



SECURITY COUNCIL OFFICIAL RECORDS

THIRTY-THIRD YEAR

2103rd MEETING: 4 DECEMBER 1978

NEW YORK

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NOTE

Symbols of United Nations documents are composed of capital letters combined with figures. Mention of such a symbol indicates a reference to a United Nations document.

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The resolutions of the Security Council, numbered in accordance with a system adopted in 1964, are published in yearly volumes of *Resolutions and Decisions of the Security Council*. The new system, which has been applied retroactively to resolutions adopted before 1 January 1965, became fully operative on that date.

2103rd MEETING

Held in New York on Monday, 4 December 1978, at 3 p.m.

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

Present: The representatives of the following States: Bolivia, Canada, China, Czechoslovakia, France, Gabon, Germany, Federal Republic of, India, Kuwait, Mauritius, Nigeria, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Venezuela.

Provisional agenda (S/Agenda/2103)

1. Adoption of the agenda

2. The situation in Namibia:

Letter dated 1 December 1978 from the Chargé d'Affaires a.i. of the Permanent Mission of the Congo to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/12945)

The meeting was called to order at 4 p.m.

Expression of thanks to the retiring President

1. The PRESIDENT: It is my very pleasant duty, as this is the first meeting of the Security Council for the month of December, to express appreciation on behalf of the members of the Council to Mr. Léon N'Dong, representative of Gabon for his services as President of the Council for the month of November. On behalf of the members of the Council, I pay a tribute to him for the admirable manner in which, with great diplomatic skill, tact and courtesy, he presided over the Council's work last month.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The situation in Namibia:

Letter dated 1 December 1978 from the Chargé D'Affaires a.i. of the Permanent Mission of the Congo to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/12945)

2. The PRESIDENT: I wish to inform members of the Council that I have received letters from the representatives of the Congo and Angola in which they request to be invited to participate in the discussion. In accordance with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite those representatives to participate in the discussion, without the right to vote, in accordance with

the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the provisional rules of procedure.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Gayama (Congo) and Mr. de Figueiredo (Angola) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber.

3. The PRESIDENT: I should also like to inform members of the Council that I have received a letter dated 4 December from the President of the United Nations Council for Namibia which reads as follows:

"The Security Council is now considering the question of Namibia. I wish to convey to you the desire of the United Nations Council for Namibia to participate in this debate, without the right to vote. For this purpose the Council for Namibia will be represented by a delegation headed by myself, as President of the Council, and including the three Vice-Presidents of the Council, Mr. R. Jaipal (India), Mr. F. Cuevas Cancino (Mexico) and Mr. F. K. Bouayad-Agha (Algeria)."

4. On previous occasions the Council has extended invitations to representatives of other United Nations bodies in connexion with the consideration of matters on its agenda. In accordance with past practice, I propose that the Council should extend an invitation, under rule 39 of the provisional rules of procedure, to the President of the United Nations Council for Namibia and the delegation of the Council.

At the invitation of the President, Miss Konie (President of the United Nations Council for Namibia) and the other members of the delegation took places at the Council table.

5. The PRESIDENT: I wish to inform members of the Council that I have received a letter dated 4 December from the representatives of Gabon, Mauritius and Nigeria which reads as follows:

"We, the undersigned members of the Security Council, have the honour to request that the Council should extend an invitation under rule 39 of its provisional rules of procedure to Mr. Theo-Ben Gurirab, Permanent Observer of the South West Africa People's Organization to the United Nations, when it takes up the question of the situation in Namibia." [S/12952.]

If I hear no objection, I shall take it that the Council agrees to the request.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Gurirab (Permanent Observer of the South West Africa People's Organization) took a place at the Council table.

6. The PRESIDENT: The Security Council is meeting today in accordance with the request made by the Group of African States at the United Nations in a letter dated 1 December addressed to the President of the Council [S/12945]. In addition, members of the Council have before them a letter dated 1 December from the President of the United Nations Council for Namibia to the President of the Council [S/12951].

7. I should like to draw the attention of members of the Council to the following reports of the Secretary-General which are before the Council: document S/12938, which contains the report of the Secretary-General submitted pursuant to paragraph 7 of resolution 439 (1978), and document S/12950, containing the supplementary report of the Secretary-General submitted pursuant to the same resolution. Members of the Council also have before them a letter dated 4 December from the representative of Angola to the President of the Council [S/12953].

8. The first speaker is the representative of the Congo, who wishes to make a statement in his capacity as Chairman of the Group of African States at the United Nations for the month of December. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

9. Mr. GAYAMA (Congo) (*interpretation from French*): On behalf of the African Group, I should like to congratulate you, Sir, on your accession to the presidency of the Security Council for this month. In your eminent person, it is also your great country, the Federal Republic of Germany, that is being honoured. We regard it, too, as a happy symbol because of the close links between your country and Africa in a wide variety of fields, and also because of the active part your Government has taken, within the group of five Western Powers, in the recent evolution of events in Namibia.

10. For all those reasons and doubtless also for other historical reasons which are decisive for understanding the question under review—because that Territory was entrusted by the Berlin Conference of 1885 to direct administration by Germany and later placed under an international Mandate—we believe that you are particularly qualified to guide the work of the Council to a successful conclusion.

11. We also congratulate most warmly your predecessor, Mr. N'Dong, the representative of Gabon, who is one of us and who, in that capacity and because of his personal qualities, guided the work of the Council with skill and effectiveness.

12. In disregard of resolutions 435 (1978) and 439 (1978), South Africa today intends to organize elections in Namibia which the international community did not wish or propose and whose purpose is nothing less than to maintain that Territory within the movement of the *apartheid* system, which is a crime against mankind, and to ensure that the people of southern Africa will be kept in perpetual subjection.

13. Given that profound expression of scorn, two attitudes are possible. The United Nations can either behave

like an ostrich and pretend that nothing is happening, as though it did not reject the policy of *fait accompli* which we have already observed in Zimbabwe and with whose consequences we are familiar, or take the course which the African Group advocates, namely, courageously draw the proper conclusions from the role assigned by the Charter to the Security Council and the imperatives of the struggle and vigilance which the African peoples have undertaken to free their continent from the yoke of exploitation.

14. It is clear from the Secretary-General's report that South Africa intends to follow a course totally opposite to that set by the United Nations, in particular in resolution 435 (1978). The Western proposals, which Pretoria has hastened to recognize since April of this year, are thus rejected in spirit and in form, which, furthermore, was clear from the famous joint statement published following the talks between the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the five Western Powers and the Government of South Africa [S/12900, *annex II*].

15. The veil has now been torn from this cruel game which is being played with the fate of millions of men, women and children in that part of Africa. If, indeed, as the report of the Secretary-General indicates, Pretoria arrogates to itself the right to continue to be the regent of Namibia and to speak for it at the United Nations, we are entitled to ask why those elections, without any democratic foundation, are needed. Nor do we understand the relationship which the Pretoria Government establishes between its non-acceptance of resolution 435 (1978) and the commitment it makes to seek acceptance by the famous other parties concerned, namely, its puppets.

16. South Africa still resolutely chooses confrontation both with the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO), the sole authentic representative organization of the Namibian people, and with the entire international community through the United Nations when it haughtily refuses, on the one hand, to allow the United Nations Transition Assistance Group (UNTAG) to be established in Namibia and, on the other, to respect the timetable for the withdrawal of its troops so as to make possible UNTAG's establishment and the organization of free and democratic elections under United Nations supervision.

17. We see this as an attitude of provocation which is being presented as for the benefit of the maintenance of peace and security in Africa and in the world. But it is for the members of the Council, and in particular the permanent members of the Western bloc, authors of the plan which bears their names, to pronounce themselves on such enigmas which seriously diminish the credibility of the United Nations. Since the last series of meetings of the Council, the conduct of the five Western Powers has been bizarre. This deliberately enigmatic behaviour is a betrayal of the confidence which the African countries, on their insistence, have placed in them as regards trying to put an end to one of the most unbearable aberrations in the history of our contemporary world. Indeed, international opinion is still puzzled by this disturbing contrast between the feverish activity of a few months ago and this unparalleled passiveness in the face of the disdainful attitude of South Africa.

18. In any case, in African opinion Pretoria has been at the same time Munich and Canossa. The Fascist régime pretends to play a game of peace so as to prepare for war before those who are too credulous, and then to strike the final blow at those who thought they could confront the dragon with a flower rather than with a rifle.

19. Since the beginning of the negotiations between the Western Powers and the South Africans, most African countries have maintained their reservations. It was obviously too good to be true that suddenly the beast was transformed into an angel of peace and had become a spokesman surrounded by respect and consideration. What the history of recent years had shown to be the true nature of the South African régime was as though forgotten, even obliterated. The Western Powers have even, to some extent, persuaded the United Nations to go back on one of its most important decisions, that revoking South Africa's Mandate over Namibia and placing the Territory under the direct responsibility of the United Nations. That was the reason for the establishment of the United Nations Council for Namibia.

20. Those inglorious compromises by the Organization were only justified by the guarantee that seemed to be offered by the commitment of the Powers allied with South Africa finally to exert on their protégé the pressures which the international community had all the time called for so as to make the South African régime comply with the requirements of the present-day world and particularly with the terms of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

21. The present situation, which they now pretend to deplore by criticizing South African treachery, was to be expected, the more so since countries as expert in diplomacy as the Western Powers must surely have realized that no advantage could be gained by negotiating from a position of weakness with a Government with neither faith nor law. The Western Powers, for reasons which still remain obscure, deliberately placed themselves in the position of supplicants of South Africa. They beseeched South Africa to grant a little peace, a little democracy, a little freedom, a little independence, and no more. Knowing how thoroughly those concepts of peace, democracy and freedom had been disregarded by all the colonial and imperialist Powers, it was more than certain that one could expect the same disregard.

22. Furthermore, colonialism and neo-colonialism are not so different, that one could imagine that South Africa would not, logically, impose its own concept of the organization of society.

23. It will be objected—and some have done so covertly—that the Africans lack realism, that they go to extremes, that they do not take into account the interest of the populations living inside Namibia, and so on. Actually, it must be admitted that there has been bad faith, even hypocrisy and too short a memory on the part of those who find that we are too demanding.

24. First of all, we wonder which of the societies or civilizations represented here would simply fold their arms

if they found themselves under a permanent threat as the African people as a whole has been for decades. Thus, to mention only Europe, which people at a given time in its history has not taken up arms to resist the invader and defend its freedom? Those who, in various parts of Europe, have fought against the hegemony of Napoleon or the fascism of Hitler, without going back to Joan of Arc and beyond, have written, often in blood, unforgettable pages of their national history.

25. As regards Africa, it is no secret to anyone that the struggle against the minority Powers in southern Africa has never so blinded us that we have neglected the smallest opportunity that might offer prospects of peace and freedom for the peoples of that region. The struggle is not only one of arms, it is also diplomatic. I shall confine myself to the declarations of the heads of States members of the Organization of African Unity at Dar es Salaam in 1964 and at Mogadiscio in 1974 and, of course, to the Lusaka Declaration of 1970, which was also adopted by the United Nations. While the African States reaffirmed therein their determination to free their continent from the yoke of its oppressors, they also made it clear that they were prepared at any time to sit at a negotiating table with their enemy, South Africa, in order to find a peaceful solution, should that prove possible.

26. The behaviour of the liberation movements recognized by the Organization of African Unity has always been inspired by this African line of conduct. Thus SWAPO, in the most significant moments in the history of Namibia, has always maintained the show of dignity and of responsibility which characterizes it.

27. The role and place of SWAPO in the liberation process of Namibia are distorted nowadays by South African propaganda, supported in this by those who have never agreed to recognize SWAPO as the only genuine representative of the Namibian people. It is difficult to fault SWAPO on this matter. Everyone knows that SWAPO itself, the only movement which correctly reflects in political terms the purpose of the aspirations of the Namibian people, is also the only one to draw the inference from the oppression in which South Africa wished to maintain its country: armed struggle of national liberation with all that it implies in terms of sacrifice, devotion and organization, all these placed in the service of the people of Namibia as a whole.

28. This is not the case of other tiny groups hastily converted by the grace of Pretoria and of certain countries into "political forces". It has nevertheless been recognized that, without the decisive action of SWAPO, there would today have been not the slightest commotion on the question of Namibia. Above all, South Africa would not even deign to speak, albeit in negative terms, of the possibility of self-determination for that Territory.

29. In so doing, South Africa is not mistaken; it has seen and continues to see in SWAPO the only force capable of constituting itself into an alternative to its authority based on *apartheid* and neo-colonialism. In the political shortsightedness which characterizes the powers of domination, South Africa and no doubt the Western Powers tried to

embarrass SWAPO by proposing formally that power should be transmitted by means of free and fair elections, from the Administering Authority, South Africa, to the elected representatives of the Namibian people. No doubt it was expected that by running for election SWAPO would be committing suicide. But the enemies of SWAPO were quickly disappointed by the reports of the secret services, which assured them of certain victory for SWAPO, above all if there were elections. One cannot otherwise explain the sudden reversal by Pretoria and the Western Powers, as is borne out by the joint statement signed by them in South Africa, in which they almost completely reverse their position in respect of the commitment contained in resolution 435 (1978) and the assurances given to Africa and SWAPO.

30. We must add that this act of diplomatic bad faith, of which there are few examples in history, except in sinister cases as in Munich which we recalled here earlier, has been carried out despite the fact that South Africa launched a barbarous aggression against SWAPO culminating in the massacre at Kassinga last June. This was to be the final solution of the problem of SWAPO, but Pretoria only succeeded in confirming the superiority of that movement over all the tribal groups which had set themselves up as political forces at the Turnhalle meeting.

31. These comments should leave no room for misunderstanding regarding the way in which we should now consider this situation. Indeed, it now appears clearly to us that South Africa not content with its plan of creating buffer States in the southern part of our continent, is making every effort to aggravate an already tense situation, and thereby to maintain hegemony in the region. Thus, Pretoria intends to stick to its odious policy of *apartheid* and ensure that it will last forever.

32. It is therefore clear that there can be no solution to the Namibian problem unless a start is made on the solution of the South African problem as such. We would therefore advocate that the Security Council should also envisage the situation from a global standpoint, by resorting to the relevant provisions of Chapter VII of the Charter. Because if there are to be negotiations with the *apartheid* régime now subjugating Namibia, a Territory under United Nations authority, these negotiations should not be carried on from a position of weakness. Only if South Africa is subjected to the rigours of genuine economic sanctions, beginning with a total embargo on petroleum, an embargo both effective and mandatory, can it be expected, with any degree of certainty, to comply with the injunctions of the international community as stated in resolution 385 (1976), 435 (1978) and 439 (1978).

33. The relentless way in which South Africa slanders and fights against SWAPO fully convinces us, if that were needed, that the course chosen by SWAPO is the only valid one in the present circumstances. We therefore reiterate our total, moral, political and material commitment to SWAPO in its just struggle for the total and effective liberation of the Territory of Namibia.

34. The international community will itself find that South Africa leaves us no alternative but fully to associate

ourselves with the struggle, even though, because of Pretoria's complicity with certain countries ever eager to advocate respect for human rights, this struggle is at all times represented as a fight against an angel. The struggle for the dignity and freedom of men is unlimited. Time has no bearing on the matter. The moral strength of even the most humiliated human being cannot be crushed by torture and brutality. Africans will, on the contrary, be even more determined to bring down the usurper oppressing them on the soil of their own country.

35. The PRESIDENT: The next speaker is the President of the United Nations Council for Namibia, to whom I give the floor.

36. Miss KONIE (President of the United Nations Council for Namibia): Mr. President, I would express to you the sincere appreciation of the delegation of the United Nations Council for Namibia for this opportunity to address the Security Council during this phase of its deliberations on the question of Namibia. I should like also to congratulate you on your assumption of the presidency of the Council.

37. The consideration of the question of Namibia by the Security Council since the adoption of resolution 385 (1976) was intended to establish the framework for an internationally acceptable settlement of the question of Namibia through elections under the supervision and control of the United Nations. These initial objectives have by now been utterly distorted. The manoeuvres of South Africa, in all its cynical and conniving dexterity, aim at putting the United Nations in the position of legitimizing the power base which South Africa is at this very moment creating in Namibia for its tribal puppets and neo-colonial racist supporters of *apartheid*.

38. To judge from his latest stand, the South African Prime Minister apparently assumes that the overwhelming majority of government officials in the international community suffer from some kind of acute mental deficiency. To declare South Africa's willingness to abide by resolution 435 (1978) and at the same time joyfully refer to his future discussions with the spurious representatives appointed through rigged elections as a natural next step in co-operating with the United Nations is cynicism beyond belief.

39. Let us above all remain clear regarding the objectives of our discussions. The purpose of our consideration of the question of Namibia has been to ensure that in fair elections under the supervision and control of the United Nations, SWAPO, recognized by the Organization of African Unity and the United Nations as the sole and authentic representative of the Namibian people, will be able to show to the international community the overwhelming support which it enjoys amongst the Namibian people. South Africa, while pretending through official talks to accept such fair elections under the supervision and control of the United Nations, has continuously, through statements issued by its leading Government officials, systematically rejected any possibility of SWAPO's becoming the formal political authority in Namibia through elections. The entire process of these talks aimed at an internationally acceptable settlement has thus been vitiated from the very beginning

through the duplicity inherent in South Africa's policy objectives.

40. To pretend, as some do, that to declare the elections which South Africa is perpetrating today on the Namibian people null and void is to rule out the significance of the manoeuvre, is either incredible naivety or doubtful good faith. While the decision of the Security Council declaring such elections null and void denies them any legitimacy in the international community, it cannot prevent South Africa from creating a power base in Namibia, the beneficiaries of which will be South Africa's tribal puppets and the neo-colonial racist supporters of *apartheid*. This then is the substance of the matter which now confronts the Council.

41. The idea that once these elections are completed South Africa will merrily accept a second round of elections to which it will gracefully invite the United Nations, thereby fulfilling its responsibilities under resolutions 385 (1976), 431 (1978), 432 (1978), 435 (1978) and 439 (1978), is self-delusion or worse. South Africa's intention is to entrench its clique of neo-colonial puppets in power through these rigged elections to ensure indefinitely its ruthless exploitation of the people and resources of Namibia.

42. In its frenzied arrogance, South Africa is beginning its so-called elections today in an atmosphere of terror and is conducting mass arrests of all Namibian patriots who see through this sordid manoeuvring. I am informed that the South African security police have arrested Daniel Tjongero, Vice-Chairman of SWAPO, at Windhoek, Mokgenedi Tlhabanello, Secretary for Information of SWAPO, Lucia Hamutenya, Secretary for Legal Affairs of SWAPO, Axel Johannes, Administrative Secretary of SWAPO, John Konyero, senior official of SWAPO Youth League, and Solomon Gamatham, Deputy Secretary for Transport. These Namibian patriots and SWAPO officials were arrested in the early hours of 3 December under section 6 of the notorious Terrorism Act. A total of 80 other SWAPO supporters were rounded up and gaoled. So much for free elections under South African supervision and control.

43. South African objectives in Namibia have always been either the annexation of Namibia or the complete control of the Government, people and resources of the Territory through some kind of puppet régime. The history of the issue since the beginning of the United Nations makes this quite clear. The earlier attempts of South Africa to annex Namibia failed. Since then it has attempted the fragmentation of the Territory through its homeland policy and the brutal repression of all Namibian patriots who attempted to preserve national integrity and achieve self-determination, freedom and national independence in a united Namibia. For several decades South Africa has rejected all attempts for a negotiated settlement leading to an independent State of Namibia. The goals of South Africa now are easy enough to see. The wealth and natural resources of the Territory are immense. Its reserves of diamonds and uranium and many other minerals are irresistible booty for the racists and colonialists at Pretoria and their allies. The preservation of the heinous system of *apartheid* in South Africa depends on many factors, including the presence of a security belt

on its borders to prevent the flow of ideas and resources to the oppressed majority of the people of South Africa. In order to keep Namibia weak, South Africa intends to promote the preservation of the homelands with all its consequences of disintegration for Namibia.

44. This has been the pattern of South African behaviour with regard to Namibia and the basis of its implacable defiance of the well-considered views of the international community.

45. In 1967 the United Nations created the United Nations Council for Namibia to administer the Territory until independence was achieved. Throughout more than a decade the Council has supported the legitimate struggle of the Namibian people to achieve self-determination, freedom and national independence in a united Namibia. The justice of the cause of the Namibian people is today recognized by a vast majority of the peoples of the international community. The Council for Namibia has represented, and will continue to represent, the legitimate interests of the Namibian people in spite of all the temporary setbacks which the United Nations may suffer in imposing the will of the majority of the international community on the recalcitrant and criminal supporters of *apartheid* at Pretoria. The Council for Namibia will continue to act in close co-operation with SWAPO, the sole and authentic representative of the Namibian people, in their struggle until genuine independence is achieved in Namibia.

46. The General Assembly, at its ninth special session, adopted the important Declaration on Namibia and the Programme of Action in Support of Self-Determination and National Independence for Namibia [resolution S-9/2] in which it defined the principles vital to the accession of Namibia to genuine national independence. The convening of the special session, moreover, constituted a decisive reaffirmation of the determination of the United Nations to compel South Africa to withdraw from Namibia and to create an independent Namibia truly representative of the aspirations of the majority of its people to self-determination, freedom and national independence.

47. Since January 1976, the Security Council has seen its efforts to find an internationally acceptable solution for the question of Namibia frequently undermined by the manoeuvrings of South Africa. The unilateral appointment of the so-called Administrator-General for Namibia was a clear indication of South African bad faith during the early stages of the talks which called for a United Nations role in the transition to Namibian independence. The unilateral registration of voters in Namibia, accompanied by all forms of petty corruption, further underlined the duplicity of the *apartheid* mafia with respect to the official talks promoted by certain Western countries. The aggression against Angola and the massacre of Namibian refugees at Kassinga further emphasized the treacherous nature of Afrikaner co-operation with the United Nations.

48. The Security Council is clearly confronted with a ferocious challenge to its authority. There can be no hesitation on the means to bring about South African compliance with the decisions of the General Assembly and the Security Council. The Council must consider applying

fully the sanctions envisaged in Chapter VII of the Charter. It is the least it can do.

49. Ultimately it is the Namibian people, under the leadership of their sole and authentic representative, SWAPO, who will have to decide on the forms and conditions of their decisive struggle to defeat the brutality of the racist clique of Pretoria. Namibian patriots have shed their blood throughout more than a decade in an armed struggle which is the symbol of the dignity and integrity of a people. No Namibian patriots will have died in vain. The sordid and brutal oppressor will eventually be defeated. Its ruthless oppression of the Namibian people will serve only to strengthen their determination and that of progressive peoples everywhere to abolish for ever the criminal insanity of *apartheid*.

50. The PRESIDENT: The next speaker is the representative of Angola. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

51. Mr. DE FIGUEIREDO (Angola): On behalf of the Government of the People's Republic of Angola, allow me to extend to you, Mr. President, our very best wishes for your presidency. Our appreciation is expressed also to the Secretary-General for his past and recent efforts in the process of the decolonization of Namibia.

52. Although the representative of the Congo has already addressed the Council on behalf of the African Group, I have nevertheless requested to be allowed to speak to convey to the international community a message and a grave warning.

53. We are at a very crucial juncture in the history of southern Africa. The process of the decolonization of the third world in general, and of Africa in particular, has been cumbersome, sometimes awkward, sometimes comparatively peaceful, at times violent and often accompanied by problems, both political and economic, of such magnitude that many of the decolonized countries are still in the painful stages of national reconstruction and the building of a new society.

54. However, Africa has seldom seen on such a scale the open and deliberate flouting of United Nations resolutions, the contempt for international law, the hostility and intransigence, the brutal military action against civilian refugees that have marked the bloodied path of Namibian efforts towards independence. None of us is a stranger to the repression practised by the racist minority régime at Pretoria, not only towards its majority citizens but also in Namibia, which has suffered a plural indignity and injury: not only the evils of colonialism but also the added and indescribable horrors of *apartheid*. Over the years, South Africa has systematically corralled the Namibian people into concentration camps, taken away from them their agricultural land and given them instead poor, infertile tracts, deprived them of their heritage, physically annihilated vast numbers, destroyed their livestock and their livelihood and turned the entire nation into a personal bantustan.

55. When I refer to the brutality inflicted on southern Africa in general, and on Namibia in particular, by the

racist South African Government, when I refer to our knowledge of South African actions in our region, I do not speak metaphorically. I do not speak only out of comradeship with the Namibian people. I speak also as an Angolan for we too have felt at first hand the full brunt of South Africa's racist attacks. The People's Republic of Angola has been subjected to numerous invasions and attacks by South African ground troops, airborne assault and constant shelling. In fact, those violations of our territorial integrity are still continuing, with the racist Pretoria Government amassing troops on our southern border. It was not very long ago that the Council heard our complaint about the South African attack on Kassinga, deep inside Angolan territory, where South African troops murdered over 700 men, women and children in cold blood at a refugee camp. Among those massacred were countless Angolans, who gave their lives in defence of the freedom of their motherland and for the freedom of their region of Africa. It may shock some members of the Council to know that the South African troops who invaded and attacked Kassinga used bombs containing a paralysing nerve gas. Many of the victims were thus first paralysed and then killed by a single shot in the neck, in the most cowardly fashion.

56. Today the international community is being mocked and the United Nations is being made a fool of by a Member State, through the so-called internal elections held under the aegis of a racist Government, to ensure the "election" of a puppet group which will continue to rubber-stamp the policies of its masters at Pretoria. In effect, Namibia will continue to be little more than a bantustan.

57. The history of the "negotiations" for the independence of Namibia has been marked by intransigence and deceit on the part of the Pretoria Government. Whenever the prospect of some sort of settlement has appeared, South Africa has seen fit to break off the talks on some pretext or other. In fact, at Angola's expense, Pretoria has contributed another phrase to its military vocabulary: the Kassinga tactic.

58. We Africans are apprehensive, and justifiably so, given the imperialist and racist structure of the Pretoria Government. What guarantees do we have that Pretoria will honour its commitments when it has never done so in the past? Moreover, it is so firmly enmeshed as an integral part of the Western imperialist system, so strongly entrenched as a part of Western offensive and defensive capabilities, so firmly entwined as part of the Western economic conglomerate, that it has declared itself, vis-à-vis Africa at least, a law unto itself. And the West, because of those same ties, is unwilling to censure South Africa. The West is willing to scold Pretoria but not to smack it where it hurts, because the Western countries are terrified that by so doing they would be hurting their own economies and their own constituents.

59. The Secretary-General's supplementary report [S/12950] makes it clear that South Africa has again managed to dodge the vital issues and succeeded once more in doing what its entire strategy has aimed at: gaining valuable time. Further, the report is supposed to contain the response of the racist South African Foreign Minister,

but all we see are deliberate vagueness and obfuscations which leave the picture as confused as before. We have gleaned from the South African response that South Africa has finally agreed to the holding of the elections supervised by the United Nations seven months after the emplacement of UNTAG, and that it will continue to retain authority in the Territory even after the so-called internal elections. Other than that we see no sign that South Africa has made any commitments, except that it will "in the course of the coming month . . . recommend to the parties concerned that resolution 435 (1978) should be implemented" [*ibid.*, para. 4 (a)].

60. This reference to "parties concerned" sounds ominous. On the one hand, we are told that the racist South African Government will retain authority in Namibia; on the other hand, there is this dangerous mention of "parties concerned". Which parties? The puppet groups that Pretoria has been patronizing in order to perpetuate its rule over Namibia? It must certainly refer to them, because the genuine representatives of the people of Namibia have all been arrested, at least all the leadership that was inside Namibia. We hear disparaging comments from the Western press on elections and democracy in third world countries. We now want to hear from the same sources their comments of "elections" at the point of a gun.

61. Namibia today is an armed camp, and the forced registration of voters, the military build-up on Angola's borders and the arrest of the genuine representatives of the Namibian people do not exactly make for free and fair elections.

62. As we see it, South Africa has left for itself a number of options. For example, it has deliberately not answered many of the vital questions raised in the Secretary-General's report of 24 November [S/12938]. Further, what is to prevent South Africa from saying that the "parties concerned" do not accept this or that proposal—meaning, of course, that Pretoria does not accept this or that proposal; what is to prevent South Africa from staging another Kassinga, just as matters appear to move forward? As it is, the racist General Jannie Geldenhuys, commander of the racist troops in Namibia, is quoted in today's reports as saying that the number of incidents involving freedom fighters in October was the highest since May, and one of the highest since April 1966. In actual terms, we are no further along than we were in May this year, when South Africa sabotaged a forward movement by carrying out a murderous assault inside Angola. And what is to prevent South Africa from doing the same again?

63. The decolonization process for Namibia is far from complete. Neither the United Nations nor those Governments which have been involved in the process can consider their work done. In fact, it is now more important than ever that the Western Five that have been undertaking negotiations should continue with their task, not only of seeking further clarifications from South Africa but also of ensuring that South Africa will honour the outcome of those negotiations. In the same spirit, while we appreciate the work of the Secretary-General, we also appeal to him to continue negotiations and consultations.

64. As for us, we continue to support SWAPO, recognized not only by the Organization of African Unity but also by the United Nations as the authentic representative of the Namibian people. Phalanx upon phalanx of SWAPO's comrades will rise to aid them, and South Africa cannot hope to quell the tide for genuine independence in Namibia. The people of Namibia will never be satisfied by sham elections and a puppet body.

65. We are at a dangerous crossroads in the history of southern Africa. If we do not exercise care and caution, we could still fail at the final fence. That would be a tragedy not only for southern Africa, but for the world. I may sound like Cassandra, but she was right about the fall of Troy. *Até a vitória final. A luta continua.*

66. Mr. McHENRY (United States of America): Mr. President, I should like to congratulate you on your assumption of the responsibilities of the presidency of the Security Council and to pass on to your predecessor our congratulations on the job which he performed during his tenure in office.

67. The delegations of Canada, France, the Federal Republic of Germany, the United Kingdom and the United States may wish to take the floor in the Council at a later stage in order to make a fuller statement of our views concerning the current situation in Namibia. However, at this first meeting of the Council on Namibia in December we consider ourselves obliged to emphasize certain themes that are basic to the thinking of our Governments.

68. First, we want to reiterate the statement made by the Foreign Ministers of the Five at Pretoria on 19 October that

" . . . they saw no way of reconciling such elections with the proposal which they had put forward and which the Security Council had endorsed. Any such unilateral measure in relation to the electoral process will be regarded as null and void." [S/12900, annex II, para. 5.]

We have repeatedly made clear our concern over these illegal elections. Indeed, the Council will recall that on 13 November, after the adoption of resolution 439 (1978), the representative of Canada, speaking on behalf of the Five, referred to the so-called internal elections as follows:

"We do not consider them as having any significance. We will not accord any recognition to the outcome. Those elections cannot be considered free and fair and are irrelevant to the progress of Namibia to an internationally acceptable independence. We share the apprehensions expressed in this debate, most notably by our African colleagues, that this unilateral process might be used to frustrate the implementation of resolution 435 (1978)." [2098th meeting, para. 20.]

69. Secondly, we are deeply concerned by the actions of the police authorities during the course of this week-end in detaining without explanation prominent members of SWAPO who make their homes in and around Windhoek. Those actions have deprived a number of leading members of a particular sector of the spectrum of political opinion within Namibia of their basic human liberties of speech,

movement, press and assembly. We know a number of the men and women who have been detained and hope that they will learn of our deep concern at their detention.

70. Thirdly, the Five state that they deplore the resort to intimidation, force and violence in Namibia. While not having available to us the necessary facts on which to base an opinion as to responsibility, we strongly regret the acts of violence which took place in Namibia during this week-end. Such actions and the responses which they generate run directly counter to the effort to bring about the fair, peaceful and open democratic elections under international supervision that are called for in the proposal by the Five for the settlement of the Namibian question.

71. Finally, we should like to note from the supplementary report of the Secretary-General the statement conveyed by the Deputy Permanent Representative of South Africa on 2 December that "South Africa reaffirms that it will retain authority in Namibia pending the implementation of the proposal" [S/12950, para. 8]. The Five attach importance to this explicit recognition by South Africa of its responsibility for the unfolding of events in Namibia. We shall continue to address the variety of questions raised in the context of which I have just spoken.

The meeting rose at 5 p.m.