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President: Mr. Lazar MOJSOV (Yugoslavia).

AGENDA ITEM 91

Question of Namibia (*continued*):

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- (b) Report of the United Nations Council for Namibia;
- (c) Report of the Secretary-General

1. The PRESIDENT: As members are aware, the General Assembly at its 35th plenary meeting decided to set the time-limit for the submission of draft proposals at 12 noon today. I should now like to inform Members that a 24-hour postponement has been requested. After consultations with the regional groups—especially the African group—I have acceded to the request, which in any case will not hinder consideration of the item, since the number of speakers makes it necessary to have an additional number of meetings and to continue until Monday the consideration of this item. Therefore, draft proposals on the question of Namibia should be submitted by 12 noon tomorrow, Friday, 21 October.

2. Mr. AHMED (Bangladesh): Bangladesh's position on the question of Namibia is clear-cut and categorical. It is founded on our constitutional commitment, which is to support oppressed peoples throughout the world waging a just struggle against imperialism, colonialism and racism. It is backed by our unswerving adherence to Assembly resolution 1514 (XV), containing the historic Declaration

on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples—the key passage of which declares that:

“Immediate steps shall be taken . . . to transfer all powers to the peoples of those territories . . . in order to enable them to enjoy complete independence and freedom.”

It is demonstrated in our repeated reaffirmation of the inalienable right of all peoples to self-determination, freedom and independence. It is also deeply rooted in our conviction that the process of decolonization is inevitable and the struggle for liberty and freedom an inexorable one. The basic question that remains in the case of Namibia is, How expeditiously can we achieve this end so that the people of that Territory can rightfully pursue their destiny without further bloodshed and division?

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

4. First and foremost, South Africa continues to occupy Namibia illegally in defiance of the resolutions of the United Nations and the decisions of the International Court of Justice. South Africa has steadfastly refused to recognize the United Nations Council for Namibia, established by such resolutions, and to date has prevented it even from entering the Territory.

5. Secondly, the history of this Territory is replete with instances of all the ills that characterize classic colonialism, with the added brutality of the repressive régime of *apartheid* and its institutionalized discrimination by race, colour and property.

6. Thirdly, the logical extension of this policy has been the systematic fragmentation of the Territory along ethnic and racial lines, exemplified by the system of *bantustanization*—the typical divide-and-rule concept of colonialism.

7. Fourthly, that system has been maintained and extended through repressive legislative actions the extent of which has been recorded annually by the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

8. Fifthly, some 40,000 armed South African troops, recruited through national conscription, continue to police the Territory and bolster its repression. Only recently the South African Government, faced with escalating military confrontation through the struggle for liberation of the Namibian people, has forced an extra year of service on the thousands of youths pressed into national service. Those troops are not only engaged in suppressing the struggle for liberation but have extended aggression into neighbouring territories, with all the inherent dangers to international peace and security.

9. Sixthly, thousands of Namibians who engaged in a legitimate struggle for self-determination and independence lie incarcerated in South African and Namibian gaols, condemned as terrorists.

10. Seventhly, South Africa's vulnerability in the face of virtually unanimous international condemnation and the scope of the war of liberation, has pushed it to ill-concealed efforts to develop its nuclear-weapon potential, with all its dire consequences.

11. Finally, Namibia continues to be denied its economic wealth through indiscriminate exploitation of its natural resources, with little or no reinvestment.

12. It is against the background of these realities that one must view recent proposals for a constitutional settlement pending independence. Clearly, those initiatives cannot be considered except in the context of the objective situation obtaining in Namibia.

13. Bangladesh believes that the cardinal element in progress towards orderly independence is the commitment of all concerned to genuine, free and democratic elections in Namibia. It is in the light of this commitment that the integral elements of a peaceful settlement assume meaningful focus.

14. As Security Council resolution 385 (1976) clearly specified, genuine elections would need to be held on the basis of one national "political entity", and not on the basis of tribal or ethnic representation, the subterfuge that the Turnhalle Conference sought to perpetuate and the underlying motivation of South Africa and the white minority in Namibia for pressing early elections. Connected questions imperilling the concept of genuine elections lie in the attempt to corrupt the process through such issues as proportionate or constituency voting, or the possibility of dividing Namibia into two electoral areas and having a bicameral future parliament. The spectre of fragmentation through the bantustanization process, even by covert constitutional means, is a very real threat to any settlement, an one that cannot but be rejected.

15. Perhaps the most crucial element for any meaningful process lies in the implementation of "free" and "democratic" elections. The cardinal preconditions emphasized in Security Council resolution 385 (1976) are: complete South African withdrawal, particularly of its armed forces; the release of political prisoners; the repeal of all repressive and discriminatory legislation in Namibia; the dismantling of the *apartheid* system; and United Nations supervision and control of the elections themselves.

16. Given the prevailing atmosphere of violent prejudice, distrust and intimidation in an armed environment, it is only logical that the South West Africa People's Organization [SWAPO], the organization that the United Nations has specifically recognized as the legitimate representative of the Namibian people, cannot surrender its armed struggle in the event of South Africa reneging on its promise of free elections—an event that could very likely arise. I need only refer to the events in South Africa in the last few days as a pointed indicator of the trustworthiness of South Africa's declared promises.

17. The only viable alternative lies in the policing of a cease fire through an objective third force, and that is clearly the United Nations. Nor can elections be free or democratic in an environment where the mechanics of repression are institutionalized through legislation and through a police force well equipped with the means of bribery and intimidation. Nor does freedom have content when SWAPO leaders and opponents of the existing régime continue to remain under surveillance or in gaol unable to campaign. The solution is obvious—supervision and control of the transition to independence must be vested in the United Nations and guaranteed by all major Powers and the international community, that is, through consolidation of collective responsibility.

18. A solution short of these necessary imperatives, directed towards the exclusion of SWAPO, of the fragmentation of the Territory in an environment of intimidation, would make a mockery of the moves towards a negotiated independence for Namibia. The two alternatives facing the international community as a means of moving towards a solution are, therefore, crystal clear—one is a peaceful negotiated settlement under the auspices of the United Nations, and the other the recourse to armed struggle.

19. As I have stated, Bangladesh is convinced of the inevitability of ultimate achievement of independence in Namibia. It is the cost in terms of human lives and material damage that is the fundamental issue. We strongly advocate the peaceful alternative, but are equally committed to support SWAPO's liberation struggle through all means including armed struggle.

20. Bangladesh finds merit in the suggestion of the leader of SWAPO, Mr. Sam Nujoma, that "in the event South Africa persists in its arrogant refusal to withdraw all its repressive troops, and goes ahead with the so-called internal settlement" [35th meeting, para. 79] a special session of the General Assembly be convened to consider the situation and measures directed towards further isolating and pressurizing South Africa to relinquish its illegal hold over Namibia. Bangladesh fully endorses the recommendation of the International Conference in Support of the Peoples of Zimbabwe and Namibia, held in Maputo, and of the United Nations Council for Namibia that it is time also for the Security Council to reactivate its consideration of the present question. We believe that among measures of particular import that should be considered in the face of South African recalcitrance, are the imposition of mandatory sanctions under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations and the payment by South Africa of compensation for the damage and exploitation of that Territory.

21. Bangladesh has been a member of the Council for Namibia since its admission to membership in the United Nations. It goes without saying, therefore, that we are party to and fully endorse the recommendations submitted in the report of the Council [A/32/24]. Among cardinal issues, of particular concern is our confirmed support for the position that Walvis Bay is an integral part of Namibia, a position which is consistent with international law. We cannot accept a situation whereby colonial imposition can sanction legitimacy through annexation.

22. Bangladesh has always accorded special priority to the more positive and nation-building measures that would accompany and facilitate the emergence of an independent Namibia. In this regard, we fully commend the proposals of the Council for Namibia towards this end, particularly those directed towards developing the human potential of that Territory to enable it to assume the manifold administrative and economic responsibilities on its assumption of independence.

23. I should also like to express my delegation's warm welcome to Mr. Sam Nujoma and our deep appreciation for his frank and constructive statement as the legitimate representative of the Namibian people.

24. In conclusion, Bangladesh wishes formally to place on record our appreciation and endorsement of the report of the Special Committee on the question of Namibia [A/32/23/Rev.1, chap. VIII].

25. Mr. ÅLGÅRD (Norway): It is the firm view of my Government that the achievement of self-determination for all oppressed peoples in southern Africa is only a matter of time. We believe the beginning of a new future for southern Africa based on human dignity and equality is within sight. As was stated in the Maputo Declaration [see A/32/109/Rev.1-S/12344/Rev.1, annex V], the peoples of Zimbabwe and Namibia are on the threshold of freedom. The question now is only how the transition into this new phase in history for the peoples of southern Africa shall come about. Shall it take place through an all-out war with great human suffering and costly material destruction, or shall it be brought about through a peaceful settlement, already long overdue? That is the question that remains to be answered.

26. Namibia has been illegally occupied for far too many years by South Africa in defiance of the unanimous view of the international community. The present critical situation in Namibia is solely the result of the persistent refusal of the South African authorities to respect and accept one of the most significant and irreversible historical developments since the inception of our Organization—the achievement of independence by colonial countries and peoples.

27. South African authorities have, therefore, brought about their own isolation within the community of nations, while throwing the African majority in Namibia, and in their own country as well, into an increasingly desperate situation where violence has already bred further violence.

28. We want to take this opportunity to express our support for the timely initiative taken by the five Western countries, aiming at independence for Namibia within the framework of Security Council resolution 385 (1976). We

hope that this initiative—with the support and co-operation of African countries and other United Nations Member States—will lead to independence for Namibia in 1978.

29. We have interpreted the ongoing negotiating efforts as an indication that South Africa remains committed to independence for Namibia next year as one political entity. However, we have not failed to note that South Africa, in the midst of highly critical negotiations and in defiance of international public opinion, has decided to annex the Namibian port of Walvis Bay. The intended result of this act cannot but be the dismemberment of a free Namibia and the further complicating of the political, social and economic recovery of that country from years of illegal rule and exploitation.

30. It is not our intention here today to interfere in any way with the conduct of the ongoing negotiating efforts, the complexity of which we fully realize. Our impression is that this attitude is shared by a great number of countries. None the less, in the absence of a final break-through in the present talks, we want to reiterate our principal views concerning Namibia's transition to independence.

31. It is the view of my Government that independence for Namibia must be based on Security Council resolution 385 (1976). In particular, we attach great importance to the principle that the people of Namibia be enabled freely to determine their own future and that free elections be held under the supervision and control of the United Nations for the whole of Namibia as one political entity.

32. The implementation of this principle puts a heavy responsibility on the United Nations. We trust, however, that the United Nations has both the means and the capacity to discharge itself of this task in a manner which will smoothly pave the way for the entry of Namibia into the community of free and independent nations.

33. I should like to stress that the United Nations as a whole has assumed a collective responsibility for the making of a Namibia, freed from South African occupation and to be born out of free elections. We trust, therefore, that the large degree of unanimity on the question of Namibia, which so far has characterized our deliberations on this item over the years, will carry over into the phase of implementation of our decisions and commitments previously made.

34. An effective discharge by the United Nations of its duties and obligations in Namibia will necessarily have financial consequences for our Organization. There must be no doubt about our readiness collectively to shoulder this responsibility too.

35. We want to stress this aspect since it has an important bearing on the capacity of our world Organization to deal effectively with Namibia's transition to freedom based on self-determination.

36. My Government stands ready to extend its whole-hearted co-operation within the framework of the United Nations concerning Namibia. Here I want to refer to the meeting of the Nordic Foreign Ministers in September of this year, where they expressed their readiness to offer their

services within such a framework with a view to facilitating a peaceful transition.

37. I want to reiterate this pledge on this occasion on behalf of the Norwegian Government. Should our assistance be asked for in order to facilitate a peaceful transition to an independent Namibia, we shall respond favourably and promptly with the means at our disposal. We feel that a strong United Nations presence in Namibia combined with a speedy phasing out of all military presence by South Africa in the Territory is a prerequisite for a peaceful transition to independence for Namibia.

38. Norway continues also to support the United Nations Institute for Namibia, whose activities are taking on additional significance in view of recent events. Our contribution this year amounts to \$100,000 whereas we shall—subject to Parliamentary approval—increase this amount to approximately \$140,000 next year. My Government attaches, furthermore, the greatest importance to the work of the United Nations Council for Namibia and the activities of the United Nations Commissioner for Namibia. Both have always been in the forefront in our effort to create a free Namibia. More than ever their tireless efforts are called for. In this they have our full support.

39. It remains the view of my Government that South Africa holds the key to a negotiated solution of the problems of the whole of southern Africa.

40. We believe it is important to continue and increase outside pressures on South Africa. The question of mandatory sanctions must again be raised. My Government has on earlier occasions called for a mandatory arms embargo as an initial step. We want to repeat that call now.

41. At the same time we take this opportunity to reaffirm our strong support for the multilateral role played by the United Nations in Namibia. We also want to emphasize that our own national policy in support of the liberation struggle remains unchanged. In the present situation both multilateral and national pressures remain essential. In this connexion I should like to stress the heavy sacrifices made by the front-line States to bring about self-determination for the peoples in southern Africa. It is the duty of the international community to assist them in this task by increasing its financial aid to these countries.

42. Our moral, humanitarian and financial assistance to the peoples of Namibia through SWAPO, the representative of the Namibian people as recognized by the United Nations, has been nearly doubled this year and amounts to almost \$1 million. This assistance to the people of Namibia will be further increased in the years to come.

43. The stakes are high in Namibia today. Any additional postponement of a final and negotiated settlement based on Security Council resolution 385 (1976) will further aggravate the situation in which the peoples of Namibia find themselves. They have borne the heaviest burden in the past. They will continue to do so until a new future is laid for Namibia. Their present state of inhuman subjugation cannot be tolerated any longer. We are, therefore, looking impatiently forward to the day when we, here in this hall, shall be able to extend our welcome to yet another Member of our Organization—a free and independent Namibia.

44. Mr. KAMATH (India): Mr. President, my honourable colleague, India's Foreign Minister, Mr. Atal Bihari Vajpayee, has already conveyed to you his felicitations on your election to your high office. I would merely add my delegation's sincere admiration at the brilliant manner in which you have been conducting the proceedings of this Assembly.

45. We have listened with close attention to the debate so far on South Africa's illegal occupation of Namibia, particularly to the statement made by the President of SWAPO, Mr. Sam Nujoma. India fully shares the sense of frustration and outrage over the fact that even though 11 years have elapsed since General Assembly resolution 2145 (XXI) terminated South Africa's Mandate and made the Territory a direct responsibility of the United Nations, South Africa not only retains its unlawful presence but seeks to further consolidate its rule by terror over Namibia. During these 11 years, a score of General Assembly resolutions, one advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice and eight Security Council resolutions specifically denouncing the illegality of South Africa's occupation of Namibia have apparently made no impact whatsoever on the racist régime of Pretoria. United Nations action in this regard has fallen short of precisely those provisions of the Charter which could have secured South Africa's withdrawal. Nowhere has the credibility and authority of the United Nations been more unabashedly defied than in the case of Namibia, which has the status of an international Territory.

*Mr. Alzamora (Peru), Vice-President, took the Chair.*

46. Outside the United Nations, initiatives concerning Namibia seem to be moving rather haltingly in the right direction. It is my delegation's hope that these initiatives will finally induce appropriate and effective action on the part of the United Nations and on the part of South Africa a total and final withdrawal from Namibia. The struggle against South Africa's illegal occupation of Namibia forms an integral part of the liberation movement against the last vestiges of colonialism and racism in southern Africa. This liberation movement represents perhaps the last of the freedom struggles waged by the peoples of the world against the colonial domination of a handful of European Powers which culminated in the emancipation of nations across Asia, Africa and parts of Latin America since the end of the Second World War. Colonialism and domination based on race thus belong to a bygone era, as is so well reflected in the composition of this Assembly.

47. In southern Africa itself, the recent victories of the heroic peoples of Angola, Mozambique, Guinea-Bissau, Cape Verde, Sao Tome and Principe have extended the frontiers of freedom to the borders of Namibia and Zimbabwe. Within Namibia, the yearnings of the people for human dignity and their aspirations for independence and majority rule have been mobilized. Under the leadership of SWAPO the liberation struggle has been intensified, much to the consternation of the occupying Power which now deploys a large military force of over 50,000 troops in Namibia. The racist régimes of southern Africa face further international isolation as can be attested to by the success of the International Conference in support of the Peoples of Zimbabwe and Namibia, held in Maputo earlier this year,

and the World Conference for Action against *Apartheid*, held in Lagos, more recently. The anachronistic and totally arbitrary character of South Africa's illegal occupation of Namibia could not have been more clearly exposed.

48. South Africa's reaction to these developments has consisted so far of a mixture of obduracy and subterfuge. On the one hand, the illegal administration, supported by a large contingent of South Africa's armed forces, has stepped up its repression in a futile attempt to break the will of SWAPO and the Namibian people. The indomitable spirit of Namibian patriots reminds me of a passage from the famous poet Byron:

"When thy sons to fetters are consigned  
To fetters and the damp vaults' dayless gloom  
Their country conquers with their martyrdom  
And Freedom's fame finds wings on every wind."

49. In desperation South Africa also invaded Angola and committed acts of armed aggression against Zambia in an unsuccessful effort to roll back the tide of history. Another example of the provocative tactics employed by South Africa has been its most recent annexation of Walvis Bay, which is an integral part of Namibia. The other aspect of South African strategy, in the face of mounting international pressures, has been to promote fraudulent constitutional devices in a vain attempt to bamboozle world opinion. The Turnhalle Conference, which excluded SWAPO, was one such attempt. However, far from beguiling the international community into the belief that constitutional progress was under way, according to reports even the hand-picked tribal chiefs attending the Conference were not deceived by the manoeuvre aimed at the fragmentation of the Territory, the preservation of the privileges of the white minority and the perpetuation of South African control over Namibia. According to the latest reports, South Africa has temporarily shelved the Turnhalle exercise and has taken certain steps such as the appointment of an Administrator-General under circumstances to which I shall refer later.

50. Behind this constitutional drama stage-managed by South Africa lies the harsh reality that the African majority in Namibia continues to suffer from the total deprivation of the most elementary human rights. Even under the now defunct Mandate of the League of Nations, South Africa was obliged to "promote to the utmost the material and moral well-being and the social progress" of the inhabitants of the Territory.<sup>1</sup> South Africa, of course, did nothing of the sort. Instead it has illegally extended its *apartheid* legislation to Namibia and has ruthlessly enforced it either directly or through the all-white territorial legislative assembly.

51. The reports of the United Nations Council for Namibia and the Special Committee which have been submitted to this Assembly have documented the details of the inhuman *apartheid* system illegally applied to Namibia by South Africa. The application of the infamous Odendaal Plan creating so-called African homelands, the iniquitous

contract labour system, the highly discriminatory wage structure, and the racist pass laws are designed to apply the pernicious colonial doctrine of "divide and rule", to extirpate the concept of Namibian nationhood, and to maintain the privileged position of the white minority.

52. Nothing exemplifies the tyranny by which South Africa occupies Namibia better than the 1967 Terrorism Act under which hundreds of Namibian patriots, including leading members of SWAPO, have been arbitrarily arrested, detained without trial, tortured and subjected to "show trials". In the name of anti-communism and in the name of Western and Christian values, the South African régime has, by its policies both in South Africa and in Namibia, itself become the largest and most brutal terrorist entity in the world today.

53. Most regrettably, South Africa is not the only party involved in the illegal plunder of Namibia. Other foreign corporations and business interests are conniving with South Africa in the illegal and ruthless exploitation of the rich human and material resources of the Territory. Motivated solely by the greed for profit and yet more profit, those foreign interests are preying upon Namibian labour, which is enslaved by the *apartheid* system. The frenzied depletion of Namibia's irreplaceable mineral resources, which are the birth-right of the Namibian people, is nothing short of criminal larceny and should not go unpunished. The culprits have so far, I am sorry to say, gone scot-free.

54. I have already referred to South Africa's most recent annexation of Walvis Bay. The extent of the anachronism underlying this action, which is apparently based on a treaty signed in far-away Berlin long ago, in 1884, between two European empires, is breath-taking, even by South African standards. This latest act of colonialism by South Africa must be denounced by this Assembly as a violation of Namibian territorial integrity, as recognized by United Nations resolutions, in particular in Security Council resolution 385 (1976).

55. There have been profoundly disturbing reports recently of South Africa's intention to conduct a nuclear test in the Kalahari Desert region, either in Namibia or on its borders. Given South Africa's persistent defiance of the United Nations, its record of aggression against independent African countries and its policy of *apartheid*, any development of nuclear weapons by South Africa would be only for the purpose of intimidating neighbouring independent States.

56. South Africa's military strength, which is used for the subjugation of the peoples of southern Africa and for armed aggression against independent African States, is to a large extent based on the importation of military hardware and technology from certain Western States. According to the relevant section of the report of the Special Committee, between 1965 and 1975 South Africa was the largest importer of major weapons in Africa south of the Sahara, with total arms imports of almost \$1.1 billion [see A/32/23/Rev.1, chap. V, annex II, para. 21]. This collaboration in the military field with the racist régime of South Africa must be condemned by this Assembly.

<sup>1</sup> See article 2 of the Mandate for German South-West Africa, conferred at Geneva on 17 December 1920. League of Nations, *Official Journal*, 2nd Year, No. 1 (January-February 1921), p. 89.



57. On the positive side, we are happy to note that the United Nations Council for Namibia, the legal Administering Authority for the Territory, has succeeded in mobilizing world-wide support for genuine independence and majority rule and for the withdrawal of South Africa from Namibia. The programme of assistance launched by the Council has received considerable support from Member States. The United Nations Fund for Namibia, which finances an important educational and training programme for Namibians, is receiving increasing support, and the United Nations Institute for Namibia at Lusaka has got off to a good start and is undertaking an expansion programme with international co-operation. The specialized agencies and other organizations within the United Nations system have also significantly increased their support to the Namibian cause. These developments reflect the growing commitment of the international community to the Namibian people in their struggle for freedom. India, which has been an active member of the United Nations Council for Namibia since its inception in 1967, is fully committed to the Council's objectives and programmes.

58. I have referred to the intensification of the armed struggle by SWAPO, in the face of South Africa's intransigence and its repressive policies in Namibia. We are glad to note that SWAPO, under the decisive leadership of its President, Mr. Nujoma, is marching from strength to strength, both in the political field and in the military field against the occupying Power. The issue, however, cannot be resolved by the efforts and struggle of SWAPO alone. The United Nations has undoubtedly a collective and direct responsibility in the matter.

59. In this context we have followed with interest the diplomatic initiative taken by the five Western Powers, members of the Security Council, to secure the implementation of Council resolution 385 (1976) through peaceful means which could lead to the withdrawal of South Africa from Namibia and thereafter to its complete independence. It remains to be seen whether the efforts of those Western Powers will succeed, and it is precisely those five countries which have the requisite political and economic leverage which could influence the South African régime to change its present course, a course that can otherwise only end in disaster in Namibia. As the President of SWAPO, Mr. Nujoma, stated earlier in this debate, while South Africa has made pronouncements regarding the independence of Namibia and is negotiating with the five Western Powers, it has, at the same time, taken several measures which lead us to believe that it has not given up its colonial designs in Namibia. Those measures include the bantustanization of Namibia, the creation of tribal armies, the annexation of Walvis Bay, South Africa's patronage of tribal puppets and the continued persecution of Namibian patriots.

60. India fully supports SWAPO's just and reasonable demand, made by Mr. Nujoma at this Assembly, for the complete and unconditional withdrawal of all South African armed forces from Namibian territory before the commencement of the electoral process. Apart from the fact that free and fair elections are most unlikely in the hostile presence of South African forces, the restoration of legality in Namibia would itself require the replacement of South African forces by a United Nations presence during the interim period, before Namibia attains full indepen-

dence. This demand should have the backing of the entire international community, as it is based on United Nations resolutions, including Security Council resolution 385 (1976).

61. In the meantime, the threat posed by South Africa's intransigent and aggressive policies begins to loom larger. As I observed earlier, the United Nations has been unable to implement its decisions and as a result a situation has arisen in which the people of Namibia have been left with no option but to resort to armed struggle. However, the Western initiative has brought us to the cross-roads, and we hope that through that initiative the United Nations will redeem the trust reposed in it by the people of Namibia and secure the withdrawal of South Africa from Namibia and establish there a genuinely independent State and Government, in conformity with the freely expressed will of the people of Namibia.

62. Mr. LUDWICZAK (Poland): I should like in the first instance to express my delegation's most sincere and warmest appreciation to the President of the United Nations Council for Namibia, Miss Gwendoline Konie of the Republic of Zambia, on the dynamic manner in which she has carried out her important and responsible task.

63. Likewise, may I be permitted to extend on behalf of the Polish delegation our warm welcome to the President of SWAPO, Mr. Sam Nujoma, whose participation in this debate offers ample testimony to the importance and urgency of the question of Namibia, a distressing problem which is of such great concern to Poland and to the entire international community.

64. The question of Namibia, as the Permanent Representative of Poland said during consideration of the problem by the Security Council, in January 1976, is of a three-dimensional nature.

65. In the first place it is a national problem of the Namibian people brutally suppressed by South Africa, a national problem of a people led by SWAPO and bravely struggling to achieve self-determination, freedom and independence.

66. Secondly, it is a matter that directly concerns the continent of Africa. South Africa's illegal occupation of Namibia, the war of repression it wages there, the acts of aggression against independent African States from bases in Namibia represent a serious threat to peace and security in the region, as well as to the stability of the whole of the African continent.

67. Thirdly, the existence of the racist régime of South Africa remains a constant threat to the maintenance and safeguarding of international peace and security.

68. For more than 30 years we have debated this problem in one form or another. For many years the United Nations has had the question of Namibia on its agenda both in the General Assembly and in the Security Council. Over 10 years ago the United Nations put an end to South Africa's Mandate and assumed direct responsibility for the Territory and for the Namibian people.

69. But is it not a fact that during all those years South Africa had at no time taken any meaningful steps towards ending its administration of Namibia and towards permitting the Namibian people to exercise its right to self-determination and independence? There are no facts that would allow us to reply in the affirmative.

70. This abnormal situation has already been the subject of 17 Security Council resolutions and more than 100 resolutions of the General Assembly. All of them remain unimplemented. Despite all these efforts, the racist régime of South Africa persists in its illegal and repressive occupation of the international Territory of Namibia.

71. What is the present situation? The situation in Namibia, the Trust Territory of the United Nations, has further deteriorated in the course of the past year. It is a direct consequence of the continued refusal by the racist régime to comply with the decisions of the Security Council and the resolutions of the General Assembly.

72. South Africa continues its illegal occupation of Namibia, refusing to withdraw from the Territory. It persists in subjecting Namibia to *apartheid*. It continues to implement its policy of fragmentation of Territory into so-called bantustans. This constitutes an outright rejection of the principle of national unity and territorial integrity of Namibia. In this regard, South Africa's recent decision to change the present status of Walvis Bay and to incorporate it as a part of Cape Province is of particularly grave concern.

73. Basic human rights are being violated in Namibia. The South African régime has still further escalated its reign of terror over the Namibian people by arrests, intimidation and violence. Large areas of Namibia have been placed under military rule. There is ample evidence of widespread brutality and ill-treatment of civilians by units of the South African armed forces and security police.

74. In order to perpetuate its illegal domination over Namibia and exploitation of its resources, the racist régime has built up its military forces in Namibia on an unprecedented scale. It continues to increase the number of troops stationed in Namibia and to expand its network of military bases.

75. We have been alarmed by an even more dangerous development in this regard. Only a few weeks ago the Soviet Union drew the attention of the international community to South Africa's vigorous pursuit of the development of nuclear weapons and preparation to test a nuclear bomb on the Kalahari desert in Namibia. In the light of this situation it is clearer than ever before that the South African policy in Namibia constitutes a direct threat to international peace and security and to the peace and security of the independent African countries.

76. South Africa has not abandoned its manoeuvres with the so-called Constitutional Conference, manoeuvres aimed at imposing a neo-colonial solution on the Namibian people.

77. The South African régime is sustained in its practices toward Namibia by assistance from outside. Support is

extended to it by multinational corporations involved in the exploitation of Namibia's natural resources.

78. I have taken some time to outline the most serious elements which challenge the stand of the United Nations.

79. Naturally, the most decisive factor continues to be the will of the Namibian people, its political maturity and its determination to persist in the struggle. In this regard an important step forward has been taken.

80. SWAPO, the liberation movement of the Territory, the sole authentic and lawful representative of the Namibian people, has intensified its legitimate struggle by all means at its disposal. Despite the concentration of repression directly against SWAPO, it has managed to consolidate its position both internally and internationally. The indigenous population has increased its support for SWAPO. As the recent international Conferences in Lagos and Maputo have shown, there is growing support for and solidarity with SWAPO in international public opinion.

81. The Namibian people fighting for their independence with determination and unity are there to win. We hope that they will soon succeed. And it is the duty of the international community to assist them in every way possible in achieving the goals of their just and legitimate struggle.

82. In regard to my country's position, Poland has consistently supported the Namibian people's legitimate struggle for self-determination and independence. This is consistent with the guidelines of Poland's foreign policy of firm support for and solidarity with peoples fighting for their freedom and the elimination of the last vestiges of colonialism. Poland supports the transfer of power without delay to the genuine representative of the Namibian people—to SWAPO. In his statement before the General Assembly during the general debate of the current session, Poland's Minister for Foreign Affairs, Emil Wojtaszek, emphasized that:

"... the peoples of Namibia and Zimbabwe [should] be allowed, unconditionally and without delay, to exercise their right to self-determination and independence."  
[12th meeting, para. 59.]

83. In conclusion, the Polish delegation wishes to make the following observations.

84. First, it is our considered opinion that the road to the solution of the grave situation in Namibia depends upon the implementation of the relevant resolutions of the United Nations and, in particular, of Security Council resolution 385 (1976), which, *inter alia*, calls for free elections under the supervision and control of the United Nations for the whole of Namibia as one political entity.

85. Secondly, the President of SWAPO, Mr. Sam Nujoma, has clearly set out before our Assembly the basic conditions that must be met in order to advance the cause of self-determination and independence for the people of Namibia. My delegation shares his view that the immediate withdrawal of all South African military forces from Namibia constitutes the only political solution which will

allow the free exercise by the Namibian people of their right to sovereign independent statehood.

86. Thirdly, the present situation in Namibia calls for urgent and effective measures that would directly curb South Africa and compel it to withdraw from Namibia. It is therefore my delegation's earnest hope that the Security Council will intensify its pressure to attain a solution consistent with the aspirations of the Namibian people. In this regard we support, in particular, the long overdue implementation of the proposal to impose a mandatory arms embargo and economic sanctions against South Africa under the terms of Chapter VII of the Charter.

87. Fourthly, we hope that the solution of the Namibian issue can be achieved without violence. However, the international community should be vigilant against steps to convey the impression of progress when only delaying tactics and manoeuvres to evade a just solution are involved.

88. The recent repressive measures and the escalation of violence by the *apartheid* régime against the indigenous population of South Africa and its organizations, which have just been reported, can only strengthen our doubts in this regard.

89. As a member of the United Nations Council for Namibia, Poland is committed to the aims and purposes of the Council. We will continue to support its work.

90. We hope that the General Assembly and the Security Council will do everything possible to remove obstacles from the path of the Namibian people and that that people will soon attain its long overdue independence.

91. Mr. FUTSCHER PEREIRA (Portugal): The General Assembly this year decided to allocate the question of Namibia to its plenary meetings instead of to the Fourth Committee, as had until this session been the usual practice. This fact in itself reflects all the importance that today is attached to the question of Namibia as well as the belief, which all of us certainly share, that we are witnessing a significant increase in the mounting pressure that has in the last years been exerted both by the Namibian people and by the international community to achieve a quick and satisfactory solution of this problem.

92. In the present political context of southern Africa the Namibian issue occupies a prominent place, for on its settlement will to a large extent depend the course of events likely to occur in other parts of that area of the world—indeed, the very choice between escalation of the armed struggle and continuation of the search for peaceful and negotiated solutions.

93. Thus Namibia is a fundamental test of the capacity for dialogue and understanding which the Government of South Africa might at this stage still be able to show. Let us wish and hope that the Government of South Africa will also understand that historic challenge and act accordingly and urgently, better than we Portuguese did years ago.

94. The illegal occupation of Namibia by South Africa and the latter's policies concerning the Territory, its inhabitants

and its natural resources have naturally faced a mounting wave of criticism and condemnation from the international community. But let me point out that the decolonization process undertaken by Portugal and the subsequent accession of Angola and Mozambique to independence, thus changing the balance of power in southern Africa, was a significant contribution to the increasing pressure brought to bear on South Africa towards the termination of its colonial rule in Namibia.

95. In this respect it would also seem appropriate to recall here the International Conference in Support of the Peoples of Zimbabwe and Namibia, held in Maputo, the capital of Mozambique, last May, in which my country took part and which constituted an important step towards the speedy solution of the conflicts affecting southern Africa. For many years the General Assembly and the Security Council have both adopted resolution after resolution aimed at allowing the Namibian people freely to exercise their right to self-determination and independence, to obtain the withdrawal of the South African authorities, the release of political prisoners, the end of discriminatory laws and practices against its African population, and the termination of any attempt to fragment its Territory into bantustans.

96. The responsibility of the United Nations over Namibia was defined and the Council for Namibia and the Commissioner instituted in order to create the necessary conditions for its exercise. Institutions and programmes were established in support of the Namibian people assisting their liberation struggle and enabling them to prepare for an independent future. SWAPO was granted the status of observer at the United Nations as the legitimate representative of the Namibian people in their struggle to exercise their inalienable right to independence and national life.

97. We cannot forget the merit and the importance of all these United Nations actions, namely, for the legal definition of the basic framework within which a genuine decolonization of Namibia will take place. On it will depend the credibility that any settlement of this question might have for the international community.

98. It should be emphasized that the principles contained in Security Council resolution 385 (1976) must be followed; otherwise the legitimate rights and interests of the Namibian people to full independence and national sovereignty would be deceived and their deep frustration and revolt would thus be perpetuated.

99. Portugal, in accordance with the principles enshrined in its democratic constitution, upholds the rights of the people of Namibia to self-determination and independence, to nationhood, to territorial integrity and to the full respect of its national frontiers. All the people of Namibia must freely participate in shaping the political future of their country, namely, through democratic and free elections to be held under the supervision and control of the United Nations according to the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly and of the Security Council. Without delay and under the provisions of Security Council resolution 385 (1976) South Africa, therefore, should withdraw from Namibia.



100. We believe that the time has come to take a decisive option on the problem with which we are dealing. Either South Africa understands that its intransigence and stubbornness must come to an end—for the perpetuation of the present *status quo* is no longer tolerable—and thus decides to create the indispensable conditions for a peaceful and negotiated transfer of power to the Namibian people, or on increased resort to armed struggle will become inevitable and SWAPO will intensify its actions against the illegal occupier.

101. Bearing this in mind, we understand and encourage the diplomatic efforts which have been carried out by the five Western members of the Security Council within the framework defined by Security Council resolution 385 (1976) to obtain a peaceful transfer of power to the people of Namibia. We think indeed that everything that can lead to avoiding or reducing the use of force with all its tragic consequences for the population concerned and for international peace and security, must be encouraged by the United Nations, but provided that the inalienable rights of the Namibian people are duly safeguarded and respected.

102. This is a problem which has been aggravated by the attitudes and policies of South Africa. It is, therefore, mainly the responsibility of the South African Government to provide at this stage of the problem the necessary conditions for its settlement. Only in this way will a violent confrontation in Namibia be averted, a confrontation that could convert that country into a stage for an ideological or strategic clash alien to the interests of its people.

103. Allow me to quote the words of the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Portugal when he spoke before this Assembly on 28 September 1977:

“As a nation both European and Atlantic, we are bound to Africa, and not only to Portuguese-speaking Africa, by multiple ties that are centuries old. We cannot be indifferent to anything that occurs in Africa, not only because of its effects on international order, but also because of the real esteem in which we hold the peoples of Africa and the respect we have for their struggle to put an immediate end to all those situations that bear the intolerable stamp of colonialism or represent an unacceptable denial of the most basic human rights.

“Portugal cannot fail to add its efforts to those of all nations and all political forces in the world which condemn the stubborn persistence in southern Africa of political concepts, institutions or forms of Government that, whatever may be the arguments invoked in their defence, seem designed merely to ensure the survival of an unjust political and social order and to postpone satisfaction of the legitimate desire of the peoples of southern Africa to be masters of their own destiny.

“For those reasons, the Portuguese Government hopes that the independence of Namibia, with full respect for its unity and territorial integrity, will not be delayed. We trust that the diplomatic efforts being made to bring together the different parties involved in this matter will meet with success so as to end, through negotiation, the illegal occupation of Namibia.” [*11th meeting, paras. 199-201.*]

104. It is in this spirit, therefore, that the Portuguese delegation faces the present situation in Namibia and is ready to make its full contribution to the work of our Assembly regarding this most pressing problem.

*Mr. Mojsov (Yugoslavia) resumed the Chair.*

105. The PRESIDENT: We shall now interrupt our consideration of agenda item 91 in order to hear an address by the President of the Republic of Costa Rica. After the address, we shall resume our consideration of the question of Namibia.

*Address by Mr. Daniel Oduber,  
President of the Republic of Costa Rica*

106. The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will now hear a statement by the President of the Republic of Costa Rica. On behalf of the General Assembly, I have the honour to welcome to the United Nations His Excellency Mr. Daniel Oduber, President of the Republic of Costa Rica, and to invite him to address the Assembly.

107. Mr. ODUBER (Costa Rica) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Mr. President, in greeting you I wish to greet also the people of Yugoslavia, with whom Costa Rica maintains close and friendly relations. I am very pleased to reiterate the congratulations extended to you from this same rostrum by my Government's Foreign Minister on your election to preside over this General Assembly. It is a just recognition of your brilliant career and a deserved tribute to your country.

108. I also wish to express our satisfaction with the continued benefits which the world derives from the presence of Mr. Kurt Waldheim as Secretary-General. His talents, efforts and dedication are extraordinary.

109. Determined to preserve future generations from the horrors inflicted by man upon man during the two world wars of the first half of our century, the peoples of the United Nations created this Organization for the main purpose of maintaining international peace and security and of promoting respect for the dignity of man.

110. These basic principles were clearly laid down in the United Nations Charter, which Costa Rica, together with another 50 nations, signed in San Francisco in 1945.

111. Since then this Organization has increased its membership to 149 States, bringing us closer to the ideal of universality. This was made possible because during the 32 years that have elapsed, the wish to dignify man has given a powerful impulse to the decolonization process. Thanks to this process, in which the United Nations can take legitimate pride, hundreds of millions of human beings have fulfilled their aspiration to be the masters of their own national destinies and have initiated the difficult task of the development and affirmation of their dignity.

112. The fight by the new nations for independence made the world aware of the need to intensify the struggle against racism, whose most hateful manifestations are still associated with political systems that are the unpleasant aftermath of colonialism. This confrontation has convinced

the world that there is no such thing as superior races and that ethnic origin or colour of skin should not be the basis for any form of discrimination. Although great progress has been made in our daily battle against racism and colonialism, the intensity of our struggle must not be diminished as long as there are peoples subject to colonial rule and majorities or minorities of human beings are excluded from full political, civil, economic and social rights for the simple reason that they belong to a race different from the one in power.

113. Any form of racism constitutes an open violation of human rights, respect for which is proclaimed and demanded by the Charter of the United Nations.

114. For this reason, and because of its democratic tradition and the fact that throughout its history Costa Ricans have enjoyed human rights and have lived in harmony without asking each other about their national or ethnic origin, Costa Rica has always condemned racial discrimination and, especially, the policy of *apartheid*.

115. We emphatically favour a majority Government in Zimbabwe and the independence of Namibia. We consider that the Maputo and Lagos Conferences produced important declarations<sup>2</sup> on the ways and means to combat *apartheid* and put an end to the intolerable situations existing in Rhodesia and Namibia. I congratulate its participants for the dignified and balanced manner in which they dealt with such explosive subjects.

116. Another form of exploitation, perhaps more refined than colonialism, is practised through international trade. In spite of the dialogues, the specialized conferences and the study commissions, the wealthy nations continue to take advantage of the poor nations through world trade. As practised between the industrialized countries and the suppliers of raw materials, it constitutes a form of exploitation that must end. Not only are the primary products exported by the developing countries bought cheaply, but so is their national labour, whereas, on the other hand, the industrial products which the developing countries need are sold at prices which guarantee to the people of the industrialized nations an increasingly high standard of living.

117. When dealing with international trade, ideologies fade away and the rich countries, whatever their ideological orientation may be, refuse to accept that the agricultural workers of our nations aspire to enjoy a standard of living such as that achieved by the industrial workers in the developed countries. Recently, when the price of our coffee had reached barely normal levels, a protest campaign was unleashed in the importing developed countries which threatened to boycott the product. But none of those who protested gave any thought to the constant increase in the prices of the industrial products which our countries have

had to absorb regardless of the insufficient earnings derived from their coffee exports.

118. Within a global concept of solidarity with all the developing countries, we gave our resolute support to the member States of the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries [OPEC] which adjusted the price of their petroleum products. In doing so we wish to be consistent with our policy of obtaining an equitable development price on exported raw materials. We did so even with the knowledge that many of our economies might be rocked by the impact of the increased petroleum price. In effect, this act of solidarity resulted in our having now to pay higher prices not only for the petroleum we import, but also for the industrial products imported by us from the developed countries which are also oil importers. Thus, a double increase in expenditures fell upon us: the price increase on the oil that we consume and the price increase on the industrial products we import. In other words, we the countries with weak economies are carrying the double load of supporting the development of those whose basic export is oil and of maintaining the high standard of living of the already developed countries which also need to import oil.

119. It is true that the members of OPEC have taken steps to establish assistance programmes for less developed countries; but this assistance has not been sufficient to offset the double load of the increasing oil prices and of the manufactured products exported to us by the developed oil-importing countries.

120. I believe that if the OPEC countries are truly willing to assist the less developed countries to bear that double burden they should fix differential prices for the oil they sell to the less developed countries. The equality in the selling price to the poor and the rich is so ridiculous that it brings to mind what was once sarcastically said by a famous French writer about the rich and the poor being equally free since both had the same right to die of starvation.

121. If we do not take firm steps towards structuring the new international economic order, if the gap between the rich countries and the poor countries continues to grow, we will not be able to reach effective enjoyment of human rights and, as a consequence, world peace will not be possible because hunger is the cause of wars and will be even more so in the future.

122. The Conference on International Economic Cooperation, or North-South dialogue, has not met the hopes of the developing countries, and perhaps not even the expectations of the developed countries. I believe that those discussions must return to the General Assembly, which is much more representative of world opinion than the Paris forum. The General Assembly should have the task of setting the guidelines for the dialogue, and the details of such a dialogue should be assigned to a negotiating team, always under the supervision of this world forum.

123. In recent years détente has progressively taken the place of the climate of confrontation that characterized the cold war period. Thus, the spectre of an armed conflict between the super-Powers, which would bring with it

<sup>2</sup> For the Maputo Declaration in Support of the Peoples of Zimbabwe and Namibia, see *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-Second Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1977*, document S/12344/Rev.1, annex V. For the Lagos Declaration for Action against *Apartheid*, see *Report of the World Conference for Action against Apartheid* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.77.XIV.2), chap. X.

nuclear holocaust, has receded. If, as I have said, the primary job of the United Nations is the strengthening of international peace and security, the participants in this Assembly cannot confine themselves to talking about it but should agree, based on a profound analysis of reality, on the most efficient, active and constructive measures which must be adopted to strengthen détente and avoid war.

124. The admission of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam as a Member of this Organization is evidence of the disappearance of one of the most dangerous hotbeds of tension in recent times. That the Vietnamese nation has been able to reunify itself and now lives in peace, after several decades of civil war and foreign intervention, is a sign of a more fertile era in international relations.

125. There continue to exist, however, several areas of tension which demand the constructive activity of the United Nations. Among them are those provoked by racism and colonialism in southern Africa, to which I referred earlier, as well as the Cyprus question and the Middle East conflict.

126. The Cyprus crisis and the future of that country must be resolved as soon as possible. Costa Rica supports the efforts made by the Secretary-General within the mandate given to him by the Security Council. We hope that the talks between the representatives of the Greek and Turkish communities in Cyprus will result in a just and lasting solution, capable of safeguarding the sovereignty, territorial integrity and independence of the Republic of Cyprus.

127. Regarding the Middle East, Costa Rica feels encouraged by efforts towards reconvening the Geneva Peace Conference on the Middle East. I call upon all parties involved in the conflict, through direct negotiations—which will necessarily be difficult and time-consuming—to resolve positively the matters which separate them.

128. Security Council resolutions 252 (1967) and 338 (1973) continue, in my judgement, to be the basis on which peace should be built in the Middle East,

129. In the spirit of those resolutions, the integral implementation of which is indispensable, unflexible positions must be abandoned. Such positions have so far prevented the reconvening of the Conference, which was interrupted in December 1973. The Palestinians, as well as the Arab States, must recognize the right of Israel to exist within secure and recognized borders. Similarly, Israel must recognize the right of the Palestinians to their own homeland as provided for in the General Assembly resolution on the partition of Palestine [*resolution 181 (II)*], which is the legal basis for the international recognition of Israel.

130. We are witnessing today a rebirth of the cause of human rights. Statesmen, governments, organizations and individuals everywhere have placed human rights in the forefront of their thinking and of their action programmes.

131. Why this new awakening? Why do people from all over the world join their voices and bring to life their essential brotherhood to demand—together, with strength,

with passion, with firmness, in an extraordinary consensus—respect for human rights?

132. This session of the General Assembly of the United Nations must live up to its responsibilities. Its immediate and priority task should be to give the world an answer to some of the questions I have indicated. It should attentively, intensively and with great care examine what is happening in the world so as to act in tune with this rebirth of the cause of freedom.

133. From all corners of the world we hear the desperate cries of millions of people who are suffering cruel and degrading violations of their fundamental freedoms. These are cries of pain and disenchantment, and, above all, demands for help which expect to find an echo in this General Assembly, in the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights and in the European Commission of Human Rights.

134. The Nazi concentration camps have disappeared, but we have today manifestations of similar cruelty in numerous regions of the earth: gaols crammed with tortured political prisoners denied the benefit of any legal process; thousands of people seized from their homes who disappear without leaving any trace because they exercised the right to political dissent; majorities which cannot enjoy their political rights because of the brute force of militarism; minorities denied the right to practise their religious freedom by the crushing weight of intolerance; entire nations distorted by racism, a social scourge that covers humanity with shame; peoples that still do not enjoy their right to self-determination, or find that their economic, social and cultural development is impaired.

135. The picture being so gloomy, we should not be surprised to find that all over the world responsible Governments and the citizens most concerned with the future of mankind have raised the banner of human rights more forcefully than ever, making this cause one of the biggest issues of our days.

136. Costa Rica views this rebirth—this reawakening, this new consciousness—with pleasure, because my people have always struggled patiently and tenaciously for the cause of human rights in this and in many other forums. My country is among the most active and persistent in this field, and its contributions have borne fruit. In 1965, the Costa Rican delegation presented, first before the Commission on Human Rights and, later, before the General Assembly<sup>3</sup> a draft proposal for the creation of the post of United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights, whose main task would be to promote respect for such rights.

137. Today, 12 years later, the appointment of a High Commissioner is an even greater necessity, not only because of the bleak picture that the world is witnessing in the matter of human rights, but also because he would complement, in a practical manner, the international Covenants on Human Rights that have come into effect, as well as the Optional Protocol. Without duplicating, much less substituting for, the action of other bodies of the

<sup>3</sup> See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twentieth Session, Annexes*, agenda item 98, document A/5963.

United Nations devoted to the promotion of human rights, the High Commissioner would give the United Nations the opportunity to comply faithfully and efficiently with its noble and priority task. My country and others which have joined us in this initiative have shown a favourable attitude towards a consensus, accepting several important amendments to the original proposal. The one now in preparation gives a broader basis for an agreement on basic points and eliminates the aspects which might cause discrepancies. There is no reason, then, for more delays and misgivings. The High Commissioner would do no harm, and would help many—just as the admirable work of Mr. Fridtjof Nansen, the winner of the Nobel Peace Prize in 1922, far from causing harm, was of great help in the case of the stateless persons during the life of the League of Nations.

138. A form of violation of human rights that deeply concerns us is the attacks against the life and freedom of individuals perpetrated by terrorists. What they claim to be a political act is in essence a crime whose victims never have anything to do with the cause which the criminals claim to pursue.

139. Costa Rica has always supported proposals for the creation of international instruments to fight terrorism, and strongly rejects the thesis that the system of terror is in some cases a valid means of achieving certain political goals.

140. Last year our delegation enthusiastically supported the proposal made by the Federal Republic of Germany for the drafting of an international convention against the taking of hostages.<sup>4</sup> I hope that that *Ad Hoc* Committee in charge of drafting the convention will continue its work and that that convention will soon be adopted and thus help to prevent one of the most frequent manifestations of terrorism.

141. It is time for action to halt these attacks against human dignity. For this reason, I want to express the satisfaction with which we Costa Ricans learned of the swift and effective counter-terrorist action of the Bonn Government whereby, with the co-operation of the Government of Somalia—which the world appreciates—it managed to rescue innocent hostages from a terrorist group which held them in their power.

142. We could not attain the objectives of the United Nations were we to devote ourselves only to the promotion of human rights, because their enjoyment is impossible without a peaceful climate conducive to the right to life, the most basic of human rights. Without the right to life, the other individual rights become mere rhetoric. And since war is *par excellence* the very negation of the right to life, it is therefore the antithesis of all human rights. It was for this reason that among the fundamental purposes of the United Nations enshrined in the Charter the maintenance of international peace and security was given first place.

143. The arms race, in which almost all nations of the world participate, impairs the climate of peace that is indispensable for the achievement of the objectives of the United Nations. The constant increase in the arsenals of

nuclear and conventional weapons not only entails the terrible danger of their deadly use, but also implies an enormous waste of financial, human and technological resources which should be devoted to the furtherance of social and economic development and to the solution of the problems of the population explosion, the food crisis and the devastation brought about by natural disasters. The arms race means, in a word, a waste of energy and resources that the world needs to use to eradicate poverty and improve the levels of nutrition, education and housing.

144. This General Assembly is well acquainted with the statistics that demonstrate the absurd manner in which man is increasing his capacity to destroy himself, his civilization and his physical environment.

145. With the accumulation of arms and, above all, with the technical perfecting of their lethal capacity, national security cannot be strengthened any further through new instruments of war. A long time ago the point was reached at which security could only be achieved through disarmament and through the expansion of international co-operation among all countries and at all levels.

146. And yet military expenditure increases from year to year, and year to year an arms race, which can only end in a thermonuclear holocaust, is accelerated.

147. In 1976 military expenditure exceeded \$350 billion, in a world in which the number of those who suffer from hunger, malnutrition and illiteracy continues to increase. The developed countries spend 20 times more in military programmes than they do for international co-operation for development. And the less developed countries have not resisted the temptation to participate in the frenzy of the arms race. Each year their importation of conventional arms increases. Last year those countries allocated \$6 billion from their very scarce resources to such unnecessary ends.

148. As President Carter indicated in his speech here, last year the nations of the world spent 60 times more to equip each soldier than the amount that they invested for the education of each child. [see 18th meeting, para. 25.]

149. When in the light of these figures we think about the increasing poverty which for years has affected the majority of the world's population, we reach the inevitable conviction that the conduct of world affairs has not been in keeping with the highest interests of mankind.

150. Perhaps that was the reasoning which caused the General Assembly last year to call for a special session devoted to disarmament, a session which is to take place in May and June 1978.

151. My country supported that initiative, which will give us the opportunity to study in depth the cause of the arms race and to focus the attention of the world on disarmament problems.

152. During the special session on disarmament, a declaration of principles on disarmament, together with a programme of action, should be adopted. Nuclear disarmament must be given the highest priority in that declaration

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, Thirty-first Session, Annexes, agenda item 123, document A/31/242.



of principles and in that programme of action. It is not possible to maintain the illusion of a peaceful world while huge arsenals of nuclear weapons exist.

153. Of course, it is not sufficient to deal only with nuclear weapons in order to ensure peace. The final goal must be general and complete disarmament under international supervision. However, a slowing down of the nuclear arms race would undoubtedly pave the way to the limitation of conventional weapons.

154. In addition, it is necessary to consider during that same special session the means whereby a substantial part of the funds released through the reduction in the military budgets of the industrialized Powers may be allocated to international co-operation.

155. The \$250 billion that are spent yearly in the acquisition of new weapons could be used to provide a proper ration of food to 2.5 billion human beings, if we estimate the value of the minimum food requirements of one human being as being \$100 per year. There are countries whose *per capita* income per year is less than that amount.

156. Those who should be most passionately interested in the special session on disarmament are the developing, medium-sized and small countries, not because of the savings they can make from eliminating that arms expenditure, which they should never have incurred, but because of the resources that disarmament would make available in the developed countries, which would enable them to increase their assistance to poor nations.

157. As long as the arms race continues there cannot be full development or true independence for the weaker nations.

158. On the other hand, if disarmament were to be achieved or if, at least, the arms race were curbed, not only would everything that I have said be accomplished but also peace would be ensured. Where there are no weapons, there is no war. In my country we have experienced that for 30 years. We have no arms; we have no soldiers; we have no army. But we have peace, social welfare, health, education and nutrition.

159. Like any human enterprise, our Organization is not perfect, but far from emphasizing its defects and feeling frustrated because of its short-comings and failures, our duty is to struggle in order to overcome them. A higher degree of efficiency for our Organization must be sought in the political will of the Member States to respect and apply the purposes and principles of the Charter.

160. Several times in his reports to the Assembly, Secretary-General Waldheim has raised a question, What type of world organization Governments are really willing to accept? He asked whether the majority of the Member States wish for an organization that is more than a mechanism for conferences and a forum for the exposition of national policies, an organization capable of performing a useful and active role in concentrating international efforts towards the solution of the most difficult problems, and one which, in doing so, would acquire its own momentum in certain circumstances.

161. My Government has always given a positive answer to those questions. We want an efficient organization in which the Member States participate actively in the consolidation of peace, the upholding of human rights, the balanced development of all the peoples of the earth, and the abolition of colonialism, racial discrimination and all kinds of exploitation of man by man.

162. The PRESIDENT: On behalf of the General Assembly, I wish to thank His Excellency Mr. Oduber, President of the Republic of Costa Rica, for the important statement he has just made.

## AGENDA ITEM 91

### 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) Report of the Secretary-General

163. Mr. LAI Ya-li (China) (*translation from Chinese*): The fact that the current session of the United Nations General Assembly has decided to allocate the question of Namibia for discussion in its plenary meetings shows that the question of Namibia has attracted the increasing attention of the people of the whole world. The illegal occupation of Namibia by the racist régime of South Africa has lasted for some 60 years. It is imperative to terminate the colonial rule of the Vorster régime so as to enable the Namibian people to achieve genuine independence and liberation. This is an important matter which brooks no further delay, and it must be implemented immediately and earnestly.

164. Over the past 60 years, the Namibian people have carried out a protracted struggle against brutal colonial rule and for the attainment of national independence and liberation. Particularly in the past decade the Namibian people, under the leadership of SWAPO, have determinedly taken up arms and launched an armed struggle. They started from scratch and expanded from a small force into a large one, bringing about an excellent situation through fighting. At the same time, the Namibian people's mass movement against racist rule has also witnessed a new development. They boycott classes and carry on strikes and demonstrations, waging political struggle to support the armed struggle and thus pushing the liberation movement of the Namibian people to a new stage.

165. The Namibian people's struggle for national liberation and the struggles of the Zimbabwe and Azanian peoples against the Vorster and Smith racist régimes are closely related, one supporting the other. In recent years, new progress has been made in the armed struggle of the Zimbabwe people, and the Azanian people's struggle against *apartheid* and racial discrimination is surging forward. With the support of the entire African people and people of the rest of the world, the struggles of the peoples of Namibia, Zimbabwe and Azania have merged into an invincible revolutionary torrent. Receiving increasingly heavy blows, the ultra-reactionary Vorster and Smith racist régimes are

besieged by the revolutionary people from all sides and find themselves in utter desperation.

166. But like all the reactionary forces in the world, neither Vorster nor Smith will ever voluntarily hand over their political power to the people, and they are bound to put up desperate struggles. At present, Vorster is actively employing his counter-revolutionary dual tactics. While frenziedly increasing defence expenditures, actively expanding his reactionary forces and intensifying fascist terror and repression, he is preaching a so-called "peaceful settlement", which is a political fraud. Since the end of 1974, backed and abetted by the imperialist forces, Vorster has made a number of so-called proposals for "peaceful settlement". At one time, he propagated the holding of multiracial constitutional talks which would lead Namibia to yards "independence"; at another, he declared his readiness to hold a "referendum" and form a so-called "interim government". But no matter what changes he has made, his aim is none other than to undermine the morale and unity of the Namibian people and to stamp out the raging flames of their armed struggle so as to maintain his colonial rule in Namibia. Although Vorster has repeatedly declared that South Africa does not want "an inch" of Namibian territory and has made sworn pledges to give the Namibian people the right to "self-determination", yet Vorster has obstinately refused to withdraw his reactionary forces and insisted on maintaining the military occupation of Namibia. These facts have in themselves laid bare the whole scheme of Vorster.

167. The Namibians are heroic people. Through their protracted struggle they have accumulated rich experience in the political and military fields. They are deeply aware that the enemy is both ferocious and cunning. Vorster will never lay down his butcher's knives to become a Buddha overnight. Only by holding the guns tightly in their hands and persisting in armed struggle can the Namibian people win genuine independence and liberation after repeated trials of strength militarily and politically. At the fourteenth regular session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity, held in Libreville last July, the leader of SWAPO solemnly declared: "We will never lay down weapons until the complete liberation of Africa." He also said: "We will intensify our struggle until the complete liberation of our territories from the hands of the Vorster régime." This fully demonstrates the Namibian people's firm determination to carry the struggle through to the end.

168. The Namibian people enjoy abundant support in their just struggle. The African countries and people and the revolutionary people all over the world sympathize with and support them. In its resolution on Namibia [see A/32/310, annex I, CM/Res.551 (XXIX)], the Council of Ministers of the Organization of African Unity reaffirmed:

"... Africa's unequivocal support for the just armed liberation struggle waged by the Namibian people under the leadership of SWAPO for their freedom and national independence".

The Assembly decided to increase diplomatic and material assistance to SWAPO to "enable it to further intensify the armed struggle for the early liberation of Namibia from the illegal South African colonial occupation".

169. It is necessary to point out there that, at a time of the intensified development of the struggle of the people of Namibia and the rest of southern Africa for national liberation, the two super-Powers are stepping up their rivalry over this region of strategic importance. Motivated by their counter-revolutionary global strategy of contending for world hegemony, both of them want to take advantage of the present situation to control Namibia and the rest of southern Africa. One super-Power is trying by hook or by crook to preserve and expand its vested interests. Flaunting the banner of "supporting the national liberation movement", and using the name of "providing aid", the other super-Power is interfering in the internal affairs of the Namibian people, sowing discord in the relations between the Namibian people and the people of other African States in an attempt to bring the Namibian people's struggle against the Vorster racist régime into its orbit of rivalry for world hegemony with the other super-Power. But all this is of no avail. The people of Namibia and the rest of southern Africa, who have been tempered through protracted struggles, have seen ever more clearly the true features of this super-Power. Practical experience tells them that only by combining closely the struggle against imperialism, colonialism and racism with that against super-Power hegemonism will it be possible to win the complete victory of true national independence and liberation.

170. The Chinese Government and people always supported the Namibian people in their just struggle against the Vorster racist régime and for national independence and liberation. The Chinese delegation holds that the armed forces of the Vorster racist régime and its reactionary administration must withdraw from Namibia immediately and completely. The affairs of Namibia should be managed by the Namibian people themselves, and they allow of no interference from the super-Powers under any pretext. The previous resolutions adopted by the United Nations against the Vorster racist régime's colonial rule over Namibia and in support of the Namibian people's struggle for independence and liberation must be implemented in earnest. In spite of the difficulties and twists and turns of one kind or another that are bound to occur on the road of advance, we are deeply convinced that the new-born revolutionary force will triumph over the decadent reactionary force, and that final victory certainly belongs to the heroic Namibian people who persist in unity and fighting.

171. Mr. RAZAFINDRATOVO (Madagascar) (*interpretation from French*): Ten years after the adoption of the resolution which put an end to South Africa's Mandate in Namibia [resolution 2145 (XXI)], nine years after the establishment of the United Nations Council for Namibia as the only authentic authority in that Territory and six years after the International Court of Justice handed down its judgment of 21 June 1975,<sup>5</sup> the adoption of Security Council resolution 385 (1976) on 30 January 1976 for a moment gave the impression that the United Nations finally had decided to bring its authority to bear on the Pretoria régime with regard to the independence of Namibia. But we were speedily disenchanted.

<sup>5</sup> *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.*

172. When this question came again before the Security Council on 31 August 1976, it was clear that once again South Africa had decided to defy the Security Council's demands. It did not make a solemn declaration accepting the principle of free elections under the supervision and control of the United Nations nor did it undertake, as it was requested, to conform with the resolutions and decisions of the United Nations and with the advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice. It did not wish to recognize the territorial integrity and unity of Namibia as a nation.

173. The request concerning the withdrawal of the illegal administration and the transfer of power to the people of Namibia was disregarded, as were the demands of the Security Council with respect to the provisions of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the release of detainees and political prisoners, the return of political exiles without reprisals, and the abolition of the *apartheid* laws and practices in Namibia.

174. We should have thought that that challenge to the authority and the prestige of the Security Council would be repelled with determination. But here, too, we were disappointed.

175. The initiative of the African group of States aimed at ensuring the imposition of mandatory sanctions against South Africa under Chapter VII of the Charter met with the triple veto of France, the United Kingdom and the United States of America, and thus the impasse in which the Organization finds itself by reason of the attitude of the *apartheid* régime has become even more of a dead-end because the Member States are divided as to the timeliness of imposing sanctions on that régime.

176. Only South Africa can gain an advantage from such a situation which, if we are not careful, will enable it to make preparations for the kind of political solution that would suit its purposes.

177. The statement made in the Assembly by Comrade Sam Nujoma, President of SWAPO [35th meeting], has made it clear to us that the Vorster régime of South Africa is no more ready to yield to United Nations moral pressure, than to the diplomatic persuasions of the five Western members of the Security Council. It is truly surprising that this régime, which has rejected out of hand the other resolutions and decisions of the United Nations, should suddenly accept Security Council resolution 385 (1976) simply because those five Western members proposed it. We share the doubts and reservations of the leader of SWAPO in view of the political and military measures adopted recently by the South African régime, which clearly show its intention to oppose by all means the movement of the Namibian people to independence and national unity.

178. The Execution, arrest and sentencing of SWAPO fighters and supporters show that the illegal régime is not willing to respect the letter and spirit of the resolution. The referendum of 17 May 1977, which was limited to whites, indicates South Africa's refusal of the principle of majority rule. The establishment of tribal parliaments and governments reflects Pretoria's constant dedication to its policy of

bantustanization. At the military level, all available information confirms that South Africa is continuing to increase the number of its troops stationed in Namibia, and that it is extending its network of military bases so as to maintain its illegal occupation and to crush the struggle for the freedom of the Territory. The recruitment and training of African troops to fight against SWAPO is the most alarming feature in this programme, because those troops could easily foment a civil war if the nationalists were to win.

179. The use of the Kalahari Desert as a nuclear-test site, which the whole of the international community rightly condemns, reveals the importance the Territory of Namibia has in the strategic and defensive system of South Africa. It is a trump card and its importance to South Africa was amply demonstrated at the time of the aggression against Angola and Zambia.

180. We can see in the annexation of Walvis Bay to the South African Cape Province the symbol of Pretoria's lack of respect for the territorial integrity of Namibia and as an additional proof of its refusal to accept Security Council resolution 385 (1976) as the basis for a solution.

181. We think these facts are more eloquent than the statements and manoeuvres by which Pretoria would like to deceive world opinion. What is the use of proclaiming its abandonment of the Turnhalle solution while it continues its bantustanization of the Territory of Namibia? What is the use of pretending to accept the participation of SWAPO in any solution based on free elections, when South Africa intends to limit the role and participation of SWAPO in those elections to a singular degree? More particularly, after more than a decade of struggle, what SWAPO leader could be so deceived as to believe that such elections could be held before the withdrawal of the occupying troops, which could alter their results by intimidation or intervention?

182. Whatever the advocates of negotiations with Pretoria say, we can only ask, as SWAPO does, for the total implementation of Security Council resolution 385 (1976) in both its spirit and its letter.

183. We believe that no country or group of countries can arrogate to itself the right to negotiate the abandonment of any essential part of that resolution, and in particular that part concerning the withdrawal of the unlawful administration and South Africa's occupation troops.

184. We can really see nothing that could be regarded as a counterpart to such a major concession, and this major concession is certainly not justified in any way. It is no longer a time for weakness or delaying tactics. Instead of seeking to accommodate the interests of the white minority racists and thus, by association, those of the imperialists and neo-colonialists, it is essential that all Member States, whatever their politics or their *ad hoc* interests, should give unwavering support to the objectives of the United Nations in Namibia.

185. Everything must be done to give effective support to the Namibian people fighting to attain independence,

safeguard their national unity and maintain the territorial integrity of their country. In this connexion, the Democratic Republic of Madagascar considers that the essential condition is scrupulous respect by all countries for the resolutions already adopted by the United Nations. This implies recognition of the Organization's legal and political responsibility for Namibia, as well as unreserved support for

the legitimate struggle of the Namibian people led by SWAPO, its only authentic representative.

186. I should like to conclude my statement by renewing the commitments made by my country in this regard.

*The meeting rose at 1.15 p.m.*