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President: Mr. Abdul Rahman PAZHWAK
(Afghanistan).

AGENDA ITEM 7

Question of South West Africa (continued)

1. Mr. VAKIL (Iran): Mr. President, because of brotherly ties between your country and mine and between you and myself, it gives me double pleasure to offer to you, on behalf of the Iranian delegation, our most sincere and warmest congratulations on your re-election as President of the General Assembly. We rejoice in having a statesman of a high calibre to guide us in the discharge of the difficult tasks that lie ahead of this session. Having benefited from your outstanding qualities during the last session, we are now assured that the work of this special session will be conducted with the same fairness and efficiency.

2. At the outset allow me to address a word of appreciation to the members of the Ad Hoc Committee for South West Africa for their laborious efforts which, even though not crowned with success, nevertheless constitute an important contribution. We are all indebted to its Chairman, Mr. Jakobson, for his outstanding leadership in trying to bring together the various conflicting viewpoints. We are disappointed that the Committee was unable to submit unanimous recommendations, but even in having identified the various divergencies among the different groups it has performed useful and necessary functions. It now remains for the Assembly, therefore, to move on to a decisive stage in bringing about a concerted action for building the edifice of a free and united South West Africa.

3. Despite the differences that have emerged with regard to methods of approach, we continue to be united in our resolve to enable the people of South West Africa to exercise its right of self-determination. It was this unity of purpose which gave strength and vigour to the historic resolution 2145 (XXI). In that resolution we declared in virtual unison that "South Africa has failed to fulfil its obligations in respect of the administration of the Mandated Territory". Furthermore, we decided that South Africa had forfeited its right to administer the Territory and that "henceforth South West Africa comes under the direct responsibility of the United Nations". More-

over, we resolved that "in these circumstances the United Nations must discharge these responsibilities with respect to South West Africa".

4. To implement these momentous decisions three different proposals have been made, which are contained in the Ad Hoc Committee's report. I do not intend to tax the patience of the Members by an analysis of those proposals, as this has been done more than once by colleagues speaking before me. What I do wish to examine, however, are what I regard as the three most important elements which have appeared to be blocking concerted action.

5. First, it has been suggested that the United Nations should continue to seek peaceful means to resolve this important problem; secondly, that it should seek a peaceful solution through diplomatic dialogue with South Africa; thirdly, we are asked not to rush for a speedy implementation but to allow diplomatic dialogue to run its natural course.

6. Those three elements are so closely linked to one another that they are in fact part of one basic pattern of thought or approach. Their purport is to assign a higher priority to avoiding confrontation with South Africa than to implementing our own resolution, namely, resolution 2145 (XXI). That indeed is a strange logic. On the one hand, we stress the importance of observance of the rule of law and basic principles of conduct as being indispensable for an enduring peace and harmony among nations, and on the other, when it comes to dealing with a violation of the law, we waver despite our resolve and despite our strength. Freedom, justice and democracy cannot be ensured by mere preaching of law and order. We must also stand ready to act to uphold those principles against any violations.

7. Going back to the suggestion that we should seek peaceful means for the solution of the present problem in South West Africa, I must reiterate what has been said before me, that neither the Afro-Pakistan proposal [A/6640, paras. 45 and 82] nor its offspring, the present Afro-Asian draft resolution [A/L.516 and Add.1-3], necessarily and principally envisages a coercive implementation of resolution 2145 (XXI). In fact, the Afro-Asian draft is based on the most unlikely assumption that South Africa will co-operate with the United Nations. In recommending the establishment of a United Nations council for South West Africa, it does not envisage that an expeditionary force should be sent there first to pave the way before the council can proceed to the Territory. Nor does it propose that such a force should accompany the United Nations council. Therefore it remains for the proposed council to establish contact with the appropriate South African authorities with a view to

obtaining their co-operation for the implementation of the council's mandate. The council could, in fact, undertake negotiations to thrash out the modalities of transfer of power to it in South West Africa. Should the council deem it necessary, it could also resort to other peaceful means such as having recourse to the good offices of a third party or parties to facilitate its negotiations with South Africa.

8. Under these circumstances, it would be up to the South African authorities to honour their obligations under the Charter by co-operating in the implementation of General Assembly resolutions on South West Africa. Yet it is not only possible but most probable that South Africa, acting on the basis of its habitual defiance of the world Organization, might obstruct the work of, rather than co-operate with, the council. Only in such a contingency does the Afro-Asian draft envisage the need for assistance from the Security Council to help in ensuring South Africa's compliance. Moreover, the authors deliberately refrained from spelling out in that draft resolution the specific measures which a large majority of Members would desire the Security Council to take under Chapter VII of the Charter. Accordingly it is even conceivable that the Security Council might not deem it necessary to resort to force.

9. We fully recognize that the efficacy of the United Nations decisions in the final analysis depends upon the willingness of the great Powers to act. Decisions made without their backing would amount to nothing more than pious expressions of hope. By the same token, any decisions of the great Powers lacking the support of a large majority of the Members of the General Assembly would at best be regarded as arbitrary. In resolution 2145 (XXI) we achieved unity. This unity, which is the source of our strength, we must maintain by all means. We have reached a too important juncture in this case to pull back without damaging the fabric of the United Nations.

10. Given the spirit that pervaded the twenty-first session of the General Assembly and the statesman-like co-operation of all concerned, we can and must reach agreement on the next steps. Here, the great Powers bear a special responsibility. It is our earnest hope that they will make a special effort in meeting the views of the Afro-Asian group. By doing so, they will assist the people of South West Africa to regain their freedom and independence. They will also help uphold the principles of justice and democracy but, above all, they will strengthen the pillars of the United Nations to safeguard the basic principles of conduct enshrined in its Charter.

11. Mr. KLETSEKOV (Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic) (translated from Russian): Mr. President, allow me to associate myself with the congratulations extended to you on your election as President of this special session of the General Assembly and to express the hope that your activities in this high office will contribute to a successful solution of the questions on our agenda, in the interests of peace, freedom and independence.

12. The question of South West Africa, which is before this special session of the General Assembly,

is of the deepest concern to progressive and public-spirited men everywhere in the world. And no wonder. It is high time to put an end to the imperialist policy of racial and national oppression of the people of South West Africa, a policy which is a glaring violation of the fundamental principles of the United Nations and of all humanitarian principles and which has been repeatedly condemned in the United Nations and in other international forums.

13. At its twenty-first session, the General Assembly adopted an important resolution on the question of South West Africa, which has been annexed by the South African racists. By that resolution (2145 (XXI)) it terminated the Mandate which the South African racists have used as an excuse for instituting a régime of ruthless colonial oppression in South West Africa. In line with Lenin's policy of supporting the struggle of oppressed peoples for liberation and independence, the delegation of the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic voted in favour of resolution 2145 (XXI).

14. Soviet people actively support the struggle of oppressed peoples to free themselves from colonial slavery. Our position and our sympathy with the peoples fighting for their freedom and independence are a reflection of our views and convictions. The Soviet State, whose fiftieth anniversary is being celebrated this year, by its very nature cannot but adhere to the principle of equal rights for nations great and small and to the policy of supporting national liberation movements.

15. Throughout the history of the United Nations, the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic has, together with the other socialist countries, consistently defended the interests of the peoples of countries and territories which were or which still are being subjected to cruel exploitation on the part of imperialist States. There is no need to cite many examples in proof of this statement. Suffice it to mention the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, whose historic significance can hardly be over-estimated. That significance lies in the fact that the Declaration has exercised a positive influence in intensifying the struggle of peoples against colonial oppression and the corresponding activities of the United Nations.

16. It should not be forgotten, however, that there are still a good many spots in the world where the imperialists are trying to maintain their shameful system by force of arms. The most sinister manifestation of this imperialist policy is the aggression of United States imperialism against Viet-Nam. But the aggressors will never conquer the freedom-loving Viet-Nameese people, for its righteous cause is supported by the socialist countries and by progressive elements everywhere.

17. The struggle for the independence of South West Africa is one more manifestation of the intense struggle which has been going on in the African continent between the forces of national and social liberation and the forces of imperialism. In this contest, the African peoples have won major victories. Owing to their efforts, and the active support of the socialist countries and all other peace-loving States, a continent which had been subjected to colonial and

semi-colonial oppression in its most ruthless form has witnessed the birth of many sovereign States and their active participation in international affairs. The African countries are undergoing major social and economic changes, which are to bring about their national renaissance.

18. It must also be borne in mind, however, that it is in Africa that colonialism still survives in a number of territories. It is in Africa that territories with a population of 15 million are still subject to direct colonial rule. Furthermore, over 20 million Africans are being oppressed by racist régimes.

19. Nothing but the policy of the imperialist circles of giving every possible support to colonialists and racists stands in the way of the complete liberation of African peoples, including the people of South West Africa. It is only because they are aided and abetted by the reactionary forces of international imperialism that the South African racists are able with impunity to pursue their policy of naked oppression in South West Africa.

20. The decision taken by the General Assembly at its twenty-first session to withdraw from the racist régime of the Republic of South Africa the Mandate for South West Africa means that the presence of the South African authorities in the Territory is illegal. It would have been logical to expect that with the termination of the Mandate South West Africa would be proclaimed an independent, sovereign State and that the South African racists would leave at once. But, as we all know, none of this occurred. Although half a year has elapsed since the adoption of resolution 2145 (XXI), the situation in South West Africa has not improved.

21. The Government of the Republic of South Africa openly flouts the resolution of the General Assembly's twenty-first session. Statements made by the Prime Minister of South Africa and members of his cabinet bear witness to this. Highly characteristic, for example, is a pronouncement by Mr. Schoeman, Minister for Transport of the Republic of South Africa. As reported by the UPI agency, that racist declared late last year with reference to the General Assembly resolution that the Republic of South Africa would "with all its strength" oppose all attempts to take away from it the Mandate for South West Africa. He outlined his Government's position as follows: "We consider South West Africa to be part of South Africa and, as far as we are concerned, so it will remain."

22. Obviously such declarations, which defy world public opinion, could not have been made without the many-sided support of the major imperialist Powers which are intent on making the Republic of South Africa their bastion in the fight against the national liberation movements in Africa. A sinister part in this scheme is played by the great Western monopolies.

23. In this connexion, I should like to remind representatives of a passage from a document entitled "Implications of the activities of the mining industry and of the other international companies having interests in South West Africa", which was issued by the United Nations back in 1965. The passage reads:

"The course of action which involved the annexation of South West Africa, the unconcealed pillage of

its natural wealth, and the implementation of the criminal practice of apartheid in the Territory was not merely the home-grown product of a few white colonizers from the Republic of South Africa itself, but the creation of imperialist monopolies and a group of Western Powers."^{1/}

24. The investments of United Kingdom, United States, West German and other monopolies flow into the Republic of South Africa and South West Africa in a steady stream. According to The New York Times, as of 18 January 1967 foreign capital investments in the Republic of South Africa amounted to \$4,800 million. Of that sum, over \$3,000 million came from the United Kingdom and \$600 million from the United States of America.

25. Disregarding the repeated appeals of the United Nations that they should sever their trade relations with South West Africa, the Western Powers continue to expand them. The major Western powers—the United Kingdom, the United States of America, the Federal Republic of Germany and Japan—account for 64 per cent of the Republic of South Africa's imports and 55 per cent of its exports. According to The New York Times, the United States supplies to the Republic of South Africa construction, highway and transport equipment, electric machinery and equipment, machine tools and other goods. Subsidiaries of the United States car-manufacturing companies Ford, General Motors and Chrysler turn out nearly 60 per cent of the entire output of the automobile industry in the Republic of South Africa.

26. Collaboration between the South African racists and the ruling circles in the Federal Republic of Germany is being intensified. The Republic of South Africa already leads all African countries in West German capital investment, which amounts to 500 million marks. None other than the present Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Federal Republic of Germany, Mr. Paul Lücke, said on returning from a visit to the Republic of South Africa in late March, 1967, in vaunting the "charms" of the local situation, that he had been amazed at "the dynamic life in this country, very like the European", and added that an "economic miracle" was taking place there—a miracle, naturally, where the foreign monopolies are concerned.

27. In his turn, Prime Minister Vorster of the Republic of South Africa, in an interview published in the newspaper Industry Courier in March of this year, expressed satisfaction at the close relations that had developed between Bonn and Pretoria. "There is no reason why we should not develop these very cordial relations still further in the future," he said.

28. The many-sided political, economic and military aid they receive from the imperialist Powers enables the South African racists to feel free to flout General Assembly resolutions.

29. At one time, the United Nations vigorously condemned the notorious "Odendaal plan" which called for resettlement of the indigenous population in "ethnic areas", created in the image of Hitler's concentration camps. But that action did not deter the

^{1/} Official Records of the General Assembly, Nineteenth Session, Annexes, annex No. 15, document A/5840, annex, paragraph 490.

racists from rash adventuring. Indeed, they even committed sacrilege. On 21 March—International Day for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination—the Government of the Republic of South Africa announced its intention to grant "partial self-government" to Ovamboland, which is a part of South West Africa, by turning it into the latest "Bantustan".

30. It is common knowledge what these Bantustans are. They are a caricature of self-government, where the power remains in the hands of the white racists, but is exercised through puppets chosen from among the African population.

31. The delegation of the Byelorussian SSR fully shares the sentiments of the African States, whose representatives in the Ad Hoc Committee for South West Africa and here, at the current session of the General Assembly, have stressed that this latest racist plan is "a feature of the universally condemned system of apartheid". The racist régime has transformed both South Africa and South West Africa into one vast military and police camp.

32. The Byelorussian delegation believes that the policy of the South African Government and its patrons, the imperialist Powers, is the main obstacle in the way of an early solution to the problem of South West Africa. The Western Powers refuse to withdraw their support from the South African racists, who underwrite the investments and profits of their monopolies and defend their interests in southern Africa. That is why Members of the United Nations must exert themselves to enable the people of South West Africa to exercise without delay its right to self-determination and independence, in accordance with the provisions of the United Nations Charter and the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

33. This idea has already been voiced by a number of representatives, whose views and convictions we share. My delegation supports the comments made on this question by the delegations of the USSR and Czechoslovakia, both in the Committee of Fourteen and at this special session of the General Assembly.

34. In order that the people of South West Africa may exercise its right to self-determination and independence it is essential for the South African racists to leave South West Africa forthwith, all South African armed forces and police to be withdrawn, and South Africa's administrative machinery in South West Africa to be immediately dismantled. The fifth special session of the General Assembly must resolutely condemn the political, military and economic support given to the South African authorities by the United States of America, the United Kingdom and other Western Powers. We must demand that these countries should comply with the resolutions of the United Nations on South West Africa and should cease their military, economic and political aid to the South African racist régime.

35. In this connexion, I should also like to draw attention to the attitude of certain specialized agencies towards the resolutions of various United Nations organs. Other representatives before me have made it clear that the activities of a few specialized agencies, which in fact are lending support to the South

African racists, are entirely inadmissible. Mention was made, in particular, of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, which has been granting loans to the Republic of South Africa. In addition, I should like to refer to the unlawful activities of the International Telecommunication Union, which has been shutting its eyes to the fact that the Government of the Republic of South Africa, unilaterally and in violation of United Nations resolutions, has extended the application of the 1965 International Telecommunication Convention to the Territory of South West Africa.

36. The proclamation and assurance of the independence of South West Africa will truly guarantee to the people of that country an opportunity to determine its own fate without any interference from imperialists and colonialists.

37. The United Nations, with the co-operation of the Organization of African Unity, could take the appropriate measures for the preparation and conduct of universal and democratic elections in South West Africa, which should result in the transfer of power to the population and the attainment of genuine independence by that population. The right to participate in those elections should be granted to all political leaders who have been defending the interests of the indigenous population of South West Africa. To that end, all political prisoners must be released and all political exiles must be allowed to return to their native land. The political parties and organizations which represent the country's indigenous population must be given full freedom of action.

38. The African States, acting, in particular, through the Organization of African Unity, could also lend assistance to the people of South West Africa in setting up an independent sovereign State.

39. Let us not forget that the independent countries of Africa have amassed great practical experience in fighting colonialism and its after-effects and in promoting social and political progress. The people of South West Africa could make use of that experience in creating and strengthening its national State. At the same time, the people of South West Africa must be guaranteed its inalienable sovereignty over the natural resources in which the Territory abounds and of which the international monopolies are now the absolute masters.

40. The Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, for its part, is prepared to support the implementation of appropriate measures to lend assistance to the people of South West Africa in building its own independent State. At the same time, I must say frankly that great caution should be exercised in the face of any proposals to set up special machinery to administer the Territory of South West Africa. Our apprehensions are based on well-known facts relating to lamentable past aspects of the struggle of peoples against colonial oppression—such as, for example, the manner in which use was made of the United Nations Administration and troops in the Congo, and in whose interests it was done.

41. The delegation of the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic is firmly convinced that the people of South

West Africa, with the help of the African countries and other peace-loving States, is fully able to create its own independent sovereign State. Our duty is to lend assistance to that people, so that it may, at long last, throw off the yoke of its South African oppressors and achieve freedom and independence.

42. Mr. ROUAMBA (Upper Volta) (translated from French): Mr. President, the delegation of Upper Volta would like to join with the delegations which have preceded it in expressing its sincere and warm congratulations to you on your election. We are sure that under your guidance the fifth special session of the General Assembly will succeed in finding realistic solutions to the questions on its agenda, namely those of South West Africa and of peace-keeping operations.

Mr. Csatorday (Hungary), Vice-President, took the Chair.

43. We attach very special importance to the problem of South West Africa since, in so far as it concerns the Afro-Asian delegations in general and the African delegations in particular, it is a problem which we believe will to a very large extent determine relations between the great Powers and the Third World.

44. My delegation's reaction to the attitude adopted by certain great Powers in respect of a problem which is of their own making was one of surprise and complete disappointment. There is no need to remind anyone here that it was the great Powers of the past and the present which entrusted the great task of emancipating the inhabitants of South West Africa to Great Britain and hence by proxy to South Africa. But what has become of the principles which the States members of the British Empire voiced with such heartfelt sincerity at the time of the Versailles Treaty to justify the assumption of control by the Union of South Africa over the Territory of South West Africa after it had been torn from the clutches of Nazi Germany? What has become of those Powers which believed that the attitude of the Nazis towards the Africans was shameful? Are we to understand that separate development, as advocated by the Germans, was considered intolerable solely because it was not endorsed by the major Powers?

45. My delegation is very surprised to learn that the Western Powers do not consider that the time is yet ripe for South West Africa to be freed from the yoke which they themselves have to all intents and purposes laid upon it. We are still more amazed to see the Western Powers once again proclaiming that calm and negotiation are the two best means of attaining a solution which, in their view, would be in conformity with the Charter of the United Nations.

46. Are forty-seven long years of slavery, suffering and total disregard for the most elementary rights and freedoms inherent in the person and the dignity of man not enough? Must we wait until southern Africa has become the scene of massacres deplorable in every way before our Organization will take more energetic action?

47. We are surprised to note that the great Powers do not consider the time has yet come to bring justice to the Africans in the south-west of the continent, and above all that they do not feel that the Afro-Asian

countries in general and the African countries in particular have so far shown a great deal of patience. In dealing with problems which concern small- and medium-sized nations, the great Powers ask us to be patient and realistic and to accept half measures and negotiations, whereas in all matters which come directly or indirectly within the purview of what they refer to as their "vital interests", they have no hesitation in taking up arms in their search for perfectionist solutions, mistaking their ideals for reality and hoping to create a real world out of a virtual image.

48. My delegation was disappointed to read the proposal put forward by the delegations of Italy, Canada and the United States (A/6640, para. 84). We are surprised that those Powers have felt it necessary to take a step backward despite the favourable vote during the last session of the General Assembly on resolution 2145 (XXI) which had borne witness to their sincere desire to find a solution to the problem. They suggest in effect that a United Nations Council for South West Africa should be set up in order to carry out a detailed study of the economic, political and social structure of the Territory. In my delegation's opinion such a task should be undertaken only by the future administration of the Territory. The United Nations could at most examine the economic and social situation in the Territory with a view to determining the financial and personnel needs of the provisional administration of South West Africa.

49. We do not wish to shed doubt upon the good faith of those who have proposed the study and are postponing South West Africa's accession to independence until an indeterminate date, but we do believe that the adoption of such a proposal will be a denial of justice to our brothers in South West Africa.

50. My delegation is well aware of the efforts made by the socialist countries and fully understands their concern. We believe, however, that this should not present any major obstacle and that, as in the past, the sponsors of draft resolution A/L.516 and Add.1-3 will have the support of the socialist delegations in helping the United Nations to discharge its responsibility towards our brother people in South West Africa.

51. We also appreciate the efforts made by the Latin American group, though we very much fear that the compromise solution proposed by these countries may reduce draft resolution A/L.516 and Add.1-3 to a resolution similar, at the very least, to resolution 2145 (XXI) which merely presented the problem without offering any solution. We hope that all these countries will understand our chief concerns, the more so as we all have the same colonial past and share the same hopes for the future.

52. The delegation of Upper Volta appeals to all the Afro-Asian delegations and to other friendly delegations to be firm and resolute, to unite in defence of the noble principles of freedom and the search for well-being, for brotherhood, for the safeguarding of human dignity and for the inalienable right of peoples to self-determination. Some will say that we are too idealistic for a modern society in which all human feeling seems to have been sacrificed on the altar of economic interests. That may well be so. But let us be idealistic to the end, let us show the developed countries that we are not afflicted with

the disease of ambivalence which seems to go hand in hand with development. Let us make this contribution to the United Nations, lest it fall victim to the recurrent contradictions between what some Member States appear to profess as their beliefs and what they actually do, with the knowledge of the other Member States.

53. These Powers advocate negotiations with the Pretoria régime. But we may well ask what the purpose of such negotiations would be. In view of the fact that the United Nations, in resolution 2145 (XXI), clearly decided to revoke the Mandate which had been entrusted to South Africa and that the representatives of the Pretoria régime have announced their refusal to leave South West Africa, it is illogical and disturbing that further negotiations should be suggested which would only serve to prolong this talking at cross-purposes.

54. Therefore my delegation unreservedly supports the Afro-Asian resolution (A/L.516 and Add.1-3) of which it is one of the sponsors and which, it believes, offers the most realistic solution. Following upon the withdrawal of the Mandate, the United Nations is under an obligation to set up a body to go to South West Africa and take over the provisional administration of the Territory, a body which must, of course, be given all the assistance it needs in order to perform its functions satisfactorily.

55. We should, however, like to stress a few points which we feel to be important. First, the Special Committee for South West Africa should proceed as soon as it is formed to the Territory in order to prepare the courageous people there for independence by the appointed time of June 1968 at the latest. Second, as soon as the Committee arrives in South West Africa, its first task should be to declare a general amnesty for all political prisoners and for all exiles who have been forced to flee their homeland in order to escape the clutches of the fascist régime in Pretoria. Third, we cannot accept the idea which has been put forward here that the administrative structure of the future independent Territory of South West Africa should be based on the present system imposed by the fascist régime in Pretoria on the recommendations of the notorious Odendaal Commission.^{2/} Indeed, to agree to use it as a point of departure would amount to condoning a system which the international community has condemned and which is none other than that of apartheid.

56. The delegation of Upper Volta takes this opportunity to reassert its unflinching support for those in South West Africa who are so courageously fighting to set their country free. We are firmly convinced, moreover, that the United Nations will spare no effort in finding a solution to this problem and that soon, in Africa as well as throughout the world, the white, black and yellow races, united under the banner of brotherly love, will be able to join hands in building a better world.

57. Mr. MOUANZA (Congo (Brazzaville)) (translated from French): The delegation of the Congo (Brazzaville) joins with the other delegations in extending its

^{2/} See Report of the Commission of Enquiry into South West African Affairs, 1962-63, Pretoria, Government Printer, 1964.

heartiest congratulations to you, Mr. President, on your election to the Presidency of the fifth special session of the General Assembly. In view of the outstanding qualities you displayed during the twenty-first session, it feels sure that under your wise guidance the work of the present session will proceed equally smoothly.

58. On 27 October 1966, all States Members of the United Nations, with the exception of three—France, the United Kingdom and Malawi—adopted resolution 2145 (XXI) thereby enacting a historic event. This important decision enabled the United Nations to recover its prestige and opened up a happier prospect for the indigenous peoples of South West Africa. The full support given to this resolution by the great Powers, especially the United States and the Soviet Union, aroused great hopes in all the oppressed peoples fighting for self-determination.

59. Although the motives which led the General Assembly almost unanimously to adopt this resolution are well known to everyone, they are nevertheless worth repeating. For twenty years the reactionary attitude of South Africa has been characterized by its systematic refusal to co-operate with the United Nations and its flouting of United Nations decisions. This state of affairs, which I would describe as a challenge to the international community, exhausted the patience of the United Nations and compelled it to act by taking over the Mandate which had been entrusted to the Pretoria racists.

60. The decision taken by the twenty-first session of the General Assembly to hold a special session of the Assembly shows the concern with which Member States regard this problem which has remained unsolved for twenty years. The reason for the convening of this session is clearly set forth in paragraph 6 of resolution 2145 (XXI), namely, to discuss "practical means by which South West Africa should be administered, so as to enable the people of the Territory to exercise the right of self-determination and to achieve independence". To that end, a Special Committee consisting of representatives of fourteen States was set up chiefly in order to submit a report to the present session. An examination of this report (A/6640) reveals some differences of opinion regarding the ways and means by which South West Africa can succeed in freeing itself from the clutches of a State which has raised apartheid to the level of a political system. The report contains three proposals. Preceding speakers have commented extensively upon them, but I should like to turn for a moment to the Afro-Asian draft resolution (A/L.516 and Add.1-3) before going on to examine the others.

61. In my delegation's opinion, the Afro-Asian draft is the only one which conveys the whole spirit of resolution 2145 (XXI) in a logical and realistic fashion. From 27 October, the day on which that resolution was adopted, South Africa has ceased to have any legal authority over South West Africa. The Territory must, therefore, be provided with an administration as speedily as possible. This administration—or rather this committee, as we may call it—should be established on the spot for a predetermined period of time and should speedily prepare the necessary

personnel to whom it will hand over its powers. If the committee does not meet with the necessary understanding on the part of the de facto authority, or if it encounters marked opposition—which it is certain to do if we are to go by the most recent statements of the Pretoria Government—the United Nations must continue to discharge its responsibilities. The decision to withdraw the Mandate from South Africa was an irrevocable act. However, the Pretoria racists have no intention of deferring to the general wish. It is for this reason that the Afro-Asian draft resolution makes provision for coercive measures in accordance with Chapter VII of our Charter.

62. The solution put forward by the Afro-Asians, far from being an additional source of tension in a world which is already in the throes of convulsions brought on by the nefarious activities of the imperialists—I need hardly mention them by name—is the only conceivable solution if we do not wish the United Nations to display its impotence before the whole world. Not to take such a course of action would be tantamount to encouraging South Africa in its apartheid policies and in its reactionary attitude which are shamelessly backed by certain of the great Powers whose only aim is to safeguard their sordid interests in that part of southern Africa.

63. Moreover, we need only recall the numerous visits recently paid by South African ministers to certain Western capitals in order to realize that a number of agreements on armaments have been concluded between those countries and South Africa. There is no doubt that, without the economic and financial support of the Western monopolies, South Africa would not persist in its arrogant attitude towards our Organization.

64. My delegation feels it must appeal to the wisdom of States Members of our Organization and ask them to accept objectively the proposals made in the Afro-Asian draft resolution, for every aspect of the question has been thoroughly examined in that document. In that connexion, as our colleague from Algeria so rightly pointed out (1505th meeting), the example of the administration of the Saar by the League of Nations provides us with most useful information.

65. My delegation is pleased to note the close similarity between the views expressed in the Afro-Asian draft and those put forward in the Latin American proposal (A/6640, para. 93), and it should like to pay a tribute in that connexion to the delegations of Chile and Mexico, which represent the Latin American countries. The Latin American proposal is similar to our own in that it advocates the setting up of an administering council with well-defined responsibilities. It departs somewhat from our proposal in that it makes no provision for remedying the situation which will arise if South Africa refuses to co-operate with the United Nations. Provision for such a situation is made in the Afro-Asian draft.

66. In addition, the idea of negotiating with South Africa does not meet with my delegation's approval. While it is true that the administering council must have contacts with the de facto authority in order to effect the transfer of power, my delegation feels that

negotiations would not be in keeping with the fact of the withdrawal of the Mandate entrusted to South Africa.

67. Finally, as regards the so-called Western proposal (ibid., para. 84), it is distressing to see that the United States, Italy and Canada can be so cynical in their attitude as to ignore both the spirit and the letter of paragraph 6 of resolution 2145 (XXI). What are they in fact proposing? They are suggesting a number of measures which quite obviously have nothing to do with the administration of South West Africa. Their proposal makes no reference to the administration of the Territory, still less does it mention a date for independence. In their eyes, of course, the administration should remain in the hands of the de facto authority and the date for independence should be left to the discretion of South Africa, a point of view which we believe was actually expressed here. They also speak of negotiating with South Africa; as friendly ambassadors for that country they doubtless know better than we do at what happy moment South Africa will be willing to relinquish the Territory of South West Africa.

68. We wish those countries would muster their courage and tell us openly what their thinly-veiled intentions are. Let them tell us that their material and political interests no longer allow them to support the resolution which they had gladly adopted. Let them say that at the time when the resolution was adopted they were merely influenced by the state of euphoria engendered by that historic debate. Let them confess that now, afraid of losing all, they want a space of five or ten years in which carefully to prepare the puppet administration which will safeguard the system of apartheid and their profitable business ventures before they can even think of independence or the well-being of the indigenous populations of South West Africa.

69. Let them confess all this and we shall understand and treat them accordingly. Have we not been told that a part of South West Africa is regarded as being worthy of self-government? Only God can know what yardstick has been applied by the imperialists and racists in determining who is worthy of self-government, especially when the country in question is an African one whose strategic position is of some concern to the advocates of white supremacy.

70. In voting for resolution 2145 (XXI), the United States, Italy and Canada, like all the other Member States, decided to withdraw the Mandate from South Africa and thereby agreed that South West Africa would thereafter be under United Nations jurisdiction. Today we find it very hard to understand how these same States can speak about further negotiations with South Africa. In point of fact, if the Western proposal were embodied in a draft resolution, my delegation would not be at all surprised to find that South Africa was one of the sponsors.

71. Under no circumstances must we destroy what we have taken so much patience and trouble to build up. We must be realistic. South Africa has already taken up the challenge and has announced that it will continue to defy our resolutions. That is a threat directed against the Organization which has firmly resolved to defend South West Africa. The eyes of the whole world

are upon us. If we capitulate it will be a catastrophe, especially as matters now stand. The United Nations cannot allow such a situation to continue without running the risk of damaging its prestige and authority.

72. The decision which we reached on 27 October was not designed merely to put an end to South Africa's arrogant attitude towards the Organization; it was also intended to assist the indigenous peoples of South West Africa as speedily as possible. The South West African people have suffered for too long. They have appealed to world public opinion and to the United Nations for help in their struggle against the most abhorrent of racist régimes which stops at nothing in applying its terrorist methods. At this very moment humiliation, misery and torture are rife in the South West Africa reserves. Yes, the indigenous inhabitants are penned in like animals and have been condemned to spend their life in concentration camps.

73. There are some here who claim that our proposals are hardly realistic because the application of coercive measures would lead to a confrontation which might endanger the peace of the world. But to our critics we would ask whether it is also in the name of peace that the Americans, good Samaritans that they are, are scattering bombs and gas over the peaceful population of Viet-Nam? Is it perhaps in the name of that same peace that a white minority of headstrong racists is torturing the courageous people of Zimbabwe? Is it also in the name of that same peace that the British are killing the nationalists in the Persian Gulf?

74. In no circumstances do we wish to see blood flow in Africa, or for that matter anywhere else in the world. What the peoples of Africa and Asia are calling for is the immediate liberation of the Territory of South West Africa. It would be truly inhuman and criminal to postpone its independence.

75. The policy of the Republic of South Africa is in our view a crime against humanity, and as long as no solution is found peace in that part of Africa cannot but be precarious. That is why my delegation calls upon all Member States to whom peace and justice are dear to support the draft resolution submitted by the Afro-Asian countries.

76. Mr. RWAMARO (Uganda): Mr. President, may I first of all associate my delegation with those who have spoken before me in congratulating you upon your unanimous election to the Presidency of the General Assembly at this special session. My delegation is confident that, with your wisdom and guidance which were so superbly demonstrated during the twenty-first session, our deliberations during this special session will be crowned with success.

77. I also wish to pay tribute to the Chairman and the Rapporteur of the Ad Hoc Committee for South West Africa for the report which we have before us [A/6640]. While I recognize and appreciate the great efforts of and the work done by all the members of the Ad Hoc Committee, I cannot help but regret that no agreement was reached in that Committee, and that no practical means have been recommended by it for the administration of South West Africa. Instead, we are faced with a set of proposals from the various

groups of which the Ad Hoc Committee is composed. This raises many questions, among which is whether we are here to consider and take into account the vested interests of the imperialist and racist countries, or the well-being and fate of an enslaved people which has borne the yoke of colonialism for so long.

78. My delegation comes here today with a genuine hope that this special session of the General Assembly on South West Africa will find a quick and meaningful method to implement General Assembly resolution 2145 (XXI) of 27 October 1966. This is what my delegation understands to be the purpose of this special session. It would be futile if, at this special session, we were to involve ourselves in discussing alternative approaches for appeasing the Pretoria régime and its racist allies. Our mandate here is clear.

79. The independence of South West Africa is long overdue. Therefore my delegation expects this special session of the General Assembly to use the prerogative conferred upon it by virtue of General Assembly resolution 2145 (XXI) of 27 October 1966, which revoked South Africa's Mandate over South West Africa. My delegation recalls that the voting for that resolution was 114 in favour and 2 against, with 3 abstentions, thus making this about the most nearly unanimous vote ever achieved by this Assembly on any issue. We expect, therefore, that this session will come up with a decision that will make independence a reality for the people of South West Africa and remove the scourge of fear, hatred and unrest fostered by the policy of apartheid imposed by the fascist régime in South Africa.

80. There are those who argue that we must avoid confrontation and conflict in this issue because they argue that there is already enough of it. However, they forget that the only way to avoid bloodshed in this case is by implementing what was almost unanimously decided by the General Assembly. The people of South West Africa are convinced that independence is not a favour which either this Assembly or the South African régime can give or hold back as they deem fit. On the contrary, the people of South West Africa know that it is their right to be independent and they are ready to fight for it with force if need be. Therefore, if there is fear on the part of certain delegations that, by implementing General Assembly resolution 2145 (XXI), we should provoke a confrontation with a racist minority régime in South Africa, my delegation would like to stress that that would be abdicating our responsibility to the people of South West Africa, Africa and mankind as a whole. It would be a sad day if we were to encourage the peoples of the world to lose hope and confidence in this Organization or accentuate the impression which is already apparent that this Organization is here to serve the interest of a privileged few and not mankind as a whole.

81. The historic United Nations General Assembly's anti-colonialist Declaration of 1960 marked a turning point for the whole world. Here I am referring to General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) of 14 December 1960, which among other things reaffirms the inalienable right of self-determination, freedom and independence in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations. For Africa, it was received with

special satisfaction. It would be a moral as well as a political failure for this Assembly to deny South West Africa the right to reap the fruit of that resolution. Independence is as much a right for the people of South West Africa as it is for any other colonized people.

82. When the International Court of Justice passed its stunning verdict on this matter on 18 July 1966,^{3/} it was left to this body to find a political solution to this problem. The people of South West Africa deserve special commendation for their patience in face of brutal and inhuman oppression. We should no longer delay the independence to which they are entitled by right.

83. The way we can avoid the stalemate of frustrations caused by the Pretoria régime is to adopt measures that will produce results, rather than the dilly-dally method which does nothing but play into the hands of the usurpers of Pretoria. The Afro-Asian draft resolution [A/L.516 and Add.1-3] is, in my delegation's view, a practical and effective approach which will help us to reach our goal. Persuasive means have been used for many years with no positive results. In fact the situation in South West Africa during this period has been worsening. Now time is against us, and to ask for restraint and a step-by-step method of study means going backwards. It almost means reversing our decision contained in resolution 2145 (XXI) of 27 October 1966. My delegation would like to express satisfaction and gratitude for the spirit and solidarity and seriousness of purpose shown by the delegations of Chile and Mexico, reflected in their proposals [A/6640, para. 93], which were supported by Japan. It is our earnest hope that during the next few days the differences which so far divide us will be eliminated in the same spirit that has brought us so close.

84. My delegation has always been extremely gratified by the consistent and serious fight which the socialist countries have waged against colonialism in all its forms. In this connexion, my delegation notes with understanding the position taken by the representatives of Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union in the Ad Hoc Committee. Nevertheless my delegation hopes that any differences that may exist between their approach and the Afro-Asian proposals will be ironed out in the course of this session.

85. In the view of my delegation, it is very important that we should be able to draw a clear distinction between the interests of the people of South West Africa and the interests of those countries that have strong and deep-rooted financial and economic interests in southern Africa. Unless we make that clear distinction, we shall be led to lend support to the interests of those countries.

86. I should like to reiterate that the proposals of Canada, Italy and the United States, as presented in the report of the Ad Hoc Committee [*ibid.*, para. 84], appear to my delegation to be far from what we envisage as a solution to the problem of South West Africa. In the view of my delegation, it is very apparent that the views of those countries

represent their own exclusive interests and those of their well-known allies. To my delegation, it is more than a coincidence that, whenever issues concerned with African interests come up in this Organization, it is always the same group of countries which works tirelessly to undermine those interests. Their interests are motivated by racist and imperialist considerations. Africa has been watching this trend of behaviour, and its patience is wearing thin. The African people will soon take it upon themselves to find practical means to redress the balance. This does not mean that Africa has lost confidence in this Organization; rather it means that we must show that this Organization keeps and upholds the principles and hopes upon which it is based.

87. The representative of the United Kingdom in his statement last week said, in connexion with the Western proposals: "those proposals represent a practical and sensible course on which we greatly hope that we can all agree." [1504th meeting, para. 157.] It appears to my delegation that the so-called practical and sensible course is a disguised attempt to make us ineffective and to accept and live with the status quo. Without going into detail, I would submit that it is the countries which are major trading partners of South Africa and which control southern African finances that want to perpetuate the status quo at the expense of the people of that region. The work of the session would be made so much easier if delegations put the interest of the people of South West Africa first and foremost, rather than the financial losses and gains that may be involved in the solution of this problem. Such countries not only have economic monopolies in this region but also claim to have the monopoly of wisdom to decide what is practical and reasonable. Ironically enough, this always coincides with their financial interests. On behalf of my delegation, I would appeal to those Powers to lend their support to our proposals, which are devoid of any ulterior motives and whose only object is to give the people of South West Africa the independence to which they are entitled by right. In supporting these proposals, we shall fulfil our obligations to the people of South West Africa and the Charter of the United Nations to which we all subscribe.

88. Mr. BA (Mali) (translated from French): Mr. President, it is a real pleasure for my delegation to be able to congratulate you on your election as President of the fifth special session of the General Assembly. There are some who wish to put artificial difficulties in the way of this session, but I have no doubt that with your customary mastery of international problems and your widely-recognized objectivity, you will certainly see to it that this session is a worthy successor to the preceding one, which on 27 October adopted the historic resolution 2145 (XXI), the implementation of which we are discussing today.

89. In my delegation's opinion, this special session of the General Assembly has not been convened for the purpose of discussing the shameful criminal record of the South African racist authorities, or for the purpose of revealing the extent of the economic relations which have been steadily developing and increasing between Pretoria and the major Western Powers, or yet again for the purpose of quoting

^{3/} South West Africa, Second Phase, Judgement, I.C.J. Reports 1966, p. 6.

statistics to prove the complicity of certain Powers with the South African racist régime, a fact which has unfortunately been repeatedly established and acknowledged.

90. Nor is it the purpose of this session merely to denounce and condemn South Africa once again or to pass judgement on apartheid, on the oppression and domination of millions of African patriots by South African colonial fascism. The United Nations has been doing nothing else for more than twenty years, and, regrettably, it has all been in vain.

91. The main purpose of this special session of the General Assembly is clearly defined in resolution 2145 (XXI) which states that we are to receive a report from the Ad Hoc Committee for South West Africa which has been instructed to "recommend practical means by which South West Africa should be administered".

92. This was a specific task which the Committee was unable to accomplish because of its unusual membership based on the concept of the balance of power. This concept was quite unacceptable in the case of a question of decolonization on which we were all agreed, and the Committee failed to live up to the hopes it had aroused in some of us. The result was predictable: there was complete deadlock, the disastrous psychological effects of which gave rise to the search for a compromise by means of which we would obtain another unanimous vote in the Assembly. The compromise was a difficult one, between those who categorically refuse to shoulder their international responsibilities and those who are working for the strengthening of the United Nations, between the protectors and accomplices of South Africa and those who defend the inalienable rights of the people of South West Africa, a compromise, in short, between those who would bury the United Nations and show neither confidence in nor respect for the Charter and its principles and those who, in spite of their disappointment and disillusionment, still hope to make the United Nations an instrument for decolonization and peace.

93. What kind of compromise can be achieved in such circumstances? If we had been dealing with only minor concessions having nothing to do with the basic problem, some understanding might have been reached. But the facts are quite different. On the one hand, we have the major Western Powers and those who follow them because their interests coincide. They are not concerned with the independence and freedom of the South West African people because support for them would mean the liquidation of the vital interests of Pretoria. On the other hand, we have the African nations and progressive countries which believe that to liberate South West Africa the cancer of South African colonial fascism must first be eradicated. A compromise between two schools of thought that are so diametrically opposed cannot be achieved without damage to the cause of the South West African people. Such a compromise would prolong the illusion that the imperialist Powers can be induced to recognize the need to ignore their vital economic interests.

94. The facts are, however, clear. South Africa has been relieved of its Mandate for reasons which I

need not enumerate. The Mandate having been terminated, the administration of South West Africa is now the direct responsibility of the United Nations, whose duty it is to lead the people of South West Africa towards self-determination, independence and freedom, according to the requirements of the United Nations Charter. South West Africa now has international status, and the only right which South Africa has is to leave the country. The steps which have been taken in connexion with the setting-up of a "Bantustan" in Ovamboland can be regarded only as an act of aggression, pure and simple.

95. In our view, the Organization should now concern itself only with establishing the most suitable conditions in the Territory for South West Africa's transformation into an independent State with political, administrative, economic and social structures which, with the help of close co-operation at all levels, would produce the most authentic representatives of the country. What, then, is being suggested, in the face of this clear situation?

96. The Western proposal (A/6640, para. 84), supported by Canada, Italy and the United States, while referring to resolution 2145 (XXI), recommends that during the course of this special session the General Assembly should appoint a special representative for South West Africa on the nomination of the Secretary-General. It also recommends the setting up of a United Nations council for South West Africa. Both these recommendations could be accepted if necessary, but it is also proposed that the specific task of the Special Representative should be to make a comprehensive survey of the situation, to establish all contacts that he may deem necessary, and to consult with all representative elements in the Territory in order that a nucleus of self-government may be established in South West Africa as soon as possible, and furthermore that he should be entrusted with the task of determining the nature and amount of foreign assistance required for the administration of the Territory, and the necessary conditions that would enable South West Africa to achieve self-determination and independence. The special representative is to report to the General Assembly at its twenty-second regular session on the progress made in discharging his mandate and to recommend further measures for the implementation of the decisions of the fifth special session.

97. For these countries to support such proposals and to proclaim publicly that they are not trying to open up again the question of the commitments they have entered into and have no intention of going back on, resolution 2145 (XXI) is pure sophism. We regard the mere undertaking of studies ignored for the past twenty years, the establishment of contacts and the holding of consultations as nothing but exploratory measures which will not bring independence to South West Africa until ten, fifteen or twenty years have elapsed.

98. This conflicts with the desire which the majority of us have so frequently expressed that South West Africa should become an independent and sovereign State as quickly as possible. The small beginnings of autonomy which will result from this particularly slow process of decolonization is totally remote from

our conception of what the machinery of true independence should be. Hence, without any Machiavellian duplicity, we who have now had some experience of the problems of decolonization cannot subscribe to methods which might place the question of decolonization of a particularly sensitive part of the African continent on the United Nations shelves, where, as we know only too well, it might remain for a very long time!

99. The Latin American proposal (*ibid.*, para. 93), in which the same basic proposals are made as in the Afro-Asian draft resolution (A/L.516 and Add.1-3), has been formulated with a sense of responsibility and objectivity to which we should like to pay a tribute. It takes into account the basic aims of resolution 2145 (XXI) and provides further proof of the solidarity between the Afro-Asians and the Latin Americans in defence of the joint interests of the Third World and of our common struggle against colonialism and imperialism.

100. Unfortunately, it departs from the Afro-Asian draft on a substantive question which is also a matter of realism resulting from the most enlightened pragmatism. For, after all, we are accustomed to South Africa's attitude, which is one of arrogance and scorn for the United Nations decisions which directly affect it. The statements made by the racist authorities in Pretoria on the day following the almost unanimous adoption of the historic resolution of 27 October 1966 are irrefutable evidence of their deliberate intention to oppose all our decisions. Consequently, it serves no purpose to compose fine phrases or to express the desire for a free and independent South West Africa without supplementing that desire by conditions designed to render a particular project feasible in practice. Each one of us here is convinced that the fascist Government in Pretoria will not only refuse to recognize, even in principle, the right of South West Africa to self-determination, but, as we have every reason to believe, will even oppose access to the Territory of South West Africa by any United Nations authority, be it a Special Representative, a committee or a council. That is the whole problem. If this is not the true state of affairs, let the representative of the racist settlers tell us so or have someone tell us so.

101. Thus it seems more realistic and more in keeping with our aims to append to any desire or initiative designed to free South West Africa its inevitable corollary: recourse to Chapter VII of the Charter, that is, to the use of force to ensure that our decisions are respected and carried out; in other words, the right of more than 120 Member States to oppose their strength to that of South Africa so that right may prevail. I should like to say, in a spirit of comradeship, to our Latin American friends that this attitude is not based on emotional considerations, on warlike instincts or on a spirit of revenge. In Mali we are neither racists nor are we ruled by our emotions. We stand for justice and law for peoples and nations, for the freedom of peoples, for their sacred right to self-determination and independence and for their right to shape their lives in accordance with their deep aspirations. We believe that it is right and just to defend that right, even by means of violence

and wars of national liberation, and particularly when situations have to be remedied which themselves exist only through violence.

102. In view of the great tragedy being enacted in southern Africa which may develop into a widespread and bloody racial conflict—and this is a fear based on objective analysis which has nothing to do with blackmail—we address an urgent appeal to our Latin American brothers to demonstrate once again the unity of anti-colonialist thought and action which exists among the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America by overcoming this long-standing divergence of view which is jeopardizing the Afro-Asian draft resolution that alone has a realistic approach to the problem of the independence of South West Africa.

103. We are convinced that our solidarity in the face of this question of such vital importance to Africa will lead to the triumph of a resolution which will do justice to the legitimate aspirations of the African people of that region who are being subjected to the most degrading kind of colonialism in that Gehenna in which apartheid rules.

104. The socialist countries' proposal seems to be the most fundamentally just method of approaching a solution to the problem of South West Africa by applying resolution 2145 (XXI) which itself represents the practical application of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. If it were possible to provide for the necessary material conditions to put that proposal into effect, a carefully studied process of true decolonization might eventually lead to the setting up in South West Africa of a truly independent national State able, with technical assistance from the United Nations, to build a viable national economy.

105. We could not have expected less from the great country of Lenin and the other socialist countries whose traditions of anti-colonial struggle are well known and of long-standing. Their constant and unconditional support of all liberation movements leaves no room for doubt as to their intentions with respect to the future of South West Africa. Their confidence in the Organization of African Unity does honour to all Africans, but we should like to repeat what we said last year: the Organization of African Unity does not have the means to undertake this action and it would be hard to imagine that the imperialist Powers would agree to the financing through intermediary bodies of an operation directed against their interests, which are considerable in South West Africa. Even if the financial problems could be solved, the Organization of African Unity does not at present have the administrative and technical organization which would enable it to undertake all the work involved in decolonizing the governmental structure of South West Africa. In any case, it should not take the place of the United Nations, the international Organization to which all the States members of the Organization of African Unity belong, and which bears the direct responsibility in this matter in accordance with resolution 2145 (XXI).

106. We do realize, however, that the Organization of African Unity should not be ignored in settling the question of South West Africa which is of primary

concern to it, and we can say that in this, as in any matter pertaining to that continent, the Organization of African Unity will shoulder its responsibilities.

107. We hope that the General Assembly and the Security Council will not try to avoid their responsibility, for everyone should abide by our common commitment to lead South West Africa to independence without any equivocation for delay.

108. Without wishing to give way to pride of sponsorship or co-sponsorship, and without any feelings of chauvinism, the delegation of Mali is convinced that the Afro-Asian draft resolution—which was the result of painstaking and perceptive research and makes allowance for all the elements of the situation in Africa and in the world at large—is the only one which from a realistic and practical point of view can enable our Organization to honour its commitments and to remain what it should never have ceased to be—an instrument of peace and freedom.

109. I should like to broach another aspect of that problem which we feel is both completely unrealistic and dismaying. I am referring to the proposed talks with the South African authorities, a dialogue of the deaf if ever there was one. Those who advocate this idea are pretending to have forgotten that for more than twenty years South Africa has categorically and insolently refused to give an account of its Mandate to administer the Territory of South West Africa. Even today, its extravagant sectarianism has placed it in a splendid isolation which it seems to regard with complacency, believing that it can stem the tide of history with the help of its allies, the Ian Smiths and Salazars. My delegation is convinced that it is useless to try and bring fossils back to life. The racists in Pretoria, like Ian Smith and Salazar, are relics of another age. They refuse to become men of our time, naively believing that their bloodthirsty microcosm and their world of concentration camps will be able to withstand the inexorable march of history.

110. Until the people's democratic revolution overcomes this offensive, obsolete and shameful system, there can be only one solution: the organization of an armada of peace- and freedom-loving peoples in order to stop this madness.

111. In short, we must tell those who advocate talks with South Africa that we must first have talks among ourselves in order to narrow down our differences, eliminate them and to re-establish, for the honour of the Assembly, an identity of ideas and of action to equal the splendid unanimity which led to the adoption of resolution 2145 (XXI).

112. After that, there will be further on-the-spot talks with South Africa which, if it chooses to resist, will have to suffer all the consequences of having set itself up in opposition to the united front which we shall have formed beforehand. Our strength and our triumph lie in our unity and unanimity.

113. But I should like, in conclusion, to say that our disagreements really have another origin. In fact, what is taking place today in South Africa and everywhere else where revolutionary movements exist or are developing, should be analysed in the light of the bloody events in South-East Asia, because it is

basically the struggle of the Viet-Nameese people and the manner in which the peoples of the world as a whole will react to it that will determine to a very large extent the outcome of the struggle for independence and freedom of the African peoples, including the people of South West Africa.

114. That is why these discussions seem somewhat unreal to us. We seem to overlook the international factors which have a direct bearing on everything that will take place in this Assembly in the days to come, and are content to examine proposals which we know to be ineffectual, because the basic problem is one of knowing whether or not the United Nations, and, indeed, the great Powers which are members of the Security Council, are prepared to shoulder their responsibilities with respect to the machinery for transferring the administration of South West Africa to the United Nations.

115. The basic problem is whether the great Powers are prepared to use force to compel South Africa to terminate the illegal Mandate which it exercises over this Territory.

116. It is difficult to be opposed to a war of national liberation in another part of the world and to be in favour of the one which is taking place in South West Africa, just as it is difficult to be both in favour of the use of force in South West Africa, as provided for in the Charter, and opposed to the use of force in order to effect changes in the international political status quo.

117. In circumstances such as these in which the prestige of our Organization is at stake, all we have to do now is to uphold and defend the principles to which we adhere and which we shall defend to the end, to expose those who refuse to accept their responsibilities within our Organization and to indicate the only way of preserving the inalienable right of the people of South West Africa to self-determination and independence.

118. For us, the road ahead is clear: either the Assembly and the Security Council will face up to their responsibilities and South Africa will shortly become an independent and sovereign State, or the fate of our Organization will be sealed once and for all, in which case the Africans and the truly anti-colonialist countries will have no alternative but to unite and organize themselves to provide massive support to the freedom-fighters of South West Africa.

119. It is useless to be a prophet of doom. I should like simply to recall that the father of history, Herodotus, preferred freedom at the risk of anarchy to order gained at the cost of bondage. He approved the use of arms which led to the triumph of the Greek ideal over barbarian organization, and we wonder whether it would not be the very essence of civilization to take periodically the old Hellenic gamble and to prefer freedom to order when the latter means enslavement.

120. Africa, in any case, will know how to unite and fight for its freedom. We are convinced that Africa will succeed because its cause is just.

121. Mr. SEYDOUX (France) (translated from French): The French delegation would like to asso-

ciate itself with the congratulations which have been addressed to the President of the Assembly on the occasion of his recent election. His considerable experience of our Organization and the competence with which he presided over our deliberations during the twenty-first regular session make him eminently qualified to preside over the important and difficult debates of this special session.

122. The delegations which were present at the debates in October 1966 on South West Africa might remember the doubts which we expressed at the time regarding the methods which the great majority of Members of this Assembly wished to adopt, as well as our reservations with respect to resolution 2145 (XXI) of 27 October last.

123. We are forced to admit, if we study attentively the proposals made since then and the views that have been expressed here, that the complexity of the problem and the difficulties encountered in the search for a satisfactory solution that could soon be carried into effect made it impossible to find the bases for a general agreement. This is indeed a regrettable state of affairs and we understand the feelings of disappointment it may cause, especially to our African colleagues.

124. On the other hand, it may be worth recalling that the vast majority of States represented in this Assembly are uncompromisingly opposed to any policy of apartheid. That is the position of France, which regards the racial segregation practised by South Africa in South West Africa as inadmissible. We also reaffirm that the Pretoria Government has failed to meet the obligations laid upon it by the Mandate with respect to ensuring the material and moral well-being as well as the social progress of the inhabitants of South West Africa. In particular, that Government's decision to grant separate internal self-government to Ovamboland is a political decision which alters the status of South West Africa, makes segregation in that area even worse, and is consequently unacceptable.

125. We still consider that the aim of evolution is to make it possible for the people of South West Africa freely to determine their own destiny and therefore to choose independence while preserving their territorial integrity.

126. My delegation is far from under-estimating the size of the problems that stand in the way of our achieving this result. It has reason to fear that it will not be possible to achieve that result in as short a period as it would wish.

127. Shocking as it may be, the present situation cannot be deliberately ignored. We must recognize that a de facto situation exists in this Territory, even though that situation is maintained in violation of principles which we regard as basic and in defiance of an international opinion which is becoming increasingly strong. The problem before the Assembly, therefore, is not so much that of ensuring the administration of the Territory during a transitional period, as that of determining the ways and means by which the population of South West Africa will be able to accede to independence, if that is what it wishes. Of all the solutions put to us, it would, I think, be wise

to discard the most extreme, because their legitimacy is dubious and it is most unlikely that they can be put into practice. The setback to which they might lead would only give rise to further doubts about our Organization's effectiveness, which it is in our own interest to preserve and to strengthen.

128. Thus, the French delegation is convinced that in this matter we must confine ourselves to the limits of the possible and wonders whether a first step towards the final objective should not be the encouragement, by means of contacts and talks, of consultations with the Government which exercises authority over South West Africa, in order to bring to the attention of that Government both the unanimous views of the Assembly and the absolute necessity of settling this problem. We are not unaware of the fact that there are many here to whom the idea of such talk is repugnant. But we also know that there are many who believe that sooner or later discussions will have to be held with that Government, if only for the sake of ascertaining whether, as many maintain, it will refuse to co-operate in any way whatsoever.

129. These then are the views which my delegation wished to set before the Assembly. It will be guided in its voting by the considerations which I have just voiced, by the choice which it will finally be offered, and by its desire to see South West Africa achieve independence, while at the same time bearing in mind the facts of the situation at their true worth.

130. Mr. GAMIL (Yemen): Mr. President, it is gratifying for me and for my delegation, and is indeed a source of pride, to congratulate you on your election to your high office. In electing you by acclamation, the General Assembly has accorded you well-deserved recognition of the great qualities and ability you demonstrated in the manner in which you conducted the twenty-first session of the General Assembly.

131. The General Assembly is now convened in a special session for the purpose, inter alia, of discussing South West Africa. Therefore, it should be borne in everyone's mind that this question constitutes a test case for this Assembly, and a great deal depends on whether it is able to arrive at any practical and concrete decision with regard to the urgent matter before it. If we fail once again in this issue, we shall have dealt one more blow to the principles of the United Nations Charter.

132. It is indeed very painful to my delegation, and perhaps to many other delegations who are concerned about the fate of this United Nations Organization, to know that whenever this Assembly adopts a resolution concerning South West Africa, the Government of South Africa challenges and ridicules whatever action is being taken, and that it has done so ever since the question of South West Africa was first brought to the attention of the United Nations. If the United Nations continues to give birth only to more resolutions and fails to take action, one conclusion is certain: the Government of South Africa will continue to defy this Organization for two more decades.

133. The twenty-first regular session provided this session with a unique opportunity—if we seize it—

when it adopted the historic resolution 2145 (XXI). It paved the way for our deliberations.

134. Resolution 2145 (XXI) speaks for itself. It terminated the Mandate of South Africa over South West Africa. It put the administration of South West Africa directly under the responsibility of the United Nations. It also established an Ad Hoc Committee to recommend practical means by which the responsibility of the United Nations in this matter is to be discharged. It also reaffirmed the right of the people of South West Africa to self-determination, freedom and independence in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations.

135. It is regrettable that, after hard debate and discussion, the Ad Hoc Committee was unable to produce a uniform recommendation concerning the matter. Instead, it came out with a host of proposals, some of them formal and others informal.

136. There is no need for me to repeat what has been said about each proposal, except to say that the proposal submitted by two Latin American States [A/6640, para. 93] and the African-Pakistan proposal [*ibid.*, paras. 45 and 82] both call for immediate and effective establishment of a United Nations presence in South West Africa leading to the granting of independence to the indigenous population of that Territory.

137. Where the Latin American proposal is at variance with the other is in the measure contemplated for its implementation: that is, that the United Nations council is to enter into contact with the South African authorities in order to lay down procedures, in accordance with resolution 2145 (XXI), for the transfer of the Territory with the least possible disturbance. The proposal, however, has not spelled out what will happen if the South African Government maintains its defiant attitude and refuses to enter into contact with the United Nations council.

138. It is most likely that the South African Government will do exactly that to maintain its defiance of the United Nations. The result will be that the question of South West Africa will be brought back again for debate in the halls of the United Nations and probably remain on the agenda of the United Nations until the year 2000.

139. My delegation has whole-heartedly supported the Afro-Pakistan proposal, which was ably presented by the representative of Ethiopia and subsequently became the Afro-Asian draft resolution [A/L.516 and Add.1-3], of which my country is a co-sponsor. We believe that the Afro-Pakistan proposal meets the stand of my Government not only with regard to the question of South West Africa but also with regard to all questions dealing with liberation and independence. My delegation expresses its firmest support as far as concerns implementation.

140. My delegation strongly believes that it is high time for the Assembly to pronounce itself by courageous action and not by countless resolutions. It is high time for the United Nations to emancipate the people of South West Africa and lead them to liberty and independence.

141. With regard to the racist régime in Pretoria, my delegation does not expect a miracle to happen

overnight. And as for those who believe that South Africa will come to them and voluntarily hand over the Territory of South West Africa, they are only harming the people of South West Africa and preventing this Organization from bringing South Africa back to the rule of law and justice.

142. It is ironical to hear many representatives repeatedly admitting that it is true that the South African Government has forfeited its right to its Mandate over South West Africa; that South Africa, as the Mandatory Power over South West Africa, has failed to meet its responsibility as an agent of the United Nations; that the South African Government is practising the most sinister racial system in modern history; that the South African Government, by word and by action, has demonstrated that it is not ready to accept the essential obligation incumbent upon it under the Mandate; and that the South African Government no longer has the right to carry out the sacred trust conferred upon it.

143. And yet, when the same people are asked about the alternative, not only do they remain indifferent, but they also try to prevent others from reaching any positive conclusion. Unfortunately, that is what happened in the Ad Hoc Committee and also what is happening here at the special session.

144. We all know that South Africa has systematically carried out a policy of de facto annexation of the Territory in violation of the General Assembly resolution and the advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice. South Africa has refused to cooperate with the United Nations in ensuring respect for the human rights of the people of the Territory and preparing them for the responsibility of self-determination. South Africa has refused for two decades to submit reports or accept the supervision of the General Assembly over its administration of South West Africa.

145. We can draw only one conclusion from the radical behaviour of the South African Government and its refusal to abide by the international Charter, and that is that it appears very plainly that the Western economic interests have the upper hand in the South African Government and complete domination of South African affairs. It is therefore hardly surprising to read voluminous propaganda and massive publicity defending the policy of South Africa over South West Africa, and Rhodesia, for that matter.

146. It will perhaps be useful to read to the Assembly some quotations from some of the prominent newspapers that defend the racist régime in South West Africa. This is what the World Journal Tribune has to say about this Organization:

"Absurd is not the word for the decrees voted by the United Nations General Assembly directing that South Africa yield South West Africa to the United Nations care until the Territory is fit for independence. Plain wacky fits much better.

"Here we have 114 nations spoken for by as many delegates, some of them supposedly intelligent, agreeing that the solution to the problem is to set up a small council within the United Nations by which South West Africa should be administered."

The newspaper went on to say that:

"had the General Assembly then voted to suspend the law of gravity and turn the Congo River system about so that the water would flow eastward, that would have been a full day's work. But it would also have warranted a suspicion that the world body is a collection of idiots".

147. The Chicago Tribune spoke about resolution 2145 (XXI) as follows:

"The United Nations has now rushed into what may well prove the most disastrous—and yet most pointless—venture of its career. In doing so it lost touch with reality. It voted to challenge the most powerful and prosperous country in Africa."

148. Other economic interests and defenders of South Africa speak very frankly in the Cincinnati Inquirer when they say:

"In a recent report to the United Nations Security Council, the British said their exports to South Africa amount to £200 million a year. Where in the competitive market would they find alternative markets for the motor vehicles, railroad equipment and electrical equipment and electrical instruments that now go to Capetown?

"Could the British forgo the insurance income and the freight charges they now collect from South Africa? Could they give up £60 million in foreign exchange that derives from South African investment?

"Since South Africa is Britain's third best customer, the answers to these questions should be obvious. United Nations economic sanctions against South Africa would drag down the already decreasing British pound. This in turn would involve the United States dollar and the world could very well have another 1929 collapse on its hands."

149. This is how the defenders of the South African régime think—not in terms of human worth, value and dignity, but in terms of pounds and dollars. That is the root of the matter.

150. When we turned to search for supporters of the cause of the African people in South West Africa, we found none. The only friend that must stand behind them and show them the way to peace, liberty and independence is the United Nations. That is the only friend of the people of South West Africa. Now it is up to this Organization either to fulfil the expectation of the people of South West Africa or to betray them and leave them to the racist régime in Pretoria.

151. In conclusion, I should like to reiterate my Government's position that the debate at this session will have to proceed within the sole content of resolution 2145 (XXI) and that there should be no reopening of discussion of the merits and demerits of the South African case in relation to the South West African Mandate.

152. My delegation will, therefore, oppose any proposal intended to detract from or postpone any positive action to liberate the Territory of South West Africa in favour of further studies, findings, or investigation. I need hardly emphasize that South

West Africa is a test case for the United Nations. A failure in this case will have untold consequences for the people of South West Africa and humanity as a whole.

153. Mr. ERALP (Turkey): On behalf of my delegation, I should like to extend to the representative of Afghanistan our sincere congratulations on his unanimous election to the high office of President of the General Assembly at its fifth special session. His election is a source of deep satisfaction to my delegation because of the high esteem and trust which we have for a distinguished person, and also because of the historical, traditional and brotherly ties between his country and mine. I am sure that the deliberations of this special session of the General Assembly will be greatly inspired by his able guidance and vast experience, as was the case during the twenty-first regular session.

154. Since the inception of the United Nations, the question of South West Africa has figured consistently on the agenda of nearly every session of the General Assembly. The efforts of the United Nations on this question have culminated in the epoch-making resolution of the twenty-first session which terminated, once and for all, the Mandate of the Union of South Africa over South West Africa. The resolution brought the Territory under the direct responsibility of the United Nations in order to pave the way for South West Africa's freedom, independence and territorial integrity.

155. Resolution 2145 (XXI) of 27 October 1966 has therefore left its mark in the minds and hearts of all of us as a constructive step forward in the unrelenting efforts towards decolonization and in the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. That Declaration, I need not mention, was co-sponsored by Turkey.

156. For nearly twenty-two years now, the Union of South Africa has persistently refused to implement the resolutions of the United Nations and three advisory opinions of the International Court of Justice. This Organization has adopted seventy-six resolutions urging the Government of South Africa to come to reason. But all these efforts have remained unheeded and the Assembly, in a state of frustration, was led to urgent action last year.

157. Last year my delegation supported the unqualified competence of the United Nations to deal with South West Africa and joined in sponsoring the Afro-Asian draft resolution which, after certain Latin American amendments, received the overwhelming support of the General Assembly. The Ad Hoc Committee which was set up in compliance with this resolution was entrusted with the difficult task of creating a United Nations machinery for the administration of the Territory, with a view to putting into effect the provisions of the resolution.

158. The four-Power proposal of Ethiopia, Nigeria, Senegal and the United Arab Republic, later joined by Pakistan in the Ad Hoc Committee [A/6640, paras. 45 and 82], was approved and supported by the eighth ordinary session of the Council of Ministers

of the Organization of African Unity, which met in Addis Ababa between 27 February and 4 March 1967.

159. Among the proposals put forward in the Ad Hoc Committee for South West Africa, only the African-Pakistan proposal appeared to us to satisfy the existing requirements of the situation with which we are faced. That proposal is not only consistent with the logic and the substance of resolution 2145 (XXI), but constitutes the inevitable step forward which should be taken without hesitation by this Assembly.

160. In our view, the real motives and the ultimate objectives of all the proposals which emerged from the deliberations of the Ad Hoc Committee are one and the same, namely, the achievement of independence and statehood by South West Africa; and the best means to bring this within the realm of possibility is, in our opinion, the one which finds its expression in the original African-Pakistan proposal, which is now the Afro-Asian draft resolution [A/L.516 and Add.1-3]. The machinery envisaged in this draft suits the best interests of the people of South West Africa and meets the requirements of the day.

161. Every speaker who has preceded me has insisted on concrete and constructive action. In our experience with the Organization, I can recall scarcely any instance which elicited such genuine universal demand for action. The General Assembly is indivisibly united on the objective in this issue. What divides us is the nature and, to some extent, the stages of action. The draft resolution supported by my delegation, along with fifty-eight other States, best meets the urgency and effectiveness which the final solution of this problem requires. As the representative of Ethiopia, Mr. Makonnen, wisely expressed it, the question of South West Africa is a test case for the United Nations.

162. The Ad Hoc Committee for South West Africa was given the difficult task of exploring the ways and means of creating a United Nations machinery. We have followed the Ad Hoc Committee's work closely and with great interest. As the Chairman of that Committee wisely acknowledged, the complexity of the task inevitably spurred different approaches.

163. The Latin American proposition advanced by Chile and Mexico [A/6640, para. 93] is no doubt close to the Afro-Asian draft and appears to be generally in keeping with the realities of the case. The similarity of views contained in the Afro-Asian and Latin American proposals may again pave the way, as it did in the course of the last regular session, to a resolution commanding the overwhelming support of this Assembly.

164. Turkey's firm stand on effecting South West Africa's freedom was expressed most authoritatively by the President of the Republic of Turkey during his recent State visit to the United States, when he had the pleasure of addressing the members of the Afro-Asian group of the United Nations. Those who were present at that meeting will recall that President Sunay stressed the vital importance of the question of South West Africa to the United Nations when he said:

"The problem that we are seized with constitutes a challenge not only to the United Nations, but also

to the conscience of mankind. The world waits to see whether an overwhelming majority of nations genuinely united behind an objective can also unite behind the practical means of realizing that objective."

165. To meet this challenge, the General Assembly is in duty bound to act prudently and boldly. The situation brooks of no more delay. It is in this spirit that we have co-sponsored the draft resolution before the Assembly and we commend it for approval.

166. Mr. PANYARACHUN (Thailand): Mr. President, permit me to express to you on behalf of the Thai delegation our most sincere congratulations on your unanimous election to the high office of President for the fifth special session. Your election to preside over one of the most momentous sessions in the annals of United Nations history is clear evidence of the complete confidence that we Member delegations have in you. My delegation recalls with great satisfaction the exemplary manner in which you, with customary objectivity and impartiality, led our deliberations during the twenty-first session of the General Assembly to a speedy and successful ending. Therefore we have every reason to expect that the present session, again under your firm and wise guidance, will proceed smoothly to a positive and fruitful conclusion.

167. It has always been a cardinal principle of the Government of Thailand to give full support to peoples everywhere that are struggling to liberate themselves from all forms of colonial domination. Although our attention in this matter needs, naturally, to be turned in the first place to the struggles within our immediate region of Asia, we have by no means limited our objectives and efforts to our particular area but have, instead, always tried to extend our support to all deserving struggles in whatever part of the globe they may be, and especially in the continent of Africa, where it is recognized that colonialism of the worst kind—based upon an ideology of racial prejudice and domination—is still strongly entrenched and must be combated and overcome.

168. The problem of South West Africa is a case in point exemplifying what I have just said concerning the policy of my Government as regards the worldwide struggles against colonialism. In a statement I made on this subject on 4 October 1966 I stated the opinion of my Government that the case of South West Africa was "indeed one of the poignant cases of human yearnings and aspirations for freedom and independence" [1429th meeting, para. 23]. For that reason, as I also went on to say: "The delegation of Thailand has followed with keen interest the historical and recent developments concerning the international status of South West Africa and the welfare of its native people" [*ibid.*, para. 24].

169. That interest has by no means been limited to words alone but has taken the form of concrete actions and keen participation in activities related to the destiny of South West Africa. Therefore we took an active part in bringing the case of South West Africa to the attention of the twenty-first session of the General Assembly and also in the subsequent discussions and consultations, being among the co-sponsors

from the very beginning of the Afro-Asian draft resolution which finally became, in a slightly modified form, the historic General Assembly resolution 2145 (XXI). That resolution deserves to be called historic because the United Nations was there able to take an almost unanimous decision in favour of an obviously just and deserving cause which, nonetheless, had been openly defied for so long. By thus acting with reason and determination, the United Nations has put an end to the illegal administration of South Africa over the Territory in question and has taken upon itself the momentous task of enabling the people of the Territory to exercise their right of self-determination and to achieve independence in the most orderly and quickest possible manner.

170. Such seems to my delegation to be the basis as well as the limits of the work of the Ad Hoc Committee which was subsequently established for that purpose. Therefore, in our consideration of the Committee's report [A/6640] as well as in the formation of our approach and policy regarding the problem of South West Africa during this special session, my delegation feels it right to be guided by the aforementioned understanding.

171. As we see it, consideration of the question of South West Africa during the present special session of the General Assembly must proceed from reaffirmation of General Assembly resolution 2145 (XXI) to translation of the provisions in that resolution into concrete and practical action. In trying to achieve that objective, we need the co-operation and support of all concerned. However, the absence of the support of a few should not deter us from advancing along the course set by last year's resolution. While we should strive to maintain the vital unity of action, we should not do so at the price of unnecessary delay in the implementation of the already agreed objectives. It would indeed be a disservice to us all if we were to give the impression to the world that some of the Member States that voted for the resolution were attempting to evade the responsibility that they undertook last year.

172. Many delegations which have preceded me have rightly emphasized that the terms of resolution 2145 (XXI) are irrevocable and not subject to further negotiation. The decisions of substance are as follows: first, the Mandate exercised by South Africa over South West Africa is terminated; second, South Africa has no other right to administer the Territory, and, henceforth, South West Africa comes under the direct responsibility of the United Nations; third, the United Nations must, in the circumstances, discharge those responsibilities with respect to South West Africa; fourth, the Government of South Africa is called upon to refrain from any action which would tend to alter the present international status of South West Africa.

173. In the view of my delegation, the Afro-Asian draft resolution [A/L.516 and Add.1-3], sponsored by some fifty-eight delegations, including that of Thailand, provides logical follow-up action on last year's resolution. I should like to pay tribute, in that connexion, to Mr. Adebó of Nigeria for the efforts he has made personally in assisting the Afro-Asian group in the drafting of the draft resolution, as well as for his eloquent and convincing presentation of our

draft resolution to the General Assembly last week [1506th meeting].

174. Several delegations that are not yet in a position to move forward to the extent envisaged in the Afro-Asian draft resolution have, in all sincerity, cautioned us not to take any step which, for all we know, could not be made into a reality. We were correctly reminded that South Africa "has possession of the Territory" and that we should not deceive ourselves or anyone else by shutting our eyes to practical barriers. Hence the only practical and effective means would be to explore the ground and to contact, consult and negotiate with the parties directly concerned, particularly with the de facto administration in South West Africa, namely, the Government of South Africa itself.

175. On that point, the representative of Ethiopia, Mr. Makonnen, has succinctly stated a general principle with which my delegation finds itself in complete agreement. He said:

"In that preparatory work we have not even excluded the possibility of this United Nations body undertaking all the necessary contacts, including contact with the de facto administration of the Territory—it being understood, of course, that any such contact with the latter should at no time be regarded as an opening of negotiation. It is obvious that there cannot be any negotiation because there is nothing to negotiate. Any contact with the de facto administering authority must of necessity be limited to the actual transfer of administrative functions." [1503rd meeting, para. 36.]

176. I find it hard to believe that all those delegations which gave support to last year's resolution could dispute the validity of such a forthright and yet flexible position. But let us examine the position of the administering Power whose participation is a prerequisite to any future contact or consultation.

177. In a memorandum produced in New York as recently as 21 April 1967, the Government of South Africa declared, inter alia, the following:

(1) South Africa regards General Assembly resolution 2145 (XXI) as illegal;

(2) South Africa is still administering the Territory and has no intention whatsoever of abdicating its responsibilities in this regard;

(3) The South African Government is willing to discuss with any other genuinely interested Government the problems of development in South West Africa, provided that Government is prepared in good faith to make a constructive contribution to such discussion and is not solely looking for ways and means of implementing the recent General Assembly resolution.

178. On the basis of the points I have just read out, my delegation does not find a shred of evidence or any declaration of intention that South Africa would be prepared to enter into any dialogue, contact or consultation with others with a view to laying down "procedures, in accordance with resolution 2145 (XXI), for the transfer of the Territory" [A/6640, para. 93].

179. It is true that we, Member States of the United Nations, must explore every avenue for peaceful

progress, but unless and until there is a change of heart, until there is a change of the basic attitude of the South African Government in regard to resolution 2145 (XXI), there can be little prospect for useful and fruitful dialogue with the South African Government on the actual transfer of the Territory.

180. This is the reality of the situation, the reality that South Africa openly defies the United Nations and the conscience of mankind, the reality that South Africa has no intention of giving up the Mandate, the reality that South Africa has every intention of undermining the provisions in resolution 2145 (XXI) as evidenced by its proposal for the so-called government of Ovamboland.

181. In view of the considerations I have just outlined, the Thai delegation fully supports the Afro-Asian draft resolution and commends it to the General Assembly for its overwhelming approval.

182. Mr. KHATRI (Nepal): Mr. President, I should like at the outset to convey to Ambassador Pazhwak the sincere congratulations of my delegation on his election as President of the General Assembly at its fifth special session. My delegation feels happy to work again under his wise and able guidance.

183. After two decades of attempts aimed at finding a peaceful solution to the question of South West Africa, the United Nations has convened this special session of the General Assembly with the specific purpose of adopting practical measures to enable the people of South West Africa to attain freedom and independence. The United Nations has so far shown great patience towards the recalcitrant attitude of the Republic of South Africa. The question of South West Africa has been the subject of seventy-six resolutions of the Assembly, and four references to the International Court of Justice with a view to obtaining advisory opinions and a juridical decision in this regard. But, regrettably, all these efforts have been in vain. My delegation hopes that this special session will be able to adopt ways and means to give final effect to the numerous United Nations resolutions on this question.

184. In those resolutions the United Nations has reaffirmed the inalienable right of the people of South West Africa to self-determination and independence. But we are not assembled here, in this session, to engage in general debate on the matter. We are here to address ourselves to the specific objective for which this session has been called. In the light of General Assembly resolution 2145 (XXI) of 27 October 1966, and of the report of the Ad Hoc Committee concerning practical means by which South West Africa should be administered, the specific action to be determined by this Assembly should be to enable the people of the Territory to exercise the right of self-determination and to achieve independence.

185. As so many previous speakers have underlined, it is very important that we not lose sight of the fact that, so far as the question of principle is concerned, the United Nations has already adopted a decision on certain principles in General Assembly resolution 2145 (XXI). These principles are basic and fundamental. It is the understanding of my delegation

that these principles are: (1) the Mandate conferred on the British King to be exercised on his behalf by the South African Government is terminated; (2) the Government of South Africa has no other right to administer the Territory; and (3) South West Africa comes under the direct responsibility of the United Nations, and this responsibility must be discharged.

186. It is important that we all understand that reopening of the debate on these principles is out of the question.

187. We have before us the report of the Ad Hoc Committee for South West Africa [A/6640]. This Committee was charged, under paragraph 6 of resolution 2145 (XXI), with recommending practical means by which the decision on principles enumerated in paragraphs 4 and 5 of resolution 2145 (XXI) could be implemented.

188. Although it can be seen at a glance that the report of the Ad Hoc Committee does not contain a single integrated practical way by which the Organization's responsibility in respect of South West Africa is to be discharged, my delegation understands that the lack of agreement is not due to lack of an attempt to reach a common understanding on the part of the members of the Committee. The Committee has submitted a report concerning discharge of the Organization's responsibility in respect of South West Africa. That report contains all the proposals made by various groups of States represented in the Committee in regard to the practical means by which South West Africa should be administered. It is now up to the Assembly to take a decision in respect of those practical means, based on one or more proposals contained in the report of the Ad Hoc Committee.

189. My delegation has carefully studied the various proposals contained in the report of the Committee. All members of the Committee have shown a common concern as regards the gravity of the situation, and while there appears to be little difference among the various proposals on the basic issue, the methods of approach to the question and the means suggested in each of these proposals by which our objective has to be attained are far from identical. The ideas contained in the various proposals hinge either on contact or confrontation with the Republic of South Africa.

190. General Assembly resolution 2145 (XXI) is explicit in so far as the termination of the Mandate of South Africa over South West Africa is concerned. The main question now is what methods the United Nations should adopt to help the people of South West Africa attain complete independence and sovereignty.

191. In their proposal submitted to the Committee [A/6640, paras. 45 and 82], four African countries and Pakistan envisage a United Nations machinery to administer South West Africa until independence, the target date for which is also set out. That United Nations machinery is charged with the task of helping the people of South West Africa in the establishment of a legislative assembly and a responsible government based on a constitution drawn up by the people of the Territory through a constituent assembly.

192. This proposal, in the view of my delegation, is the only logical conclusion we can draw from the decision of the General Assembly, as contained in historic resolution 2145 (XXI). The Afro-Asian draft resolution [A/L.516 and Add.1-3], with which my delegation is actively associated, is based on this proposal, and takes into account the decision on principle adopted in resolution 2145 (XXI). The draft resolution suggests the only logical and practical way by which the people of South West Africa are to be enabled to exercise their inalienable right to independence and self-determination. The African-Asian sponsors of that draft resolution have taken particular care to ward off even the most remote suggestion or hint that the people of the Territory are not prepared for independence or that a kind of United Nations tutelage is necessary for some period of time to prepare them for independence. We have affirmed in resolution 1514 (XV) and reaffirm now that, irrespective of their level of economic, social and educational development, all peoples under colonial domination are prepared for immediate independence.

193. That draft resolution also envisages, in the event that South Africa persists in its continued presence in the Territory, enforcement action by the Security Council. My delegation believes that the provision for Security Council action in this resolution will ultimately be agreeable to those delegations which profess misgivings as to the compatibility of such a provision with the Charter of the United Nations. It is the firm belief of my delegation that, since we have declared that South West Africa comes under the direct responsibility of the United Nations, it will be in the interest of the Organization that the Security Council should be called upon to act, as a consequence of its independent finding, if the continued defiance by South Africa of United Nations authority takes place. If the question of Rhodesia, which can also be construed as a question of constitutional law between the United Kingdom and Rhodesia, could be dealt with by the Security Council under Article 41 of the Chapter VII of the Charter, my delegation submits that the question of South West Africa can be more legally, more properly and more constitutionally dealt with by the Security Council under Article 41 of Chapter VII in its wisdom. For the question of South West Africa is a direct concern and responsibility of the United Nations.

194. In submitting their proposal to the Ad Hoc Committee, the delegations of Canada, Italy and the United States maintained that the decision of the General Assembly must be of a practical nature. My delegation considers that no one would deny the practical aspect of the implementation of United Nations decisions. But the Republic of South Africa should not receive protection in the name of practicability, nor should it be allowed to continue with its illegal occupation of South West Africa.

195. The Western proposal [A/6640, para. 84] emanates from a very limited conception of United Nations responsibility in respect of South West Africa. The responsibility is limited to that of undertaking further study of the situation in general and determining the necessary conditions which will enable the Territory to achieve independence.

196. It can be seen, in the light of resolution 2145 (XXI), that this proposal does not meet the requirements of the case. There is no provision for what should be done in the event South Africa continues its defiance of the United Nations authority. There is no call to the Security Council to act, should action become necessary. It seems to my delegation that this proposal is clearly intended to postpone any positive action, so urgently needed for the solution of the problem of South West Africa.

197. The Latin American proposal [ibid., para. 93], in the opinion of my delegation, emanates from a positive conception of the responsibility of the Organization, and is based on the necessity of the establishment of a United Nations machinery for the administration of South West Africa.

198. It is unfortunate that the African-Asian and the Latin American views have not been reconciled. In our view, the Latin American proposal does not adequately meet the requirement of the case, in that the proposal does not contain any provision of an enforcement action, should such action become necessary in consequence of South Africa's continued defiance of the authority of the Organization, and its illegal occupation of the Territory.

199. It is the belief of my delegation that, if we are really keen in our desire to follow up resolution 2145 (XXI), we must admit that the provision for enforcement action by the Security Council should be made an important part of any decision that we adopt. Otherwise, in view of our previous experience with the attitude of South Africa, no proposal, however sincere and well meaning, will be capable of carrying us forward to our goal.

200. My delegation has always viewed the question of South West Africa as a colonial question—a question which is made infinitely worse by the policy of apartheid inflicted upon the people of the Territory. In other colonial territories, the fight for freedom has always been carried on between the colonialists from other continents and the people inhabiting the colonial territory. But in the case of South West Africa, the fight for freedom is taking place between the people of the Territory, supported by the international community, and the usurper from the bordering Territory, which itself is subjected to a most ruthless régime that denies basic human rights and fundamental freedoms to the majority of the inhabitants. And it is common knowledge that this illegal occupier is receiving considerable moral and material support from some of the Powers in the West.

201. The South African Government appears to have realized that, under the impact of international pressure, it would be difficult for it to continue in its illegal occupation of South West Africa and that, therefore, new manoeuvres will be needed to delude the world as to its true intentions. In its deliberate attempt to disregard decisions of the General Assembly, the South African Government has launched a new policy of fragmenting the Territory into different so-called independent territories. The recent grant of so-called self-rule by South Africa to the people of Ovamboland clearly indicates its insincere designs.

This is also an evident attempt on its part to confuse world public opinion. In continuation of its sinister policy, the Government of South Africa has already declared that it would offer self-determination to all other groups of people in South West Africa to enable them to attain what it has called complete independence and to determine their own future freely.

202. This attempt at the fragmentation of South West Africa is nothing but the introduction of the old and crude method practised by other colonial Powers in order to perpetuate foreign domination by sowing the seed of discord and dissension in the territories.

203. Since the Territory of South West Africa has very bright economic prospects, it is clear that the Government of South Africa is not prepared to give up easily its illegal occupation. It is in conformity with its intention to remain entrenched in South West Africa as long as possible that the South African delegation, during the last General Assembly, repeatedly suggested continued dialogue on South West Africa, as if the attempts by the United Nations during the preceding twenty years were not directed towards achieving an understanding on the question.

204. The recent action of South Africa regarding Ovamboland and the utterances by high-placed Government officials clearly indicate that South Africa is neither willing to vacate the Territory of South West Africa nor to co-operate with the United Nations in the smooth and peaceful transfer of power to the people of the Territory.

205. The behaviour and policy of the Government of South Africa have given ample cause for my delegation to believe that the various proposals that are before us for consideration concerning the formation of some sort of United Nations machinery to help the people of South West Africa in the achievement of their independence and sovereignty cannot be implemented unless an enforcement action by the Security Council is provided for.

206. During the discussion of this question in the last session of the General Assembly, and particularly when a vote was taken on what has now become famous as resolution 2145 (XXI), my delegation was encouraged to believe that this special session would have no difficulty in adopting a most effective course of action. The two super-Powers,

namely the Soviet Union and the United States, gave unequivocal support to that resolution, which implied that these Powers were prepared to associate themselves with the United Nations machinery and the enforcement action that are vitally needed to give effect to our decision in respect of this question. My delegation understands that the two other permanent members of the Security Council, although abstaining, also viewed this question with sympathy. It is the hope and belief of my delegation that these permanent members of the Security Council, particularly the two super-Powers, will not now hesitate to go the whole way in their support of this question, as expressed in resolution 2145 (XXI).

207. The African-Asian draft resolution [A/L.516 and Add.1-3] represents, in the view of my delegation, the only logical action that this session must now take. There seems to be no alternative course of action which is as logical, as practical and as capable of meeting the requirements of the situation as has now been envisaged under the draft resolution.

208. As I have already indicated, the co-sponsors have taken particular care to ward off misgivings about the role of the United Nations machinery. My delegation does not think that the people of the Territory are not prepared for independence, or that a United Nations tutelage is needed to prepare them for independence. My delegation's conception of the United Nations machinery is that its role should be limited to the task of assisting the people of the Territory in the establishment of a responsible government, based on a constitution drafted by a constituent assembly elected by the people themselves. In this task, the United Nations machinery must seek and obtain maximum political participation of the people of South West Africa. My delegation has co-sponsored the draft resolution with the clear understanding that the proposed council will go to South West Africa with the sole purpose of helping the people determine their political will.

209. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): I wish to assure representatives that I shall not fail to convey to Mr. Pazhwak the congratulations that have been addressed to him today.

The meeting rose at 6.25 p.m.