempting to suppress the struggle for liberation but have also extended their acts of aggression into neighbouring countries, thereby threatening international peace and security. Thousands of Namibians engaged in their legitimate struggle for self-determination have been condemned as terrorists and jailed within South Africa and Namibia. Namibia continues to be deprived of its economic wealth through indiscriminate exploitation of its resources in violation of Decree No. 1 enacted by the United Nations Council for Namibia.⁴

349. Security Council resolution 435 (1978) remains the basis for peaceful transition of the Territory from colonial subjugation to independence. We seek no more than the complete, unconditional and expeditious implementation of that resolution. During the recent

past, South Africa deliberately placed one obstacle after another in the way of the implementation of that resolution. It has raised innumerable objections to every report of the Secretary-General, and, as one demand has been met, it has promptly raised a new objection, each time injecting an irrelevant or extraneous element. We cannot accept any attempt to seek a solution outside the framework of the United Nations, and we can no longer condone the dilatory tactics of the Pretoria régime for delaying the implementation of the plan. In this context, the members of the Western contact group have a special responsibility in ensuring the speedy implementation of the United Nations plan.

350. The leadership of SWAPO—the true and authentic representative of the people of Namibia—deserves to be commended for its readiness to sign a cease-fire agreement and for agreeing on a target date for the arrival of UNTAG and the beginning of an electoral process under the supervision of the United Nations. We hold the front-line States in high esteem for their patience, understanding and flexibility in dealing with the complex situation created by South Africa. The statesmanship shown by the leaders of Tanzania, Nigeria, Mozambique, Botswana, Angola, Lesotho, Zambia and Zimbabwe is cause for pride and admiration. In this hour of trial, we renew our pledge to stand by them.

351. Bangladesh has consistently deplored all attempts by the racist Pretoria régime to impose a so-called internal solution on the people of Namibia. The international community must, as a matter of urgency, adopt comprehensive measures under the Charter of the United Nations in order to ensure the complete isolation of the South African régime and compel it to withdraw from Namibia in accordance with United Nations resolutions. We also unequivocally condemn South Africa for its rapacious exploitation of, and tyranny against, the innocent people of Namibia, for its savage acts of aggression against SWAPO and the neighbouring States, for its wanton and flagrant disregard of international opinion and the decisions of the United Nations. Only two days ago, the Government of Bangladesh condemned the aggressive Pretoria régime in the strongest possible terms for its recent unprovoked and dastardly attack against Lesotho, and reiterated our complete solidarity with the Government and people of that country. I also wish to reiterate here, that Bangladesh, since its independence, has maintained no relations whatsoever with the racist régime of South Africa, whether political, diplomatic, cultural, economic or otherwise.

352. We hold the deep conviction that Namibia will be a free and independent sovereign State, that our brothers from SWAPO will sit with us side by side in this very forum and that South Africa cannot prevent it. The world is united in this task. The tide of history cannot be turned back. But time is of the essence, as each new day increases the agony and the suffering of the people of Namibia.

353. In conclusion, we would like to point out once again that it is not only South Africa that stands in the dock, it is the United Nations itself which is being tested. The challenge posed by the open rejection of our resolutions, of the United Nations Charter and the principles embodied in it must be faced effectively and

expeditiously. At the same time, we must resolve to redouble our efforts for the speedy independence of Namibia.

354. Mr. ADHAMI (Syrian Arab Republic) (*interpretation from Arabic*): Before I start my statement concerning the item before the Assembly, I should like to express to the delegation of the Yemen Arab Republic the deepest condolences of the people and Government of the Syrian Arab Republic on the loss in lives and property suffered by that fraternal country as a result of the recent earthquake.

355. Since the adoption by the Security Council of resolutions 385 (1976) and 435 (1978), concerning the plan for the independence of Namibia, the negative developments which have accumulated between the failure of the Geneva meeting in January 1981 and the failure of the consultations organized by the Western contact group have highlighted the following facts.

356. First, the racist régime of South Africa intends only to prevaricate to gain time and to obtain a false truce, so as to undermine international solidarity with the Namibian people in their struggle.

357. Second, the racist régime wants to gain time in order to put the finishing touches on the internal settlement, which is designed to perpetuate the exploitation of the Namibian people by means of sham structures and a puppet régime and, at the same time, to eliminate the armed resistance of the people of Namibia, under the leadership of SWAPO, its sole legitimate representative.

358. Third, the racist Pretoria régime, by the build-up of its military presence in Namibia, the augmentation of its standing military forces and the escalation of its armed aggression against the front-line States, especially Angola, has proved that it is not interested in a peaceful political solution and that it is preparing for a confrontation that will engulf the entire region. The aggression launched by that régime against Mozambique and Lesotho is but the latest proof, if proof be needed, of the aggressive nature of the racist régime and its criminal intentions regarding the African continent and its peoples.

359. Fourth, the consultations organized by the contact group are designed to mislead world public opinion into believing that progress is being made towards a peaceful solution of the conflict in Namibia.

360. Fifth, the intransigence of South Africa and its prevarication concerning the implementation of the plan endorsed in Security Council resolution 435 (1978) also represent a failure for the States members of the contact group, which have been unable to exert enough pressure on the racist régime to compel it to respect international law.

361. Sixth, all the developments and set-backs witnessed by the international community lead us to believe that there is a conspiracy against the termination of the occupation of the Territory of Namibia and the restoration to the people of Namibia of full sovereignty over its territory and resources.

362. Seventh, it is essential to understand that South Africa could never have been able to defy the will of the international community nor to mock the resolutions of the United Nations were it not for the mili-

tary, political and economic support of the Western States.

363. Eighth, we say without hesitation that we consider the United States Government responsible for the deterioration of the situation in southern Africa. In its public support for the racist Pretoria régime and its most recent veto of the draft resolution condemning South Africa for its aggression against Angola, that Government has furnished proof after proof of its aggressive intentions regarding the African continent and all peoples struggling to regain their usurped rights. Hence, the world is not confronting the racist régime in Pretoria alone; the basic, principal conflict today is that between the whole world and the United States, which is striving to crush the struggle of the peoples of southern Africa for independence, dignity and liberty.

364. Ninth, the Governments of the other Western countries, which claim to support the international efforts to terminate the occupation of Namibia, are simply condemning that illegal occupation and the policy of *apartheid* verbally, while they spare no effort in every area to enable South Africa to continue its occupation of Namibia and the exploitation and plunder of its wealth, in co-operation with transnational corporations and other economic interests.

365. Tenth, the recent decision by IMF—taken as a result of the weighted vote enjoyed by the Western States—to grant the Government of South Africa a loan exceeding \$1 billion, in spite of the demand by the overwhelming majority of the General Assembly that the loan be refused and in spite of the fact that it enables the racist régime to meet the deficit resulting from the increase in its military expenditures, clearly shows the political option of the Western Powers and proves that those Powers have chosen to align themselves with aggression, nurturing the aggressor and protecting it from the wrath of the international community.

366. Eleventh, the attempts to link the independence of Namibia with the withdrawal of the Cuban forces from Angola and to make the latter a pre-condition are rejected, and we condemn them. This is blatant intervention in the internal affairs of an independent State and an attempt to use the negotiations on Namibia for strategic gains.

367. Twelfth, the aims of the terrorism practised by South Africa against the peoples of southern Africa and the aims of the terrorism practised by Israel against the Palestinian and other Arab peoples are similar. Those aims fall within the context of world-wide United States strategy, the aim of which is to re-impose imperialist domination and to reap the benefits of the achievements of our peoples since they shook off the yoke of colonialism.

368. Thirteenth, the international community must intensify its struggle against the racist régime in South Africa and against the Zionist Israeli régime, not only because of the similarity of the racist ideologies of those two régimes and of their methods, nature and aims in their aggression against the African peoples and the Arab peoples of Palestine, Lebanon and Syria, but also because of the strengthening of military relations between the two racist régimes of Pretoria and Tel Aviv and the nuclear co-operation between them have proved that Israel also poses a threat to the indepen-

dence of Namibia, as it does to the independence and freedom of the other African peoples and nations.

369. In the present circumstances in Namibia and in view of the intransigence of the Government of Pretoria in its defiance of the will of the international community, which proves that it is not interested in a peaceful settlement of this question, my delegation believes that it is incumbent upon the international community to express its will firmly and vigorously. The inability of the Security Council to fulfil its responsibility because of the Western veto demonstrates that we have exhausted the available means.

370. Hence, we feel that a comprehensive strategy to mobilize all our energies to liberate Namibia and to lift the threat to the security of the front-line States is important. We affirm that our reliance on our own means, on our friends and on SWAPO's struggle, which must receive every support, is the only way to deal with the Namibian problem, which, together with the questions of Palestine and *apartheid*, remains a disgrace to Western civilization in the twentieth century. Nevertheless, we still believe that the imposition of comprehensive mandatory sanctions against South Africa, in accordance with Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations, is the last possible peaceful means of exerting pressure on the Pretoria Government to compel it to heed the will of the international community.

371. We strongly call upon all States to take action—even if the Security Council is unable to do so—to impose, collectively and individually, sanctions against South Africa and to ostracize it so as to pave the way for its isolation and to compel it to end its illegal occupation of Namibia, its aggression against neighbouring African States and its odious racist policies.

372. We feel that it is extremely important for the Western industrial States and for the interests which contribute to the support of the racist régime to realize that they must not expect to be able to continue their military and economic co-operation with South Africa and their exploitation and plunder of the wealth of Namibia, while at the same time continuing to enjoy normal relations with the African States and the other non-aligned countries. Such continued support—which has been condemned—will inevitably mean that the African countries and all the non-aligned countries will be forced to extend the scope of their confrontation and boycott to include all those who support the racist régime and have relations with it.

373. The Syrian Arab Republic reiterates its position and declares its absolute resolve to support and assist the Namibian people in their struggle, under the leadership of their sole legitimate representative, SWAPO, and the struggles of the people of southern Africa against settler colonialism in the region and in support of liberty, independence and equality of rights. We also strongly condemn the continuing and repeated aggression against Angola and the other front-line African States.

374. The Syrian Arab Republic considers itself part of the front line in the confrontation because it feels that the enemy is the same, whether in Tel Aviv or in Pretoria; the decisive battle is one and the same.

375. Mr. LOULICHKI (Morocco) (*interpretation from French*): First of all, on behalf of my delegation

and of the Government and people of Morocco, I should like to express our solidarity with our brother Arab people of Yemen following the natural disaster of which it has been a victim.

376. It is 16 years ago since the General Assembly put an end to the mandate authorizing South Africa to administer the Territory of Namibia and entrusted the United Nations Council for Namibia with the responsibility for safeguarding the interests and defending the rights of the Namibian people until it achieved its independence.

377. Since then, condemnation of the South African presence in Namibia and its consequences have become increasingly unanimous and vigorous in various international bodies.

378. Nevertheless, while comforted by the steadfast conviction with which the United Nations has been supporting Namibia, we remain shocked and revolted by the obstinacy of the South African authorities in perpetuating their stranglehold over the territory and wealth of Namibia and in stifling the legitimate aspirations of our brother Namibian people.

379. The adoption of Security Council resolutions 385 (1976) and 435 (1978), designed to promote a just and lasting settlement of this issue, and the adoption of the transition plan envisaging the organization of free and equitable elections under international supervision and control, were favourably received by the international community as a whole.

380. However, the response of the Pretoria régime to the wisdom and maturity shown by Africa in agreeing to support the initiative of the contact group on Namibia has consisted of reversed decisions, delaying tactics and false manoeuvres. To the responsible attitude of the legitimate representatives of the Namibian people in engaging in a negotiated settlement process, South Africa has responded by increased exploitation of the natural wealth of Namibia, even greater militarization of the Territory and a new wave of persecution, convictions and imprisonment of Namibian freedom fighters.

381. The adverse effects of the present deadlock in the solution of the Namibian problem are not confined solely to Namibian territory. They also affect neighbouring African States, which continue to pay the price for their fraternal and active support of the Namibian people. The recent attack against the capital of the Kingdom of Lesotho is further proof of the total disregard for United Nations resolutions and of the persistent and flagrant violations of international law on the part of the South African régime.

382. In its Advisory Opinion of 21 June 1971,³ the International Court of Justice emphasized that when a competent body of the United Nations finds that a situation is illegal, this finding cannot remain without consequence.

383. The situation in Namibia is illegal and is a threat to international peace and security. It is for the Security Council, which bears the primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace, to take the necessary coercive measures to compel South Africa to respect international legality.

384. In this connection, it is unfortunate that in spite of the adoption of several United Nations resolutions

designed to effect the diplomatic, economic and military isolation of the South African régime, that régime is still benefiting from certain economic and financial support, recently exemplified in the granting of a loan by IMF, in spite of the opposition and condemnation that the announcement of that decision had aroused.

385. We are convinced that without this support, which continues in violation of the United Nations Charter, South Africa would not have adopted this attitude of disdain and arrogance towards the international consensus.

386. It is high time that a new, sincere and decisive impulse be given to the 1978 peace process in order to free the fraternal Namibian people from the colonial yoke and enable it to join the community of independent nations. What is at stake is the credibility of the United Nations system, international peace and, lastly, human dignity.

387. As a non-aligned African State, Morocco has constantly given its unconditional support to the fraternal people of Namibia, a people which continues to be subjected to the domination of a bloody racist régime and which is waging a heroic struggle to regain its usurped freedom and its sovereignty over its territory.

388. In his statement before the General Assembly [17th meeting], the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Morocco appealed to the members of the contact group to redouble their efforts to carry out the process which is to lead to the final settlement of the Namibian question, in accordance with Security Council resolution 435 (1978).

389. In renewing that appeal, the Moroccan delegation expresses the hope that the current difficulties can be overcome and that the necessary pressure can be exerted on the Pretoria régime to eliminate this last bastion of colonialism and restore peace in the region, free from interference and foreign intervention.

390. I could not conclude my statement without paying a well-deserved tribute to the United Nations Council for Namibia and its President, Mr. Lusaka, for the invaluable role they continue to play in safeguarding the interests of the Namibian people and in their militant activities to hasten liberation of that fraternal people.

391. Mr. SILWAL (Nepal): It is a matter of great concern that the situation in Namibia continues to deteriorate as a consequence of the non-compliance by racist South Africa with the relevant resolutions and decisions of the United Nations. The tactics and manoeuvres employed by South Africa to perpetuate its illegal domination of that Territory and to impose an internal settlement on the Namibian people has been a constant threat to international peace and security.

392. It is no accident that the growing intransigence of the *apartheid* régime has coincided with increasing, unprovoked aggression against neighbouring sovereign States. South Africa has used the Territory of Namibia to launch repeated acts of aggression against the front-line States. The recent brutal and unprovoked attack against Lesotho, which resulted in the loss of many innocent lives and the destruction of property, is yet another open violation by South Africa of the

civilized norms of international relations. My delegation strongly condemns these aggressions and reiterates its total support to Lesotho, Angola, Mozambique and other front-line States in their determination to defend their sovereignty and territorial integrity against South African aggression.

393. The United Nations has a special responsibility for Namibia until the Territory attains self-determination and national independence. We strongly condemn the brutal repression by South Africa of the Namibian people and its persistent violation of their basic human rights in order to destroy the national unity and territorial integrity of Namibia. We also condemn South Africa's illegal exploitation of the natural resources of Namibia. South Africa's intensified military build-up in Namibia is designed to destabilize neighbouring States. My delegation reiterates that any action by the occupying Power to separate any part of Namibia and claim sovereignty over it is illegal and null and void, as repeatedly affirmed by the United Nations, particularly in General Assembly resolutions S-9/2 and 36/121 A and Security Council resolution 432 (1978).

394. Nepal reaffirms its support for the struggle of the Namibian people to put an end to the illegal and oppressive occupation of their country. We also confirm our full support for the national liberation movement of the Namibian people under the leadership of SWAPO. We commend SWAPO for its stated commitment to bring about a peaceful transition in Namibia and for its constructive attitude in the delicate negotiations held thus far. I wish to avail myself of this opportunity to express our appreciation to the front-line States, to Nigeria and to the OAU for their commitment to the cause of a free and independent Namibia. We also greatly commend the relentless effort being exerted to that end by the United Nations Council for Namibia.

395. In the light of the serious threat to international peace and security posed by South Africa and its persistent policy of *apartheid* and bantustanization, my delegation urges the Security Council to act decisively under the terms of the Charter.

396. Nepal denounces all manoeuvres by South Africa to bring about a sham independence in Namibia. The only political solution for Namibia should be one based on the termination of South Africa's illegal occupation, the withdrawal of its armed forces and the exercise by the Namibian people of their right to self-determination and independence within a united Namibia, in accordance with General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV).

397. To this end, Nepal reaffirms its belief in the need to hold, without further delay, free elections under the supervision and control of the United Nations, in accordance with Security Council resolutions 385 (1976) and 435 (1978). Resolution 435 (1978) embodies an international consensus and constitutes the only acceptable basis for the transition of Namibia to independence. My delegation appeals to all States, particularly to the five members of the contact group, to exert the maximum effort in order to implement the United Nations plan for Namibia without delay.

The meeting rose at 8.45 p.m.

NOTES

¹ See A/AC.109/702, paras. 2, 3, 6, 9, 10.

² For a summary of the recommendations of the Commission of Enquiry into South West African affairs (the Odendaal Commission), see *Official Records of the General Assembly, Nineteenth Session, Annexes*, annex No. 8 (part I) (A/5800/Rev.1), chap. IV, paras. 18-65.

³ *Legal Consequences for States of the Continued Presence of South Africa in Namibia (South West Africa) notwithstanding Secu-*

arity Council Resolution 276 (1970), Advisory Opinion, I.C.J. Reports 1971, p. 16.

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

⁵ A/36/696/Add.4.

⁶ See A/AC.131/PV.389.

⁷ *South West Africa, Second Phase, Judgment, I.C.J. Reports 1966, p. 6.*