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at 10.50 a.m.

NEW YORK

President: Mr. Paul J. F. LUSAKA
(Zambia).

AGENDA ITEM 29

Question of Namibia (continued):

- (a) Report of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples;
- (b) Report of the United Nations Council for Namibia;
- (c) Reports of the Secretary-General

1. Mr. OSMAN (Somalia): At the 18th meeting of the thirty-sixth session, when dealing with the question of Namibia within the context of the general debate, my delegation found it unthinkable that South Africa could continue indefinitely to obstruct United Nations efforts on behalf of Namibia's independence. We expressed this view because no political issue before the world Organization has earned a clearer international consensus or been governed by more specific directives of the Security Council than the question of Namibia. Unfortunately, what seemed unthinkable three years ago is a sad reality today, when South Africa still occupies Namibia illegally, in defiance of the decisions of the United Nations and of the International Court of Justice, and when its manoeuvres continue to subvert the United Nations plan for Namibia's independence.

2. The world community has watched with a mixture of scepticism and hope the series of negotiations taking place outside the Security Council. But every time some sign of progress appears, South Africa reshuffles the cards, deals a new hand and raises the stakes. For the people of Namibia and neighbouring States there is no entertainment in this process: there is only the grim reality of South Africa's racist, colonialist and hegemonist policies.

3. It seems clear to my delegation that unless appropriate pressure is placed on South Africa we can expect that it will continue its attempts to bypass the United Nations and maintain control of Namibia through the creation of puppet institutions. We shall continue to see the harsh political repression and military intimidation of the people of Namibia by the pervasive occupation force of over 100,000 troops; these forces and their sophisticated armaments will continue to be directed against the legitimate liberation struggle inside and outside Namibia, led by the

South West Africa People's Organization [SWAPO], the sole representative of the Namibian people, and also against the sovereignty and territorial integrity of neighbouring States. Furthermore, in this year, which marks a century of colonial oppression, the Namibian people will be offered little or no prospect of deliverance from the inhuman policies of *apartheid*.

4. In recent years, when international attention has been focused on events outside Namibia, it has perhaps been overlooked that all the indignities and violations of human rights which accompany *apartheid* in South Africa are also suffered by the Namibian people. The migrant labour system, the designation of tribal homelands and the restriction of educational, health and other basic facilities all serve to perpetuate widespread deprivation and poverty and to strip the majority of the people of their human dignity.

5. As we are all aware, there are other grave consequences for Namibia and its people that attend South Africa's continued illegal presence. The undermining of national unity through the promotion of tribal divisions and the threat to Namibia's territorial integrity posed by attempts to consolidate the illegal annexation of Walvis Bay and the offshore islands have been condemned, without result, by the international community. The long list of crimes which continue to be perpetrated against the Namibian people must of course include South Africa's ruthless exploitation and plunder of Namibia's natural resources, in collusion with foreign corporations and in callous disregard for the present needs and future interests of the Namibian people.

6. In this regard, my delegation greatly appreciates the efforts of the United Nations Council for Namibia to keep this matter before the attention of the world and to publicize the extent of non-compliance with its Decree No. 1 for the Protection of the Natural Resources of Namibia.¹

7. My Government is deeply concerned about the present stalemate over Namibia. It is indeed unconscionable that the Namibian people, for which the United Nations has a special responsibility, should remain one of the last to be liberated from colonial rule and should languish under intolerable racist oppression. We are also deeply concerned over the degree of success attained by South Africa with its policies of diplomatic stalling and military intimidation in Namibia and in the southern African region as a whole.

8. In this situation, all Member States have a solemn obligation to support the principles and measures adopted to ensure Namibia's march to independence and freedom. Somalia joins the vast majority in reaffirming that Security Council resolu-

tion 435 (1978) is the only acceptable basis for a peaceful settlement of the Namibian question.

9. We highly commend the Secretary-General for his untiring efforts to promote the implementation of the United Nations plan for Namibia and we welcome his confirmation that all outstanding issues relevant to resolution 435 (1978) have been resolved. We trust that renewed efforts for its speedy implementation will be made in the light of Security Council resolution 539 (1983), which makes it clear that Namibia's independence must not be obstructed by linkage with extraneous issues.

10. The Government of Angola has put forward constructive proposals, in the free exercise of its sovereignty, in order to promote both Namibia's independence and guarantees of Angola's security and territorial integrity. The world community cannot fail to note that the sincere efforts of Angola to bring about a peaceful settlement, and the moderation and statesmanship of SWAPO, are in stark contrast to South Africa's attempt to control the Namibian situation through trickery, subversion, military occupation and military aggression. In paying a tribute to SWAPO, my Government wishes to affirm its support for the legitimate armed struggle against illegal occupation and racist oppression.

11. The world community has repeatedly seen talks and negotiations on Namibia's independence break down on the rock of South Africa's intransigence and bad faith. For how long will this farcical process be allowed to continue? The United Nations must resolutely face such questions as the legal implications for States of South Africa's illegal occupation of Namibia, the threat to regional and international peace and security posed by South Africa's illegal, inhuman and aggressive policies, and the grave challenge to the authority of the world Organization posed by South Africa's contempt for the decisions of the Security Council.

12. In our view, there has never been a greater need for the diplomatic, economic, social and financial isolation of South Africa, for the exertion of efforts by Governments to prevent collusion by their nationals in the plunder of Namibia's resources, for the extension and strict observance of the arms embargo against South Africa, and for an end to all nuclear collaboration with the *apartheid* régime.

13. The Secretary-General of the South West Africa People's Organization clearly spelt out the expectations of the Namibian people when he asked for meaningful action rather than words. My delegation strongly supports his call for the adoption of enforcement measures under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations to force the Pretoria régime to relinquish its illegal hold over Namibia. In responding to this call, the Security Council would make good a promise it has repeatedly made and repeatedly failed to keep. Undoubtedly, South Africa's intransigence is due in large part to the comforting experience of past years, when punitive measures available under the Charter have not been used against it even though such measures have been clearly justified.

14. We join the Secretary-General of the South West Africa People's Organization in the hope that his inspiring words will rekindle outrage and invigorate the world community to take concrete measures to ensure the implementation of resolution 435

(1978) and the fulfilment of the legitimate aspirations of the Namibian people.

15. Mr. MIZERE (Malawi): The question of Namibia seems to have four principal elements, namely: the abolition of colonialism, racial discrimination and *apartheid* in Namibia; the need to allow Namibians to exercise self-determination and to enjoy sovereign rights in a free, unitary and independent Namibia; the existence of the linkage between Namibia's independence and the presence of Cuban troops in Angola; and the relations between Angola and South Africa in particular and between South Africa and other States in the region in general.

16. In a continental sense, the irreversible process of procuring independence for Namibia represents Africa's hope, pride, honour, prestige, dignity and beliefs. It stimulates expectations for the future, it is a bulwark against economic exploitation and political suppression, it is a safeguard for the cherished customs and traditions of Africa, and it engenders an aspiration to regional stability in that part of Africa. In short, the African continent's call symbolizes Namibia's intention and determination, sustained by the world's sympathy and support, to break away from a colonial situation characterized by economic exploitation, political suppression, social humiliation, racism and racial discrimination.

17. It is, therefore, on this basis that any direct or indirect support for or connivance with the vestiges of colonialism or racism in any form, is regarded as only putting salt on the wounds inflicted and is bound to remind Africans of an ignoble era during which they were dehumanized and deliberately relegated to the position of mere spectators in political life of the land of their birth, a land inherited from their ancestors. It also reminds Africans of an era during which African men were called mere "boys", and white racists callously and arrogantly regarded Africans as being servants "appointed by God" to be drawers of water and hewers of wood for the white people.

18. On an individual State basis, Malawi wholeheartedly supports self-determination and genuine independence for Namibia, and this stand stems from several factors, the principal of which are as follows.

19. First, historically, the people of Malawi are fully aware of and conversant with the humiliation suffered by any human being under a foreign Power. Malawians did not receive their independence on a silver platter; their political leaders were imprisoned, and many Malawians lost their lives for freedom and dignity. They were forced against their will into the political arms of a federal régime in the name of the dead Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, whose demise was engineered by the withdrawal of Malawi's membership from the federal arrangement by the Life President of Malawi on 31 December 1963.

20. Secondly, socially, Malawians were denied accommodation and food services in hotels or places of entertainment reserved for whites only. They were fourth-class citizens in the land of their birth. John McCracken, in a book called *Africa South of Sahara*, has observed that in Malawi "land alienation was extensive there; many Africans were made tenants at will with little or no legal right to the land they cultivated; all were subjected to the insults and tensions inherent in the growth of a colonial culture".

21. Thirdly, Malawi's rejection of colonialism was confirmed by Malawi's Life President, Ngwazi Dr. H. Kamuzu Banda, when he addressed the General Assembly on 2 December 1964. He told the Assembly then: "Malawi hates colonialism . . . I personally believe just as strongly as any other African nationalist that colonialism is an evil which must be eradicated from every inch of our continent." [1288th meeting, *para.* 63.]

22. Fourthly, my country's abhorrence of any vestiges of colonialism has been institutionalized and incorporated into the Malawi Constitution, in which it has been stipulated that one of the principles upon which the Government of the Republic of Malawi is built is "recognition of the need for the ultimate unification of the peoples of Africa, for their common welfare and advancement".

23. Finally, as a staunch supporter of the Charter of the Organization of African Unity, Malawi is also determined, like any African Member State in the General Assembly, "to eradicate all forms of colonialism from Africa".

24. Having spoken of my country's colonial experience and, in particular, its total commitment to independence for Namibia and the eradication of all traces of colonialism, I should like to refer to the substantive issue under consideration, which is independence for Namibia.

25. First, it will be recalled that South Africa's Mandate to administer Namibia was terminated long ago and that, despite international appeals combined with considerable pressure to relinquish control over Namibia, South Africa continues to administer the Territory.

26. Negotiations on the independence of Namibia have been further complicated and checkmated by the linking of the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola to the independence of Namibia under Security Council resolution 435 (1978). Most of the Member States have rejected the linkage on the grounds that the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola would seriously jeopardize the security of the Angolan Government; that the linkage infringes Angola's sovereignty and its right to seek military assistance from friendly countries; and that the linkage is not part of the internationally accepted provisions of resolution 435 (1978).

27. All resolutions adopted by the General Assembly, regrettably, remain buried in the archives of the United Nations, perhaps disturbingly, as a mere contribution towards the annals of history. In consequence, representatives are frustrated. Africa is bitter. The world community is impatient. Southern Africa lives with the problem and therefore it pleads for an immediate solution to that problem. Sorrowfully, Namibia bleeds. Namibians may well question us today in this vein: "What wrong have we done to suffer this penance?" On balance, the message is clear that independence for Namibia is overdue, and there is a perceptible atmosphere of an intolerable dilemma and acknowledgement of political inertia.

28. It is true and undeniable that the consultations that have taken place so far may provide a sort of mixture of hope and despair and that the political situation in Namibia looks grim. There is, however, still a grain of hope in knowing that Namibia is destined for political independence. As members know, it has been stated by some British political observers that politics is not only the art of the

possible but also the art of making possible tomorrow what may be impossible today.

29. Secondly, although the contacts made between Angola and South Africa have not produced tangible results, the continuation of such negotiations may eventually accelerate the momentum of the search for a political solution to the dispute. In this connection, my delegation recalls that the Council of Ministers of the Organization of African Unity declared at its fortieth ordinary session, held at Addis Ababa from 27 February to 5 March 1984, that it "fully supports the efforts and measures undertaken by the Angolan Government, according to Article 51 of the Charter of the United Nations, in order to guarantee and safeguard its territorial integrity and national sovereignty" [see A/39/207, annex, resolution CM/Res.936 (XL)].

30. Thirdly, my delegation wishes to express the hope that the consultations going on, some of which took place in Cape Verde recently, according to the documents circulated, might break the vicious circle of uncertainty surrounding the independence issue. Mr. Feldman of the United States delegation told the Fourth Committee in November 1984 that, at the request of the Government of Angola, the United States had conveyed to the South Africans certain official Angolan proposals of a specific nature, and that the South Africans had undertaken to study the proposals carefully and to provide a considered response before the end of November this year.

31. The President of the People's Republic of Angola, Mr. Eduardo dos Santos, has been quoted by the British Broadcasting Corporation as having said the following, on the ninth anniversary of Angola's independence, on 11 November 1984:

"The platform we presented to the United States Government contains the following fundamental points: first, the conclusion of the withdrawal of the South African forces from Angola; second, the cessation of all kinds of support to UNITA puppets and the dismantling of their bases in Namibia; third, the implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978) on Namibian independence; and fourth, after the deployment of the United Nations forces in Namibia and the reduction of South African forces to 1,500 infantry soldiers, the Governments of Angola and Cuba will initiate the gradual reduction of the Cuban international contingent on the basis of an agreed schedule."

32. *The New York Times*, on 17 November 1984, quoted a statement by the South African Foreign Minister as follows:

"The discussions between South Africa and the United States concerning the proposals of the Angolan Government regarding the withdrawal of the Cubans and the reaction of South Africa to these proposals have been concluded.

"The United States Government will convey the South African viewpoint to the Angolan Government as soon as possible, after which further bilateral discussions between South Africa and the United States are expected. It is also possible that trilateral discussions between the Republic of South Africa, the United States and Angola could follow."

33. The proposals of the Government of Angola and the response thereto by the Government of South Africa have been circulated in documents

A/39/688 and A/39/689, respectively, both of 26 November 1984.

34. Fourthly, my delegation noted with interest the meeting this year in Lusaka, which was attended by South African and SWAPO representatives. In the South African *Rand Daily Mail* of 1 October 1984 it was stated that "most white South Africans are in favour of direct negotiation between the Government and SWAPO, according to a recent survey conducted for the South African Institute of International Affairs".

35. In these circumstances, my delegation wishes to take this opportunity to appeal to Member States to support the Secretary-General in his consultations with all parties concerned with a view to accelerating the independence of Namibia in accordance with the terms of the relevant United Nations resolutions.

36. It is clear from what I have just stated that my delegation completely supports self-determination and independence for Namibia, achieved through consultations or negotiations and on the basis of the provisions of Security Council resolution 435 (1978).

37. The people of Namibia need self-determination and independence now, without further procrastination. We appeal to the world for moral, genuine commitment to the cause of Namibia. Malawi's hopes, intentions and determination are based on a rectangle of wishes: genuine independence for Namibia; peace and security for southern Africa, devoid of any traces of racism, racial discrimination or *apartheid*; economic development for the common benefit; and contact, dialogue and fruitful co-operation with the world at large. We want Namibia to share in that rectangle of wishes now. Yes, Namibia has been left out too long.

38. Nothing less will satisfy the people of Namibia; nothing more is demanded by them. They request only two things, and those are self-determination and independence, so that they can exercise their sovereign rights without consideration being given to race, creed, colour, national origin, sex, age or marital status. That is the gist of the debates today, whose impact crosses continental borders.

39. To the President of the United Nations Council for Namibia, Mr. Paul Lusaka, we extend our most sincere congratulations on the efficient way he has steered and conducted the affairs of the Council.

40. In conclusion, my delegation would like to inform the Assembly that in a joint communiqué released on 23 October 1984 by the Life President of Malawi, Ngwazi Dr. H. Kamuzu Banda, and the President of the People's Republic of Mozambique, Marshal Samora Moises Machel, the two leaders called for "the immediate implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978), which aims at achieving the self-determination and independence of the Namibian people". On the situation in Angola, the two leaders "expressed their solidarity with the Angolan people in the preservation of their sovereignty".

41. Mr. MBANZE (Mozambique): The General Assembly has considered the question of Namibia year after year. Once again we are gathered to consider ways and means to accelerate the process leading to the independence of Namibia. Indeed, the people of Namibia have for long lived under the yoke of domination, oppression and colonial exploitation. The people of Namibia have for long deserved peace, freedom and independence.

42. The representatives who have spoken before me have recognized that fact and expressed their concern over the prevailing situation in Namibia. They have unanimously condemned any manoeuvres aimed at perpetuating the colonial domination and exploitation of Namibia.

43. The occupation of that Territory by South Africa continues to be the main cause of the situation prevailing in the region. It is now 15 years since South Africa's presence in Namibia was declared illegal and contrary to the principles of the Charter and to the relevant decisions of the United Nations, as well as detrimental to the interests of the population of the Territory and those of the international community. The Security Council has adopted several resolutions, in particular resolutions 264 (1969) and 269 (1969), demanding firmly that South Africa withdraw from Namibia. However, my delegation notes with deep regret that these resolutions and decisions have been violated by South Africa throughout the past 15 years. South Africa arrogantly and shamelessly refuses to comply with the resolutions adopted by the international Organization, which is mandated under the Charter to be the guarantor of international peace and security.

44. What is at stake today is not only the dignity of the humiliated people of Namibia, whose right to self-determination and independence has been denied through South Africa's intransigence, but also the role of the United Nations as the trustee for Namibia.

45. One might wonder why South Africa has been able to challenge the decisions of this community of nations. As we understand it, this has been possible only because that régime enjoys the blessing and support of certain Member States. The co-operation of such States with South Africa, which extends to the military and nuclear domains, makes them accomplices in the crime of *apartheid* and in the continuing occupation of Namibia. These countries are responsible for the grave and explosive situation which prevails in Namibia. Each day that goes by we witness an increase in tension as well as in the number of deaths.

46. Despite the blatant intransigence of the South African régime, which refuses to comply with the resolutions adopted by the United Nations, the peace-loving countries have not ceased their efforts aimed at reaching a solution that can bring the occupation of Namibia to an end. This is the reason why all peoples that cherish peace and freedom and the international community as a whole welcomed Security Council resolution 435 (1978). In so doing, they were convinced that this resolution would finally lead to the self-determination and independence of Namibia. The fact that the resolution enjoyed universal consensus was the main reason for this strong belief.

47. The African States, the non-aligned countries and SWAPO mobilized all efforts with a view to implementing that resolution. However, all these efforts were frustrated because of South African intransigence. The result is that six years have already elapsed and no progress has been achieved so far. On the contrary, during this period extraneous issues have been introduced so as to undermine the implementation of resolution 435 (1978) and delay the independence of Namibia. The so-called linkage or parallelism—or whatever one may call it—is one

of the most negative elements which has been raised, and it has blocked all positive efforts towards a just and speedy solution of the problem of Namibia.

48. The position of my Government with regard to the question of linkage is well known. We hold the view that the international community should resolutely and unequivocally reject the linkage of the independence of Namibia to the withdrawal of Cuban forces from Angola. As we have stated earlier, when resolution 435 (1978) was adopted the Cuban troops were already in Angola. At that time, none of the permanent members of the Security Council or any other Member of the United Nations established any linkage between these two issues.

49. The People's Republic of Angola is a sovereign country, a Member of the United Nations upon which the Charter bestows the sovereign right to appeal to every or any State in defence of its sovereignty and territorial integrity. Therefore, to demand that Cuban forces withdraw from Angola is interference in the internal affairs of a sovereign State and an express act of complicity with South Africa, which persists in occupying Namibia. Those who should withdraw from Angola immediately and unconditionally are the South African troops that sow death and destruction in this sister country.

50. My delegation wishes to commend strongly the people and the Government of the People's Republic of Angola for the position they have taken recently towards the establishment of a just and lasting peace in southern Africa. Angola has once more given proof of its goodwill, sense of responsibility and seriousness in seeking peace. It is now up to the other parties concerned to demonstrate their willingness to cooperate in order to bring about peace and stability to southern Africa. By taking this position, the Government of the People's Republic of Angola has made it increasingly clear to the international community that lack of progress in the process of independence for Namibia derives from the strong intransigence of the South African Government and those who support it. My Government reiterates its strong solidarity with the people and the Government of the People's Republic of Angola in their struggle to safeguard their sovereignty, territorial integrity and independence.

51. Angola has taken a position of historical significance. Only those who do not respect the sacrifices made by the Angolan people during five bitter centuries of colonialism and during the armed struggle for national liberation can demand or expect more of the People's Republic of Angola.

52. The independence of Namibia is inevitable because the people of Namibia want it and are fighting for it. It is also inevitable because the struggle for Namibia's independence enjoys the support of the international community as well as world public opinion.

53. What the people of Namibia demand is that the United Nations continue and eventually intensify its efforts to accelerate the process leading to Namibia's independence. Let us not disappoint the people of Namibia, who are still under the colonial yoke in these days of our so-called civilized world.

54. History bears testimony to the United Nations capability and determination in handling decolonization matters. The United Nations, and the Security Council in particular, have to conceive practical measures commensurate with South African intransi-

gence. The Security Council has to exercise decisively its authority to ensure the implementation of its resolutions and to bring about the independence of Namibia without further delay.

55. In conclusion, we reaffirm the unconditional support of the People's Republic of Mozambique for the people of Namibia and SWAPO, its sole legitimate representative. We also take this opportunity to commend the efforts undertaken by the Secretary-General, as well as by the United Nations Council for Namibia, to ensure that the people of Namibia exercise their inalienable right to self-determination and independence in a united Namibia under the leadership of SWAPO.

56. The struggle continues.

57. Mr. KASEMSRI (Thailand): Eighteen years have elapsed since the termination of South Africa's Mandate over Namibia, and 13 years since the advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice of 21 June 1971² on this question was handed down. However, the situation in Namibia today remains unchanged. The Namibian people are still under the yoke of illegal occupation and subjugation imposed through the most brutal means by the *apartheid* régime in Pretoria. It is, therefore, a matter of grave concern that South Africa is permitted to continue its abhorrent practices in Namibia in defiance of the relevant resolutions of the Security Council and the General Assembly and in disregard of the legitimate wishes of the people of Namibia.

58. During the past year, further efforts have been made by the international community to achieve a just and peaceful solution of the question of Namibia. The Secretary-General and various United Nations agencies and bodies, in particular the United Nations Council for Namibia—under your presidency, Sir—continue untiringly to perform their important roles in order that the just aspirations of the Namibian people may be realized. These worthy efforts, however, have made little progress, owing to the arrogance and intransigence of the Pretoria régime. As long as the oppressive régime maintains its stranglehold on the life of the hard-pressed population, the situation will worsen, and the international community must maintain its support for the legitimate struggle of the people, led by their sole and authentic representative, SWAPO. The struggle will indeed continue until the people of Namibia have achieved their rights, including the right to self-determination, freedom and national independence in a united Namibia, in accordance with the relevant United Nations resolutions and decisions, particularly Security Council resolution 435 (1978).

59. My delegation also shares the deep concern of the international community over the rapid and unjustifiable depletion of Namibia's wealth of natural resources, in contravention of Decree No. 1 for the Protection of the Natural Resources of Namibia,¹ enacted by the United Nations Council for Namibia on 27 September 1974. The illegal exploitation, amounting to pillage, of such resources constitutes one of the obstacles to the achievement of a peaceful solution, thus thwarting attainment of the long-cherished goal of independence. It must, therefore, be brought to a speedy end, with prompt and just compensation.

60. My delegation also joins the overwhelming number of delegations in denouncing South Africa's insistence on so-called linkage of the question of

Namibia to the extraneous issue of Cuban troops in Angola. To all intents and purposes, this so-called linkage serves to delay the implementation of resolution 435 (1978) and can be regarded only as a delaying tactic which will only prolong the agony of the oppressed Namibian people. The Thai delegation once again condemns in the strongest terms the attempts by the *apartheid* régime to impose a so-called internal settlement on Namibia, in violation of the relevant United Nations resolutions and decisions. By the same token, we completely reject the so-called "Multi-Party Conference" as a nefarious means of retaining the illegal control and domination of South Africa over Namibia, as well as the policies and practices of *apartheid* and the so-called homelands in the Territory. My delegation once again urges the Western contact group to exert genuine efforts towards the immediate implementation of the United Nations plan by all parties concerned.

61. For its part, the Government of the Kingdom of Thailand will continue to observe any development with active interest, since Thailand had the privilege and pleasure of hosting the extraordinary plenary meetings of the United Nations Council for Namibia at Bangkok, at which the Bangkok Declaration and Programme of Action on Namibia [A/39/24, *part two, chap. III, sect. B*], were adopted on 25 May 1984. Thailand's consistent stand on self-determination and humanitarianism will ensure that the Government of the Kingdom of Thailand will maintain its steadfast support for the people of Namibia in their quest for sovereignty and independence in a united Namibia.

62. Mr. HENAR (Suriname): The question of Namibia has been a subject of discussions in the United Nations ever since the inception of the Organization. The current session of the General Assembly indeed marks the thirty-ninth year that this issue has been on the international agenda. Eighteen years have elapsed since the General Assembly terminated South Africa's Mandate over Namibia and the United Nations assumed responsibility over the Territory of Namibia. Six years have now passed since the Security Council endorsed the United Nations settlement plan in its resolution 435 (1978), which provides for a peaceful transition to majority rule in Namibia through free and fair elections under the supervision and control of the United Nations. Unfortunately, in spite of these and other efforts to secure the decolonization of Namibia, its independence is still held to ransom by the racist régime in Pretoria. The fact that the situation prevailing in Namibia continues to prevent its peaceful and speedy transition to majority rule is due entirely to the intransigence of the expansionist régime of South Africa.

63. The majority of preceding speakers have forthrightly condemned South Africa's illegal occupation of Namibia and its aggression against neighbouring States. We cannot but agree with this position.

64. The international community has recently witnessed an acceleration by South Africa of the relentless plunder of Namibia's natural resources. The application by that same Pretoria régime of racist policies is not just a case of violence by a minority against a majority, but amounts to utter contempt and lack of respect for the people living under this system and, not least, is a clear expression of the economic exploitation of blacks in Namibia and South Africa.

65. My delegation denounces the puppet Multi-Party Conference as yet another attempt in a series of political manoeuvres through which Pretoria tries to impose a neo-colonialist settlement in Namibia. We therefore maintain that Security Council resolution 435 (1978), in which the Council endorsed the United Nations plan for the independence of Namibia, is the only basis for a peaceful settlement of the question of Namibia. Consequently we urge its unconditional implementation, without qualification, amendment or the introduction of extraneous and irrelevant issues of linkage, parallelism or reciprocity, which not only delay the process of the decolonization of Namibia, but also constitute reprehensible and gross interference in the internal affairs of neighbouring States. The linkage policy is another excuse to block the termination of the illegal occupation of Namibia.

66. My delegation strongly opposes the recent imposition by the racist régime of South Africa of compulsory registration for military training by all Namibian males between the ages of 17 and 55 for service in its army of occupation in Namibia. We call upon the South African Government to rescind this untimely and provocative measure.

67. My delegation regrets to state that the policy of "constructive engagement", which is geared towards the persuasion of South Africa to accept a settlement by assuring that an independent Namibian Government would be one with which Pretoria could live, has had an adverse effect and has consequently failed. We are deeply concerned at the dilatory tactics employed by the South African Government to perpetuate its illegal occupation of Namibia and to impose an internal neo-colonial settlement on its people. We reiterate our conviction that the only fair and just settlement of the Namibian question will be one that falls within the framework of the United Nations settlement plan.

68. My delegation once again appeals to the international community for its staunch and unswerving support for the just struggle of the Namibian people and wishes to pay tribute to the United Nations Council for Namibia for carrying out the functions entrusted to it as the legal Administering Authority of Namibia until its independence and for its tireless efforts in keeping the issue in the forefront of the world scene.

69. We also reaffirm our support for, solidarity with, and commitment to the heroic people of Namibia, to SWAPO, which is the sole authentic representative of the Namibian people, and to the African National Congress of South Africa, the representative of the majority of the people of South Africa, in their valiant struggle to eradicate *apartheid* and to bring freedom, justice and independence.

70. We cannot conclude without paying tribute to Mr. Andimba Toivo ya Toivo, the Secretary-General of the South West Africa People's Organization, who addressed the General Assembly on 29 November [78th meeting], and other SWAPO leaders, who have spent many years of their lives in prisons and concentration camps in Namibia and in South Africa, in their struggle for the eradication of colonialism and racism and the achievement of self-determination, freedom and independence in a united Namibia.

71. Finally, on behalf of my delegation may I express the hope, or rather the conviction, that the

day is not too distant when Namibia will take its rightful place among us here in the United Nations.

72. Mrs. CARRASCO MONJE (Bolivia) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Mr. President, permit me to express my delegation's gratitude to you and to other members of the United Nations Council for Namibia for your tireless efforts devoted to achieving the much desired freedom and independence for the Namibian people.

73. The people of Bolivia, whose past is marked by the glory of a heroic and tireless struggle to attain independence and self-determination, identifies with the noble cause of a people still living under colonial domination, and wishes to reiterate its firm resolve to support all measures deemed necessary by the United Nations to end South African colonial domination of that Territory.

74. It is regrettable that after long years and many efforts the United Nations has not yet achieved the emancipation of Namibia, owing to South Africa's persistent refusal to abide by the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and respect various relevant General Assembly and Security Council resolutions. This illegal occupation by a foreign colonial Power and the continued suffering inflicted upon a people are an affront to every concept of justice and equality.

75. The relevant resolutions of the United Nations, in particular Security Council resolutions 385 (1976) and 435 (1978), in our view continue to be the only acceptable basis for a solution. Hence, my delegation will continue supporting them and will refuse to accept any other solution aimed at delaying their implementation or at introducing extraneous elements.

76. Subsequently, in its resolution 539 (1983) the Security Council condemned South Africa for its continued illegal occupation of Namibia, its defiance of resolutions and decisions of the United Nations, its obstruction of the implementation of resolution 435 (1978) by insisting on conditions contrary to the provisions of the United Nations plan for the independence of Namibia and rejected the insistence of the Government of Pretoria on linking the independence of Namibia to unacceptable conditions. This resolution, which was adopted in 1983, did not produce a favourable response in South Africa. On the contrary, South Africa continues illegally to occupy the Territory and to exploit its natural resources indiscriminately.

77. It is also important to note the statements of the Prime Minister of South Africa, who has said that his Government cannot change, nor will it ever change its position with respect to the Cuban withdrawal, and that in the meantime it is obvious that the people of South West Africa, including SWAPO, cannot wait indefinitely for the solution to the Cuban question in order to make considerable progress, but meanwhile the political parties, including SWAPO, could reach an agreement with respect to the future of the country and South Africa would not oppose the implementation of such an agreement. These statements show clearly that South Africa continues to seek ways and means in which to delay the implementation of United Nations resolutions. These attempts at delay should be rejected, since they do not relate to the independence, freedom and self-determination of the Namibian people.

78. My delegation wishes to express its satisfaction at the adoption on 25 May 1984 at the extraordinary plenary meetings of the United Nations Council for Namibia of the Bangkok Declaration and Programme of Action on Namibia [*ibid.*], which reaffirm the inalienable right of the Namibian people to self-determination; express solidarity with SWAPO, the sole and authentic representative of the Namibian people; and condemn the South African régime for its ruthless repression, its policy and practice of *apartheid* and for its flagrant violations of human rights perpetrated against the people of Namibia.

79. Similarly, they reaffirm full support for the resolutions stating that Walvis Bay and the offshore islands are an integral part of Namibia and that any South African measure aimed at separating them from the Territory is illegal, and null and void. For Bolivia, a nation which has been the victim of territorial depredations, it is essential to uphold the principle of territorial integrity. Consequently, we oppose any attempt by South Africa to annex territories which legitimately belong to Namibia.

80. Many peoples have attained independence and today have a place in the United Nations as free countries and masters of their own destiny. Nevertheless, we should not forget that the situation with regard to Namibia continues to stagnate, which means that we must intensify our efforts to ensure that the Government of South Africa changes its policy and complies with United Nations resolutions. Otherwise, this situation will constitute a serious threat to the stability of the African continent and jeopardize international peace and security, in addition to challenging the very credibility of the United Nations.

81. Mr. MASHINGAIDZE (Zimbabwe): Namibia continues to be firmly under the military occupation of *apartheid* South Africa, although the General Assembly decided 18 years ago, in 1966, to terminate that régime's Mandate over Namibia. The United Nations has yet to assume its full and effective responsibility over Namibia, in order to enable the oppressed Namibian people to be free in terms of General Assembly resolution 2145 (XXI).

82. The *apartheid* régime's illegal occupation of Namibia and its repression and economic exploitation of that country's population and natural resources have continued, in brazen defiance of the numerous decisions and resolutions of the Assembly, the Security Council, the Organization of African Unity [OAU] and the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries—in other words, in defiance of the entire international community. This is scandalous and intolerable. How and why should that pariah régime be allowed arrogantly to flout international common sense, consensus and demands for the peaceful liberation of the people of Namibia? What is the response of the United Nations to the challenge of the Boers? For, indeed, the Pretoria régime, both by its statements and by its deeds, has made it abundantly clear that it has opted for a military or violent rather than a peaceful path to Namibia's freedom. If the international community was slow to understand this message, the oppressed and suffering Namibians were not. Thus, realizing the obstinate and violent nature of their military colonizers, the Namibians decided to take to arms and declared their national liberation struggle, under the direction of SWAPO, their sole and authentic liberation movement and representative. SWAPO, as this Assembly knows, is

committed to the liberation of Namibia and the ultimate attainment by the Namibian people of its inalienable right to self-determination.

83. Again, as is well known, in opting for armed struggle as the most appropriate response to the challenge presented by the illegal régime's obstinacy and intransigence, SWAPO and the Namibian masses did not slam the door on a peaceful solution to the Namibian colonial question. In this regard, no one can doubt SWAPO's sincerity in lending maximum support and co-operation to the United Nations search for a formula and political framework within which a peaceful settlement to the question could be worked out. For instance, when, in 1978, the Security Council produced what is now widely known and internationally accepted as the United Nations plan for Namibia, as endorsed in resolution 435 (1978), SWAPO and the people of Namibia expressed their support for it, despite its obvious flaws and the fact that militarily their struggle was gaining greater momentum.

84. The United Nations plan for Namibia of 1978 came about as the result of the negotiating and diplomatic efforts of the group of countries known as the Western contact group. A great deal of attention was paid to the sensitivities of the Pretoria régime during the negotiations. When in 1978 the plan was announced to the world with great fanfare, the Pretoria régime had scrutinized and approved every word and punctuation mark in it. The people of Namibia, the front-line States and, indeed, the entire international community were also obliged to accept the plan as the only realistic basis for a peaceful settlement to the Namibian colonial question.

85. Yet, six years later—today—the plan not only remains unimplemented but is in dire danger of being undermined and overthrown by some of its very authors. It is not my intention to bore the Assembly by cataloguing events perpetrated by Pretoria subsequent to the adoption of the United Nations plan for Namibia, as the list is only too well known to all gathered here. Suffice it to emphasize that during this period from 1978 to the present, Pretoria has been prolific in creating one demand or pretext after another to delay and even obstruct the Security Council's and the Secretary-General's efforts to implement the United Nations plan for Namibia. First, the régime complained in 1980 that it did not have confidence in the United Nations and said that it harboured certain reservations regarding the composition of UNTAG, as envisaged in the plan. Absurd and arrogant as these reservations were, the Western contact group, the front-line States and the United Nations agreed to address them, and this was done to the apparent satisfaction of the occupation régime. Thus, in January 1981 the pre-implementation meeting was convened in Geneva, under the auspices and chairmanship of the United Nations, to set in gear the process of implementing the United Nations plan. All that was required then of the two parties—the Pretoria régime and SWAPO—was for each to declare its readiness to sign a cease-fire agreement and to agree to the immediate implementation of the plan, as approved in resolution 435 (1978).

86. As is well known, the failure of the Geneva meeting was caused entirely by the behaviour of the Pretoria occupation régime. Whereas at the outset the President of the South West Africa People's Organization, Comrade Sam Nujoma, declared his movement's readiness to sign a cease-fire accord with

South Africa, and also agreed to the immediate implementation of resolution 435 (1978), the régime's delegation made it clear on 13 January 1981, the day before the break-up of the Meeting, that South Africa was not prepared to co-operate with the United Nations in the effort to implement the plan.

87. It was not a secret—and this too is well known—that in its defiant and arrogant behaviour South Africa counted on and did get the protection of some Western countries which are also members of the contact group. Indeed, the numerous mixed signals from the capitals of those countries assured Pretoria that those Governments would frustrate any punitive measures which the Security Council might contemplate taking against the Pretoria régime. In fact, soon after the abortive Geneva meeting, the spokesmen of the Governments of the contact-group countries began to talk more and more about the need to "strengthen" resolution 435 (1978)—implying, of course, that the United Nations plan should be revised. Naturally, SWAPO, the front-line States and Nigeria found this to be totally unacceptable. Our rejection of this line of action was later endorsed by the General Assembly, the Security Council, the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries and the OAU, which all demanded and insisted upon the implementation of the plan, without delay, prevarication, qualification or modification.

88. Since August 1982, the dilatory strategem of Pretoria has been articulated in terms of the notorious policy of linkage, by which South Africa has insisted and continues to insist on the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola, as a pre-condition for its co-operation in the United Nations plan.

89. The front-line States and, subsequently, the thirty-seventh session of the General Assembly, the Seventh Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at New Delhi in March 1983, the International Conference in Support of the Struggle of the Namibian People for Independence, held in Paris in April 1983, and the nineteenth ordinary session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity, held at Addis Ababa in June 1983, rejected totally this policy of linkage, or parallelism, as the policy is also called. By its resolution 539 (1983), the Security Council also condemned and rejected this and any other attempt to link irrelevant issues to the Namibian independence equation.

90. Linkage has been condemned and rejected not only because of its irrelevance to the Namibian question but also because it represents blatant interference in the internal and external affairs of the sovereign States of Angola and Cuba, which are Member States of the United Nations. Moreover, linkage is also a rude and arrogant smokescreen for Pretoria's own aggression against and continued military occupation of part of Angola's territory. The General Assembly must insist, as it has done in the past, upon South Africa's immediate and unconditional co-operation with the Secretary-General's efforts to implement the United Nations plan. We must also demand the régime's immediate and unconditional withdrawal of its forces from southern Angola.

91. The Organization cannot be indifferent to or tolerate the cheek and arrogance of the Pretoria régime, which are geared towards shifting the respon-

sibility for delaying Namibia's freedom onto Angola, a country which in fact has been a victim of that régime's continuous naked aggression since 1975. It must not be forgotten that Angola requested Cuban assistance in defending its territorial integrity from Pretoria's own brutal and criminal aggression, which continues to threaten the very existence of Angola.

92. We condemn and denounce in the strongest terms Pretoria's aggression against Angola, in particular, and its policy of regional destabilization in general.

93. Finally, we must repeat our views with regard to the policy of appeasement which some countries are pursuing and which they would have the international community believe will make a favourable impression on the pariah régime of *apartheid* Pretoria. We totally reject that policy and would like to warn very strongly against such a fallacious and misguided view of the Pretoria régime. That racist régime, like its Nazi and Fascist predecessors and inspirers four and a half decades ago, is impervious to and very contemptuous of reason and common sense. Like its predecessors, it has decidedly and firmly put itself in opposition to international law and civilized standards.

94. We are convinced, therefore, that no amount of appeasement or, as it is euphemistically called in certain capitals, constructive engagement, will alter Pretoria's destructive and deadly nature. For our part, we in Zimbabwe have chosen to side with and support the internal victims of *apartheid* and the people of Namibia in their struggle for liberation and self-determination. We cannot hobnob with *apartheid* and aggression. We will, instead, continue to oppose, denounce and reject this evil with all the means at our disposal.

95. Mr. KIILU (Kenya): Once again, the General Assembly is faced not with the question of Namibia but with the problem of what to do about the arrogant and blatant refusal of the racist régime of South Africa to vacate Namibia, 18 years after adopting its resolution 2145 (XXI), by which it terminated South Africa's Mandate to administer Namibia, a decision the validity of which was subsequently confirmed by the International Court of Justice.

96. In the consideration of this item, it is important to recall that this is the centenary year of the heroic struggle of the Namibian people for national liberation and independence. The history of the enormous sacrifices made by the Namibian people during that bitter struggle is too well documented to need repeating here. Therefore, the immediate task before us today is to find a way to overcome the one obstacle to Namibia's independence, namely racist South Africa's intransigence.

97. Kenya has stated before, and we wish to reiterate now, that Security Council resolution 435 (1978), without any modification, qualification or equivocation, remains the only basis for the independence of Namibia. We are encouraged that the vast majority of the Members of the Organization share that view. Unfortunately, some have allowed themselves to be hoodwinked by South Africa's delaying tactics and cunning manoeuvres, under various guises, to undermine resolution 435 (1978), including previous attempts to convene the so-called "Multi-Party Conference" to write a constitution for independent Namibia. Kenya believes that the task of

framing a constitution for independent Namibia belongs to the gallant Namibians alone, under the direction of SWAPO, their sole and legitimate representative.

98. As Kenya stated on 4 September 1981, at the 3rd meeting of the eighth emergency special session devoted to Namibia, the facts are clear and unambiguous, namely: first, South Africa is in Namibia illegally; secondly, responsibility for the administration of Namibia until independence legally rests with the United Nations; thirdly, in exercise of its legal responsibility over Namibia and consistent with the Charter provision concerning the settlement of all disputes by peaceful means, the United Nations has adopted a plan for Namibia's independence, as endorsed by resolution 435 (1978); and fourthly, South Africa has defied that Security Council resolution, resulting in no progress being made towards its implementation.

99. Kenya contends that what is at stake here is the authority and status of the United Nations itself. Throughout the many years that have elapsed, SWAPO and the African States have been urged to show co-operation, flexibility and moderation. In this long process many concessions have been made, and in return we have witnessed an even more determined intransigence on the part of the racist régime. As we all know, racist South Africa has continued its brutal and illegal occupation of Namibia, in flagrant violation of international law and international public opinion. South Africa has similarly continued to defy the United Nations and to violate the inalienable right of the people of Namibia to self-determination. Moreover, by its policy of destabilization of neighbouring States and its massive military build-up, which is far in excess of its legitimate defence needs, the racist régime poses a threat to international peace and security.

100. We suggested at the beginning of this statement that the problem before us was racist South Africa. The question may, therefore, be asked how one State, however powerful, can for ever defy the will of the international community with impunity. Kenya believes that no country, not even the brutal racist régime of South Africa, could do so without the connivance and support of certain countries. South Africa should not be allowed, aided or encouraged to defy the United Nations at the expense of the national liberation and independence of Namibia. Therefore, we strongly appeal to friends of that racist régime, whose investments, supply of arms, communication links and high technology insulate it from the effects of United Nations resolutions, to withdraw their support from the régime until such time as it complies with and honours decisions reached by the international community, including its close friends and allies.

101. It is the strong conviction of my delegation that unless and until all of us demonstrate by deeds, not by mere words, that we mean to practise what we preach, it would be futile to expect the obstinate tyrants in Pretoria to respect our resolutions. In this context, my delegation welcomes the various reports called for in resolutions 38/36 A to E adopted at the thirty-eighth session of the General Assembly on this question [*item 36*]. At this juncture, my delegation wishes to pay a special tribute to the Secretary-General for the constructive role he has played in this matter. Our appreciation also goes to the Chairman of the Special Committee on the Situation with

regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, Mr. A. G. Koroma of Sierra Leone, for the efforts that Committee continues to exert in the struggle for the independence of Namibia.

102. Following its assumption of direct legal responsibility for Namibia in 1966, the General Assembly, at its fifth special session, held in 1967, established the United Nations Council for Namibia pursuant to its resolution 2248 (S-V) and designated it the legal Administering Authority for Namibia. In its 17 years of existence the Council has discharged its important task with commendable dedication.

103. My delegation takes this opportunity to pay a well-deserved tribute to you, Sir, in your capacity as President of the United Nations Council for Namibia, for the courageous and conscientious manner in which you have led the Council. We also commend the Vice-President of the Council, the representative of Turkey, for his eloquent presentation of the report of the Council [78th meeting] now before us.

104. Kenya is committed to supporting the national liberation and independence of Namibia. Therefore, we fully support the United Nations Council for Namibia in its capacity as the legal Administering Authority until that Territory attains its independence in accordance with resolution 435 (1978). In this regard, we note with satisfaction the many achievements of the Council during the year now drawing to a close. In particular, we wish to underscore the importance for the Namibian people of the Council's activities aimed at protecting and preserving the natural resources of that Territory from the plundering of the racist régime and other hungry Powers. Similarly, Kenya believes that mobilization of international support for Namibia through seminars, symposia and the mass media should be maintained and greatly intensified. Therefore we approve of the programme of work envisaged for the Council for next year as contained in its report [see A/39/24].

105. My delegation has also taken note of the note by the Secretary-General [A/39/582] concerning the comprehensive programme of assistance to States that are neighbours of South Africa and Namibia, called for in paragraph 37 of General Assembly resolution 38/36 A. My delegation endorses the approach the Secretary-General intends to adopt in his implementation of that aspect of the resolution.

106. I wish to conclude this statement by recalling that there are only three interested parties in this critical question, namely: the struggling and gallant people of Namibia, represented by SWAPO, their sole and legitimate representative; the oppressive racist régime of South Africa, which continues to occupy Namibia in defiance of world public opinion; and the international community, represented by the United Nations, which has direct legal responsibility for Namibia. However, it is paradoxical that, although SWAPO, as the sole representative of the Namibian people, and the United Nations, acting as the conscience and will of the international community, have both spared no effort to achieve a peaceful settlement of the problem, the racist régime of South Africa, itself in Namibia illegally, has instead intensified its arrogant brutality and defiance. Yet the reasons for this intolerant behaviour are not far to seek. It is well known that, despite many United Nations resolutions calling for the isolation of the

racist régime, including Security Council resolution 418 (1977), imposing an embargo on arms shipments to South Africa, friends of the Pretoria régime, notably certain Western nations, have continued military and economic collaboration with that country. Indeed, there are reliable reports that co-operation with South Africa has embraced even the nuclear field.

107. In these circumstances, we are convinced that all possible peaceful and voluntary means of making South Africa get out of Namibia have been exhausted without positive results. We are, therefore, of the firm view that the international community, through the Assembly, has only one option left, namely, the imposition of sanctions against South Africa. We are convinced that, in order to be effective, such sanctions must be both comprehensive and mandatory. Therefore, Kenya calls upon the Security Council to shoulder and discharge its primary responsibility under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations.

108. Mr. NIARE (Mali) (*interpretation from French*): Once again, the debate on the question of Namibia reminds us of the realities of a situation which is as tragic as it is dangerous for international peace and security.

109. Once again, the entire world sees grave consequences flowing from the policy of illegal occupation, aggression and expansion of the racist régime of South Africa.

110. Once again, the international community takes note of the Pretoria régime's persistent refusal to comply with the relevant resolutions and decisions of the United Nations.

111. Namibia remains under the yoke of illegal occupation, in violation of international law and of the judgement of the world conscience. The *apartheid* régime, the last bastion of colonialism in Africa, is founded on injustice and oppression, as well as on expansionist ambitions, and it violates with impunity the sovereignty and territorial integrity of neighbouring countries. That régime not only threatens the peoples of southern Africa, not only adversely affects the stability and security of neighbouring States, but is characterized, in its policy of *apartheid*, and in its manifestations and evolution, by attempts permanently to destabilize Africa. In other words, that policy, in violation of the Charter of the United Nations, poses a threat to international peace and security. That policy of destabilization is a challenge to independent Africa, but it is also an arrogant reply to the international community. It is an impermissible reaction to the repeated relevant decisions of the United Nations.

112. Since the General Assembly terminated South Africa's Mandate over South West Africa, which has correctly become Namibia, the *apartheid* régime has continued to oppose with impunity the international consensus condemning both its fundamental thesis and the criminal forms it takes both within and outside the country.

113. In this connection, my delegation believes that it is time to put an end to the warlike, expansionist and colonialist activities of South Africa, which, on the eve of the fortieth anniversary of the United Nations, continues, as in the past, calmly to plunder the resources of Namibia.

114. My delegation is convinced that to bring the struggle of the Namibian people to a successful

conclusion it is becoming increasingly necessary and urgent to impose on South Africa the comprehensive mandatory sanctions provided for in Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations, in keeping, moreover, with the relevant decisions of the Security Council.

115. The *apartheid* régime's challenge is a challenge to our collective conscience. It emphasizes the inability of the United Nations, and above all the Security Council, to take effective decisions.

116. All that is necessary, therefore, is for all States Members of the United Nations—especially certain of them which continue to give comfort and support to the racist minority régime of South Africa through tacit complicity and active co-operation—scrupulously to respect the international status of the Territory of Namibia. That means that all those States must agree to the full and unconditional implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978) as the basis for a final settlement of the question of Namibia. My delegation cannot say too often that the stability of an entire region and of international peace and security is at stake.

117. Nor can we over-emphasize what the Minister for Foreign Affairs and International Co-operation of Mali stated in the general debate. He said:

“The presence of South Africa in Namibia is an insult to history, to logic and to the lofty purposes set forth in the Charter. It is in the common interest to isolate and destroy the hateful system of *apartheid* by all available diplomatic, cultural, economic and, above all, military means, in keeping with the relevant provisions of Chapter VII of the Charter. Thus, history will one day reproach us for having tolerated this abject system for so long and in so shameful a way, and mankind will not have to suffer another mistake with incalculable consequences.” [29th meeting, para. 78.]

118. Africa, which is struggling for total liberation, must have the benefit of effective and ever more active support from all those that consider the ideals of peace, fundamental freedoms, the defence of human rights, and friendship with the African peoples to be profound aspirations of democracy and civilization.

119. Active solidarity with the African peoples, especially those of southern Africa; a consistent demand for the ending of dangerous and reprehensible alliances with a universally condemned régime; true, sincere commitment to the principles of the Charter of the United Nations: these are the ways and means to contribute seriously to the restoration of peace and stability in that region of the world.

120. The restoration of peace and stability in that region of the world will put an end to an explosive situation. It will destroy the last bastion of colonialism in Africa and, above all, end the subjugation of a people and the organized plunder of its resources.

121. In order to ensure independence for Namibia, the international community must strengthen its military and diplomatic support for SWAPO, the sole legitimate representative of the Namibian people. Thanks to their courage, determination and clear-sightedness, the valiant SWAPO fighters have established themselves over the years as the sole authentic parties to the negotiations which will lead Namibia to independence and sovereignty.

122. In supporting without reservation the many efforts and initiatives all over the world aimed at

putting an end to the actions of the Pretoria régime, which are a disgrace and a challenge to morality, Mali, in keeping with the resolutions of the United Nations, will spare no effort to ensure the effective adoption of comprehensive mandatory sanctions against the racist régime of Pretoria.

123. We are more deeply convinced than ever of the imperative need for active international solidarity with the oppressed peoples of southern Africa in order to put an end to the intolerable situation of injustice and terror in that region. South Africa, which continues illegally to occupy the international Territory of Namibia, has engaged in a series of manoeuvres to impede the implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978), concerning the independence of Namibia. Profiting from the barely concealed support of certain Western Powers, the racist minority régime has become increasingly arrogant and intransigent in its defiance of the authority of the United Nations and its contempt for any peaceful settlement of the Namibian problem, despite the numerous concessions made by SWAPO.

124. Like the failure of the Geneva conference, that of the Lusaka conference last May attests to the bad faith of the Pretoria racists. We cannot fail to see that the South African racists' attempts at an internal settlement have failed. The Namibian people, who have taken up arms to liberate their homeland, will never accept a neo-colonial solution that imposes on them a puppet Government composed of internal parties.

125. It is more important than ever for all those who cherish peace and justice to step up their material, financial and military assistance to SWAPO, the sole authentic representative of the Namibian people, in its just struggle to regain the independence and territorial integrity of its homeland.

126. Similarly, they must give their unswerving support to the front-line States to enable them to defend their territorial integrity and sovereignty against the South African racists' attempts at destabilization.

127. Mali has followed with genuine interest the efforts of the United Nations Council for Namibia, which you, Sir, guide with such skill and dedication, in the search for a solution to the question of Namibia.

128. With reference to the documents before us, my delegation wishes to highlight the importance and high quality of United Nations action in the interest of decolonization. That action must continue, for the right of peoples to freedom, justice and self-determination is universal, inalienable and imprescriptible. It is the right of the Namibian people as well.

129. Mr. LOHIA (Papua New Guinea): The issue of independence for Namibia is as old as the United Nations itself. I hope that when we celebrate the fortieth anniversary of the Organization we shall also celebrate the independence of Namibia. The question of Namibia will continue to test the credibility and moral commitment of the world community. We deplore the impunity with which the racist régime in South Africa continues its illegal occupation of the Territory of Namibia, which represents the most abhorrent form of colonialism experienced by mankind.

130. The extensive participation of delegations in this debate demonstrates the international commu-

nity's strong support for the inalienable right of the Namibian people to self-determination and independence as envisaged in the United Nations plan for Namibia.

131. The Government of Papua New Guinea rejects South Africa's recent attempt to bring about a so-called internal settlement and reiterates its conviction that a just and comprehensive solution can only be brought about through the speedy implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978). We recall and support Security Council resolution 539 (1983), which nullified all such extraneous or irrelevant issues as the linkage of Cuban troops to Namibia's independence.

132. South Africa continues scornfully to reject the numerous resolutions and decisions of the United Nations in order to perpetuate its illegal occupation of the Territory of Namibia. It continues to impose its inhumane, repressive and exploitative policies against the will of the native people of Namibia. We condemn the illegal detention of political prisoners and the introduction of conscription of Namibians to fight against their own brothers and sisters.

133. The racist Government continues to exploit both the people and the rich mineral and other resources of the Territory. Moreover, it is particularly deplorable that some influential Member States are co-operating with the *apartheid* régime in the economic plunder of Namibia. Such collaboration can only encourage South Africa's intransigence. We, therefore, reiterate the call upon those States to cease forthwith all political, economic, social and military links with the racist Government of South Africa.

134. The increasing South African military build-up and operations on Namibian territory, as well as the use of the territory as a launching-pad, pose an immediate and serious threat to the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the front-line States neighbouring South Africa. We support dialogue among the interested Governments on security-related issues, with the aim of reducing tensions in the region.

135. I would like to take this opportunity to reiterate Papua New Guinea's support for the people of Namibia in their just struggle under the able leadership of SWAPO, their sole and authentic representative. We commend SWAPO's constructiveness and its continued co-operation with the United Nations.

136. My delegation expresses its appreciation to the Secretary-General for his continuing efforts towards a final resolution of the Namibian question. We wish also to thank 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 its report and the decision contained therein [A/39/23, chap. IX, sect. B] and to assure it of our support.

137. We would also like to praise the work of the United Nations Council for Namibia, under your leadership, Mr. President, as the legal Administering Authority of the Territory. We support the recommendations in the Council's report [A/39/24, part four, chap. I].

138. In conclusion, my delegation reiterates its call for the unconditional withdrawal of South Africa from the Territory of Namibia and emphasizes that Security Council resolution 435 (1978) provides the most comprehensive plan for Namibia's independence, which we hope will be achieved in 1985.

Namibia's independence is inevitable and cannot be delayed any longer. We urge all parties concerned to be constructive in their efforts towards this goal. The onus is on the United Nations to act decisively and with unity to translate the legitimate aspirations of the Namibian people into reality.

139. Mr. VAN LIEROP (Vanuatu): Those of us who genuinely care for and support the people of Namibia in their effort to free their country are faced with a difficult dilemma. During the last four decades much has been said and much has been written about that situation. In fact, so much has been said and so much has been written that it strains the imagination to conceive of new words on this subject. What new arguments can be developed? What new logic can be presented? What new reasoning can be articulated? What new phrases can somehow open the hearts of South Africa's rulers? What new expressions can open the minds of those that have it in their power to ease the task of freeing Namibia but choose not to exercise that power?

140. Have not the people of Namibia been patient enough? Have they not exercised enough restraint and moderation? Have they not earned our respect and gratitude for their adherence to the principles of the Charter of the United Nations? Have they ever attacked South Africa? Have they ever terrorized anyone? What about guarantees of their safety and security? What about their national interests? For how many more years must they wait? Can anyone tell us when South Africa will finally leave them and their country alone and let them live and develop in peace?

141. South Africa's occupation of Namibia has been researched, analysed, discussed, debated, regretted, condemned and even damned. Yet it has continued.

142. Sceptics say that all our words, all our expressions of indignation, all our righteous condemnations and all our resolutions have been in vain. They point to South Africa's increased military strength, its ability to destabilize neighbouring States, its ability and its willingness to terrorize its own citizenry and that of neighbouring countries and its ability to translate its military and economic might into what passes for diplomatic acceptance.

143. These sceptics tell us that South Africa is a reality on the African continent. They point to that society's material achievements rather than its human failures. They tell us that South Africa will never be defeated militarily and that no changes or concessions are possible without guarantees and assurances that will aid and comfort Pretoria.

144. The sceptics are not 100 per cent wrong. In the epic of human history, there are very few absolutes. Of course South Africa is a reality on the African continent. Every thinking person knows that. What is yet to be determined is the type of reality.

145. Will it be a reality that respects all peoples and cultures and permits them to realize their full human potential? Or will it be the dubious reality of naked military might and narrow racist theological fiction? Will it be a reality of the future or a reality of the past?

146. The people of Namibia, the vast majority of the people of South Africa and member States of the OAU are as realistic as is humanly possible. Their fondest wish is for a South Africa that is a reality of the future. Pretoria knows that South Africa's contin-

ued existence is not at issue. Pretoria knows that South Africa's continued prosperity and development are not at issue. Pretoria knows what the issues really are, just as every rational, thinking person knows what is at stake.

147. To the sceptics, inside and outside South Africa, we say that we have more faith in the future of that country than they do. Our efforts have not been in vain. We believe that South Africa and all South Africans will, in the long run, benefit more from an independent Namibia than from a colonized Namibia.

148. We believe that South Africa itself and all South Africans will be richer, truly richer, when the doors of opportunity are open for all, regardless of race, religion, sex or class. We believe that no society can survive which concerns itself solely with the acquisition of material wealth while choosing to ignore its spiritual growth and the development of its human resources. South Africa, like any other society, can only thrive and benefit from a population which challenges it and dares it to live up to its promises and its pronouncements.

149. SWAPO and the supporters of Namibian independence are the only ones who can claim to be realistic in this debate. Year after year and at conference after conference, they have pointed the way towards a just and equitable solution to one of our most vexing problems. It was not SWAPO which injected violence into the campaign for Namibia's independence. It was not SWAPO which introduced external forces and extraneous issues into the discussions on Namibia's future. Nor is it SWAPO which erects new barriers just as it appears that progress towards a negotiated settlement is at hand.

150. If South Africa wishes the armed conflict to end, it is in South Africa's power to end the conflict. If sceptics continue to insist that South Africa is militarily invincible, then SWAPO will be compelled to demonstrate its ability to play David to South Africa's Goliath.

151. I must confess that we are at a loss to understand why SWAPO's relative moderation and restraint are not rewarded by increased pressure on Pretoria to respond in kind. We have always believed in dialogue and negotiations to resolve political impasse. It is our belief that no situation is too complex and no impasse need be permanent. However, when one party's actions are as patently illegal as are the actions of South Africa, then there must be a question concerning the type of inducements offered to gain a cessation of the criminal activities. How can the victim be asked to prove its good intentions to the criminal?

152. We share the international community's frustration over the obstacles which have been placed in the path of Namibia's independence. We are disappointed that the promise of progress is still unfulfilled.

153. In a few short weeks, our work here in New York will conclude and we shall adjourn this session of the General Assembly. Most of us will travel to our respective homes to share time and memories with our loved ones. Some of us will take part in religious or spiritual observances. Some of us will enjoy seasonal festivities and others will simply rest and recuperate.

154. For our friends from Namibia, however, there will be no rest or recuperation. There will be little joy

and few festivities. Their country is still occupied. Their families are in many cases still divided. Their task—and ours—remains unfinished.

155. They know that the international community is with them. But in this case we must ask: Is that enough? Is there not more that we can do? Is there not more that we can offer? All of us must pose these questions and search for an answer. Some must search deeper than others, for they have a greater ability to influence events than do most of us.

156. For our part, we offer no easy prescriptions, no magical solutions and no sure remedies. South Africa is a difficult, intransigent adversary. Everyone knows this, but none knows it better than South Africa's immediate victims.

157. To SWAPO and the people of Namibia we renew our support and encouragement. We share their anguish, their goals and their optimism. We wish we could do more.

158. Mr. ARIAS STELLA (Peru) (*interpretation from Spanish*): The people of Namibia continue to wait for the inexorable attainment of their historical destiny as a free and independent State in the territory that belongs to them legally.

159. For almost 20 years, South Africa has been illegally occupying and exploiting Namibia solely by the force of arms. Similarly, for four decades now the United Nations has been ceaselessly working for the elimination of one of the last but perhaps the most explosive and denigrating vestiges of colonialism in the world. I stress these characteristics strongly because in the time that has elapsed, the thwarting of the rights of the Namibian people has been and still is linked to the inhuman, abhorrent practice of institutionalized racism.

160. The consideration of the question of Namibia at this thirty-ninth session has been lengthy and intense and the extraordinary level of participation by States Members of the Organization clearly demonstrates the total commitment of the international community to the self-determination and independence of Namibia and the overwhelming, unswerving political will to take the necessary steps to ensure immediate exercise of those inalienable rights. We must, however, deplore that that will is not yet unanimous and that there are interests of various kinds, including those involved in the global confrontation, which some would attempt to introduce into the irreversible process of the decolonization of South West Africa.

161. My delegation wishes to reaffirm the well-known position of Peru on this item, and I should like to emphasize the following points.

162. First, the United Nations plan for the independence of Namibia endorsed in Security Council resolution 435 (1978) should be implemented without further delay. Its provisions, which set forth the means whereby the inhabitants of Namibia can freely determine their future, under United Nations supervision and control, deserve our full support. It must be remembered that the occupying Power itself accepted those provisions and knowingly accepted responsibility for their implementation. So there is no explanation whatsoever for non-compliance except the uncompromising and aggressive attitude of the Government in question, which results in a constant threat to the security and stability of the entire region of southern Africa. Its persistent defiance and disregard of the efforts of the international

community seriously undermines the authority of the Security Council and the credibility of the Organization. It also, unfortunately, compels the oppressed peoples to resort to violence, thereby causing more bloodshed in its own country. These well-established facts should be considered by those that support and are in a position to influence the South African régime.

163. Secondly, the means of achieving self-determination and independence for Namibia have been established by the United Nations and cannot be subjected to pre-conditions. Naturally, the magnitude of the tragedy of that African people and the strong feelings it arouses compel us to seek formulas to speed up the process. To that end, the will to achieve political compromise through negotiation, realism and flexibility should be commended, but it must be clearly established that the liberation of Namibia does not depend on, nor is there any reason for it to be the result of, factors other than those which stem from its recognized status as a Territory under colonial domination.

164. Peru hopes that the illegal occupation of Namibia and the wrongful appropriation of its heritage will come to an end as soon as possible. The continued efforts and actions of the Secretary-General to that end deserve the unswerving support of the international community. There is still time to correct mistakes and injustices of the past. On the eve of the fortieth anniversary of the United Nations, the least we can do is ensure for ourselves a little peace of mind through the knowledge that we have made considerable strides towards fulfilling our commitments under the Charter of the United Nations.

165. Mr. BENJELLOUN (Morocco) (*interpretation from French*): Eighteen years ago the General Assembly decided, in resolution 2145 (XXI), to terminate the Mandate of South Africa over Namibia and to make the Territory the direct responsibility of the United Nations.

166. Since then, the Namibian question has been the subject of countless resolutions and decisions of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, the OAU and the United Nations, all demanding the exercise by the Namibian people of its right to self-determination and independence.

167. The combined efforts of the international community led to the adoption of Security Council resolutions 385 (1976) and 435 (1978), which established the ways whereby the Namibian people should determine its own future through free elections under United Nations supervision and control.

168. The adoption of these resolutions gave rise within the international community to some hope of the elimination of the last bastion of colonialism in Africa and the fulfilment of the legitimate aspirations of the Namibian people to liberty and independence.

169. The unanimity concerning resolution 435 (1978) reflects the will of the international community to promote a peaceful and just solution to the Namibian problem and to put an end to the tense situation which prevails in the region and threatens international peace and security.

170. Six years have elapsed since that time, but South Africa has not loosened its grip on the Namibian people or shown itself in any way inclined to implement the relevant resolutions of the Assembly. Furthermore, South Africa, after having sub-

scribed to the United Nations plan, stepped up its policy of racial division, brutal repression and increasing militarization of Namibia.

171. Its desperate efforts to perpetuate the illegal occupation of Namibian territory and the exploitation of its natural resources were also reflected by its attempts to install an internal settlement and puppet political institutions and to impose an internal settlement as a substitute for the full independence of the Namibian people.

172. South Africa continues with impunity to imprison, torture and kill those who refuse to submit to the vicious policies of *apartheid*. It is consolidating its policy of militarization outside the Territory and making it a base for acts of subversion and aggression against neighbouring States.

173. Aware of the inevitability and imminence of the victory of the Namibian people, South Africa is continuing its systematic, frenzied plunder of the natural resources of Namibia and trying to fragment the Territory.

174. South Africa's stubbornness in defying the general will, which has been clearly and frequently expressed in the successive resolutions of the General Assembly and of the Security Council, makes it essential for all Member States to make concerted, decisive efforts to force South Africa to remove the last obstacles impeding the full implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978). These efforts must be based above all on the thorough and effective application of the arms embargo imposed in 1977 by the Security Council, the cessation of all co-operation likely to strengthen the military, and in particular the nuclear potential of South Africa, and the establishment of a fixed time-frame for the accession of Namibia to independence.

175. Morocco shares the general concern and frustration over the deadlock with regard to the settlement of the Namibian question, caused by South Africa's intransigence and the delaying tactics it employs to put off indefinitely implementation of the United Nations plan for Namibia. Morocco is also aware of the magnitude of the sacrifices made by the fraternal people of Namibia to speed up their independence, preserve the territorial integrity of Namibia and free themselves from the policy of humiliation and racial degradation of the Pretoria régime.

176. My country, which has always condemned the obnoxious policy of *apartheid* of the Government of South Africa, repeats that it will continue to give its full support to the heroic struggle of the Namibian people until their legitimate aspirations to sovereignty and independence are realized.

177. I cannot conclude without paying a well-deserved tribute to the steadfast work of the United Nations Council for Namibia, which is making tireless efforts to protect the rights and interests of the Namibian people. In particular, I pay tribute to its President, whose name will remain closely associated with the long march of the Namibian people to freedom and independence.

178. The PRESIDENT: The voting on the draft resolutions contained in the Report of the United Nations Council for Namibia [*ibid.*] and on the series of amendments to those draft resolutions, circulated in documents A/39/L.23 to L.25, will take place at a subsequent meeting to be announced in the *Journal*.

NOTES

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

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