

United Nations
**GENERAL
ASSEMBLY**

EIGHTH EMERGENCY SPECIAL SESSION

Official Records



**11th
PLENARY MEETING**

Friday, 11 September 1981,
at 3.25 p.m.

NEW YORK

President: Mr. Rüdiger von WECHMAR
(Federal Republic of Germany).

In the absence of the President, Mr. Albornoz
(Ecuador), Vice-President, took the Chair.

AGENDA ITEM 3

**Credentials of representatives to the eighth emergency
special session of the General Assembly (concluded).***

(b) Report of the Credentials Committee

1. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): I invite members of the General Assembly to consider the draft resolution recommended by the Credentials Committee in paragraph 19 of its second report [A/ES-8/6/Add.1]. In this connection, I now call on the Chairman of that Committee.

2. Mr. PIZA ESCALANTE (Costa Rica), Chairman of the Credentials Committee (*interpretation from Spanish*): I should like to state that, in the view of the Credentials Committee, the report is self-explanatory. The decisions taken at the Committee's 2nd meeting were all arrived at by consensus and the report is a record of the observations made by the various delegations.

3. I should like to explain that there were some complaints from delegations which had sent provisional lists of delegations to the Secretariat that had not been included in the report. I should like to make clear that the report refers solely to the notes and communications received in the Office of the Legal Counsel at the time of the meeting. In any case, it is my understanding that, as regards the notes submitted by Permanent Missions which are provisional in nature, the rules of procedure give them the right automatically and the Credentials Committee does not take a specific decision on them. In other words, the Committee's decisions refer to credentials submitted in final form, and, as regards the rest, it simply takes note of them. I have given that clarification because some delegations were uncertain as to the legality of their participation since they were not included in the report. I thought it advisable to make their entitlement clear.

4. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): Thanks to the clarification from the Chairman of the Credentials Committee, it is the understanding of the Chair that the list of representatives included in the report cannot yet be considered complete.

5. The Committee approved the draft resolution without it being put to the vote. May I take it that the General Assembly wishes to do the same?

The draft resolution was adopted (resolution ES-8/1 B).

6. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): I shall now call on those representatives who wish to explain their positions.

7. Mr. SOURINHO (Lao People's Democratic Republic) (*interpretation from French*): While my delegation went along with the consensus in adopting the second report of the Credentials Committee to the eighth emergency special session of the General Assembly devoted to the question of Namibia, the Lao People's Democratic Republic and certain members of the non-aligned delegations recognize the People's Republic of Kampuchea and express their formal strong objection to the presence of people who claim to be representatives of Democratic Kampuchea which does not exist on the political map of the world. We explicitly request that our position be reflected in the records of this Assembly.

8. Mr. KRISHNAN (India): The People's Republic of Kampuchea is the legal and legitimate Government of Kampuchea. Therefore, while agreeing to the adoption of the second report of the Credentials Committee, my delegation wishes to express its reservations with regard to the representation of so-called "Democratic Kampuchea" in the General Assembly.

9. Mr. FLORIN (German Democratic Republic): On behalf of the delegations of Bulgaria, the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Mongolia, Poland, the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the German Democratic Republic, I should like to make the following statement in connection with the report of the Credentials Committee.

10. Our delegations once again express their strong position that the only legitimate representative of Kampuchea is the Government of the People's Republic of Kampuchea. Only the representatives appointed by that Government can represent that country in the United Nations as well as in other international organizations. No one else is entitled to speak on behalf of the Kampuchean people.

11. With regard to those individuals in the United Nations who are posing as representatives of Kampuchea and claiming the right to participate in this session, they represent, as is well known, no one other than the genocidal clique that was overthrown by the Kampuchean people for the atrocities committed against their own people.

* Resumed from the 2nd meeting.

12. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): I now call on the representative of Democratic Kampuchea, to speak in exercise of his right of reply.

13. Mr. CHAN YOURAN (Democratic Kampuchea) (*interpretation from French*): I shall refrain from responding to the statement by the Lao representative, known to all as a puppet of Viet Nam, for that would be a waste of time. I shall likewise refrain from responding to the representative of India who is "non-aligned" only in name and I shall refrain from reacting to the comments of other delegations who are only nominal allies of the Soviet Union.

14. On behalf of my delegation, I should like to state the following. At the opening of this important session devoted to the question of Namibia, the representative of the minority *apartheid* régime of South Africa, by a crude manoeuvre aimed at resuming its seat in the Assembly, disrupted the smooth progress of our work. As was fit, the Assembly by an overwhelming majority denounced and condemned that manoeuvre and parried that vain attempt.

15. Today the representative of the colonialist, expansionist régime of Hanoi, whose political behaviour as regards the principles of the Charter of the United Nations, General Assembly resolutions and the Declaration of the International Conference on Kampuchea is in no way different from the insolent attitude of Pretoria towards Namibia and Africa, has, in its turn, arrogated to itself the right to disrupt our debates by questioning the representation of Democratic Kampuchea in the United Nations.

16. The Assembly, which knows full well the reasons for this Vietnamese manoeuvre, cannot but condemn the treacherous and ignominious manoeuvres used by the Hanoi representatives and the arrogance with which they have treated and continue to treat the United Nations and the international community. Today all countries that cherish peace and justice have learned from experience to know better the true nature of the Hanoi régime. They know perfectly well that the Hanoi authorities, to further their colonialist and expansionist cause and those of their masters, do not shrink from perjury or any violation of the most sacred principles and norms of international law. Those authorities are trying desperately, as Pretoria is doing, to impose the law of the jungle on the community of nations. That is proved by the annexation of Laos by a Vietnamese army of 60,000 men, the invasion and occupation of Kampuchea by a Vietnamese expeditionary force of more than 300,000 troops and the repeated acts of aggression against the sovereignty of Thailand and, finally, the threats to peace and security in the region.

17. In these circumstances, it is not surprising that all the manoeuvres of the Hanoi authorities can only lower them further to the ranks of the colonialist and expansionist régimes still surviving in the world and only serve further to emphasize the isolation of those authorities.

18. Mr. MAHMOOD (Pakistan): The Government of Pakistan has always maintained the principled position that foreign military intervention cannot be justified under any circumstances or for any reason, for it constitutes a grave violation of the principles of

the Charter of the United Nations and the norms of international law governing inter-State relations.

19. Accordingly, the delegation of Pakistan shares the position of the delegation of China, the United States and Singapore, as reflected in paragraphs 8 to 13 of the second report of the Credentials Committee [A/ES-8/6/Add.1].

20. My delegation wishes to reserve its position on the credentials of the representatives of the Kabul authorities to the eighth emergency special session of the General Assembly and states that, if my delegation has not objected to the credentials of the Kabul delegation, that should in no way be interpreted as recognition of the régime in Kabul or acquiescence in foreign military intervention in Afghanistan.

21. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): The Assembly has concluded its consideration of agenda item 3.

AGENDA ITEM 5

Question of Namibia (*continued*)

22. Mr. ZARIF (Afghanistan): The eighth emergency special session of the General Assembly has been called upon at a time when the repeated efforts of the international community have failed to produce any result as regards a solution to the Namibian problem.

23. New and serious dimensions of the Namibian problem and the total failure of the so-called pre-implementation talks early this year necessitated lengthy discussions of this problem at the resumed thirty-fifth session of the General Assembly.

24. Alarmed by the continued intransigence of the racist Pretoria régime in not complying with the decisions of the United Nations, the Co-ordinating Bureau of the Non-Aligned Countries met at Algiers in April at the ministerial level to consider the matter and to adopt appropriate decisions in order to bring pressure to bear on the Pretoria régime and its imperialist supporters.

25. The consideration of this problem by the Security Council was but another reaffirmation of the urgency of this matter.

26. New developments involving Namibia have increased concern the world over. The number of South African troops stationed in the illegally occupied Territory of Namibia has exceeded 100,000; provocations and acts of aggression against the front-line States to punish those countries for their support for the national liberation movements in Namibia and South Africa have now been replaced by the large-scale massive military invasion that has resulted in the occupation of vast areas in the southern part of the People's Republic of Angola.

27. The economic, political, diplomatic and military collaboration of some Western Powers, first and foremost the United States of America, with the Pretoria racists and those who serve them at Windhoek has been increased to a great extent in order to encourage that régime to continue its policy of occupation and aggression and thus alleviate the need for the suspension of the so-called "Clark amendment".

28. The shameless equation, by the United States and other circles, of the national liberation movements with the capitalist phenomenon of terrorism serves as yet another pretext for those countries to support the war of suppression being waged by the Pretoria racists against the peoples of Namibia and South Africa.

29. The South African Government's refusal to go along with the United Nations plan in Namibia is confirmed by the fact that it is aiming at the transfer of power to an illegal puppet administration in order to maintain its policies of domination and exploitation of Namibian human and natural resources. The strenuous attempts by the United States and some other quarters to win legitimacy for the Windhoek puppet clique can only be explained within this context. Only with the collaboration of such a clique can the exploitation and depletion of Namibian resources by the Western transnational corporations be safeguarded.

30. The attainment by the Pretoria régime of nuclear capability with the collaboration of some countries of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization serves to foster the continuation of the intransigent policy of that régime in defiance of the numerous resolutions of the Security Council and General Assembly. Such a development will no doubt pose a permanent grave threat to the peace and security of the entire globe.

31. This emergency special session should once again reaffirm the inalienable right of the people of Namibia to self-determination and national independence, including its sovereignty over Walvis Bay and its offshore islands.

32. The international community should render all-round assistance to the Namibian people under the leadership of their sole legitimate and authentic representative, the South West Africa People's Organization [SWAPO], to bring about the immediate termination of South Africa's illegal, racist and colonial occupation of that Territory.

33. The delegation of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan believes that comprehensive mandatory sanctions under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations should be imposed against South Africa. That has been demanded by the Organization of African Unity [OAU] and is firmly supported by the Non-Aligned Movement.

34. The Democratic Republic of Afghanistan expresses its militant solidarity with the people of Namibia and their heroic vanguard, SWAPO, in their just struggle for freedom and national independence.

35. As was stressed in a recent message of Comrade Babrak Karmal, head of the Afghan State, addressed to Mr. Kurt Waldheim, Secretary-General of the United Nations, on the occasion of Namibia Day:

"We believe that the United Nations has a special responsibility for the attainment of independence by Namibia. The United Nations Council for Namibia is the key to the resolution of the conflict in Namibia... The situation in Namibia today calls for a new strategy and a new effort... The first priority is to strengthen the hand of SWAPO and extend to it moral and material assistance for the attainment of its noble aims."

36. Mr. NIZIGAMA (Burundi) (*interpretation from French*): The end of this year was to have been crowned by the entry of Namibia to the community of free and independent nations. That was our ardent hope and profound desire.

37. The Pretoria régime through its intransigence, arrogance and customary bad faith dashed the hope and nullified the efforts of the international community to effect the peaceful accession of Namibia to independence. It is thus in martyrdom that the people of Namibia continue to suffer the massacres, occupation and pillage unduly imposed on them by the Pretoria masters.

38. The object of this emergency special session is not to prove the illegality of the occupation of Namibia by South Africa. The General Assembly and the International Court of Justice have already done that. Nor have we come here to publicize the hideous nature of the *apartheid* régime. This very Assembly called it a crime against humanity a long time ago.

39. The time has come, now that the illegality of Namibia's occupation by South Africa needs no further proof and that the legitimacy of the struggle of the Namibian people and the exclusive representativeness of SWAPO have acquired universal acceptance, to consider the type of medicine to be administered against the virus of *apartheid* and the strategy to be used to circumvent the impasse in which the Namibian decolonization process is bogged down and to stop the murderous folly so blithely used by Pretoria in Namibia and in the neighbouring countries.

40. The frequency with which the United Nations, OAU and the Non-Aligned Movement have had to deal this year with the question of Namibia shows with exemplary clarity the anguish and concern of the international community in view of the ever-increasing danger and threat, that Pretoria, through its daily violation of the elementary norms that dictate the behaviour of any State, pose to international peace and security.

41. We had pinned many hopes on the Geneva meeting on Namibia. South Africa, through fresh demands, each one more unjustifiable than the other, and despite the many concessions made by SWAPO, turned it into a swindle where it distinguished itself by its political inflexibility and its refusal to engage in dialogue.

42. From the position of the accused, South Africa raised its head with impunity to accuse and take to task the United Nations, which it accused rather flippantly of partiality.

43. What we have learned from the Geneva meeting on Namibia is that the more we want to negotiate with South Africa, the more inflexible it becomes and the more its allies strengthen the repressive machine of Pretoria, preaching to SWAPO the virtues of moderation and the advantages of dialogue and negotiation.

44. When the failure of the Geneva meeting became complete, with South Africa's scuttling of the peace negotiations and with the passivity of the five Western countries members of the contact group before the demise of Security Council resolution 435 (1978), whose authorship they none the less claimed, we then

turned, inspired only by the spirit of the Lusaka Manifesto,¹ to the Security Council in the hope that it would discharge in good faith its obligations under the Charter of the United Nations.

45. We were convinced that by imposing mandatory economic sanctions the Security Council would sway South Africa. We acted thus because the Council itself had already warned Pretoria that, if it did not abide by its resolutions 385 (1976), 431 (1978) and 435 (1978), the Council would be obliged, in the words of paragraph 6 of its resolution 439 (1978):

“to meet forthwith to initiate appropriate actions under the Charter of the United Nations, including Chapter VII thereof, so as to ensure South Africa’s compliance with the aforementioned resolution;”.

46. Since then the mood has changed. We are told that some people do not believe that economic sanctions could be an effective means to influence a policy. We wonder why such sanctions suddenly and in this specific case become obsolete and ineffective, whereas other countries are threatened with their use expressly to influence their policies.

47. The proposals made before the Security Council were flawed, according to those who cast the triple veto, because of their rigidity, over-hasty character and lack of maturity and realism.

48. By requesting the Security Council to impose mandatory sanctions against South Africa, the only goal of the international community was to effect a peaceful transition pending the independence of Namibia. Furthermore, the proposed sanctions would have enabled the authors of the triple veto to get their decolonization programme for Namibia moving, a programme which they had endorsed by the United Nations by means of Security Council resolution 435 (1978).

49. Thus today we are confronted by certain partners whose faith in their own decolonization process for Namibia is in doubt. Manipulating that apparent uncertainty, South Africa is consolidating its positions, developing its repressive machine and launching punitive and deadly raids against the front-line countries. The most recent invasion of the People’s Republic of Angola by South African troops is part of that context in our opinion.

50. In repeating the Kassingas, in repressing the Namibian people instead of engaging in dialogue with them, in exiling SWAPO leaders and militants, in trying to dismember the Territory of Namibia through savage bantustanization, Pretoria is hoping to mould Namibia in its own image and to perpetuate the reign of *apartheid* by means of terror.

51. The ardent feelings of sympathy that some Powers display for Pretoria’s policy and their efforts to break the political isolation which the latter finds itself in, give approval to the South African racists in their bloody enterprise against the peoples of South Africa and of Namibia. From there to vouching for the interests of the West, to stating that it is protecting Western civilization in the region; from there to distorting the question of the decolonization of Namibia by transforming it into a false East-West conflict and then demonstrating basic anti-communism—those are steps that Pretoria does not hesitate to take.

52. We remain convinced that the question of Namibia is most definitely one of decolonization under the full and sole responsibility of the United Nations. We reject any attempt through dilatory manoeuvring aimed at distorting the cause or changing the course.

53. No country, no group of countries, has the right to link or to mortgage the independence of Namibia to events, situations or developments which are taking place or may take place outside its borders.

54. The freedom, dignity and sovereignty of the Namibian people cannot be used as a means of bargaining in ideological or strategic rivalries or in a struggle for influence among great Powers.

55. The plan for the decolonization of Namibia, endorsed by Council resolution 435 (1978), must be implemented in its entirety. We see no reason at all to modify the substance of it or to postpone its implementation.

56. Decree No. 1 for the Protection of the Natural Resources of Namibia,² enacted by the United Nations Council for Namibia, must be strictly abided by. It is time that Namibia stop being the milch cow for transnational corporations. We reiterate our confidence in and support of SWAPO, the sole authentic representative of the Namibian people.

57. The spirit and the letter of the proposals made in the Security Council last April regarding economic sanctions against South Africa must continue, notwithstanding the obstacles with which they are meeting, to guide the attitude of the international community vis-à-vis South Africa as long as that country continues to deny the Namibian people its right to exist in freedom. The Assembly is thus duty-bound to reaffirm them today.

58. The aspiration of a people for freedom and dignity is both irreversible and indomitable. The struggle of the Namibian people, however painful, long and arduous it may be, must be seen in this light. Pretoria and its allies must understand that simple truth.

59. Mr. KASEMSRI (Thailand): During the resumed thirty-fifth session of the General Assembly early this year, my delegation reaffirmed its resolute stand on the question of Namibia. Our position remains the same and has even been accentuated in view of recent developments. Indeed, Thailand has consistently supported the struggle of the people of Namibia to exercise their right to determine their own future in accordance with the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, as well as the relevant United Nations resolutions, in particular Security Council resolution 435 (1978). It remains our earnest desire to see a peaceful solution of the problem on the basis of resolution 435 (1978).

60. However, since Namibia is still subjected to illegal occupation by South Africa, which has engaged in duplicity and manoeuvres to thwart the free exercise of the right to self-determination, the Namibian people have been compelled to wage an armed struggle, under the recognized leadership of SWAPO, in order to attain their freedom and independence in a united country enjoying full sovereignty over every part of its territory and resources.

61. In its statement at the resumed thirty-fifth session my delegation said:

“The right to self-determination of all peoples is surely one of the most fundamental rights vested in mankind...

“In... situations involving illegal foreign occupation and deprivation of that right, there is inevitably a serious threat to international peace and security as the occupying forces proceed to commit deliberate acts of aggression or intimidation against neighbouring countries. For instance, South Africa’s aggressive acts against front-line African States have been launched from the illegally occupied Territory of Namibia.” [108th meeting, paras. 73 and 74.]

That fact has been underlined once again by the recent renewed aggression by South African forces against Angola.

62. My delegation shares the concern of all peace-loving countries at the worsening situation in southern Africa, which seriously threatens international peace and security. It strongly condemns the aggressive acts committed by South Africa against the front-line States, including Angola. It gravely deplores the continued defiance by Pretoria of the United Nations and the international community in their efforts to find a peaceful solution in Namibia. It continues to condemn in no uncertain terms the *apartheid* policy and shameful behaviour of South Africa, which violate all civilized norms and basic rules of international law. It resolutely rejects each and every design and pretension of South Africa to retain a stranglehold on Namibia and to stifle the legitimate aspirations of the Namibian people. The world community must therefore continue to exert every kind of pressure on South Africa in trying to arrest the deteriorating situation which would lead to a conflagration engulfing a large part of the African continent. That is why my delegation deeply regrets the fact that the Pretoria authorities have felt encouraged by their sympathizers, especially in the recent Security Council meetings, to pursue their lawless and reckless adventure with impunity.

63. Thailand, which several years ago voluntarily imposed a trade embargo against South Africa, wishes to see strict compliance with the relevant United Nations resolutions by all States as well as entities, private and public. Any actions by Governments or private corporations which unjustly enrich South Africa to the detriment of the Namibian people in contravention of the principles of the Charter and United Nations resolutions must cease forthwith, irrespective of narrow vested interests or of considerations unrelated to the question at hand.

64. As my delegation previously stated, it remains true that world peace finds itself in jeopardy because of the involvement of major Powers and their increasing rivalry in such trouble spots as Namibia. Moreover, such situations give rise to the problem of refugees and displaced persons, which increases the burden on countries of first refuge, as well as on the international community as a whole, not to mention the enormous human suffering which accompanies such developments. Therefore, with regard to Namibia, as well as in similar situations, the occupying Power must be compelled to withdraw all forces as well as its illegal

presence, to cease all repressive measures against the local population and to halt the systematic plundering of the inviolable resources of Namibia, as well as of other occupied territories and countries.

65. In view of Pretoria’s unperturbed intransigence and in the light of recent developments, it is the considered and firm position of my delegation that South Africa’s obstinate refusal to implement Security Council resolution 435 (1978) of 29 September 1978, which was responsible for the failure of the pre-implementation meeting in Geneva early this year, constitutes a threat to international peace and security. My delegation strongly urges the Western contact group to spare no effort in completing the task they have themselves initiated in good faith and to avoid giving the Pretoria régime any ground for further prevarication or delay in implementing the plan, which has been accepted by all parties. To do otherwise would doom any prospect for a peaceful solution to the question of Namibia, to the detriment of all concerned. Urgency needs to be stressed, as it may already be close to being too late.

66. Mr. SANGARÉ (Mali) (*interpretation from French*): The South African régime’s persistent refusal to end its illegal occupation of Namibia despite the injunctions of the Security Council, as well as the constant utilization of that Territory to perpetrate acts of aggression against neighbouring States, obliged the States members of OAU and States members of the Non-Aligned Movement—in other words, the great majority of the international community—to call at the beginning of the year for a meeting of the Security Council in order to impose comprehensive and mandatory sanctions against South Africa.

67. The blocking tactics of three permanent members of the Security Council last April prevented the Council from meeting its special responsibilities under the Charter of the United Nations with regard to the maintenance and safeguarding of international peace and security. Since such blocking had nothing to do with the obligations of Member States under the Charter, the General Assembly, on the strength of the mandate it holds from the peoples of the United Nations, has met in emergency special session, not to draw further attention to the most heinous of injustices done to the people of Namibia but to point out the growing risks that are entailed thereby.

68. The wide participation in the debate at this emergency special session sufficiently emphasizes the legitimate concern and the determination of the overwhelming majority of States to find an answer to the grave situation prevailing in Namibia which threatens peace and security in Africa and throughout the world.

69. The question of Namibia is undoubtedly one of the most serious problems the United Nations has had to face for years. Despite various resolutions and decisions of the General Assembly and the Security Council and despite the advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice, the racist minority régime in South Africa continues to occupy that international Territory illegally. Furthermore, nothing in the attitude of the South African régime suggests a peaceful solution that could bring the Territory to independence in national unity and territorial integrity. The reports 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, the Special Committee against *Apartheid* and the United Nations Council for Namibia every year draw our attention to the strengthening of the illegal presence of the racist régime of Pretoria in Namibia and the extension to that international Territory of the abject policy of *apartheid*.

70. The other facet of South Africa's illegal occupation of Namibia is the transformation of that international Territory into a military base for the purpose of domination and aggression. The massive presence of South African troops and military material in Namibia not merely threatens peace in the region but also dangerously menaces international security. It cannot be too often stated that the proliferation of South African military bases in Namibia has a double objective: to increase repression internally so as to crush the liberation movement and to use the military bases for acts of aggression against neighbouring States.

71. In that regard, the Security Council on many occasions has vainly adopted resolutions condemning South Africa's acts of aggression. Acting in defiance of the principles of the Charter and the resolutions and recommendations of our Organization, the racist régime has recently perpetrated yet another act of blatant and unprovoked aggression against the People's Republic of Angola. It is to be deeply regretted that the Security Council was unable to condemn the aggressor for that savage act of aggression which seriously threatens international peace and security.

72. The result of the Security Council's debates on this serious question last week deeply disturbs my country, as it does all countries devoted to peace and freedom. As a result, South Africa's racist régime has been strengthened in its arrogant and intransigent attitude by the comfort and support openly expressed on that occasion by a permanent member of the Security Council.

73. My delegation shares the view expressed in the United Nations by many representatives that South Africa would be unable to pursue such a policy which threatens the peace and security of other States if it did not benefit from the multiform support that it receives from certain Western countries.

74. In such circumstances there was nothing surprising about the racist régime's behaviour at the beginning of this year at the Geneva talks. Whereas SWAPO had stated that it was ready to sign a cease-fire agreement and to accept elections under the supervision of the United Nations, South Africa once again resorted to grotesque manœuvres, playing for time in order to perpetuate its domination over Namibia and to pursue the illegal exploitation of the immense resources of that international Territory.

75. The continuing stalemate, since the failure of the Geneva talks, in the efforts of the United Nations to bring about Namibia's independence, and the worsening of the situation in southern Africa following acts of aggression by the South African racist régime, provoke deep concern in the whole international community.

76. However, the path to independence for Namibia has been set: that is, the implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978) adopted on 29 September 1978. In this regard, we fully support the tireless efforts of the Secretary-General for the immediate implementation of that resolution. Furthermore, we urge the five members of the Western contact group to bring pressure to bear on South Africa to get it to implement the peaceful settlement plan for Namibia which it initiated in the first place.

77. The delegation of Mali rejects all manœuvres by the South African occupying authorities to impose a so-called "internal settlement" on Namibia in order to impose a "neo-colonial" solution to the Namibian problem. My delegation remains convinced that the United Nations plan endorsed by the Security Council constitutes the sole basis for a peaceful settlement of the Namibian problem.

78. The illegal racist régime in South Africa has no choice but to engage in dialogue with the sole and authentic representative of the Namibian people, SWAPO, its fighting wing which embodies its hopes and which has traced the path for national liberation.

79. The people and Government of Mali reaffirm their support for the people of Namibia and SWAPO, its sole and authentic representative. We strongly condemn the barbaric acts of aggression perpetrated by the minority racist régime of South Africa against the front-line countries and we reiterate our fraternal and active solidarity with them.

80. At the resumed thirty-fifth regular session in March, the General Assembly adopted a number of resolutions on Namibia whereby it reaffirmed the inalienable right of the Namibian people to self-determination, freedom and national independence and called on all Member States and all organizations of the United Nations to discharge fully their responsibilities and act resolutely to that end.

81. South Africa's reply is well known. The Pretoria régime does not seem to have learnt the lessons of history. It does not seem to have understood that the Namibian people is also a people. Above all, it has not grasped that the aspiration for independence, freedom and dignity is the aspiration of all peoples.

82. An emergency special session calls for emergency resolutions. That is why, in the view of my delegation, the best way to bring South Africa to reason is to isolate it completely, and the most effective means of achieving that objective is the adoption of comprehensive mandatory sanctions in accordance with Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations.

83. In conclusion, I wish to stress that the delegation of Mali is ready to support all decisive and effective measures, in accordance with the Charter, aimed at a fair and speedy settlement of the Namibian question, in the interest of the Namibian people.

Mr. von Wechmar (Federal Republic of Germany) took the Chair.

84. The PRESIDENT: Before calling on the next speaker, I should like to make the following clarification.

85. In reply to the point of order raised by the representative of Zambia before lunch [10th meeting]

regarding the verbatim records of the present session, the Secretariat has indicated that urgent steps have been taken to solve the difficulties encountered. Two of the verbatim records in question have now been issued, and the others are expected to follow this afternoon or over the weekend.

86. I now call on the representative of the Federal Republic of Germany, who will address the Assembly on behalf of the contact group of five Western countries.

87. Mr. van WELL (Federal Republic of Germany): On behalf of the Governments of Canada, France, the Federal Republic of Germany, the United Kingdom and the United States, I should like to make the following statement on the occasion of the emergency special session of the General Assembly on Namibia.

88. Three years ago, our five Governments took the initiative to propose to the President of the Security Council a plan for the settlement of the question of Namibia. The Security Council endorsed this plan in its resolutions 431 (1978) and 435 (1978).

89. Since September 1978, the five countries of the contact group spared no effort to help to achieve the objective of implementing the United Nations plan. We appreciated the co-operation in this task of the African front-line States and OAU. I should like also to express our appreciation to Secretary-General Waldheim, to Mr. Urquhart, Under-Secretary-General for Special Political Affairs, to Mr. Ahtisaari, the United Nations Commissioner for Namibia, as well as to all their staff who have done so much to try to break the impasse in the negotiations.

90. I should like also to express on behalf of the five our appreciation for the constructive and creative role that you, Mr. President, personally have played in the work of the contact group from its very beginning.

91. The five have pursued their efforts through periods of hope and disappointment. Successive issues have presented themselves and progress has been made. We are convinced that, with the goodwill and co-operation of the parties concerned, solutions will be found to the remaining questions.

92. The international community was disappointed by the failure of the pre-implementation meeting which was held at Geneva from 7 to 14 January 1981. The reconvened thirty-fifth session of the General Assembly in March and the Security Council meeting the following month were occasions of sharp debate during which the Africans expressed their understandable feelings of frustration. On the ground, the escalation of military actions has made it even more necessary to reach a settlement.

93. Today we again find ourselves in a situation where, for many countries, the temptation to abandon negotiation is great. Nevertheless, our countries continue to believe that a peaceful solution is possible in Namibia and therefore we have been working actively to revive the negotiations and bring them to a successful conclusion. All parties concerned have accepted Council resolution 435 (1978) and it remains the basis for a peaceful, internationally acceptable solution to the Namibian conflict. We have been considering concrete ways to put this agreement in principle into effect.

94. The Directors of African Affairs in our Foreign Ministries have had several meetings in Washington, London and Paris. Since then, our experts have been working in our five capitals. Consultations have been undertaken between the Government of the United States and that of the Republic of South Africa. The Foreign Ministers of the five met in Rome on 3 May and then in Ottawa on 21 July. They will meet again in New York on 24 September to review the work to date.

95. Specific proposals on modalities and timing will be submitted soon thereafter to all parties concerned. These proposals, and I should like to emphasize this point, will fully respect Council resolution 435 (1978). Our proposals will concern the implementation of the United Nations plan for Namibia and will provide the added assurances we believe essential in order to gain the confidence of all parties concerned and to obtain their agreement.

96. We will need the co-operation of all parties and their willingness to reach our common goal, which is independence for Namibia. We have been particularly encouraged in this regard by the recent visit to our capitals of the OAU mission, led by the Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr. Ouko. The objective that we have set for ourselves is the implementation of Council resolution 435 (1978) in 1982. A negotiated solution is not only possible in Namibia, but it is also the only means to bring genuine peace and stability to all the people of that Territory.

97. These are the intentions of the members of the Western contact group. I am convinced that they will be understood by the international community. With the help of the parties concerned and the Secretariat, we will attain the objective of all here, namely, the internationally accepted independence of Namibia.

98. Mr. M'RANI ZENTAR (Morocco) (*interpretation from French*): When the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of OAU decided, at its eighteenth ordinary session held at Nairobi last June, that the time had come to convene the General Assembly of the United Nations in an emergency special session devoted to Namibia, OAU wanted in particular to show the world at large that the patience of the Namibian people and that of all African peoples had reached a point beyond which any further leniency towards the racist régime of South Africa would be tantamount, in the eyes of Africa, to conscious and criminal complicity with that régime.

99. But the meeting held at Geneva in January this year gave rise to infinite hopes in us, not only because it brought together for the first time round a negotiating table the authentic representatives of the Namibian people, and those of the South African Government which finally seemed to heed the arguments of the entire international community, but also and in particular because the meeting had obtained the approval of a number of Powers whose influence on South Africa remains unquestionable but whose active co-operation had long been lacking.

100. Once more, unfortunately, the South African Government adopted such a negative attitude that it became obvious that that Government purely and simply rejected the peace plan for Namibia so laboriously worked out and adopted during a remark-

able show of general consensus within the framework of the United Nations.

101. That international unanimity, which continues to be expressed in respect of the Namibian people so that it may enjoy fully and as speedily as possible its right to independence, is based not only on the reality of the inalienable rights of that fraternal African people, but also on the illegality and abusive nature of the South African presence in Namibia after the United Nations had declared, in 1966, that the racist régime had been deprived of the Mandate it exercised over the Territory—an event which had, furthermore, become an urgent necessity because of the abject racist philosophy which the régime continued to profess.

102. Security Council resolution 435 (1978) constitutes the cornerstone of any solution to the problem of Namibia and, notwithstanding present events, remains the unequivocal, unalterable framework for any action to bring about the genuine restoration to the Namibian people of all the rights that have been illegally withheld by the South African powers that be.

103. The continued equivocations by the South African régime, accompanied by an impressive and aggressive military escalation against Namibian civilian populations, as well as against neighbouring countries—and, in particular, the People's Republic of Angola, where ousted populations have found refuge—demonstrate to us, if that were necessary, that the Government of Pretoria has no intention to co-operate in the implementation of unanimous and justified international decisions.

104. The repeated and unprovoked acts of aggression against the People's Republic of Angola have, by their scope and ferocity, added a very perilous dimension to the already tragic dilemma of the Namibian people. They have also revealed to the world a disquieting trend leading straight to the internationalization of a classic colonial conflict which would have been settled immediately had the South African Government, without hesitation or delay, agreed to implement the plan of action unanimously adopted by the international community.

105. Africa's recent recourse to the Security Council not only should have resulted in an immediate termination of that criminal military escalation so dangerous to international peace, but should have finally led to the imposition on the Government of South Africa of the effective, adequate coercive measures envisaged in Chapter VII of the Charter, in order to prevail upon that Government to evaluate more soberly the present situation for which it bears sole responsibility in the unanimous opinion of mankind, which has been outraged by its intransigence and revolted by its execrable racist ideology.

106. It is because the Security Council failed in its attempt finally to assume its responsibilities in the face of the South African defiance that the Assembly is convened today in emergency special session to consider once again a situation which has deteriorated to the point of gradually endangering international peace in the region.

107. We remain convinced that the five Powers in the Western contact group are still in a position to play

the positive role expected of them by our community, provided that they remain in harmony with the international decisions already taken unanimously with their own adherence.

108. But experience has shown that South African obstinacy requires more than ordinary efforts of persuasion. This emergency special session must therefore adopt specific political and economic measures, as well as measures relating to military co-operation, in order to cut off the sources from which the South African régime traditionally draws the energy which enables it continually to flout international consensus.

109. Thus the Assembly will have contributed effectively not only to the elimination of the last colonialist bastion in Africa through the liberation of the fraternal people of Namibia, but will also have destroyed the beginnings of another pocket of international tension involving foreign influences that are far from welcome on a free African continent enjoying a complete renaissance.

110. The PRESIDENT: Before calling on the next speaker in the debate, I shall now call on the representative of Algeria, who wishes, I understand, on behalf of the group of African States, to introduce three changes to the draft resolution before the Assembly.

111. Mr. BEDJAOUI (Algeria) (*interpretation from French*): It is not only on behalf of the group of African States but also on behalf of all the 62 countries sponsoring draft resolution A/ES-8/L.1/Rev.1 that I wish to make certain changes to this draft.

112. Operative paragraph 12 would be replaced by two new paragraphs—12 and 13—which I shall read out. New operative paragraph 12 would read as follows:

“12. *Strongly urges* the Security Council, in the light of the serious threat to international peace and security posed by South Africa, to respond positively to the overwhelming demand of the international community by immediately imposing against that country comprehensive mandatory sanctions as provided for in Chapter VII of the Charter;”.

113. The new operative paragraph 13 would read as follows:

“13. *Calls upon* all States, in view of the threat to international peace and security posed by South Africa, to impose against that country comprehensive mandatory sanctions in accordance with the provisions of the Charter;”.

114. Consequently, paragraphs 13 to 15 of the old text should be renumbered as paragraphs 14 to 16. We would then insert a new operative paragraph 17 that would read as follows:

“17. *Requests* all States to report to the Secretary-General on measures taken by them to implement the relevant provisions of the present resolution;”.

Operative paragraph 16 of the old text would thus be renumbered 18.

115. Mr. President, I leave it to you in your wisdom to decide whether it is necessary to postpone consideration of a vote on this revised draft resolution until tomorrow morning.

116. The PRESIDENT: Representatives have heard a suggestion that was added to the introduction of the revisions, namely, whether we might wish to consider postponing the vote on the revised text of the draft resolution until tomorrow. I do not wish to force a decision on the Assembly, but it may be beneficial to the representatives here in this hall if I read out again, slowly, the texts that were just introduced, in which case it might be possible to proceed to the voting tonight.

117. Does any delegation wish to speak or to request that we postpone the voting?

118. Mr. KRAVETS (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic) (*interpretation from Russian*): The delegation of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic attaches great importance to the paragraphs just read out by you, Mr. President, in English and French, but we understand that the Russian interpreters did not have a copy of the text of those paragraphs. It is therefore very difficult for us to understand fully the exact meaning of those paragraphs in Russian. Our delegation therefore supports the proposal made by the representative of Algeria to the effect that, if it is possible, it would be advisable to circulate the proposals by putting them in a revised text of the draft resolution upon which we could vote tomorrow.

119. Mr. SOURINHO (Lao People's Democratic Republic) (*interpretation from French*): I wish to announce that the delegation of the Lao People's Democratic Republic would like to become a sponsor of the draft resolution as revised by the representative of Algeria.

120. The PRESIDENT: The observation by the representative of the Lao People's Democratic Republic will certainly be reflected in the verbatim record.

121. I have just been informed by the Secretariat that it would be able to furnish the revisions to the draft resolution to the Assembly within the next hour. I wonder if that would allow delegations to study the revisions so that we could proceed to the voting later this afternoon. For the information of members, there are two more speakers in the debate and so far there are three delegations that wish to explain their votes before the vote and eight delegations that wish to explain their votes after the vote.

122. Since I see that delegations wish to consult, I propose to suspend the meeting for a short while.

The meeting was suspended at 4.55 p.m. and resumed at 5.30 p.m.

123. The PRESIDENT: After consultations among delegations and with the President, I should like to inform you that several delegations have expressed the wish to postpone the vote on the draft resolution until tomorrow morning in order to allow them to obtain the full text of the changes in all the official languages and also to obtain instructions from their capitals. In these circumstances I propose that we now continue our debate and then adjourn until tomorrow morning in order to hear explanations of vote before the vote, proceed to the vote and then hear explanations after the vote.

124. The representative of Spain wishes to speak on a point of order.

125. Mr. DE PINIÉS (Spain) (*interpretation from Spanish*): This is not precisely a point of order but rather a comment I should like to make on what you have just stated, Mr. President.

126. My delegation believes that, in order to vote tomorrow, we would need time for the necessary consultations. As we are coming into the weekend, and in view of the time difference, it will be difficult to carry out the necessary consultations if we receive the documents tomorrow. Therefore I would suggest that the vote be held on Monday morning rather than tomorrow morning. I believe that there would be no difficulty in holding a meeting at 10 a.m. on Monday and then voting not later than 10.30 a.m. We would then close the emergency special session and thereafter proceed to the closure of the regular session.

127. The PRESIDENT: The Assembly has heard the suggestion of the representative of Spain: that the Assembly, instead of taking a vote tomorrow, should postpone the vote until Monday to allow delegations to contact their capitals over the weekend.

128. Mr. PIZA ESCALANTE (Costa Rica) (*interpretation from Spanish*): My delegation supports the proposal made by the representative of Spain that the vote be taken on Monday.

129. The PRESIDENT: Let me add a personal observation. We are coming to the close of a very important emergency special session discussing a very difficult item. We have already interrupted our proceedings for one weekend, and I wonder whether it might not be useful if we were not to interrupt it for a second weekend, in view of the importance of the item. Of course, I am entirely in the hands of the Assembly. I do not wish to put this to a vote, but I would ask whether there is any objection to postponing the vote on the draft resolution, as suggested by the representative of Spain and supported by the representative of Costa Rica, until Monday morning instead of Saturday morning. As there appears to be no objection, I shall take it that the Assembly wishes to reconvene for the vote on Monday morning instead of on Saturday. That means that on Monday two sessions of the General Assembly will be closed: the eighth emergency special session in the morning and the thirty-fifth regular session in the afternoon, in order that we may proceed on Tuesday with the thirty-sixth regular session. We shall now conclude our debate on the item.

130. Mr. LOPES CABRAL (Guinea-Bissau) (*interpretation from French*): We have been gathered together again here for several days owing to the need to assume, fully and collectively, a universal responsibility.

131. Mr. President, my delegation is pleased to have the opportunity to benefit once again from your characteristic gifts and to work under your guidance.

132. The eminent speakers who have addressed the Assembly, although coming from various parts of the world and sometimes reflecting differing ideologies, have expressed with the same conviction and reiterated with the same force a concern that is shared by the whole international community. The world is in the throes of uncontrollable turbulence which, if it continues, could lead to catastrophe. The selfishness of

States can no longer prevail against the recognition by the peoples of the world of the common destiny which obliges us to join together for survival. The interdependence of nations, great and small, is no longer in question; it is a weighty factor in international relations and affects the maintenance of international peace and security.

133. Economic power and military power are no longer enough in themselves to shield countries possessing them from the scourges afflicting the modern world. Economic power and military power can no longer be brandished as they were in the dark ages of colonial conquest to intimidate the poorer peoples, far less to subjugate them. The law of the jungle does not pay any more.

134. It is in the light of what we have just said that Africa's action to convene an emergency special session of the Assembly to deal with the question of Namibia should be understood. We believe that the African initiative is the result of a correct appraisal of the international situation and that it pursues a precise objective: to bring the whole international community to work together in search of a rapid solution of a problem that concerns that community as a whole.

135. It was certainly not in order to receive the condolences of other Members of the United Nations that the Africans sought and got the General Assembly to meet in emergency special session. We are not here to wage a war of words. Neither have we come to log another resolution on the question of Namibia, even were it to be adopted without a dissenting vote.

136. We are here to call for justice, a justice that can no longer be delayed. The Security Council met a few days ago at the request of the People's Republic of Angola, a victim once again of a savage act of aggression by the South African racists. Everybody knows how that meeting concluded.

137. Today one may well ask how a Government can let acts of barbarism be committed with impunity against a sovereign, independent State that is a Member of the United Nations. How can the Government of a country which claims to be the champion of law and which has a historic responsibility within the Security Council manifest such indifference to the massacres perpetrated by the racist régime of Pretoria against the Angolan population, a civilian and, therefore, a defenceless population?

138. In the name of what morality, in the name of what so-called civilization can one tolerate such misdeeds and set oneself up against a condemnation of the inhuman *apartheid* régime? What economic or strategic interests can be bartered, at the end of the twentieth century, against the life of a human being? What a shame, and what a great blow to the credibility of the United Nations!

139. The exercise of the right of veto by a permanent member of the Security Council that we saw a few days ago doubtless stems from the same implacable logic as those which in similar circumstances were witnessed before. However, this time and more than ever before, that veto is a veritable endorsement of South African aggression in Angola. It is doubtless an indirect but clear act of encouragement to the

racist *apartheid* régime to perpetuate its domination in Namibia and to maintain the peoples of southern Africa in slavery. Is the great debate on human rights over already? Everything seems to suggest it.

140. Of course, as is customary, we have received assurances that everything will be done to maintain the dialogue and to lead the Namibian people to independence. Indeed, courtesy has even been extended to the point of saying that the independence of Namibia is inevitable. What nobility of spirit!

141. However, we know—yes, we know—what has been going on for months now in Western chancelleries. We have irrefutable proof of the existence of a plan to undermine the prospects for success of Security Council resolution 435 (1978) and to impose on the Namibian people a neo-colonial solution inspired by the imperialist interests in the area.

142. We listened earlier on with great interest to the statement of the representative of the Federal Republic of Germany, speaking on behalf of the Western group of five. We feel that it is perhaps premature to say what is going to happen on 24 September. However, I sincerely hope that the events on 24 September will invalidate what I have said just now.

143. Africa is nobody's fool. If it prefers dialogue to confrontation, it is because it knows that this is the only way to preserve the world from destruction and to guarantee international peace and security.

144. In accepting the settlement plan for Namibia sponsored by the five Western countries, SWAPO, supported by all independent African countries, showed a great spirit of compromise and offered eloquent proof of its determination to contribute to the search for a peaceful solution of the Namibian problem. But this solution can lead only to the restoration to the Namibian people of its deprived dignity and its confiscated freedom. This solution must lead to the true independence of Namibia. The Namibian problem is and remains a problem of decolonization that must be settled in accordance with the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples contained in General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV). The responsibility of the United Nations is involved here and it must be assumed fully.

145. The perfidious attempts of the *apartheid* racist régime to place a different interpretation on the Namibian question and to present it as an East-West confrontation should not distract us and alter its specific nature, namely, the legitimate struggle of an oppressed people for their inalienable right to self-determination. Sham elections in Namibia can deceive no one, apart from those who organize them. Manœuvres to destabilize the front-line States, savage bombings and the destruction of the Angolan economy will in no way change the essence of the problem, which remains the same—that of the independence of Namibia, which will be either negotiated or won by armed struggle. It is time, and high time, that South Africa's allies showed signs of being realistic and contributed voluntarily to the speedy accession by Namibia to international sovereignty. Short-term interests, especially when they are so flagrantly in conflict with the elementary norms of international law, must give way to a comprehensive and balanced

conception of international relations and the relationships among nations and peoples.

146. The plundering of the natural resources of Namibia in violation of Decree 1 for the Protection of the Natural Resources of Namibia,² enacted by the United Nations Council for Namibia, impoverishes, to be sure, the struggling Namibian people, but the activities of multinational corporations of certain Western countries contribute above all to strengthening South Africa in its intransigence and perpetuating its illegal presence in Namibia. The United Nations, it is true, has adopted several resolutions condemning collusion between foreign economic interests and the racist régime of Pretoria, but the situation remains unchanged.

147. Faced with the persistence of such an attitude on the part of multinational corporations, an attitude that we can never denounce enough, we should underscore the responsibility of Governments of countries that give shelter to those corporations and refuse to adopt national legislation prohibiting such activities in Namibia, in conformity with the decisions of the United Nations Council for Namibia, which, under General Assembly resolution 2248 (S-V), of 19 May 1967, is the legal authority entrusted with the administration of this Territory.

148. For several decades now, the peoples of our planet have been showing particular confidence in the United Nations. As the custodian of universal morality, the United Nations must be able to adjust its structure and its mode of operation to the requirements of the community of nations which has seen its circle increase and its influence spread throughout the world, thanks particularly to the formidable entry into the concert of independent nations of scores of formerly oppressed peoples.

149. The credibility of the Organization must be maintained, if not strengthened. The United Nations must be able to shoulder its responsibilities fully—above all, when it is a matter, as in the question of Namibia, of contributing to international peace and security by imposing justice.

150. Now, justice demands that we act quickly, as I said, in the quest for Namibian independence. A collective responsibility rests on our shoulders, for this is primarily a matter of restoring to a people its most legitimate rights. We have all subscribed to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, but is not the first and primary right of every individual everywhere the right to life itself? The people of Namibia is suffering a martyrdom that must be ended if we wish to act, in the fullest and highest sense, as human beings.

151. This eighth emergency special session is one more stage in the long march of the Namibian people towards independence and dignity, under the leadership of SWAPO, its sole, legitimate representative. It is the outcome of a long process marked by disappointment and frustration; it comes on the heels of a blockade created by three permanent members of the Security Council in exercising their right of veto—always that veto—in opposition to the rest of the international community last April.

152. This session reflects the precariousness of the situation in southern Africa and the seriousness of the constantly rising tension in that part of the world. It is the expression of a desire—our unanimous desire—to see the Namibian people accede to independence and finally occupy its rightful place among us.

153. This eighth emergency special session must be the expression of our common will to preserve peace by eliminating hotbeds of tension. To do so, there is one path: the path of collectively assumed responsibility, which establishes and recognizes the primacy of reason over force; the path of the interdependence of States standing united in the best interests of their peoples; and, finally, the path of justice, which cannot disregard the right of a people to freedom and life.

154. Mr. LIÉVANO (Colombia) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Ever since the United Nations assumed responsibility for the Territory of Namibia, my country has participated actively in all of the efforts made by the international community so that the Namibian people might win its freedom, independence and self-determination. Similarly, we have unequivocally supported United Nations decisions to outlaw institutions which, under the banner of *apartheid*, have sought to perpetuate on the African continent obsolete and irrational practices of racial discrimination.

155. In the same spirit of solidarity with the cause of a people which has fought bravely for its independence, Colombia today joins in the new efforts being made by this Assembly to find an adequate and final solution to the great question of Namibia—a solution that cannot be postponed indefinitely without running the risk of raising serious doubts about the effectiveness of this international Organization. A solution must be found because in the Territory in Namibia there survive, as in a last redoubt, those characteristics of the old colonial system which, were they to continue in Namibia and in southern Africa, would transform that area into a dead-end for the spirit of justice, which, in the last 50 years, has contributed to erasing from the face of the earth many of the inequalities and injustices of which defenceless peoples were victims in the past.

156. Hence my delegation wishes at this time to voice its concern over the visible deterioration of the situation in Namibia as a result of the systematic refusal of South Africa to comply with United Nations resolutions and because of the new difficulties created by the intrusion of ideologies and power-plays alien to the region. The fact that, rather than progressing, things are retrogressing is most unfortunate, particularly at a time when the international community must complete the great process of emancipation of the African continent with the independence of Namibia.

157. Since the tendency to set aside the United Nations when it comes to the most serious problems of international life has obviously not yielded satisfactory results in the case of Namibia, it may well be said that this failure indicates the need for the

United Nations to undertake without delay all of the functions assigned to it under the Charter of the United Nations and make use of the effective instruments and machinery provided for in the Charter in order to prevent a continuation of a conflict in southern Africa that could acquire unforeseeable dimensions and seriously endanger international peace.

158. My Government, accordingly, trusts that countries interested in the problem of Namibia will strive to bring about the indispensable rapprochements and concessions so as to achieve a solution that will

once and for all ensure full and prompt justice for the Namibian people.

The meeting rose at 6 p.m.

NOTES

1. See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-fourth Session, Annexes*, agenda item 106, document A/7754.
2. *Ibid.*, *Thirty-fifth Session, Supplement No. 24*, vol. I, annex II.