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NOTE

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2263rd MEETING

Held in New York on Friday, 30 January 1981, at 11 a.m.

President: Mr. LING Qing (China).

Present: The representatives of the following States: China, France, German Democratic Republic, Ireland, Japan, Mexico, Niger, Panama, Philippines, Spain, Tunisia, Uganda, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America.

Provisional agenda (S/Agenda/2263)

1. Adoption of the agenda

2. The situation in Namibia:

Further report of the Secretary-General concerning the implementation of Security Council resolutions 435 (1978) and 439 (1978) concerning the question of Namibia (S/14333)

Letter dated 29 January 1981 from the Permanent Representative of Tunisia to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/14347)

The meeting was called to order at 11.30 a.m.

Statement by the President in connection with the release of the American hostages

1. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Chinese*): I should like at the very outset of this meeting to make a few remarks in connection with the release of the American hostages. With the release of the American hostages, Security Council resolutions 457 (1979) and 461 (1979) have now been fully implemented. I am sure that I speak for the Council in expressing deep satisfaction and relief that the case is finally concluded.

2. I think I shall also be speaking on behalf of all present if I express to the Secretary-General and all parties concerned our highest appreciation and gratitude for their outstanding and untiring efforts to resolve that problem.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The situation in Namibia:

Further report of the Secretary-General concerning the implementation of Security Council resolutions 435 (1978) and 439 (1978) concerning the question of Namibia (S/14333);

Letter dated 29 January 1981 from the Permanent Representative of Tunisia to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/14347)

3. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Chinese*): The Security Council is meeting in response to a request contained in the letter dated 29 January 1981 from the representative of Tunisia to the President of the Security Council.

4. Members of the Council have before them the further report of the Secretary-General concerning the implementation of Security Council resolutions 435 (1978) and 439 (1978) concerning the question of Namibia and the text of a letter dated 28 January 1981 from the representative of South Africa to the Secretary-General contained in document [S/14346].

5. I now call on the Secretary-General.

6. The SECRETARY-GENERAL: Before dealing with the subject on the agenda I wish to associate myself with your remarks, Mr. President, concerning the release of the American hostages and also to express my deep satisfaction and relief about their release and happy return to their families.

7. Let me also thank you, Sir, for your kind words in regard to my efforts. I wish also to express here my deep gratitude to all the members of the Security Council for the great efforts they made to contribute to the solution of this tragic problem.

8. The Council has before it my report of 19 January concerning the implementation of Security Council resolutions 435 (1978) and 439 (1978) on the question of Namibia. That report deals with the meeting that was held in Geneva from 7 to 14 January 1981 and with the outcome of that meeting. As far as the substance of the matter is concerned, I do not at the present time have very much to add to what I stated in my report, and especially in its concluding observations. I wish, however, to take this opportunity to express again my particular appreciation to the Organization of African Unity (OAU), represented in Geneva by its Secretary-General and by the Minister of State for Foreign Affairs of Sierra Leone, to the front-line States, to Nigeria and to the contact group of five Western countries. Their presence in Geneva was of the utmost help to me personally and to my representatives in the

conduct of the meeting and the consultations that attended it.

9. On 22 January I addressed a letter to the Minister of Foreign Affairs of South Africa, Mr. R.F. Botha, in which I drew attention to my report to the Security Council and repeated that in my view a great opportunity had been missed on this occasion. I also expressed the hope that the Government of South Africa would give serious attention to my appeal for a reconsideration of its position. I added that I was deeply concerned over the effect of the present stalemate not only on the situation in Namibia itself, but also on the prospects of a peaceful and prosperous future for the region as a whole.

10. On 28 January I received a letter from the Minister of Foreign Affairs of South Africa relating to the Geneva meeting and my report on it [see S/14346]. This letter has been circulated to the members of the Security Council at the request of the Government of South Africa. I do not wish to comment here on the substance of that letter or, indeed, of the attachments. I believe that the United Nations position was made very clear by me and by my representatives at Geneva and is well known to the members of the Council.

11. As members of the Council are aware, it became clear in the course of the Geneva meeting that the South African Government was not yet prepared to sign a cease-fire agreement and to proceed with the implementation of resolution 435 (1978). It would not be proper for me to speculate on the reasons for this position.

12. The problem now is to evolve the best course of action to achieve our objective, namely, the attainment of independence for Namibia at the earliest possible time through the implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978). That continues to be our goal, and I very much hope that efforts will not be relaxed to ensure its early achievement.

13. The **PRESIDENT** (*interpretation from Chinese*): The first speaker inscribed on my list is the representative of Tunisia who will speak also as Chairman of the Group of African States at the United Nations for the month of January.

14. Mr. SLIM (Tunisia) (*interpretation from French*): First, my delegation would like to associate itself with the general satisfaction which has been expressed as a result of the liberation of the American hostages and to convey its congratulations both to the hostages themselves and their families and to all those who have contributed in one way or another to helping to solve this problem and to satisfying the parties concerned.

15. Mr. President, I should now like to discharge a very agreeable duty: that of congratulating you very sincerely and warmly on your accession to the presidency of the Security Council for the month of Jan-

uary. Tunisia is glad to see presiding over the Council the representative of a great country, which shares with all countries of the third world the same concerns and preoccupations and with which my country enjoys excellent relations of friendship and co-operation. My delegation which, during this month, has had the opportunity to express further appreciation of the distinguished qualities which are yours, is particularly pleased, Mr. President, to assure you of our full co-operation.

16. We should also like to express equally sincere and warm congratulations to your predecessor, Mr. Donald McHenry, on the exemplary fashion in which he directed our work during the month of December last year. I would request the delegation of the United States to be kind enough to transmit to him both our congratulations and our best wishes.

17. In this month of January 1981, the Council has also witnessed the departure of five of its non-permanent members, the representatives of Bangladesh, Jamaica, Norway, Portugal and Zambia, who, during their term of office, made an invaluable contribution to our work and displayed exemplary devotion to the principles of the Charter of the United Nations. My delegation would like to express to them both its esteem and its consideration, as well as its gratitude for the fruitful co-operation we have enjoyed with each of them.

18. My delegation wishes to express also its gratification at the particularly constructive co-operation which immediately and spontaneously has grown up between us and the new members who joined the Council at the beginning of this month. It augurs well for even greater effectiveness in the action of the Council which will make it possible for this body to measure up to its onerous responsibilities in the preservation of international peace and security which, unfortunately, are being more and more threatened.

19. I hope Mr. Noel Dorr of Ireland, Mr. Masahiro Nisibori of Japan, Mr. Jaime de Pinies of Spain and Mr. Olara Otunnu of Uganda will accept our words of welcome. These go also to the delegation of Panama, which I would request to be kind enough to convey to Mr. Jorge Illueca our hearty congratulations on the responsible functions with which he has just been entrusted.

20. Will Namibia find peace and independence this year, as was so earnestly hoped by the United Nations? Will the Namibian people have power transferred to it, as advocated in the various pertinent resolutions of the Organization? Did the plan, which was so laboriously drawn up by the United Nations in accordance with resolution 435 (1978), have any chance of success and has it any now? Those are the questions which we ask ourselves at the beginning of 1981—questions which have in them both scepticism and hope, against a background of anxiety.

21. Hope because, inspired by the principles of freedom and justice, having faith in the virtues of negotiation and dialogue and advocating, as we always have, the peaceful settlement of disputes, we were venturing to hope that reason would finally prevail, even among those who have stood out by virtue of their contempt for the human person and the elementary principles of international law; hope also, and above all, because we were assured that the plan of the United Nations enjoyed the support of and was indeed upheld by the entire international community and because we were convinced that, deprived of support and seriously threatened with isolation, South Africa could not persist in its attitude of arrogance and defiance.

22. Our scepticism, by contrast, sprang from the very nature of the Pretoria régime, which is based essentially on repression, oppression and aggression and which could not of its own free will accede to the language of negotiation or entertain the ideas of democracy and elections.

23. What could we expect from a régime which on the external front maintains a policy of continued, flagrant aggression against neighbouring African countries and domestically is famous for its inhuman *apartheid* practices and for the persecution and violence practised against innocent populations, as well as for death sentences handed down, in a travesty of justice, against young people whose only fault is to believe in the existence of freedom and the possibility of one day recovering their human dignity? These sentences should, in their turn, be vigorously condemned and denounced by the entire international community, and first and foremost by those who have devoted themselves to defending the concept of freedom, lest their own credibility be seriously called into question.

24. A meeting whose purpose was to prepare for the implementation of resolution 435 (1978) was held in Geneva from 7 to 14 January 1981. We have just listened very closely to the report made by the Secretary-General; we have also studied the Secretary-General's written report before us with all the care demanded by the seriousness of the subject.

25. Those reports, on which I should like warmly to congratulate the Secretary-General, who, in this matter as in others, has constantly displayed determination and courage in tackling the problems with the dedication and objectivity for which he is well known, are in themselves sufficiently informative; they provide clear and unambiguous replies to the questions which each of us has been asking himself.

26. Thus it does not appear likely that Namibia will, according to procedures laid down in resolution 435 (1978), regain independence and peace this year.

27. Our purpose today is not to consider in detail the implications of this new situation or to advocate measures which will have to be taken in the face of

this new challenge posed to the international community.

28. The matter is too important for the Security Council to hold a substantive discussion on it without having given itself the necessary time for an in-depth analysis of the situation which would take account of all the new local, regional and international developments. Only after such an analysis could it, in due course, take decisions commensurate with the seriousness of the situation. I should merely like to state that, if any positive result can be attributed to the Geneva meeting, it is that once and for all it made clear the responsibilities borne by all parties to the Namibian question.

29. After Geneva we can no longer harbour any doubts about the intentions of the Pretoria régime, nor can we give any credit to its promises or commitments. In addition to its usual arrogant behaviour, it used the Geneva conference to indulge in a "vast public relations exercise", as it was described by one of the heads of delegations present. That exercise could deceive no one, so unskillful a manoeuvre as it was.

30. The delegations present at Geneva—particularly those of Western States, which in the matter of Namibia bear the primary responsibility—must undoubtedly have learned an important lesson from that irresponsible and defiant attitude important both for themselves and for the international community at large. Can the attitude of the international community to the South African régime be the same before and after the Geneva conference?

31. Since Geneva, we can no longer have any doubts about the legitimacy of the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO), its representative character, or its keen sense of its historical responsibilities; we can no longer have any doubts regarding its responsible attitude or its credibility, both domestically and internationally; nor can we have any doubt about its determination to continue its struggle until the independence of Namibia is attained. The Geneva meeting provided the proof of this to those who still doubted it.

32. The unanimity demonstrated at Geneva by SWAPO and the so-called front-line States is undoubtedly shared by all Africans. We should not, however, be misled: this discipline conceals a great deal of anger, quite properly felt by all Africans who daily witness or experience fresh affronts. This situation must end. Namibia must be independent. We must all make concerted efforts to achieve this.

33. Mr. MUÑOZ LEDO (Mexico) (*interpretation from Spanish*): After the adjustments and the uncertainty that characterized the beginning of the year, the Security Council has begun today to consider a question of crucial importance. We wish publicly to express our appreciation to Mr. Ling Qing of China for the patience, wisdom and conviction with which he has

conducted our work, qualities which exemplify the admirable virtues of his people. We also wish to convey a cordial greeting to Mr. Donald McHenry of the United States for his guidance of the Council during the month of December and for the exceptional work he did among us.

34. My delegation reiterates the satisfaction expressed by our President at the recent release of the American hostages and is particularly pleased at the resolution of this delicate problem by means of negotiation. The Security Council and the Secretary-General, acting on its behalf, contributed to the negotiating process through decisions and proposals which eliminated the risk of confrontation and eased the way to dialogue.

35. We have received written and oral reports by the Secretary-General on the implementation of Security Council resolutions 435 (1978) and 439 (1978) concerning the question of Namibia, in which he informed us of the most recent events in the long process by which we have so far been unable to make the will of the international community prevail. In the next few days this document will be carefully analysed by the Council and that analysis, together with the determination of States Members of the Organization expressed in this and other forums, should lead us to clear decisions and vigorous action towards the attainment of the objectives we have set ourselves.

36. This meeting represents the beginning of a new and, we hope, the last stage in dealing with the question of Namibia. In the course of the debate my delegation will make statements of broader scope and put forward more concrete proposals. For the moment we wish simply to state our unhappiness over what has occurred and our well-founded doubts concerning the viability of the process we have embarked upon.

37. The failure of the Geneva meeting not only implies that the illegal occupation of Namibia is likely to continue indefinitely, but also suggests that the South African régime perhaps does not consider that the Member States have made a true political commitment to comply with the decisions of the United Nations.

38. It is my delegation's view that the facts confronting us should be openly and carefully considered, while we also reaffirm our commitments and search for more effective means of action to bring about the independence of Namibia, as well as to suppress the régime of *apartheid* and to limit the excesses of South Africa by making the arms embargo effective and reducing the Pretoria régime's capacity to maintain its defiance.

39. I should like to take this opportunity warmly to welcome the representatives of Ireland, Japan, Panama, Spain and Uganda, who in only a few days have already contributed to strengthening the Council

through their intelligent and constructive participation. We would also wish every success to Mr. Jorge Enrique Illueca of Panama in the sensitive duties to which he has been summoned, a trust he undoubtedly deserves.

40. I should like too to express the hope that the immediate future will find us united so that we can avoid any possibility of regression concerning the principles whose universal recognition has cost the United Nations so many years of effort and that, instead, we may achieve considerable progress in their implementation.

41. Mrs. PANIZA de BELLAVITA (Panama) (*interpretation from Spanish*): The fortunate coincidence whereby Panama has become a member of the Security Council during the Presidency of the People's Republic of China is a source of particular gratification for my country. May I be permitted, therefore, Mr. Ling Qing, to convey heartiest congratulations to you on your assumption of the presidency of the Council and to offer to you the full co-operation of the Panamanian delegation. It is also a pleasure for me to express the appreciation of Panama for the work done by the representative of the United States of America, Donald McHenry, who presided over the Council this past December.

42. My delegation wishes, in accordance with its duty, to do justice to the exceptional work done in the Council, during the Carter Administration, by Mr. Andrew Young, who recently received from the President of the United States the Medal of Freedom for his numerous accomplishments. There is no doubt that Mr. Young contributed to giving the United States a new international image through his remarkable efforts for peace and universal understanding. That new image was further enhanced by the sophisticated professionalism of his successor, Mr. Donald McHenry and by the lofty humanistic beliefs of his deputy, Mr. William J. vanden Heuvel. To all of them I express our sincere appreciation.

43. The delegation of Panama is extremely pleased to see that its term of office representing Latin America on the Council begins in the company of the delegations of Ireland, Japan, Spain and Uganda, countries which we are sure will make positive contributions in discharging their important responsibilities in this organ of the United Nations.

44. The new members of the Council will have to make unprecedented efforts if they are to measure up to the impeccable performance of the outgoing members: Bangladesh, Jamaica, Norway, Portugal and Zambia. We recall with respect and admiration the work done by Messrs. Khwaja Mohammed Kaiser, Donald O. Mills, Ole Ålgård, Vasco Futscher Pereira and Paul John Firmino Lusaka, whose careers form a fundamental part of the history of the United Nations, thanks to their enormous efforts in the service of world peace.

45. I wish to make special mention of Mr. Mills of Jamaica who for the last two years occupied the Latin American post, which is now filled by Panama. The exceptional humanity and high professional qualifications of Mr. Mills are well known in United Nations circles. For us in the Latin American sphere he is a model worthy of being followed but impossible to equal.

46. The absence of the Jamaican representative will, however, be largely compensated for in the Council as far as Latin American representation is concerned by the Mexican delegation. Mexico, with its exemplary international policy, its tradition of love of freedom and justice, its dedication to peace and its uninterrupted defence of the principle of non-interference and the right of self-determination of peoples, represents in the Council at the highest levels the values of Latin American culture and the ideals of peace which are cherished by mankind. The Panamanian delegation will be extremely pleased to work on these important tasks with Mr. Porfirio Muñoz Ledo, who has always excelled in the highest posts in his country and who, with his talent, culture and extraordinary political acumen, enhances the image of his country and of the great family of Latin American nations.

47. May I convey to you, Mr. President, the appreciation of the Government and people of Panama for the significant words of welcome which you expressed at the 2262nd meeting of the Council. Reasons independent of our will have made my country the recipient of the international community's confidence. It has bestowed on us the high honour of election to a post of non-permanent member in the Security Council, one of the posts reserved for the Latin American region.

48. From the standpoint of current international events, this honour and trust acquire particular significance and call forth my country's appreciation. The international conflicts and problems of our times, given their nature and complexity, require urgent attention and rapid remedies. Consequently, the Security Council today, more than ever, must remain continually alert and must not evade the effective performance of the duty incumbent on it to set in motion the machinery to preserve international peace and security which has been established by the Charter of the United Nations in keeping with resolutions of the Council and of the General Assembly.

49. Through you, Mr. President, the delegation of Panama wishes to thank the Secretary-General for his further report concerning the implementation of Security Council resolutions 435 (1978) and 439 (1978) relating to the question of Namibia.

50. We deplore the fact that the objectives of the meetings held at the Palais des Nations in Geneva from 7 to 14 January 1981, despite the good offices of the Secretary-General and the high-level representation of the parties, were not attained.

51. Once again my country wishes to reaffirm its solidarity with and support for the peoples and nations of Africa and to identify with the cause of Namibia. The longer the Government of South Africa takes to comply with the decisions contained in Security Council resolutions 435 (1978) and 439 (1978), the worse the situation will become between southern Africa and South Africa.

52. My country wishes to state that it will spare no efforts to see that the people of Namibia realize their right to self-determination and independence.

53. In conclusion, my delegation reserves its right to speak on this matter when it is discussed by the Council.

54. Mr. OVINNIKOV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*interpretation from Russian*): May I congratulate you, Mr. President, on acceding to the post of President of the Security Council for the current month and express satisfaction at your successful performance of these lofty responsibilities. I should like also to express our gratitude to your predecessor in this post, Mr. McHenry.

55. Our delegation would like warmly to welcome the new members of the Security Council—the representatives of Ireland, Japan, Panama, Spain and Uganda—and to wish them every success in their activities in the Council, an organ which bears the main responsibility for maintaining international peace and security. In performing the important functions that are entrusted by the Charter to the Security Council, those delegations, like all others, can be certain of constructive co-operation on the part of the delegation of the Soviet Union.

56. May I also express our gratitude to the representatives of the outgoing non-permanent members of the Security Council—the representatives of Bangladesh, Jamaica, Norway, Portugal and Zambia—for the useful contribution they have made to the Council's work over the last two years.

57. Like other delegations, we can only express satisfaction at the fact that the staff of the United States Embassy who were detained in Teheran have finally been liberated. The Soviet Union has always advocated and continues to advocate the unswerving observance of generally accepted norms of international law regarding the immunity of diplomatic personnel, as laid down in the Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations of 1961.¹

58. At the same time, we should like to recall that, precisely in connection with the fact that the Iranian authorities had detained American personnel, the United States proceeded to concentrate large-scale naval forces in the area of the Persian Gulf. If declarations by the United States in this connection were not simply a pretext for carrying out far-reaching plans in

that part of the world, then once the question of the American personnel had been successfully resolved, the American warships should, it seems, have left the shores of Iran and returned from the area of the Persian Gulf to their own shores.

59. Turning now to the item before us on the Security Council's agenda, we should like to make the following statement.

60. We listened closely to the statement made by the Secretary-General when he presented to the Council his report on the Geneva talks between SWAPO and South Africa held under the aegis of the United Nations. We listened equally closely to the statement made by the Chairman of the African Group for January, the representative of Tunisia, Mr. Slim, and also those of the representatives of Mexico and Panama.

61. The Soviet delegation shares the concern over the provocative refusal of South Africa to proceed to the implementation of a Namibian settlement. We understand the desire of the African countries to study the situation that has arisen in order to determine what specific steps would be most effective. At the same time, the main conclusions which should be drawn from this situation are clear even today.

62. First, the position of the United Nations with respect to the Namibian question, a position that has been reflected in numerous Security Council and General Assembly resolutions, is completely unambiguous: Namibia is a Territory illegally occupied by the South African racists; SWAPO is the sole legitimate representative of the struggling people of Namibia. Incidentally, those who today are hastening to attach the label of "international terrorists" to all national liberation movements not to their liking, including SWAPO, could usefully be reminded of that decision of the United Nations relating to the status of SWAPO [General Assembly decision 35/442 of 16 December 1980]. If we go further into this dubious philosophy according to which some should be called terrorists simply because they are struggling for their freedom from the colonial and racist yoke, then most of the representatives of the non-aligned countries who are proudly representing their independent States in the United Nations today could also quite recently have been described by some in similar terms. The Soviet people have a different approach and a different philosophy. The Soviet Union has been and continues to be on the side of those peoples who are struggling for their freedom and independence and we are proud of that.

63. The right of the people of Namibia to freedom, independence and self-determination is, once again according to United Nations decisions, their inalienable right. Consequently, the actions of South Africa aimed at maintaining its occupation of Namibia represent a serious threat to international peace and security.

64. However, South Africa is now essentially proposing to the United Nations, Africa and, indeed, all progressive mankind the idea that this position be revised so that the United Nations may with regard to the question of Namibia take what is called an unbiased position—unbiased, of course, in the eyes of South Africa. The leading lights of the policy of *apartheid* had hitherto never reached this level of cynicism. It is precisely for that reason that a firm rebuttal must be given to the claims of Pretoria that the position of the United Nations should be changed.

65. Secondly, the United Nations, the African countries and other peace-loving States were prepared to display a reasonable degree of patience and restraint and to proceed by means of negotiation. It is true that the particular advantages of that procedure were described only by a few well-known States. However, I should like to recall in this connection that eight years ago, in February 1972, at the series of meetings held by the Security Council during its visit to Africa [1627th-1639th meetings], those Powers assured us that, in order to reach a turning-point in the solution to the Namibian problem by means of negotiation, they needed only six months. At that time they also stated—and to verify this we need only glance at the records of those Council meetings—that, were South Africa to continue in its stubbornness, they would draw the necessary weighty conclusions. But six months, a year, 18 months elapsed and the talks with Pretoria, as the Soviet delegation had warned from the very outset, led to nothing, and South Africa was simply given the opportunity for further delay. It was later proposed by the same source that another variant of these talks be utilized. This was agreed to so that at least by 1981—the present year—Namibia might finally achieve independence. In November 1978, the Security Council in resolution 439 (1978) warned South Africa that, were it to refuse to implement the resolutions of the Council on Namibia, the Council would meet to take the relevant steps against South Africa under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations.

66. Today, after the complete breakdown of the Geneva talks, it is clear that South Africa has once and for all refused to observe the time-table laid down. Furthermore, South Africa has now quite openly put off a decision on this question *sine die*. We can either look squarely at these facts or simply hide our heads in the sand; but that second course of action would only be playing into the hands of the South African racists, which would be damaging to the fundamental interests of the people of Namibia.

67. It is the profound conviction of the Soviet delegation that in the present circumstances, the United Nations must take the most decisive steps. In this connection, the resumed thirty-fifth session of the General Assembly should have its own word to say. In its turn, the Security Council should take decisive action under Chapter VII of the Charter to ensure that the people of Namibia achieve genuine independence.

68. The United Nations is entitled to expect that those who eight years ago promised to initiate serious steps, and those who two and a half years ago once again made the same promise, will, now, that South Africa has once and for all lowered its mask, fulfil their promises and not impede the initiation of such action.

69. Mr. NISIBORI (Japan): Mr. President, first of all I should like to convey to you the sincere congratulations of my delegation on your assumption of the presidency for the month of January. I am happy to see you, Mr. Ling, the representative of a country with which Japan enjoys very close and friendly relations, assuming this high office at the moment when Japan begins its new term of office in the Security Council. I am sure that under your able guidance our meetings will produce fruitful results. I should like to assure you that my delegation will co-operate to the fullest extent of its abilities as you carry out the duties of your high office.

70. I should also like to pay a high tribute to Mr. McHenry of the delegation of the United States of America for his guidance of the work of the Security Council last month. Although Japan was not a member at that time, my delegation closely followed the Council's deliberations on the important issues presented to it and could appreciate the skill and dedication which Mr. McHenry brought to his task. I would like to ask the United States delegation to convey our sentiments to Mr. Donald McHenry.

71. In addition, on behalf of my Government I should like to address my special word of thanks to you and to other representatives who have expressed cordial words of welcome to my country and myself. My country is pleased to commence this term in the company of Ireland, Panama, Spain and Uganda, countries to which Japan is bound by special ties of friendship and co-operation. I should also like to pay a well-deserved tribute to the delegations of those countries whose Council membership expired at the end of 1980. I refer to Bangladesh, Jamaica, Norway, Portugal and Zambia, which, in their joint work and co-operation with all other members of the Council, provided a valuable and inspiring model for those of us who are just beginning our term of membership in the Council.

72. My Government has always recognized that the Security Council is the single most important organ for the maintenance of world peace and security. Thus we regard our membership in the Council as a great honour, but also as one which carries awesome responsibilities. This is the fifth time that Japan has been privileged to serve on the Council and, although the role of the Council has always been important, I believe that it will become increasingly crucial in the coming months and years. For, while the world is becoming ever more interdependent, demanding greater co-operation between all regions, there are centrifugal forces at work as well. As the world's resources become scarce, and armaments more

deadly, there is a heightened danger that local or regional tension could spark a major conflict. Thus I believe that the time ahead will present us with precious opportunities for co-operation, as well as grave challenges. I am confident, however, that the Security Council can be effective in responding to the constantly changing and complex world situation. As a member of the Council, I can assure the Council that Japan will continue with renewed determination to work for world peace and security in accordance with the principles of the Charter.

73. In accordance with the understanding reached yesterday at the informal meeting of the Security Council, my statement on the problem of Namibia today will be limited to an observation of a general nature on the report of the Secretary-General concerning the implementation of resolutions 435 (1978) and 439 (1978), contained in document S/14333. When the Council resumes its consideration at a later stage, my delegation would like to make a detailed and substantial statement on this very important question.

74. This morning I have listened to the statement of the Secretary-General attentively. I have also read with great interest his report dated 19 January 1981. I closely watched developments throughout the entire course of the pre-implementation meeting held in Geneva, in the expectation that independence of Namibia would be achieved by the end of this year in accordance with Security Council resolution 435 (1978).

75. First of all I should like to express our deep appreciation of the efforts exerted by the Secretary-General and the team led by Mr. Brian Urquhart for the preparation and conduct of the meeting. I am fully aware that the front-line States, Nigeria, OAU and the contact group of Western countries also made commendable efforts with a view to achieving the objectives of the meeting—i.e., the setting of the date for the cease-fire and implementation of the settlement proposal.

76. The meeting provided all the parties concerned with the first opportunity in the long history of struggle for the independence of Namibia to make contacts and to exchange views at a variety of levels. Regardless of the result of the meeting, we cannot overlook its positive aspects in creating good faith, a spirit of co-operation and understanding.

77. However, it is deplorable that, because of the intransigent attitude taken by South Africa, the meeting had to be adjourned without an agreement being reached on the date for implementation.

78. As the Secretary-General has pointed out in his report, the outcome of the meeting in Geneva must give rise to the most serious international concern. I wish to join the Secretary-General in his appeal to the Government of South Africa to review, with the

utmost care, the implications of the meeting and to reconsider its position with regard to the implementation of resolution 435 (1978) at the earliest possible time. "The task which lies before us in assisting Namibia to achieve its independence at the earliest possible date is by no means an easy one. Nevertheless, I should like to assure you, Mr. President, that my delegation is fully determined to work together with the other members of the Security Council in order to achieve the goal set forth in resolutions 435 (1978) and 439 (1978).

79. Before concluding my statement, I wish to say a few words on the release of the 52 American hostages. The Government and people of Japan are very pleased that the problem has been settled peacefully through efforts made by the parties concerned and, in particular, thanks to the persevering manner in which the Government and people of the United States have dealt with the problem for a long period of time. I should also like to pay a high tribute to the Secretary-General, who made tremendous efforts to discharge the duties conferred on him by the Security Council.

80. Mr. FLORIN (German Democratic Republic) (*interpretation from Russian*): Mr. President, I should like to congratulate you on your accession to the post of President of the Security Council for the month of January. I would request the delegation of the United States to transmit to the President of the Council for December, Mr. McHenry, our best wishes.

81. At the same time I should like to avail myself of this opportunity to welcome warmly the new members of the Council to our midst: the representatives of Ireland, Japan, Panama, Spain and Uganda. I can assure all of them of the co-operation of the German Democratic Republic in performing the tasks that are incumbent on the Security Council.

82. I should like to state that for the delegation of the German Democratic Republic it has been an honour to co-operate with the representatives of Bangladesh, Jamaica, Norway, Portugal and Zambia in the Council, and we should like to express our gratitude to them.

83. The delegation of the German Democratic Republic would also like to express its satisfaction in connection with the release of United States Embassy personnel in Teheran and its hope that this will reduce tension in that part of the world.

84. The delegation of the German Democratic Republic believes that it is a matter of extreme importance for the Security Council to continue to concern itself with the problem of Namibia and with all steps that could be taken towards its settlement, primarily in view of the responsibility borne by the United Nations for Namibia. We share the concern which has been expressed in paragraph 21 of the Secretary-General's report. We sympathize with the points that were made here by the representative of Tunisia

regarding events in Geneva and the course of the struggle to liberate Namibia from South African oppression.

85. However, I should add that the destructive attitude of South Africa, which led to the downfall of the Geneva talks, was not particularly surprising to us. In the light of the policy of obstruction and delaying tactics which has been pursued by South Africa since the Security Council adopted resolution 435 (1978), there was but one surprising element in Geneva and that was the undisguised impudence with which the representatives of the racist régime gave their negative response to the United Nations and to the international community. We have frequently had occasion here to refer to the negative attitude of the Pretoria régime and to the reasons for it. We demanded, and we should once again like to repeat this today, that the arms embargo be strengthened and that far-reaching enforcement steps be taken against South Africa, in accordance with Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations.

86. In view of the defiance of the United Nations, witnessed once again at Geneva, and also in view of the fact that the racist régime simultaneously committed cruel acts of aggression against the People's Republic of Angola, one may legitimately wonder how long the United Nations and how long the Security Council can tolerate such conduct.

87. It should be pointed out that the presence in Geneva of representatives of certain NATO States did not have a very positive effect. The relations of certain influential circles in those States with South Africa leave no room for any possible illusion that they might ever be prepared to oblige South Africa to accept the decisions of the United Nations, in particular since those States have constantly resisted the adoption of any resolute enforcement measures. One wonders what is really the purpose of the presence of NATO States at meetings such as the Geneva meeting.

88. The Geneva meeting has also revealed the sense of responsibility and the constructive spirit with which SWAPO has supported efforts to reach a settlement of the Namibian problem. This has once again confirmed SWAPO's role as the sole legitimate representative of the Namibian people, a role that has for years been repeatedly endorsed at successive sessions of the General Assembly.

89. We are convinced that the time has now come to draw conclusions from our many years of experience with the policy of South Africa concerning Namibia and, by means of the effective enforcement measures laid down in the Charter, to force the Pretoria régime to respect the decisions of the United Nations.

90. Mr. YANGO (Philippines): At the outset I should like to say that my delegation shares the thanksgiving

and sense of gratification of the people and Government of the United States of America over the release of the American hostages. We extend our best wishes for the future to them and to their families.

91. And now, Mr. President, allow me to congratulate you on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for the month of January. It is a source of satisfaction to my delegation to see you, the representative of a great Asian country with which my own country enjoys warm and friendly ties of co-operation and mutual understanding, presiding over the business of the Council. Our two countries and peoples have deepened their friendship and broadened areas of mutually beneficial co-operation.

92. Given your diplomatic capabilities and vast experience nurtured after years of active participation and involvement in the work of the Conference on the Law of the Sea, we are confident that you will be able to deal decisively and expeditiously with the issues confronting the Security Council.

93. My delegation commends the excellent manner in which Mr. McHenry of the United States conducted the affairs of the Council last month. His positive contribution to the work of the Council will be long remembered by us. We request the United States delegation to convey to him our best wishes for success in his future endeavours.

94. My delegation warmly welcomes the new members of the Security Council, the representatives of Ireland, Japan, Panama, Spain and Uganda. We assure them of our support and co-operation in the discharge of the responsibilities of the Council. To our colleagues who have left our midst, the representatives of Bangladesh, Jamaica, Norway, Portugal and Zambia, my delegation expresses its sincere appreciation for their invaluable assistance and co-operation. Our close association with them widened our horizons and yielded mutually beneficial relationships.

95. In this connection, my delegation wishes to reciprocate the cordial remarks made by Mr. Khwaja Mohammed Kaiser of Bangladesh last December during his lucid representation of the report of the Security Council Committee established by resolution 421 (1977) concerning the question of South Africa. My delegation wishes to congratulate him for his sterling contribution to the work of that Committee.

96. My delegation is grateful to the Secretary-General for his oral report and for his written report, which is before us, on the pre-implementation meeting on Namibia recently held in Geneva. The international community was hopeful that that pre-implementation meeting would be the final step towards reaching a settlement for the realization of the efforts undertaken by the United Nations to resolve the question of Namibia by peaceful means.

97. Regrettably, that was not to be. In the long and arduous process of negotiations on Namibia, we have seen a series of manoeuvres and delaying moves on the part of South Africa which proved to be the obstruction to reaching agreement.

98. In the view of my delegation, that happened again at the recent meeting in Geneva. The argument set forth by South Africa at the Geneva meeting is, to say the least, unconvincing to my delegation. My delegation had hoped that the Geneva meeting would provide the necessary impetus to set in motion the early implementation of Security Council resolutions 435 (1978) and 439 (1978) that would bring genuine independence to Namibia based on the exercise of the right of the Namibian people to self-determination. It was within this context that my delegation gave its support to the postponement of the substantive consideration of the question of Namibia at the last session of the General Assembly.

99. The discouraging outcome of the Geneva meeting is regrettable. My delegation expresses its grave concern over this development, which is a serious setback to United Nations efforts.

100. In conclusion, my delegation will have the opportunity to address itself in more detail to this point once the Council begins anew its substantive consideration of the question of Namibia.

101. Mr. OUMAROU (Niger) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, we are already on the eve of the end of your mandate. This is therefore an appropriate occasion to pay tribute to the great qualities you have shown throughout this month of January, which for the Council marks the beginning of a new year of reflexion, vigilance and responsibilities.

102. In this connection, my delegation feels relieved and comforted by the final release of the American hostages. May that happy event herald a new era of understanding and agreement in international relations.

103. My delegation congratulates you, Mr. President, on the tact, patience and moderation coupled with authority which you displayed in guiding our work. It permitted the Security Council to act in the spirit of its role and its mission. My delegation takes this opportunity to reassure your great country, the People's Republic of China, of the importance which the Niger attaches to friendship with your people and to co-operation with your leaders.

104. We have come together here for a meeting we had thought for a moment we might be spared. However, on the eve of 7 January 1981, the date of the pre-implementation meeting devoted to giving effect to resolutions 435 (1978) and 439 (1978) on the independence of Namibia, we had no illusions. We must, unfortunately, note, after having heard the Secretary-General a moment ago and after having read his cou-

rageous, clear and objective report of 19 January, that South Africa continues to raise more and more obstacles to the implementation of the settlement plan. The Niger and all Africa are deeply disappointed and concerned over this, as is the entire international community and, through it, the Security Council and all parties of good will that had agreed to take on the exalting task of decolonization imposed on the world by the illegal occupation of the Territory of Namibia by the South African racists.

105. Among those parties of good will, my delegation would like to make particular mention of the front-line States and Nigeria, OAU and the contact group of five Western States, whose efforts in Geneva, we have been told, were constructive and highly appreciated. And, of course, we cannot forget the Secretary-General, who perseveringly and methodically prepared the gathering at Geneva, once again displaying his ability to concentrate actively on problems which, if not settled, create discord and tension in the world. He will no doubt permit me to express the appreciation of my delegation also to his many effective and discreet colleagues, in particular Mr. Brian Urquhart, whose commitment to the cause of Namibia gives rise to the highest hopes.

106. With regard to SWAPO, its leaders, its fighters and its militants, whose just and legitimate struggle we support, they may simply rest assured that the Niger will always continue to make its contribution of solidarity and action, until the complete liberation of Namibia.

107. This meeting is unfortunately not devoted to a substantive consideration of this important question, which has acquired a more disquieting and new dimension by reason of the failure of the Geneva meeting. My delegation therefore reserves its right to return to this question to state the importance and the urgency which the Niger attaches to the democratic independence of Namibia.

108. But I did not wish to conclude without bidding a warm welcome to our friends from Ireland, Japan, Panama, Spain and Uganda, five countries which are severally dear to us and to which I express here assurances of our full and friendly co-operation.

109. That leads me also to recall the extent to which my delegation has been honoured by the relations of friendship, understanding and open co-operation which it enjoyed in the course of a year with the representatives of Bangladesh, Jamaica, Norway, Portugal and Zambia. Those delegations have left us after having acquitted themselves with great competence in the Security Council and their ever apt and clear-sighted contribution will certainly not be forgotten.

110. My thoughts also go to Mr. McHenry, who has just concluded his term as representative of the United States after a productive presidency of the Council,

which was quite in keeping with his great talents as a diplomat and with the enormous prestige of his great country. My delegation will always appreciate his constant support for African causes.

111. Mr. OTUNNU (Uganda): I wish, on behalf of my delegation, to convey warm congratulations to you, Mr. President, on your assumption of the presidency of the Council for the month of January. I am confident that your wisdom and statesmanship will strengthen and enrich the work of the Council. I wish also to express the gratitude of my delegation to you and to the other members of the Council for their kind words of welcome. Your guidance and encouragement, Mr. President, as well as those of long-standing members of the Council have been of immense help in getting us settled and acquainted with the business and procedures of the Council.

112. I should like too to express our gratitude to Mr. McHenry for the very able leadership he provided the Council during the month of December.

113. May I also take this opportunity to pay a warm tribute to the delegations of Bangladesh, Jamaica, Norway, Portugal and Zambia, the outgoing members of the Security Council, for their outstanding contribution to the work of the Council during the last two years.

114. My delegation associates itself with the remarks you have made, Mr. President, on the release of the American hostages. Uganda has been following with anxiety the developments concerning this crisis. We therefore share the joy and relief of the hostages, of their families and of the American people at seeing this problem ended peacefully and to the satisfaction of all the parties concerned. It is clear from the statements of various delegations, as well as from the events of the last few days, that this sense of relief and satisfaction is shared by the whole international community. I should like to commend the Security Council and the Secretary-General for the important part they played in creating a positive climate for negotiations during this very unfortunate episode. I wish also to pay a special tribute to the Government and people of Algeria for the crucial and indispensable role that they played in resolving the hostage crisis.

115. As this is the first intervention by my delegation in the formal proceedings of the Council, I wish to take this opportunity to express the gratitude and appreciation of the Government and people of Uganda to all Members of the United Nations, and especially to the Group of African States, for the trust and confidence in my country they have expressed by electing us to serve for the next two years on the Security Council. We fully appreciate the magnitude of this responsibility and we shall endeavour to play our part to the full.

116. We are conscious of the fact that the main responsibility of the Council is the maintenance of

international peace and security. But my delegation is equally aware that the goal of maintaining international peace and security cannot be achieved either in a vacuum or by the application of some mechanical formula. Our objectives can be achieved only by the strengthening of certain agreed principles enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations.

117. Each passing week we witness manifold events which explain why the Security Council was entrusted with the role of reducing tension and thus maintaining peace and security in the world. The causes of world tension and the ensuing conflicts are many and varied. In the view of my delegation, the situation of racism and oppression in southern Africa poses one of the most significant threats to international peace and security today. The question of Palestine is a powder keg, which, though physically located in the Middle East, is in reality a constant threat to the peace and security of the whole world. Colonialism and other attempts to dominate or interfere in the affairs of other countries constitute other major sources of international tension. My delegation will play its part constructively in attempting to find solutions to those problems in particular and to other forms of tension threatening international peace and security.

118. I have indicated that the situation in southern Africa is a major source of threats to international peace and security. The Security Council has long recognized this fact in the case of the occupation of Namibia and the Council consequently decided on the accession to independence of Namibia in accordance with its resolutions 435 (1978) and 439 (1978). It was with a view to implementing those resolutions that the Secretary-General convened a pre-implementation meeting in Geneva.

119. We have studied carefully the report of the Secretary-General on the meeting in Geneva and we listened attentively to his comments on that report this morning. My delegation will not at this stage enter into a debate on the substance of the report, but we reserve our right to discuss the report comprehensively at a later date. However, let me note the deep disappointment which my delegation feels at the fact that it was not possible to set dates for a cease-fire and the implementation of the United Nations independence plan for Namibia. We also note, and this with deep satisfaction, that SWAPO was willing to proceed at the meeting in Geneva to sign a cease-fire agreement and to agree on a target date for the arrival of the United Nations Transition Assistance Group (UNTAG) in Namibia. It is clear to all delegations that South Africa's intransigence made that impossible.

120. I wish to pay tribute to SWAPO for the courage and statesmanship it showed in accepting the United Nations plan and demonstrating its willingness to co-ordinate free and fair elections supervised by the United Nations. SWAPO has demonstrated a remarkable degree of patience in the face of uncalled-for provoca-

tion by South Africa and the internal parties. Our gratitude goes also to those who were involved in preparing and executing the meeting, especially the Secretary-General and his representatives, OAU, the front-line States and Nigeria, and members of the contact group of Western countries.

121. I wish to remind the Council that 12 years ago the Heads of State of OAU adopted an important document called the Lusaka Manifesto,² which was later presented to the United Nations General Assembly by President Ahidjo of Cameroon. That document spelled out Africa's commitment to the liberation struggle, as well as the alternative means of bringing about the total liberation of Africa. Africa indicated in the document that it preferred the liberation of Africa through negotiations. But, as all peaceful avenues were closed, it had no alternative but to carry out an armed struggle.

122. The events in Mozambique, Guinea-Bissau, Angola and Zimbabwe have shown that the African nations and OAU will rise to the challenges of armed struggle as well as to the challenges of negotiated settlements. We are ready to rise to similar challenges this time in the case of Namibia.

123. Mr. DORR (Ireland): This is the first time that I have had an opportunity to speak in the Security Council since Ireland took its place in the Council on 1 January. At the outset, with the Council's permission, I shall make three general points.

124. First, I want to refer to the President's assumption of his office in the Council. If I had been speaking earlier in the month, I would have expressed my good wishes to you, Mr. President, personally and to your country for your future handling of the presidency and my thanks to your predecessor in December, Mr. McHenry. As it is, I speak at the end rather than at the beginning of January. I will therefore rather congratulate and thank you for the way in which you have carried out the heavy responsibilities of the presidency during this month and for the efforts you have made in our various informal consultations to facilitate our work.

125. Secondly, I should like to thank you, Mr. President, and other representatives in the Council for the way in which you have received us in our informal discussions and for the good wishes which they and you have expressed to my delegation in this month when we take our place as a new member of the Council. My country was deeply honoured to be elected to the Council, along with Japan, Panama, Spain and Uganda. We are aware that membership is a heavy responsibility, especially at this time when, as the representatives of Japan and Uganda have pointed out, the international climate is growing more difficult. We hope that we can carry out this responsibility in a way that will justify the trust that has been placed in us by all Members of the United Nations in electing us a member of the Council for this two-year period.

126. I should also like to express our appreciation and good wishes to those who preceded us on the Council over the past two years. We offer good wishes and thanks to those non-permanent members who have vacated seats to make way for new members: Bangladesh, Jamaica, Norway, Portugal and Zambia. We also offer good wishes to certain members of individual delegations who are no longer among us on the Council this year. I would mention in particular Mr. McHenry and Mr. vanden Heuvel of the United States delegation. We are fully conscious of the contributions which they and our immediate predecessors on the Council have made to its work and the high standard they have set for us who are new members. We will try for our part to carry out to the very best of our ability the responsibilities which they have handed over to us.

127. Thirdly, I should like briefly to express our satisfaction at the release of the American hostages held in Iran. The Prime Minister of Ireland, Mr. Haughey, met the hostages during the short stopover in Ireland on their return flight to the United States from Wiesbaden. He has already expressed very fully the pleasure and satisfaction of the Government and people of Ireland at their release. I do not need, therefore, to repeat that here. I would, however, like to express the admiration of my delegation for the patient efforts, both public and private, undertaken by many in the international community, through the United Nations and otherwise, over a long period to negotiate the release of the hostages. If I may say so, we particularly admire the special role played by the Government of Algeria. Its mediation deserves the special appreciation of the international community. I want also to emphasize our very great appreciation of the work of the Secretary-General over a long period, both in public and in private, in seeking to resolve the crisis.

128. I turn now to the particular issue before this meeting—the situation in Namibia.

129. For many years now Ireland has been concerned to see South Africa end its illegal occupation of Namibia so that the people of Namibia would be free to exercise their right to self-determination and to proceed to independence. We welcomed the adoption by the Security Council in 1976 of resolution 385 (1976), which provided for free and fair elections for the whole of Namibia under United Nations supervision and control. We also welcomed the adoption by the Council in 1978 of resolution 435 (1978), which approved the specific proposals by the Secretary-General for the implementation of a settlement; and we are concerned to see the people of Namibia achieve full self-determination within the framework set by these two basic resolutions of the Council at the earliest possible date.

130. My delegation appreciates the continuing efforts of the Secretary-General and members of his staff to carry out these resolutions. We also appreciate the

continuing and patient efforts of the front-line States and Nigeria, the contact group of Western countries, SWAPO and others in trying over the past two years to bring about the implementation of these proposals.

131. We had very much hoped that these efforts, which culminated in the meeting earlier this month in Geneva, would have been successful, so that the people of Namibia could have at last achieved self-determination and independence through a peaceful process under United Nations supervision and control. Such an outcome, achieved through peaceful means, would indeed have been a hopeful and welcome development.

132. It is a matter of very great disappointment to us that this aim has not been achieved. It was not achieved despite the fact that, as the report of the Secretary-General before us makes clear, a wide area of agreement, including basic agreement on the proposals and on the demilitarized zone, had already been achieved over two years of consultations since 1978. Our disappointment is all the greater because we are aware of the skilful handling of the meeting by the Chairman, Mr. Urquhart, and also of the patience shown and the very great effort made by many of those who attended in order to reach agreement on a peaceful transition to independence by Namibia.

133. The delegation of Ireland is in full agreement with the view of the Secretary-General as expressed in paragraph 21 of his report, where he says that "... the outcome of the meeting. . . must give rise to the most serious international concern." Now that we have his report on the meeting and have heard his presentation here of that report, it is clear that all the members of the Council will wish to reflect further on the steps which need to be taken.

134. My delegation for its part will address itself to the issue in greater detail at a later stage. For the moment I would simply add to what I have said; the fact that the delegation of Ireland is fully conscious that a serious situation has now arisen, and we share fully the concern expressed by other delegations here. So far as Ireland is concerned, we are ready to play our part in the further consideration by the Council in due course of the issue with which the international community must now cope.

135. Mr. de PINIÉS (Spain) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Mr. President, I should like first of all to congratulate you on having assumed the presidency of the Security Council during the current month of January. This is the first time that my country has occupied a seat on the Security Council together with the People's Republic of China. You are aware, Mr. President, of the close friendly relations that have united our two countries ever since we, happily, established diplomatic relations, as a result of which Their Majesties the King and Queen of Spain made an official visit to your great country in 1978. We shall

spare no effort in assisting you in discharging the very important responsibilities you hold here.

136. On this occasion I also wish to greet my illustrious friend the Secretary-General. We wish him to know that we shall always stand in solidarity with his actions in the performance of his functions. One must not give heed to those who confuse the discharge of the responsibilities incumbent upon one in such a high post, in keeping with the instructions given him by the Organization, with the wishes of certain quarters that have not precisely distinguished themselves by their defence of the Organization. We are familiar with his rectitude and, even though we were not on the Council, we had the opportunity to observe his exemplary conduct in the actions he undertook to resolve the problem of the hostages, whose release we are joyfully celebrating today at the end of such an unjust captivity. Our congratulations extend to all those who have participated in and made possible such a fortunate outcome, especially the Government of Algeria.

137. I also wish to congratulate Ireland, Japan, Panama—and I send greetings to that country's new Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr. Illueca—and Uganda, which, together with Spain, have been elected to occupy places on the Security Council.

138. With regard to the other countries members of the Council—some veterans by virtue of entering upon the second year of their mandate and others permanent members under the terms of the Charter—I wish to extend a special greeting to them and also thank them for their congratulations, recalling that Spain comes to the Security Council, the principal organ of the United Nations, with an open mind and with the wish to contribute to the solution of conflicts which may come before the Council for consideration.

139. Spain wishes to take this opportunity to renew its trust, as the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Spain stated in the general debate of the General Assembly, in the capacity of the United Nations to mobilize and bring together, in its noble ability to sound a call, to inspire and rouse mankind. The United Nations fulfils a function that is basic for our survival, and Spain intends to work in so far as it is able towards strengthening the Organization and will always be ready to answer its call.

140. The Organization, and the Security Council in particular, were set up in order to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war. Sad to say, although world conflagrations have been avoided, the number of military conflicts that have occurred since the Second World War, that is, since the creation of the Organization, has reached more than 130. There are conflicts which remain on the list of items before the Council, apparently without any solution having been found; their very existence reflects the fact that at times the Organization has been unable to put an end to them or resolve them, with all the danger that entails of their spreading within or outside their areas.

141. The Charter contains the necessary machinery for action, but the abusive use of specific privileges has on various occasions meant that this organ has not been able to resolve those conflicts. However, if we take into account the fact that, to ensure quick and effective action by the United Nations, Members conferred upon the Council the main responsibility for maintaining international peace and security and recognized that the Council acts on their behalf in carrying out the tasks required by that responsibility, it would appear that the Council should be able to find formulas and solutions.

142. It is true that since this is a political body par excellence, at times the individual interests of States come first, with notorious disregard for the conditions set forth in the Charter for the carrying out of functions entrusted to the Security Council, and it is true that at times the purposes and principles of the United Nations according to which the Council must operate are neglected.

143. Hence, let us bear in mind Articles 1 and 2 of the Charter and let us not lose sight of them for these Articles contain precisely those purposes and principles. So far as my delegation is concerned, we shall endeavour to comply with them for the better performance of the tasks we have been entrusted with as a member of this important body.

144. Spain is a member of the Security Council for the second time, and we hope that, on the day we leave the Council at the end of our mandate, it will be remembered that Spain has fulfilled its responsibilities.

145. After that introduction I now wish to refer to the question of Namibia. We are not going to enter into a substantive discussion of the matter at this time, but I wanted to take this opportunity to thank the Secretary-General for the clarity and objectivity with which, as on previous occasions, he has reported to the Council on recent developments in negotiations on the question of Namibia.

146. I would also join in the concern expressed by the Secretary-General over the fact that in the talks held in Geneva this month the objective was not attained—that is, the setting of a date for a cease-fire and the implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978) early this year. We must mention the remarkable efforts and spirit of understanding and co-operation of various parties which have worked continuously towards the attainment of a solution to the problem, among them the various African countries that have participated in the negotiations and the Secretary-General of OAU, which has once again shown that it follows the line of co-operation and friendship with the Organization, as well as the efforts made by the contact group of Western countries.

147. Spain's attitude with regard to the problem of Namibia has been unequivocally expressed in the

Council and in other forums of the Organization. The delegation of Spain reserves its right to restate its long-standing attitude when the right time comes. In the meantime, I wish to join in the appeal made by the Secretary-General and several members of the Council to those who have not yet been able to accept the proposals on a peaceful solution backed by the Council to reconsider their position at the earliest possible time.

148. Mr. LEPRETTE (France) (*interpretation from French*): This meeting gives us an opportunity officially to welcome the new members of the Security Council elected at the thirty-fifth session of the General Assembly. I note that the five countries which the General Assembly votes of October last have permitted to participate in our deliberations in 1981 and 1982 have previously been members of the Council. Each of them represents a specific and original approach to international life. That diversity in itself cannot but enhance the authority and representative nature of the Council. France is pleased that it enjoys with each of its five new partners, which have often been close to us for reasons of geography or shared history, links of friendship and co-operation, and sometimes even of association. Finally, it is a particular pleasure for me to recognize at the head of the five delegations representing Ireland, Japan, Panama, Spain and Uganda distinguished diplomats who have already—some of them for a long time—rendered yeoman service to the cause of the United Nations; most of them are persons with whom I have personal ties of friendship.

149. A former colleague from one of these new member countries, Mr. Illueca, has just been promoted to the very high office of Minister for Foreign Affairs of his country, and I would request his delegation to transmit to him our warm congratulations and best wishes.

150. While welcoming the five new non-permanent members of the Security Council, I should once again like to send a greeting to those they have replaced. The representatives of Bangladesh, Jamaica, Norway, Portugal and Zambia and their colleagues have all made a very valuable contribution to the work of the Council and their talent, level-headedness and dedication have undoubtedly heightened the importance of our deliberations and the causes they have defended. We owe them this tribute, and in it I cannot fail to associate my colleague Mr. McHenry, who headed the United States delegation to the Security Council for the last two years. New York is holding a special celebration today for the return of the 52 American diplomats detained for 14 months in defiance of international law. In working to bring about their return and in attempting to ensure respect for human rights and justice, Mr. McHenry devoted energy and determination to his tasks in a fashion that redounds to his credit.

151. My delegation would like to extend this tribute to all members of the international community who have directly or indirectly contributed to the happy outcome of the sore trial that was for too long suffered by the American diplomats. We should particularly like to commend the essential role played by Algerian diplomacy and the tireless efforts, both in private and in public, that were made from the very outset by the Secretary-General of the Organization.

152. I now come to the subject of this meeting.

153. I listened closely to the statement made by the Secretary-General, describing the pre-implementation meeting on the settlement plan, which was held in Geneva from 7 to 14 January. Those comments have in a very interesting and useful way confirmed the impression of the meeting that could be gained from the report drawn up by the Secretary-General, and submitted to the Council on 19 January.

154. It is not our intention to discuss the substance of the issue now. Nevertheless, I would like to thank the Secretary-General for the clarity and precision of the report before us and for the care he has obviously taken to reflect all the views expressed in the course of the work.

155. At Geneva, the French representatives were in a position to appreciate the hard work and the skill employed by the Secretary-General and his colleagues, particularly Mr. Urquhart, to ensure that the meeting proceeded smoothly. We are well aware that the organization of the conference was not the easiest of tasks. It involved bringing together for the first time the parties concerned in the settlement of this problem. That is a fact the importance of which all will have grasped. It is all the more a pity that an opportunity to make decisive progress in the negotiations has not been seized.

156. I should like to reaffirm the support that my country has given, and will continue to give, to the efforts of the United Nations to implement the plan for settlement adopted in resolution 435 (1978).

157. I should also like to reaffirm our confidence in the Secretary-General and his colleagues. We are certain that, together with the parties concerned in the settlement, and relying on the co-operation of those countries that desire a successful outcome, they will continue with determination their efforts to bring about an internationally recognized peaceful solution in Namibia.

158. Finally, Mr. President, on this penultimate day of your term of office, I should like to express to you my profound gratitude for the wisdom, patience and sense of compromise with which you have guided our discussions and conducted difficult negotiations during the month of January.

159. Sir Anthony PARSONS (United Kingdom): At our final meeting last year, just before Christmas, I expressed the warmth and regret of our farewell to our outgoing colleagues on the Council from Bangladesh, Jamaica, Norway, Portugal and Zambia and our similar feelings at the departure from our midst of our very good friend and colleague Donald McHenry. It remains for us to congratulate you, Mr. President, very sincerely on your admirable conduct of—and successful survival of—the presidency of the Security Council during the month of January.

160. I also wish to extend a very warm welcome to those members of the Council who have been elected for the years 1981 and 1982: our good friends from Ireland, Japan, Panama, Spain and Uganda, all of whom are well known to us already and all of whom have already been actively engaged in our deliberations.

161. Finally, before turning to the item on our agenda, I wish to express the unalloyed and unreserved joy and relief of my delegation, of my Government and of all the people of my country at the release of the American hostages from Iran after their long and bitter ordeal.

162. The Secretary-General, in introducing his report on the recent Geneva meeting on Namibia, has repeated his call that efforts not be relaxed to bring about independence in Namibia, in accordance with the plan on which so many of us, in and out of the Council, have worked so hard. Let me make it clear that my delegation has the warmest admiration for the enormous efforts made by the Secretary-General and his staff. They gave us at Geneva yet another demonstration of their devotion to the cause of Namibian independence, their great diplomatic expertise and their willingness to deal constructively with the problems of all concerned.

163. I have taken note of the mention made by our African colleagues of the role of the contact group of Western countries and I pay a similar tribute to the front-line States, to Nigeria and to OAU.

164. So far as my delegation is concerned, I can do no better at this stage than to quote from the statement made by Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs of my country, Lord Carrington, in the House of Lords following the Geneva meeting on 19 January:

“Her Majesty's Government are deeply disappointed by the failure to achieve agreement on a date for a cease-fire in March leading to independence for Namibia by the end of 1981. It proved impossible to reach agreement . . . in view of the statement of the delegation led by the South African Administrator-General that it was ‘premature’ to agree on an implementation date. This is an especially regrettable setback after the great efforts

of the United Nations, the Western Five and the front-line States to meet the reasonable concerns of South Africa and the internal parties. We support the Chairman's closing appeal to those concerned to reconsider their position. The Five will review the position with the other participants in the negotiations and we shall discuss the problem with the new American Administration. Meanwhile, the progress made so far in preparing the ground for a settlement should not be thrown away.”

165. In his statement today, the representative of Tunisia rightly suggested that we all needed more time to analyse the situation following the Geneva meeting and that it would be premature to go deeply into the substance of the question at this stage. I agree with him, and I reserve the right of my delegation to intervene further at a later meeting when all concerned have had sufficient time to reflect and to consult together.

166. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Chinese*): I shall now make a statement in my capacity as the representative of CHINA.

167. Since the independence of Zimbabwe, Namibia has now become the most salient issue in the decolonization struggle. The people of Africa and the world as a whole are closely following the Namibian people's fight for national independence. They vigorously demand that the South African colonial authorities immediately terminate their illegal occupation of Namibia and implement the relevant United Nations resolutions and plan regarding Namibia.

168. Since the adoption of Security Council resolution 435 (1978) in September 1978, SWAPO, the African front-line States, other States concerned and the United Nations have made tremendous and positive efforts to realize the United Nations plan for Namibia. All this has been acclaimed and supported by public opinion and people throughout the world. The South African racist authorities, however, have gone back on their word on all sorts of preposterous pretexts and created one obstacle after another to the implementation of the United Nations plan. In the meantime, they have stepped up the suppression of the Namibian people's struggle and gone ahead with the “internal settlement”. They have, moreover, continued their armed provocations against the African front-line States.

169. Recently, a conference on Namibia was held in Geneva under the auspices of the United Nations. SWAPO adopted a most reasonable and positive attitude in Geneva. One would have expected the South African authorities to come to their senses and make a new beginning by agreeing to start implementing the United Nations plan. But the course and result of the conference have revealed a total lack of sincerity on the part of the South African authorities for a peaceful settlement of the Namibian question.

They declared that it was premature to discuss the setting of a date for the implementation of the resolutions and peremptorily refused to implement the United Nations plan. As a result, no agreement was reached at the conference. This is another setback for the Namibian people and the international community in their endeavour to achieve the independence of Namibia.

170. It is crystal clear that the South African authorities were strenuously obstructing and sabotaging the Geneva conference in order to delay a cease-fire, so that they could continue their repression campaigns to weaken SWAPO's armed forces and gain time to build up the "internal parties" and to push through "internal settlement" in order to prevent Namibia from achieving genuine independence. They calculate that once the opportunity presents itself, they can put their puppets in power and stage a sham independence for Namibia, thereby perpetuating their illegal occupation of the Territory.

171. But this is only wishful thinking on the part of the South African authorities. Their scheme will never succeed. The obstinacy once again displayed by the South African authorities at the Geneva conference aroused strong resentment and stern condemnation from SWAPO, the African front-line States, OAU and world public opinion. The quest for independence by oppressed nations is a general trend of history desired by all the people. The Namibian people's struggle is a just cause and naturally enjoys abundant support. By clinging to their obstinate policy, the South African authorities will only land themselves in still greater isolation and hasten their defeat.

172. The turn of events shows that bitter struggles are yet to be waged before the United Nations plan can be implemented. It is up to SWAPO, supported by the people of the world and uniting with various ethnic groups in Namibia, to persevere in and intensify its struggle on all fronts. The international community and the United Nations, on their part, must adhere to principles and continue to fight and to strengthen their effective support for the just struggle of the Namibian people.

173. The Chinese Government and people have always firmly supported the just struggle of the Namibian people for national independence and liberation. We strongly condemn the South African authorities for their continued illegal occupation of Namibia and for their obstinate obstruction and sabotage of the United Nations plan. The Chinese delegation will firmly support all the correct proposals and reasonable demands put forward by the African States in their future efforts to settle the Namibian question.

174. I now resume my functions as PRESIDENT.

175. Mr. PETREE (United States of America): Mr. President, I first would like to join with all the

other members of the Council in extending my delegation's congratulations to you on your assumption of duties this month as President of the Council. We have been pleased to participate in the active programme of informal work which has engaged us under your very able leadership.

176. I also would like to acknowledge the many warm words addressed to Mr. McHenry and other members of my Mission who have now departed, ending their term of service at the United Nations. I undertake to convey those sentiments to Mr. McHenry.

177. I should like to say just a word about our regret that we had to say farewell to five members of the Council at the turn of the year. The intimate and intensive association that the work of the Council creates amongst all of us meant for us in dealing with those delegations a deepened respect and friendship as we observed and enjoyed their contributions to the work of the Council. Their place, of course, is taken by five new members that have joined us this month. I extend my delegation's warmest welcome to them. We look forward with great confidence to the contributions that they all, individually, will make to the work of the Council during the months and years ahead.

178. I would like also to say a brief word about the release of the hostages. I wish to express the deepest gratitude felt by my delegation, by my Government and by the people of the United States at the outpouring of friendship, sympathy and understanding which is reflected in the many statements by the members of the Council this morning. The feelings of the American people, I think, are obvious to all who have lived through these last days. It is our very, very strong feeling that the solid support given and the positions of principle and actions taken by the Council and, above all, the intense and unremitting efforts of the Secretary-General and so many of his staff throughout this long and painful period have been absolutely fundamental in the achievement of the peaceful solution to this problem which was the objective of my Government from the outset.

179. We are grateful, of course, that we have finally, at long last, achieved success, and we offer thanks to the Secretary-General and his staff, to all the members of the Council and to other Governments. I join with those who in particular have singled out the Government of Algeria for the skilful and persistent effort which yielded such great success a few days ago. In this connection, I should like to draw the attention of members of the Council to and read into the formal records of the Council's proceedings a relevant portion of a personal message which was transmitted this week by Secretary of State Haig to the Secretary-General:

"I am distressed, as I know you are, at the unfortunate attacks on your role in the efforts which led

up to the freeing of our hostages. You are aware of the remarks of President Carter and other members of his Administration rejecting the criticisms of your negotiations in Tehran a year ago. The United States Government is deeply grateful to you for your efforts on behalf of the hostages throughout the past 14 months."

180. We welcome and strongly endorse the expression of views contained in the President's statement today and once again reiterate our expression of appreciation to the Secretary-General and to all who were instrumental in the peaceful resolution of the hostage crisis.

181. With regard to the question of Namibia, which is on our agenda today, my Government joins with all in expressing regret that the pre-implementation meeting did not achieve the results that we all desired. I wish to express our appreciation, with all others, to the Secretary-General and his staff, most especially Mr. Urquhart, Mr. Ahtisaari and others who have been principally engaged in this endeavour for so long for their strenuous efforts to make the meeting a success against all odds and to bring these long negotiations to a successful conclusion. We support the continuing efforts of the Secretary-General and believe

that efforts to achieve a peaceful and internationally acceptable solution must continue.

182. My Government has launched a thorough review of the situation in which we find ourselves now in the wake of the Geneva meeting. After a study of this situation, we would expect to be sharing our assessments of it and of where we go next with our colleagues in the contact group, the front-line States, Nigeria, OAU and the other parties interested in this question and, in due course, at a later stage of this present debate, we expect to have an opportunity to set forth fully our views about this present situation and we hope, with everyone working together, to find that key to the next steps and the ones after those which will lead us to success in this long and painful effort.

The meeting rose at 1.50 p.m.

NOTES

¹ United Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. 500, p. 96.

² *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-fourth Session, Annexes*, agenda item 106, document A/7754.

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