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President: Mr. Abdul Rahman PAZHWAQ
(Afghanistan).

AGENDA ITEM 7

Question of South West Africa

1. Mr. TARABANOV (Bulgaria): I should like first of all, Mr. President, to convey to you the sincerest congratulations of the delegation of the People's Republic of Bulgaria on your unanimous election as President of the fifth special session of the General Assembly.

2. The statements of other delegations have shown that, despite certain differences as to the kind of action which should be undertaken, the great majority of States Members are united by the common aims and basic principles of a constant and sincere anti-colonial policy. These delegations are determined to spare no effort to implement the noble ideals of the Charter and of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, and also of resolution 2145 (XXI), in the case of South West Africa.

3. There is hardly any need for me to point out that the General Assembly took stock of more than twenty years' discussions in the main United Nations bodies when it adopted resolution 2145 (XXI), terminating the Mandate by which the South African racists justified the establishment of a colonial régime and racial segregation in South West Africa.

4. If, however, despite the adoption of resolution 2145 (XXI) and the opinions expressed by the vast majority of Member States, the present situation in South West Africa remains unchanged, it can be seen from the present discussion that the blame lies solely with certain Western Powers who have placed obstacles along the path of liberation in these countries. Despite the fact that these Powers have made desperate attempts to cover up their real intentions and basic attitudes, the truth is obvious to everybody.

5. The sound and truly anti-colonial forces in our Organization will have to redouble their efforts to win acceptance for the South West African people's right to independence in the face of these obstacles and of the two-faced policies of the Western Powers. The Bulgarian delegation, like the vast majority of the delegations who have spoken before it, will spare no effort and will work in close co-operation with all

the delegations and, above all, with those from the Afro-Asian countries in order to achieve the objectives and aims of resolution 2145 (XXI).

6. We feel that it is the duty of our Organization, in accordance with resolution 2145 (XXI), to take the steps required to ensure that the principles of the Charter and the historic Declaration on decolonization in order to put an end to the stubborn resistance of the South African racists and their protectors.

7. The position of the People's Republic of Bulgaria with regard to South West Africa is in conformity with its policy of unreserved support for oppressed peoples in their fight for freedom and independence and in opposition to neo-colonial intervention and imperialist aggression. Now whilst we are studying the practical measures to be adopted in order to help the people of South West Africa to exercise their right of self-determination and independence, the delegation of the People's Republic of Bulgaria would like to reaffirm that, as in the past, our country, our people and our Government will, with all their strength, continue to support the struggle of oppressed peoples for their national liberation and independence. We should like to assure the African delegations that, as has been the case hitherto, the delegation of the People's Republic of Bulgaria will always be at their side when effective measures are to be adopted and implemented in order to end the base régime of apartheid in South West Africa and in all other parts of Africa, although our opinions may differ in some respects concerning the nature of the measures and methods to be used.

8. As a socialist country, the People's Republic of Bulgaria and its delegation have particularly appreciated the consideration and understanding which nearly all African delegations have shown during the general debate towards the consistent anti-colonial policy of the socialist countries. If the whole issue depended solely on the attitude and policy of the socialist countries, the régimes of colonial and racial oppression would have long since been swept away from the surface of our planet and the peoples of these countries would be in a position to run their lives freely without outside interference.

9. During the present debate we have seen that there are some partisans of the "possible" who cling to an outdated colonialist policy which they identify with what seems "desirable" in the eyes of the international monopolies established in South West Africa under the auspices of the apartheid régime of South Africa. It is because of the existence of this régime that the monopolists in that Territory are able to make enormous profits which they could not make elsewhere. The importance of the régime and the apartheid policy

for foreign firms can be seen from the sincere admission of a British businessman who, in The New York Times of 21 December 1962, was quoted as saying that without apartheid—and it mattered little whether investors liked that policy or not—they would not even have thought of investing in South Africa.

10. This completely cynical but very true statement explains why certain Western countries adopted the so-called policy of "the possible" towards South Africa, that has set itself up as master of South West Africa, an act which is now a violation of the decisions of the General Assembly. It is true that the delegations of these countries, including the United States, voted for resolution 2145 (XXI) of 27 October 1966, in which the General Assembly decided to terminate the Mandate of South Africa and added that that country had no other right to administer the Territory and that henceforth South West Africa would come under the direct responsibility of the United Nations. They may, however, have been obliged to adopt that attitude by the high-minded enthusiasm of the African countries and their friends during the twenty-first session.

11. Although this resolution clearly expressed the will and determination of the majority of Member States, the United Nations decision on South West Africa, like the resolutions on apartheid and on Southern Rhodesia, did not have any positive results and the Pretoria racists, with their usual arrogance, continued after 27 October 1966 to declare their determination to remain in South West Africa despite resolution 2145 (XXI). That situation was due, rather, to the fierce opposition of the well-known forces and powers of whom the Pretoria racists and their associates in Salisbury are merely the humble servants.

12. That policy of open support practised by certain Western Powers for the desperate attempts of the South African racists to keep South West Africa under the apartheid régime is part of a more general framework of repression, intervention and aggression against the countries and peoples who are struggling for their freedom and national independence. The armed intervention against the Dominican Republic, the mass repression of the struggle by the people of Aden and the Southern Arabian Peninsula and, above all, the war of aggression which the United States is waging against the heroic people of Viet-Nam are just a few striking examples of that general policy.

13. The heroic people of Viet-Nam and the people who are living under the inhuman apartheid régime and under the colonial yoke have, throughout the world, friends who will not fail to come to their side in the decisive fight for their freedom and against foreign aggression. Recently at the Conference of Karlovy-Vary on European security, the first secretary of the Bulgarian Communist Party and the Prime Minister of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, Todor Jivkov, stated:

"Faithful to our international duty, we, the party and the people, will continue to give our moral, economic, technical and other assistance to the Viet-Nameese people in its fight against American aggression to the best of our ability.

"We declare that we are prepared to send volunteers if the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam should so request."

I am quite sure that this statement expresses the state of mind which prevails not only throughout the socialist countries but throughout the world.

14. The background to the question of South West Africa, a victim of foreign aggression and inhuman colonial exploitation, is well known. However, certain important aspects deserve closer attention.

15. The racist régime of Pretoria has followed and continues to follow a policy of plundering the natural resources of the country and pitilessly exploiting the human resources. In that territory, the South African racists have created conditions which are extremely favourable for capitalist monopolies, and above all for the monopolies of Great Britain, the United States and West Germany which continue to operate in that territory and to draw enormous profits from it. It is because foreign capital and foreign monopolies occupy such an important place in the economy of South West Africa, that they constitute the main opposition to the implementation in that Territory of the Declaration on the granting of independence. Thus, the liberation of South West Africa and the abolition of the odious system of apartheid would put an end to colonial exploitation by proxy on the part of these monopolies.

16. But one question immediately arises: are not the activities of those foreign monopolies owned by citizens of the States Members of the United Nations just as illegal as the presence of South Africa in South West Africa? Would it not be proper to ask those monopolies and their owners—citizens of States Members of the United Nations that voted in favour of resolution 2145 (XXI)—to comply with the decisions taken by the General Assembly and to co-operate with the United Nations, since South West Africa now comes directly under the responsibility of the United Nations?

17. We too are convinced that only the support given by the great imperialist Powers in the political, economic, military and other fields to maintain this colonial stronghold in southern Africa allows the South African régime to continue its illegal domination of South West Africa. The States which support the South African racists fully share the responsibility for the criminal acts which the racists commit against the South West African peoples. The General Assembly should, in its present session, strongly condemn that support and demand that an end should be put to the collaboration with the South African régime.

18. The delegation of the People's Republic of Bulgaria supports the legitimate request made by the African countries that the necessary measures should be taken to free South West Africa from the grip of colonialism and apartheid. The continued existence and strengthening of that bastion of colonialist and imperialist forces in southern Africa could prove to be an immediate danger for Africa as well as for the security and freedom of those African countries that have recently recovered their independence.

19. We do, however, share the grave doubts expressed by certain delegations about the technical aspects and the ways and means of implementing the proposals concerning the transfer of power. To instruct the authority set up by the United Nations to administer the Territory would mean limiting to some extent the

independence and sovereignty of the people of South West Africa if it did not actually mean the replacement of one trusteeship system by another.

20. We are certain, on the other hand, that once the people of South West Africa are their own masters, they will be able to find in their own territory the necessary material and human resources to set up a sovereign independent state, supported and assisted, of course, by their African brothers, by the Organization of African Unity and by the United Nations. All the efforts of the United Nations and of the true friends of the South West African people should at present be directed towards one goal which seems to us to be the most important at this time: to find a way to expel South Africa and its illegal administration from the territory of South West Africa.

21. To arrive at a final settlement of the South West African problem which is in conformity with the interests of the population of that Territory, and the South African régime must first be eliminated and the Territory declared independent.

22. The delegation of the People's Republic of Bulgaria believes that certain measures should now be decided and the means found of carrying them out. Firstly, the main decision contained in resolution 2145 (XXI) should be confirmed. Secondly, all the South African armed forces must be immediately withdrawn from the Territory of South West Africa, the administrative and police apparatus for oppression and subjugation must be eliminated, all political prisoners must be released immediately and all political exiles must be returned to their country. Thirdly, those countries which continue to give their economic and political support to South Africa, notwithstanding the flagrant violation by that country of the decisions contained in resolution 2145, must be condemned. Fourthly, an appeal must be addressed to all countries and especially to the United States of America and United Kingdom to sever their relations with the Republic of South Africa if the latter continues to flout the resolutions of the United Nations; fifthly, opportunities must be provided by the Organization of African Unity to develop, in co-operation with the United Nations, large-scale activities to help the South West African people and to assist them to prepare to set up an African administration and a representative Government.

23. It is equally essential that, as stressed in the Afro-Asian draft resolution [A/L.516 and Add.1-3] the United Nations should give real assistance to South West Africa by providing qualified personnel, experts and technicians in the appropriate fields. After the declaration of its independence, all the economic and technical assistance South West Africa will require should be provided to it under the programmes of the United Nations and specialized agencies.

24. The Bulgarian delegation considers that the present discussion has again brought out the fact that the truly anti-colonial forces are united in their belief in the need to terminate the domination by the South African racist régime without delay, to eliminate immediately the police and administrative machinery of the South African Republic in South West Africa and to grant freedom and independence to the people

of that territory, despite certain differences concerning the methods to be employed.

25. The Bulgarian delegation will join in the efforts of the Afro-Asian people and delegations in order to settle the problem of South West Africa as quickly as possible in the interests of its martyred people.

26. Mr. LOPEZ (Philippines): For twenty-one years the United Nations has been playing a Hamlet-like role on the question of South West Africa. Our distinguished Secretary-General, addressing the Ad Hoc Committee for South West Africa at its first meeting on 17 January, recalled that the question of South West Africa has been considered by the General Assembly at every session since 1946, that the Assembly had adopted seventy-six resolutions on the question, and that it had been referred four times to the International Court of Justice. On the basis of a rough calculation, probably not less than 30 million words have been written and spoken in various United Nations organs about South West Africa; and if we multiply this figure by the number of official languages used, we arrive at the astounding total of 100 million words, or approximately the equivalent of a fair-sized library of a thousand volumes.

27. We dwell on these statistics with a certain equanimity only because we know that we are coming to the end of a long, long road. For the General Assembly embarked upon an irreversible course of action when it adopted resolution 2145 (XXI), and it is now precluded from back-tracking, by-passing and any other tactic of evasion. The mighty torrent of words must stop, debate must lead to decision, and verbiage must yield to action at last.

28. It is in this conviction that the Philippines participates in the present debate. All the political, legal, philosophical and moral aspects of the question have been threshed out here and in other forums of the United Nations. We must, therefore, proceed on the assumption that the General Assembly has been called in special session not to modify or reverse the decision it has already taken terminating the Mandate of South Africa over South West Africa, but only to take all necessary measures to give effect to that decision. This is a task so grave in itself and in its possible consequences that we may hope to accomplish it only with a just combination of prudence and resolution. But it must be the sort of prudence which wisely calculates the risks involved without at the same time underestimating the capacity of the United Nations to overcome them; and it must be the type of resoluteness which understands that the strength of the United Nations, when harnessed to beneficent ends, can be as the strength of ten.

29. Two main reasons have been urged for moving slowly, indeed for delaying the implementation of the decision terminating the Mandate and placing the Territory under the direct authority of the United Nations preparatory to independence. It has been urged, first of all, that we must make one last effort to enter into a dialogue with South Africa and to secure its voluntary co-operation in effecting the transfer of the Territory to temporary United Nations Administration. But the Government of South Africa is represented at this session and sits in this Assembly, and it should be possible to ascertain forthwith its

intentions in this matter. Alternatively, since all three proposals endorsed to us by the Ad Hoc Committee have one thing in common in that they provide for the creation of a United Nations council for South West Africa, it should be an easy matter for this council, as soon as it is created, to establish contact with the Government of South Africa in order to ascertain its intentions and to arrange the modalities of the transfer of administration.

30. If there are delegations which nevertheless consider this preliminary contact with the South African authorities to be a necessary act of conscience, we should be quite prepared to afford them the satisfaction they seek. However, it would be a mistake to base our entire plan of action on the forlorn hope that South Africa, of its free will and volition, will hand over the Territory to the United Nations. It should be clearly understood that this would be little more than the intellectual equivalent of crossing all the t's and dotting all the i's in the record, but no more. In the latest official communication we have received from the Permanent Mission of South Africa to the United Nations, dated 20 April 1967, we find the categorical statement that South Africa regards resolution 2145 (XXI) as illegal and contrary to the Charter. Therefore, the hope that South Africa, by some miraculous act of conversion, might after all agree to transfer the Territory to United Nations administration is one that we are unable to share.

31. Next, we are told that it would be necessary in any case to ascertain first the wishes of the inhabitants regarding their future. But it would obviously be impossible to ascertain the true wishes of the inhabitants as long as they stand in the shadow of South African authority. Their genuine aspirations can be determined only under the impartial auspices of the United Nations itself.

32. We have been reminded that since politics is the art of the possible, we should, on this question, attempt only what is possible. But where, on this question, is the outermost limit of the possible? Far beyond anything that we could have hoped, resolution 2145 (XXI) was adopted last October by a nearly unanimous vote of the Assembly. We are now warned that we should not insist on a resolution which anticipates the application of enforcement measures under Chapter VII of the Charter, because the big Powers would never support such a resolution in the Assembly. We are further warned that if such a resolution were nevertheless adopted and enforcement measures were subsequently required to compel compliance therewith on the part of South Africa, one or more of the permanent members of the Security Council would be certain to veto such measures.

33. These things can of course happen. But what is our alternative? Having come so far along the road, having decided and declared the Mandate to be terminated, the right and duty of the United Nations to administer the Territory preparatory to independence ceases to be negotiable. At the same time, this right and duty of the United Nations can be eroded by vacillation and finally nullified by inaction. Our choice, therefore, is quite clear. Let the General Assembly in its wisdom do what it believes it must do to implement its resolution 2145 (XXI) in the light of its obliga-

tions under the Charter; and, in its turn, let the Security Council in its own wisdom do what it will have to do when confronted with an imperative request from the General Assembly to take enforcement measures against a recalcitrant South Africa. Let the Assembly and the Council act within the ambit of their respective duties and powers. We are confident that each of these organs will, in turn, at the moment of truth rise to the measure of its responsibilities. For, in our view, it would be most unseemly for this General Assembly of 122 sovereign Member States to allow itself to be deflected from a just and necessary course of action by the thought that one or two or even three permanent members of the Security Council, however powerful they may be, might veto a subsequent request or proposal to apply enforcement measures against South Africa.

34. Some delegations would prefer to omit any reference to Chapter VII of the Charter. It is like a bad word or an unpleasant subject which no one brings up in decent company. It is a sword brandished in the air. But if reason and persuasion should fail and South Africa should elect to defy the United Nations, a request for enforcement measures would surely be addressed to the Security Council, either by a special emergency session of the General Assembly or by any one of the five Afro-Asian members of the Security Council. In other words, subsequent Security Council action would inevitably follow South African defiance of a General Assembly resolution, whether or not that resolution contained a reference to Chapter VII. Since that would be the case, the inclusion of an explicit reference to Chapter VII in the text of the resolution would serve as a warning to South Africa, whereas the omission of such a reference would equally certainly serve as an encouragement to it.

35. There are perhaps half a dozen countries in this Assembly which, if they were to apply their individual and collective influence and leverage upon South Africa, could get it to move with deliberate speed out of South West Africa. Is it really conceivable that the great former imperial Powers, the United Kingdom, France and the United States, which themselves were compelled by the inexorable force of history and by the decent opinion of mankind to set free their vast colonial territories, thus making possible one of the greatest revolutionary transformations of our time—is it conceivable that, together, they have not the means and the power, if they wish to use them, to persuade South Africa to follow in their own footsteps and move into the twentieth century?

36. As a sponsor of the draft resolution [A/L.516 and Add.1-3], we should like to say candidly that, while it may be possible to modify and perhaps improve our proposal in certain minor details, it cannot be radically altered in its major dispositions without reducing our efforts of the past twenty-one years to an exercise in irrelevance and futility. Having terminated the Mandate, the United Nations now has no choice but to get in there or stay out and for ever hold its peace.

37. We can rethink and reconsider the details of the problem, and we can procrastinate in order to delay an unpleasant or painful decision. But all these hesitations and vacillations, all these dodges and

subterfuges cannot alter the basic elements of the problem. In the end we must accept the categorical imperative of an ultimate decision, as proposed in the Afro-Asian draft resolution—having discovered, with the gloomy Prince of Denmark, that:

"And thus the native hue of resolution
Is sicklied o'er with the pale cast of thought;
And enterprises of great pith and moment,
With this regard, their currents turn awry,
And lose the name of action."

38. Mr. PARTHASARATHI (India): Mr. President, it gives me great pleasure to associate my delegation with the tributes that have been paid to you by previous speakers on your unanimous election to this high office. It is a matter of gratification to all of us that, in dealing with the important and intricate issues in this special session, we shall have the benefit of your wise guidance and leadership.

39. The United Nations has reached a crucial stage in the course of developments which followed the fateful and unfortunate decision of the International Court of Justice of 18 July 1966.^{1/} The world community was rightly indignant at what appeared to be an evasion of responsibility on the part of the world Court in not dealing with the substantial issues before it. Though the verdict of the Court came as a great disappointment to most of us, it nevertheless produced one good result. Resolution 2145 (XXI) would not have been possible but for the atmosphere generated by the decision of the world Court. My delegation, along with almost the entire Afro-Asian group, believes that the problem of South West Africa has to be tackled on an urgent basis. This sense of urgency is shared by a vast majority of the delegations represented here. The General Assembly took a momentous decision at its last session, and it is now imperative for all of us to co-operate to give practical effect to the decision contained in resolution 2145 (XXI).

40. It may be recalled that, at the twenty-first session of the General Assembly, the Afro-Asian Members were not in favour of any action, such as the appointment of the Ad Hoc Committee, which would further delay the achievement of the ultimate objective of ensuring freedom and independence for the people of South West Africa. The Afro-Asian community, however, agreed to the appointment of the Ad Hoc Committee and the convening of a special session in a spirit of co-operation, thus amply demonstrating their goodwill and their willingness to proceed in unity with the other groups. The Ad Hoc Committee convened, and in a surprisingly small number of meetings produced a report which has become the basis of our discussions at this special session. The Ad Hoc Committee, whose specific task was to recommend practical steps for the administration of the Territory, and not to go into any generalities, has not presented the Assembly with a concrete set of recommendations. Instead, the Committee has left it to the General Assembly either to adopt one of the three sets of proposals contained in its report or, if necessary, to prepare a wholly new plan of action. It is now our collective responsibility to decide on a further course of action.

^{1/} South West Africa, Second Phase. Judgment, I.C.J. Reports 1966, p. 6.

41. Our friends in the Western group have once again counselled patience to us. Let me make it clear that we in the Afro-Asian group have no patience with such counsels. In fact, we do not accept the charge that we are advocating a hasty or ill-considered course of action, precipitating confrontation between the United Nations and South Africa, without even trying to have a dialogue or negotiations with the South African Government. For more than twenty years we have tried to reason with South Africa, to plead with it and to come to some understanding with it so that the problem might be resolved in a peaceful manner. In the very first resolution on the subject—resolution 65 (I) of 14 December 1946—the General Assembly invited the South African Government to place the Territory under the Trusteeship System. It is needless to enumerate in any detail the failure of the various attempts by the General Assembly to make South Africa comply with its obligations under the Mandate. Those accusing us of not trying to negotiate with South Africa seem to have forgotten that the General Assembly set up an ad hoc committee as early as 1950 for the purpose of entering into negotiations with the racist régime of South Africa. That ad hoc committee was followed by various other advisory and good offices committees, all of which met with the same defiance and arrogance from South Africa. Those familiar with the history of the consideration of the question in the United Nations cannot and should not, therefore, level unsubstantiated charges against us who have been pressing for the restoration of the lawful rights of the people of South West Africa by peaceful means.

42. In this connexion, we should like to ask a question of those who are advocating negotiations with South Africa: have they received any indication at all of a change of heart on the part of South Africa? What is it that leads them to think that one more attempt at negotiations with South Africa would yield fruitful results? If they have received such an indication my delegation, among others, would be happy to be informed of it. Our own belief is that the racists of South Africa have no intention whatever of giving up their attitude of defiance towards the United Nations. On the contrary, we have reason to believe that South Africa is intent on pursuing its aggressive and predatory designs. We have at least two important indications in support of our belief.

43. First, there is the declaration of the South African Minister for Bantu Administration concerning Ovambo-land. The manoeuvres to detach Ovambo-land from the rest of the Territory, in flagrant violation of General Assembly resolution 2074 (XX), provide one more example of the utter contempt which South Africa has for the world Organization. This is positive proof that South Africa regards the Territory as its own and is not willing to accept counsel from any source, however noble and non-partisan. My delegation strongly condemns such manoeuvres of the South African Government.

44. The second indication of the hardening of South Africa's attitude is provided by the recent conference between the defence chiefs of Portugal and South Africa which took place in Lisbon early last month. According to a report in The New York Times of 9 April 1967, the Defence Ministers of Portugal and

South Africa have proclaimed their common objective to pursue resolutely the defence of their positions in Africa. We are all of us, of course, aware of the existence of the unholy alliance between the forces of colonialism and racism in southern Africa. My delegation has referred to it on a number of occasions. The unholy alliance has now become official and public. To refer again to The New York Times of 9 April, it reports in its dispatch from Lisbon:

"During the current visit here of Piet Botha, the South African Defence Minister, emphasis was placed on common aims and close cooperation between the two countries.

"For the first time the two governments publicly alluded to cooperation on defense matters."

45. The Portuguese Defence Minister is reported to have said that the visit of the South African Defence Minister should facilitate the reinforcement of indispensable co-operation in essential and opportune matters between the two countries. Mr. Botha is said to have declared:

"Our task has been greatly facilitated by the strength and resolution of our Portuguese neighbors in Angola and Mozambique."

46. These declarations of intent and purpose should provide enough proof to all, particularly those sceptical of our belief, that South Africa has no intention of giving up its uncompromising attitude.

47. We have been advised to be realistic. We submit that it is not we who are not taking a realistic view of things but those who refuse to face the grave reality of the problem and offer various pretexts for not supporting the Afro-Asian plan for the implementation of resolution 2145 (XXI). The capacity of the United Nations to deal with equally difficult situations has been proved more than once in the past. It is, therefore, not correct to say that the United Nations is not capable of dealing with the problem. What is indeed true is that some Members of the United Nations which happen to be the most powerful and the most influential countries in the world do not wish, for their own different reasons, to face the facts and agree on a firm line. The Charter of the United Nations has placed primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security on the Security Council in general and on the permanent members in particular. It is sad to note that the permanent members, in varying degrees, have shown unwillingness to shoulder their responsibility to deal with the explosive situation in southern Africa.

48. Resolution 2145 (XXI) received near unanimous support of the General Assembly. Not a single delegation, with the usual two exceptions, voted against the historic resolution. Even though resolution 2145 (XXI) did not satisfy us fully, in the sense that it postponed the taking of concrete steps to achieve our objective, we showed patience by accepting it in a spirit of compromise and solidarity. It is essential that all the delegations, at least those which voted in favour of resolution 2145 (XXI), should now accept the consequences and responsibility flowing from that resolution.

49. I should like, in particular, to deal with the point made by several delegations, mostly Western, that

even the remotest possibility of negotiating with South Africa for the peaceful transfer of the administration of South West Africa to the United Nations should not be lost sight of, I would make bold to say that not a single member of the Afro-Asian community is fearful of negotiations with South Africa provided, of course, that they are conducted on the proper basis. Is it fair, however, to propose negotiations when South Africa has proclaimed from the housetops that South West Africa belongs to it and that no one dare dispossess South Africa of South West Africa? Despite the intransigent declarations of South Africa, let us suppose that the Afro-Asian community were still willing to give another opportunity for a peaceful solution of the problem. What would be the basis for such negotiations? Obviously, the basis to which the United Nations is committed is resolution 2145 (XXI), and negotiating on that basis can mean only the fixing of the time and date for the withdrawal of South African authority from South West Africa. Those who are in favour of giving a last opportunity for negotiations, would they, in their turn, in those circumstances, give a formal commitment to this Assembly that, if South Africa refuse to fix the time and date for withdrawal from South West Africa, say by 31 August 1967, they would support to the hilt at the twenty-second regular session of the General Assembly the Afro-Asian plan for the implementation of resolution 2145 (XXI), as contained in document A/L.516 and Add.1-3? Would they give such a guarantee? In the absence of such a guarantee, my delegation believes that there would be no purpose in delaying the concrete action that has been proposed by fifty-eight Members of this Assembly. For negotiations to be realistic they must be backed by the Afro-Asian community. Without such a backing, which can be only in terms of the present draft resolution, South Africa would not treat the negotiations seriously or realistically. That is the crux of the matter.

50. As far as my delegation is concerned, we believe that the Afro-Asian proposals [A/L.516 and Add.1-3] provide the most comprehensive and meaningful approach to the problem. The various other proposals submitted to the Ad Hoc Committee, while individually containing some merit, lack the essential elements which have to be taken into account to deal with the problem. I do not propose to comment at length on the various provisions of the draft resolution since that has been done very ably by my friend and colleague, Mr. Adebo, and other sponsors of the draft resolution. I should merely like to clarify one particular point which seems to be causing concern to some of our colleagues from other groups. I refer to operative paragraph 2 in section IV.

51. Fears have been expressed that the word "ensuring" in paragraph 2 gives rise to the interpretation that the United Nations council for South West Africa would have powers to take all necessary measures, including those of a coercive nature, to ensure the withdrawal of South African police and military personnel. I should like to remove any such misapprehension. What the sponsors have in mind in paragraph 2 is that in the event that South Africa agree to withdraw its law enforcement machinery from South West Africa, the United Nations council for South West Africa should make sure that the

South African police and military forces physically vacated the Territory. Paragraph 2 is not meant to give any enforcement authority to the United Nations council. Such action, if it became necessary, could be taken only by the Security Council. A provision for action by the Security Council, if such a contingency arose, is made in paragraphs 3 and 5 of section IV.

52. My delegation and my Government attach the highest importance to the solution of the problem before us. The people of India have repeatedly expressed their solidarity with their African brethren in the fight for the eradication of the ugly cancer of apartheid and racial discrimination from southern Africa. If I may be permitted to recall, it was the Indian delegation which first raised the matter in the United Nations twenty-one years ago. Ever since then we have lent and shall continue to lend our full support to the noble cause of freedom and independence for which our unfortunate brothers in South West Africa are fighting. We urge all the Members in this Assembly, particularly those on which there is a special responsibility in such matters, to rise to the occasion by supporting the draft resolution without any reservation, thus showing their concern for the cause of justice and humanity.

53. Mr. MATSUI (Japan): May I first of all congratulate you, Sir, on your unanimous election as President of the General Assembly at its fifth special session. We are confident that, with the skill and able leadership which you manifested during the twenty-first session, the Assembly will be able to deal constructively and effectively with the problems on our agenda.

54. We are called upon to consider the question of South West Africa and the report of the Ad Hoc Committee established by the terms of resolution 2145 (XXI), on which Japan had the honour to serve. The Ad Hoc Committee, as we know, was entrusted with the task of recommending 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.

55. I am sure that all of the members of the Committee would quite naturally have been happier had it been possible to agree upon a unanimous recommendation to the fifth special session. However, a great deal of very hard work was done and a useful exchange of views has taken place in the Committee, under the distinguished leadership of its Chairman, Mr. Jakobson of Finland. The Committee's report, which is before us, speaks for itself; it reveals the immensely difficult and complex nature of the problem and gives evidence of the magnitude of the task which confronts us.

56. The result of the intensive and essential spadework accomplished in the Ad Hoc Committee is a series of very solid proposals which provide abundant grist for the Assembly's mill. I refer, of course, to the proposals made by the four African States—Ethiopia, Nigeria, Senegal and the United Arab Republic—together with Pakistan [A/6640, paras. 45 and 82]; the proposals advanced by Canada, Italy and the United States [*ibid.*, para. 84]; and the proposals put forward by Chile and Mexico [*ibid.*, para. 93], which Japan supported in the Ad Hoc Committee.

57. These proposals are set forth in the Committee's report and have now been explained to the entire Assembly by their proponents; they have also been commented upon by others. Accordingly, I shall not take the time of the Assembly by adding any detailed explanations or comments of my own. For the moment, I should just like to outline some of the basic considerations that underlie the position of my Government with regard to South West Africa.

58. The General Assembly, at its twenty-first session, made a very important step forward by adopting resolution 2145 (XXI). I should like to stress that my delegation stands firmly behind this resolution; in our view there can be no question concerning its validity. As has been pointed out by many previous speakers, the Assembly's decision is irreversible and there must be no retreat from the terms of resolution 2145 (XXI), however much we may appear to differ at present with regard to the most effective means of achieving its objectives. The termination of the Mandate and of the right of the Government of South Africa to continue to administer the Territory of South West Africa or to exercise any control over its inhabitants can no longer possibly be called into question by anyone. Thus, it should be made abundantly clear that the work of this Assembly has to proceed on the basis of that resolution.

59. Now, Mr. President, resolution 2145 (XXI) provides that South West Africa comes under the direct responsibility of the United Nations. This provision admittedly lends itself to different interpretations as regards the concept of direct administration of the Territory. However, regardless of interpretations, the direct and heavy involvement of the United Nations in the advancement of South West Africa to self-determination and independence is obvious, and the United Nations cannot shirk its responsibility. Such being the case, it seems to my delegation that some form of United Nations machinery will have to be set up to fulfil the tasks of the United Nations.

60. The first and most important step which we should take, in our opinion, is to ascertain fully the wishes of the people of the Territory. Indeed, if the responsibilities of the United Nations with regard to South West Africa are abundantly clear, the desires and the wishes of the people concerned must be the paramount consideration and we must always keep this consideration in the forefront of our minds. We must find out their own views as to the best, most practical and speedy means of achieving self-determination and their independence.

61. For this purpose, we consider it necessary to have broad consultations with representative elements of all groups inside or outside the Territory in order to determine, through such consultations, the instruments and modalities of their future government and administration as well as their relations with the United Nations. We may also seek to explore indigenous human and natural resources for the administration of the Territory and to determine the nature and scope of our assistance to the people of South West Africa. My delegation attaches great importance to these points, which, in our view, would be prerequisite to the ultimate steps for the convocation of a constituent assembly to draw up a constitution for an independent

and unified South West Africa, and the establishment of a legislative assembly and a responsible government.

Mr. Ortiz Sanz (Bolivia), Vice-President, took the Chair.

62. Another consideration we have to take into account is that we are dealing with a problem of the gravest seriousness, with implications that could profoundly affect for many years to come the peace and stability not only of southern Africa but of the entire continent and, indeed, of the world as a whole. It is essential, therefore, that we proceed in our consideration of this aspect of the problem with the utmost caution, exploring every avenue to achieve our objective by peaceful means.

63. For that reason, my delegation shares the view that contact should be established with the *de facto* administrator. However, resolution 2145 (XXI) is not negotiable, and, therefore any contact with the *de facto* administrator must be carried out strictly within the framework of that resolution. Our main objective is to ask the Republic of South Africa for the transfer of the administration of the Territory in order to ensure that the United Nations may be able to keep direct control over the situation and that a solution to the present problem may be achieved with the least possible upheaval. Indeed, as the representative of Chile stated earlier in this Assembly, the reason for that contact obviously is due to the desire that the process be carried out with the greatest possible success, peacefully and harmoniously. We should put to the test definitively the good faith and the willingness to co-operate of the Government of South Africa so as to enable the United Nations to fulfil its responsibilities.

64. In the meantime, I should also like to stress that, while we are engaged in a search for a peaceful solution of the problem, we should scrupulously avoid any course of action which, on the one hand, might prejudice the result of that effort and, on the other hand, might add insuperable difficulties to the accomplishment of our task.

65. Resolution 2145 (XXI) was adopted by a very large and gratifying majority and the validity and solidarity of the United Nations position in this matter was thereby greatly strengthened. We do not want to see our position weakened to the extent that a decision by this Assembly fails to command the support of a comparable majority. We believe that the active and positive assistance and co-operation of the entire membership of the Organization is absolutely essential in order to carry out whatever measures may eventually be decided upon to accomplish our objective. It is the sincere wish of my delegation that, through our co-operative efforts, this special session may be able to reach concrete and constructive decisions for a just and peaceful solution of this problem.

66. Mr. GHAUS (Afghanistan): More than six months after the adoption by the General Assembly of the historic resolution which irrevocably terminated the Mandate of South Africa over South West Africa, no change for the better has occurred in the attitude of the Government of South Africa towards the United Nations. On the contrary, it seems that the situation

has worsened. The South African Government, in complete defiance of United Nations resolutions, is continuing to promote with vigour and dedication its policy of racial discrimination, apartheid and expansion, thus depriving the indigenous inhabitants of South West Africa of their right to self-determination, social and economic justice and political independence.

67. It is obviously in accordance with that unjust policy that the colonial Power, arbitrarily and in violation of General Assembly resolution 2145 (XXI), has recently announced that the people of a section of South West Africa, Ovamboland, would have the opportunity of gaining self-government. Therefore, the Government of South Africa not only has not given up its attitude of non-compliance with United Nations resolutions but is accelerating its efforts to implement the provisions of the notorious Odendaal plan, aimed at the fragmentation of South West Africa and the extension of the universally condemned policy of apartheid to a territory to which it has no legal right. The introduction and establishment of Bantustans in South West Africa are used as an ingenious device to restrain the political and economic emancipation of the people of that unfortunate land.

68. When the General Assembly decided last year to remove South West Africa from South African control, it recognized that South Africa had failed to fulfil its obligations in respect of the administration of that Mandated Territory and had in fact forfeited its right to that sacred trust.

69. During twenty years of frustrating discussions, it became apparent that the continued presence of South Africa in South West Africa had only one purpose, and that was to serve the interests of the Government of South Africa. The ruling circles in South Africa, without the least regard for world public opinion, are trying to transform that territory into a colony for white settlers, using its people as a source of cheap labour and depriving them of their land, wealth and dignity. South Africa has never made an effort to create at least a proper climate which would have enabled the people of South West Africa to prepare themselves for self-government. During these long and unhappy years of colonial domination, not a single step has been taken by the administering Power with a view to facilitating the exercise of the right of self-determination by the people of South West Africa and its accession to freedom and independence.

70. It has become apparent, from the facts and the information available, that South Africa is exporting with determination its system of apartheid to South West Africa. It is difficult to conceive that the destiny of a whole population could be left in trust to a country whose professed social and political philosophy is based on racial discrimination and which is advocating so relentlessly the strict separation of races inside its own frontiers.

71. Apartheid, which is recognized by the General Assembly in its resolution 2074 (XX) as a crime against humanity, is a hindrance to a people wishing to exercise the right of self-determination. It hampers the harmonious development of the human society and prevents the establishment of a useful and continued co-operation among the peoples of the Territory

whose aspirations aim at the creation of a free and democratic country. Apartheid deprives the people of South West Africa of the access to the sources of knowledge and education and affords them little opportunity to acquire the skills necessary for the future administration of their homeland. In addition to the obstacles that apartheid creates for the social, economic and political advancement of the people of South West Africa, its extension to that territory has a corrosive influence on the relations among the peoples of the southern part of Africa as well as on the prospect for peace and stability on the African continent.

72. Owing to these circumstances, the action taken by the General Assembly last year in terminating the Mandate of South Africa and resolving that henceforth the United Nations must have direct responsibility for the administration of South West Africa was a just and proper decision. The international community could no longer continue to adopt a passive attitude towards the expansionist policies of South Africa and all the dangers inherent in them.

73. It is not necessary to recall that the Afro-Asian States intended, during the twenty-first session, to strengthen the action of the General Assembly by incorporating in the body of last year's resolution [2145 (XXI)] adequate measures which would have enabled the United Nations effectively to discharge its responsibilities regarding South West Africa. It is again needless to state that, in order to allay the apprehensions entertained in some quarters and to demonstrate their willingness to negotiate, the Afro-Asians agreed to accommodate the views of those who were still hoping for a change of heart in South Africa. Thus, the General Assembly, instead of taking immediate steps regarding the administration of the Territory by the United Nations, established an ad hoc committee and charged it with the task of recommending practical means by which South West Africa should be administered.

74. In spite of twenty years of futile negotiations and frustrating disappointments, which clearly demonstrated the unwillingness of South Africa to collaborate with the United Nations in seeking a solution based on justice and equity, the countries of Asia and Africa compromised and again adopted the "careful approach".

75. In our opinion, the work of the Ad Hoc Committee has not been useless. The efforts of its Chairman, the representative of Finland, Mr. Jakobson, and its members—to whom we want to express here our appreciation—contributed in defining further the various positions and have permitted a thorough study of all aspects of the problem. If the Committee was unable to achieve a consensus, it was perhaps due to the complexities of the issue itself. Be that as it may, the Assembly is now confronted, thanks to the endeavours of the Ad Hoc Committee, with four clear-cut positions.

76. It is not necessary to embark on a lengthy analysis of those various positions because they were clearly explained here by their proponents and, furthermore, the report of the Committee [A/6640] gives a faithful description of these views.

77. After studying the proposals my delegation is convinced that the plan of the African States and Pakistan [ibid., paras. 45 and 82] reflects the realities of the situation, does not gloss over the difficulties, and is in full conformity with resolution 2145 (XXI) of the General Assembly. The two Latin American countries members of the Ad Hoc Committee, namely Mexico and Chile, have shown high regard for the position taken by African States in the Ad Hoc Committee. Their proposal [ibid., para. 93] is similar in many respects to that of the four African States and Pakistan: both call for direct United Nations administration. However, they differ in at least two important aspects: the extent to which they envisage the establishment of a procedure, and the timing, for the transfer of the Territory to the United Nations administration. We very much hope that the Latin American countries will find it possible to bridge the gap during the present deliberation of the General Assembly and to move closer to the position which is now shared by an overwhelming majority of Afro-Asian States.

78. South West Africa is a colonial territory to which the provision of resolution 1514 (XV) is fully applicable. My delegation firmly believes that the exercise of the right of self-determination and the accession to independence should never be contingent on the fulfilment or existence of certain prerequisites. In fact, the size or the degree of economic or social advancement of a territory should never stand in the way of freedom. The General Assembly recognized this fundamental principle when it declared in its resolution 1514 (XV) that "inadequacy of political, economic, social or educational preparedness should never serve as a pretext for delaying independence".

79. The United Nations, almost in its entirety, is of the opinion that the people of South West Africa has the right to accede to full sovereignty and independence. The action of the United Nations must be guided, therefore, by that objective and should coincide with it. The circumstances presently prevailing call for appropriate measures to be taken by this world Organization. To that end, the United Nations must bring about the speedy re-establishment of the political rights of the people of South West Africa, which will naturally require the withdrawal of South African administration and the immediate taking over of the administration, on a provisional basis, by the United Nations.

80. This is more than ever necessary because the recent developments indicate that South African authorities are moving steadily towards the realization of their ultimate plan which seems to be the annexation of South West Africa. Furthermore, the continued presence of South Africa in South West Africa not only is illegal but, after the termination of the Mandate, constitutes an act of aggression against the people and the territorial integrity of that country.

81. Our complacency might face us once again with a *fait accompli*, as was unfortunately the case when the illegal régime in Southern Rhodesia unilaterally declared the independence of that territory. In order to enable South West Africa to exercise its inalienable right to self-determination and to achieve full independence, the United Nations must face up to its

responsibilities which were explicitly confirmed in resolution 2145 (XXI). It must overcome the obstacles created by the administering Power which respected neither the provisions of the Mandate, nor the elementary norms of justice.

82. We believe that the United Nations could not effectively discharge its responsibilities in the territory unless it were to administer South West Africa directly. This administration should be directed by a single centralized authority, which should work under the general supervision of a collective body. By virtue of resolution 2145 (XXI), the United Nations not only assumed the supervision of the administration, but reverted to itself the right to administer directly the Territory of South West Africa.

83. In our view, the United Nations cannot administer the Territory without the physical presence in South West Africa of an administrative organ for this purpose. My delegation believes that the United Nations machinery for the administration of South West Africa should be as short-lived as possible. The United Nations administration, which apart from assuming administrative activities will be charged with the promulgation of laws, decrees and administrative regulations, will cease to exist after the achievement of independence and the constitution of a democratic system of government. The involvement of the United Nations after independence will be directed mainly towards an elaborate programme of technical assistance for South West Africa.

84. This is of course quite necessary, because, due to the special circumstances which are known to us all, South West Africa has been deprived, since the inception of the United Nations, of any possibility of receiving aid and assistance from this world Organization or its specialized agencies.

85. It is thus clear that the countries of Asia and Africa are of the opinion that the direct responsibility of the United Nations regarding South West Africa does not mean a perpetuation of the United Nations administration or the replacement of the Mandate of South Africa by some sort of new Trust régime of the United Nations. We are also happy to note that the Afro-Asian proposal envisages that the territory should become independent not later than June 1968.

86. We believe that it would be in the interest of the Territory and peace in general if the United Nations machinery—a council and a United Nations commissioner as its executive and administrative arm—were to be installed without delay in South West Africa.

87. As I mentioned a minute ago, we found ourselves in complete agreement with the views of the African States regarding this matter. Therefore, my delegation has co-sponsored draft resolution A/L.516 and Add.1-3 which is now before the house. It is indeed a great honour for my delegation to be able to associate itself with any move which aims at eliminating a gross injustice.

88. The representative of Nigeria the other day [1506th meeting], with his customary eloquence, presented the draft resolution which now stands in the name of a large number of Afro-Asian countries. Therefore, my delegation will not try to tax the

patience of the Assembly with any lengthy comments regarding the draft presently under discussion. However, I deem it appropriate to state very briefly the views of my delegation in connexion with the provisions of the joint Afro-Asian proposal regarding the possible involvement of the Security Council in the decolonization of South West Africa.

89. The United Nations administration which is to be installed in South West Africa requires the concurrence and the co-operation of all the organs of the United Nations, including the Security Council. If the work of the United Nations council for South West Africa is obstructed by South Africa, or any other country for that matter, it is only normal that the Security Council should be requested to take suitable coercive measures in order to oblige the faulty party or parties to comply with the decision of the international community.

90. We submit that this arrangement is logical and appropriate. South West Africa is—and on this point everybody is in agreement—the responsibility of the United Nations.

91. All the efforts of the General Assembly during a period of twenty years have been directed towards persuading the Government of South Africa to co-operate with the United Nations in taking the necessary measures to enable the people of the Territory to exercise their rights as recognized in the Charter of the United Nations. The General Assembly took a decision last year which, although long overdue, nevertheless terminated once and for all the Mandate of South Africa over South West Africa. The Security Council should now discharge its own responsibilities in connexion with the implementation of that historic decision.

92. South West Africa is the responsibility not only of the General Assembly; it is the responsibility of the Security Council as well. All the organs of the United Nations should play their respective roles in this regard. For two decades the General Assembly has dealt with the problem of South West Africa. Now it is the turn of the Security Council to discharge its duties in this respect within the framework of Chapter VII of the Charter. The countries of Africa and Asia have asked in their draft for no more, no less. We are certain that if a spirit of co-operation prevails in the Security Council, the Council can make, if need be, an effective contribution to the peaceful and just solution of the problem.

93. I am sure that the countries of Asia and Africa will consider favourably any constructive suggestions which will not alter their basic standpoint. Any compromise in this regard should serve a meaningful purpose.

94. We are sure that the majority of this Assembly shares the view that the people of South West Africa is entitled, like all other colonial peoples, to attain its independence and freedom. In order to achieve that end, the action and the sincere co-operation of all Members of the United Nations is needed. The entire membership should extend its whole-hearted collaboration to the United Nations in the implementation of those lofty aims.

95. U SOE TIN (Burma): I should like, first of all, to associate the delegation of Burma with those

expressions of sincere congratulations and best wishes with which Ambassador Pazhwak has been deluged, on the occasion of his election by acclamation to the high office of President of the Assembly at its fifth special session. With memories still fresh of the statesmanlike manner in which he so wisely and ably guided the affairs of the twenty-first session of the General Assembly to a speedy, constructive and successful conclusion, we are confident that this crucial special session of the General Assembly, under his wise counsel and firm guidance, will be able also to take meaningful and significant steps towards the elimination of colonialism and racialism and towards the safeguarding of international peace and security.

96. The issue of South West Africa which we are now discussing has been the subject of consideration at every session of the General Assembly since the inception of the United Nations. From 1946 onwards, for some two decades, this issue has been the subject matter of seventy-six United Nations resolutions and four separate references to the International Court of Justice. All these efforts by the United Nations and of individual Member States to persuade the Government of South Africa to co-operate with the United Nations in fulfilment of its sacred trust towards the people of South West Africa, to enable that people to exercise its inalienable right of self-determination, freedom and independence in conditions of peace and harmony, have fallen on deaf ears. The Government of South Africa has persistently flouted those measures of persuasion and has failed to display even the slightest stirring of a conscience on humanitarian grounds. Colonialism in its worst and most perverted form—coupled with racialism and policies of apartheid—continues to be the order of the day in South West Africa. The Judgement of the International Court of Justice handed down on 18 July 1966 on the case submitted to it by the Governments of Ethiopia and Liberia—and handed down after six long years of delay—brought about a new realization in the United Nations. It generated the long-suppressed feeling that, however justified and righteous a cause might be, redress could not be had through legal measures and attempts at persuasion alone, and that judicial intricacies and legal niceties could only help blur the issue and hamper the ends of justice. Was it not that realization which made the United Nations as a whole decide that a political solution should be found at the highest level of the world forum? Events led to the historic debates in the plenary meetings of the General Assembly, culminating in the adoption on 27 October 1966, by an overwhelming vote of 114 for and 2 against—namely, South Africa and its colonialist colleague, Portugal—of the now famous resolution 2145 (XXI). Even those Member States which, for various reasons, abstained in the voting shared the views of the overwhelming majority that the Government of South Africa had reneged on its obligations under the sacred trust and, having practised the policies of apartheid in the Territory, was no longer worthy of administering and had thus forfeited its title to administer the Mandate. I have dwelt at some length on those circumstances at the risk of being repetitious, for which I crave the indulgence of the Assembly, in order to point up the reality of the situation—on which my comments will be based.

97. In its historic resolution 2145 (XXI), the General Assembly decided in no uncertain terms that South Africa, having failed to fulfil its obligation in respect of the administration of the Territory, had disavowed the Mandate; that the Mandate having been terminated, South Africa had no other right to administer the Territory and that, henceforth, South West Africa would come under the direct responsibility of the United Nations. Further, the General Assembly resolved that the United Nations must discharge its responsibility with respect to the Territory. The United Nations has thus firmly and irrevocably committed itself to assist the people of South West Africa so as to enable it to exercise its inalienable right of self-determination, freedom and independence with the least possible delay. The importance of implementing that resolution and the speed with which that should be done is further stressed in the provisions relating to the establishment of the Ad Hoc Committee, which is required

"to recommend 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, and to report to the General Assembly at a special session as soon as possible and in any event not later than April 1967".

98. The report of the Ad Hoc Committee for South West Africa [A/6640] is now before us. We are grateful to the members of the Committee who, under the guidance of and in co-operation with its eminent Chairman, Ambassador Max Jakobson of Finland, have spared no effort and have put in laborious work exploring various avenues in search of practical and constructive means with which to administer the Territory of South West Africa, which has now become a United Nations responsibility. Though it is a matter of regret that the Committee could not reach agreement and present a consensus or even a majority recommendation which could easily be adopted by the Assembly, we do not consider the deliberations of the Committee to be a sheer exercise in futility. As a matter of fact, considering the complexities of the problem and the extraordinary difficulties of the task, coupled with the varying degrees of interest of the member nations involved, the divergent approaches to the matter are not totally surprising. It is a matter of satisfaction, however, that the Committee left no stone unturned in its search for an acceptable recommendation before putting forward the various proposals and suggestions now contained in the report. In a way, the Committee has narrowed down the issues involved by submitting the three formal proposals and suggestions to this Assembly for a final decision. The delegation of Burma is happy to note from the statement made by the Chairman of the Committee in this Assembly on 24 April [1503rd meeting] that the declared purpose of all the proposals and suggestions submitted to the Committee was to bring about the independence of the people of South West Africa with as little delay as possible and that the Committee also unanimously upheld the principle that the unity and integrity of the territory and its administration must be maintained.

99. It is with those criteria in mind and taking into consideration the reality of the situation that the

delegation of Burma would now wish to comment on the three formal proposals contained in the report. The three-Power proposal submitted by Canada, Italy and the United States [A/6640, para. 84] and now commonly known as the Western proposal, though it envisages the creation of a United Nations council for South West Africa and the appointment of a special representative, has a very limited conception of the United Nations responsibility in respect of the people of South West Africa. It limits the task of the council and the representative to undertaking studies, establishing contacts and consultations and making comprehensive surveys only with a view to the creation of a nucleus of self-government. In the face of the reality of the situation in which the Government of South Africa has openly declared that it regards United Nations resolution 2145 (XXI) as "illegal" and that it has no intention whatsoever of abdicating its responsibilities with regard to the Territory of South West Africa which it is still administering, and further that it is not prepared to start a dialogue with any country about the implementation of the "illegal" United Nations resolution on South West Africa, we wonder how many more decades will pass in creating that nucleus of self-government. In the meantime, the de facto administration will continue, and continue with the tacit approval, if not the blessing, of the United Nations, to consolidate its position, perpetuate its apartheid system and proceed unfettered with its fragmentation of the Territory, to the point that nothing of the unity and territorial integrity of South West Africa will be left for the United Nations to uphold. With due respect to the sponsors of the proposal and without casting any doubt on their sincerity of purpose, the delegation of Burma feels that the adoption of such a proposal would at best defer the assertion by the United Nations of its authority and responsibility, thereby averting the chance of an early confrontation. The concomitant effect of the proposal would be, however, further to aggravate racial tensions while completely denigrating the authority and immobilizing the machinery of the United Nations as an instrument of international peace and understanding.

100. The next proposal is the one formulated by Chile and Mexico and supported by Japan [ibid., para. 93], which is now known as the Latin American proposal. This proposal seems to the delegation of Burma not so far removed from the proposal advocated by the four African members and Pakistan [ibid., paras. 45 and 82]. Both proposals, in our view, are in conformity with the decisions contained in resolution 2145 (XXI) and emanate from a positive conception of the responsibility of the United Nations. They envisage the creation of a council and the appointment of a commissioner to be charged with the task of administering the Territory of South West Africa until independence. The difference is that the Latin American proposal as at present formulated can be implemented only if the de facto authority in South West Africa agrees to co-operate in the actual transfer of the Territory. The proposal is silent on what will happen should South Africa decide otherwise. The African-Asian proposal fills this gap and provides for such a contingency. While the proposal contains provisions for enforcement action on the

part of the United Nations, it does not preclude contacts with the de facto administration of the Territory for a peaceful transfer of the administrative functions. It is the fervent hope of the delegation of Burma that this and other minor differences between the Latin American and African-Asian proposals can be ironed out to mutual satisfaction in the course of the present debate.

101. The suggestions put forward by the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia provide, among other things, for the immediate elimination of the South African racist authority and the declaration of South West Africa's independence, and then the creation by the people of South West Africa of their own sovereign State with the support of the fraternal African peoples through the Organization of African Unity and the United Nations, which bears responsibility for the Territory. The intentions underlying the suggestions are laudable, but, in the absence of specific and concrete proposals, the delegation of Burma would like to refrain from commenting on those suggestions. We are, however, glad to note that their views on the basic and pivotal point are in accordance with those of the African-Asian countries.

102. The African-Asian draft resolution contained in document A/L.516 and Add.1-3, co-sponsored by some fifty-eight delegations, including the delegation of Burma, was so ably explained and clarified by our colleague from Nigeria, Chief Adebo, at the time of its formal presentation on 26 April [1506th meeting] that I do not think we can add much more to it.

103. In the view of the delegation of Burma, the African-Asian draft resolution is a natural corollary to resolution 2145 (XXI). We consider it to be the only satisfactory solution to the problem capable of securing the widest possible support in the Assembly without sacrificing the United Nations principles and objectives. We sincerely believe that a military confrontation is not necessary to achieve those objectives. What we really need is determination and resolve. Backed by resolve, confidence, determination and the will to achieve the avowed objectives on the part of all Member States that reaffirm their faith in the aims and principles of the United Nations Charter, we are confident that the United Nations will soon be able to vindicate its trust and assist the people of South West Africa to regain its long-lost freedom and independence.

104. Mr. OWONO (Cameroon) (translated from French): By choosing our President to preside over this fifth special session of the General Assembly, the Assembly has confirmed its confidence in him. His personal efforts as President of the twenty-first session were greatly appreciated by all his colleagues and, on behalf of my delegation and on my own behalf, I should like to congratulate him most sincerely on this occasion. It is a comforting thought for us to be able to hope that the wisdom with which he guided the discussions of the last session will enable us, at this special session, to achieve as effective results on the question of South West Africa as the adoption of resolution 2145 (XXI) last October.

105. However, our early discussions seem to have come up against the same difficulties as did the Ad Hoc Committee during its meetings. The fourteen

members of that Committee failed to come to agreement at the end of their labours. Different points of view were reached and successive parts of a report [A/6640] containing more or less divergent proposals were submitted to the fifth special session. The General Assembly is, in fact, being called upon not to take a decision on the report, approve it or reject it, but—regrettably—to resume the work of the Ad Hoc Committee almost from the beginning.

106. However, it cannot be said that there has been a setback. On the contrary, the report shows what the practical difficulties and the viewpoints of the various groups are and may lead the General Assembly to recommend a solution based on the realities of the situation, provided that everyone's viewpoint is animated with a sincere desire to act in accordance with the objectives of resolution 2145 (XXI).

107. Many speakers before me have recalled the task assigned to the Ad Hoc Committee. The delegation of Cameroon feels that the present discussions could be conducted more easily and that results would be achieved more quickly if the debates were confined to that subject.

108. The establishment of an Ad Hoc Committee was justified by three decisions in paragraph 4 of resolution 2145 (XXI) of 27 October. This paragraph states that:

"The Mandate conferred upon His Britannic Majesty to be exercised on his behalf by the Government of the Union of South Africa is therefore terminated, that South Africa has no other right to administer the Territory and that henceforth South West Africa comes under the direct responsibility of the United Nations."

109. As a result of these decisions, it became automatically necessary to provide the Territory with an administrative machinery to replace the administration of the Government of South Africa. It is the opinion of the delegation of Cameroon that the adoption of the resolution in general and of that paragraph in particular left no possible doubt as to the nature and the scope of the task conferred on the Ad Hoc Committee, for, as a result of the theoretical and de facto vacuum resulting from the termination of the Mandate, the General Assembly had to shoulder its responsibilities and make new arrangements to replace the administrative machinery of South Africa.

110. The urgency of these procedures was obvious and that was why it was recommended that this special session should be called, less than six months after the adoption of the resolution. In other words, what had to be done was not to go through the whole development of the South West African problem which had been discussed for the last twenty years, but to give priority to an immediate solution setting up in that Territory administrative machinery established specifically in view of the urgency of the situation.

111. Unfortunately, the members of the Ad Hoc Committee, undoubtedly with the best of intentions, rather lost sight of the three parts of the General Assembly decision in paragraph 4 which I have just quoted. It is interesting to consider their differences, in so far as they affect the discussions of the fifth special

session. The report points out that as a result of these differences four points of view emerged, ranging from immediate independence—advocated by the socialist countries—to further studies—advocated by the Western group—with in between the procedures proposed by the Afro-Asian and Latin American groups. The Assembly has already heard different speakers supporting these various proposals. The delegation of Cameroon naturally supports the Afro-Asian draft (A/L.516 and Add.1-3) which falls within the Committee's terms of reference and the provisions of the General Assembly resolution. However, we do not completely reject the points of view of the other groups a priori. In my delegation's view, the African draft has to a large extent reconciled the different opinions of our other colleagues. As in the case of the Ad Hoc Committee it may be said that the present differences in the General Assembly reflect an untimely extrapolation which may well lead to failure.

112. The delegation of Cameroon is not in the habit of describing the positions expressed by members speaking on behalf of their countries as absurd. However, most of the arguments put forward seemed to be based solely on the anticipated consequences of the application of a deliberate and well-thought-out General Assembly decision that administrative machinery should be set up in South West Africa. In fact, we are being reminded that nothing should be done that might be interpreted as a provocation to the Government of South Africa and might thus involve the United Nations in military activities which nobody would agree to recommending or even less to support.

113. We feel that this argument, especially if it is to be taken as the basis for solving the problem before us, no longer takes into account the provisions of resolution 2145 of 27 October, which was the culmination of twenty years of discussion. The resolution clearly states the motives which led the General Assembly to adopt the decision in its paragraph 4 and consequently to provide for the setting up of the Ad Hoc Committee in paragraph 6. All these motives reply, point by point, to the arguments put forward here, which seem to be designed purely and simply to spare South Africa. Some of the arguments are concerned with co-operation and others with the continuance of South Africa's administration of the territory.

114. Let us first consider co-operation. Some have suggested co-operation with the Government of South Africa in order to make an additional study, so that recommendations could be made for an administrative procedure based on reality. In that connexion, at the meeting of the Ad Hoc Committee on 17 January 1967, the Secretary-General stated that

"Had South Africa co-operated with the United Nations, it would not have been necessary to establish the Ad Hoc Committee". [A/6640, paragraph 4.]

I would add that there would also have been no call for this special session, nor would it have been necessary to adopt seventy-six resolutions over a period of twenty years, nor would it have been necessary to have recourse four times to the International Court of Justice concerning this Territory.

115. Some arguments amount to recommending, if not accepting, even temporarily, the continuation of the South African administration of the Territory. But the General Assembly, before setting out the decisions in paragraph 4 of the resolution of 27 October, had already made the following statements in the preamble:

"... the administration of the Mandated Territory by South Africa has been conducted"—and I emphasize these words—"in a manner contrary to the Mandate, the Charter of the United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights".

"... the General Assembly condemned the policies of apartheid and racial discrimination practised by the Government of South Africa in South West Africa as"—and I emphasize what follows—"constituting a crime against humanity".

"All the efforts"—I emphasize—"all the efforts"—"of the United Nations to induce the Government of South Africa to fulfil its obligations in respect of the administration of the Mandated Territory and to ensure the well-being and security of the indigenous inhabitants" "have been of no avail". (This last statement too should be noted.)

116. Moreover, in paragraph 3, the General Assembly solemnly declared that: "South Africa has failed to fulfil its obligations in respect of the administration of the Mandated Territory and to ensure the moral and material well-being and security of the indigenous inhabitants of South West Africa".

117. This was why the General Assembly terminated the Mandate that had been entrusted to South Africa. In the light of these explicit reasons, these facts and conclusions, how is it possible temporarily to consider the continuation of the administration of this Territory by South Africa? Such a suggestion would involve a dangerous return to the status quo, which existed up to 27 October of last year. In short, my delegation's view is that such an attitude would be an official disavowal of the collective undertakings given to the people of South West Africa.

118. We remember the great concessions made by everybody during the twenty-first session in order to adopt the resolution of 27 October 1966 which should be hailed as a turning-point in the history of the United Nations. We can still hear the echo of the applause which greeted the adoption of that resolution. The General Assembly has well deserved the tribute of mankind in general and of the people of South West Africa in particular. But we cannot fail to notice that certain of the attitudes expressed seem to question once more the whole of that resolution, thereby dimming the hopes which the people of South West Africa had glimpsed. It may be worth recalling that there is no reason at all to expect any possibility of co-operation with South Africa which, since the adoption of the resolution, has continued to defy the whole Organization.

119. In conclusion, however we look at the problem, we cannot fail to take into account the following three guiding principles:

(1) After twenty years of discussion, the United Nations, taking into account all the considerations put forward has decided to terminate the Mandate

entrusted to South Africa for the administration of that Territory;

(2) To fill the vacuum which resulted from that decision, the Ad Hoc Committee was instructed to seek urgently the best formula for the establishment of administrative machinery;

(3) The fifth special session of the General Assembly has been convened to decide upon the establishment of that administrative machinery.

120. We cannot avoid noticing the differences which have arisen in the Ad Hoc Committee and which have again been expressed here. We still believe that no Member of this Assembly wishes our work to fail. We think that it is still possible to confine the consideration of the report to the points reflecting the views expressed in the Mandate and to the General Assembly's decision on the administration of the Territory.

121. The efforts made at the twenty-first session will have been in vain if this special session does not achieve tangible results, namely the establishment of the physical presence of a United Nations authority in the Territory of South West Africa.

122. Any formula, proposal or suggestion that would lead to such a result would obviously have the warm support of my delegation. But the definitive solutions must be based on the following three facts:

(1) For twenty years, the United Nations has not enjoyed the co-operation of South Africa;

(2) Through its policy of apartheid and racial discrimination, South Africa has committed a crime against humanity in South West Africa;

(3) South Africa has failed in its obligations concerning the administration of the Territory and has not complied with its Mandate to ensure the security and well-being of the indigenous inhabitants of the country.

123. We hope that the good sense that prevailed in the debates during the adoption of the resolution of 27 October will lead the Member States constantly to bear in mind the points clearly set forth by the General Assembly. It is in this hope that the delegation of the Federal Republic of Cameroon calls upon all representatives to comply with the provisions of this resolution and with the objectives of operative paragraph 6 defining the mandate of the Ad Hoc Committee.

124. Mr. ABDOUL (Chad) (translated from French): On behalf of the Chad delegation, I should like first of all to join the other representatives in warmly congratulating Mr. Pazhwak on his unanimous election as President of this fifth special session of the Assembly. At the same time, I should like to express our deep conviction that his well-known talent, wisdom and sense of fairness will enable us to bring our work to a successful conclusion.

125. I should also like to take this opportunity to extend our congratulations to the other officers of the General Assembly, who have been elected to share the heavy responsibilities of the President.

126. Before considering the item now being discussed—that is, the implementation of the objectives

laid down in resolution 2145 (XXI) adopted on 27 October last, I should like to reaffirm that the Republic of Chad firmly believes in the United Nations and in the intelligence and common sense of its Members and, therefore, has complete confidence that it will find a just and humane solution to the burning problem of South West Africa which we are now considering, in accordance with the spirit of the Charter.

127. After many long years of debates, of study after study, of appeals to morality and understanding and of denunciation by many delegations of the judgement handed down on 18 July 1966 by the International Court of Justice, a verdict which moreover aroused the indignation of all peace-loving and justice-loving peoples, this very Assembly adopted by an overwhelming majority the historic resolution 2145 (XXI) on the situation prevailing in South West Africa. This resolution clearly states that:

(1) South Africa has failed to fulfil its obligations and therefore its mandate over South West Africa is terminated;

(2) South West Africa has no other right of any kind to administer the Territory;

(3) Because of that fact, South West Africa is directly under the responsibility of the United Nations;

(4) The Organization must discharge its responsibility with respect to South West Africa by leading the people of the Territory to the exercise of its right to self-determination and independence.

128. We can find nothing equivocal in the provisions of that resolution nor are any interests sacrificed. It is simply a just resolution. Hence it goes without saying that the only task for the present Assembly is to find a way to implement that solution and the Assembly should not allow itself to be delayed for a moment by the machinations that the fascist and racist Pretoria régime is trying to introduce here in order to divide and weaken us.

129. Consequently, my delegation was greatly surprised and distressed to note the backward step taken by certain Members of this Assembly who, after having supported resolution 2145 (XXI), are today tending to yield to the bullying threats of the fascist and racist Pretoria régime, merely to preserve their ill-gotten gains which seem more important to them than human beings. All the same, we still cherish the hope that common sense will ultimately overcome their hesitations.

130. We think time is pressing on and that we need not sum up twenty years of thinking on the South West African question. Other better-informed delegations have already spoken eloquently on the matter in this hall. I should therefore like to state immediately and as briefly as possible our opinion on the various proposals submitted and to show at the same time where our choice lies.

131. First of all there are the Western proposals submitted by the United States, Canada and Italy [A/6640, para. 84]. Although the sponsors claim to be in agreement with the terms of resolution 2145 (XXI),

we find their proposals confusing in many ways, since they are based on concepts which definitely conflict with that resolution. For example we do not quite know how to interpret the restrictions placed on the United Nations mission in the form of a field survey, dialogues or consultations with the Government of South Africa, conversations, and a negotiated solution to the problem.

132. We wonder with whom it is necessary to hold a dialogue or discussions in order to reach a negotiated solution? Certainly not with the Government of South Africa, which has on so many occasions set itself up and continues to set itself up as a censor of United Nations decisions. Perhaps the sponsors of these proposals and their friends would wish to discuss with the gentlemen in Pretoria how best to protect their capital; that indeed can only aggravate the situation. We, for our part, do not believe that anybody in Pretoria would be prepared to listen to advice which ran counter to such objectives as those of the famous Odendaal plan^{2/} or those in the Declaration on Ovamboland. But our respect and friendship for our Western friends must not prevent us from telling them quite sincerely that we will not allow ourselves to become involved in political scheming and myths. Consequently their proposals cannot win the support of our Government.

133. Other proposals have been submitted by our Latin American colleagues, endorsed also by Japan [*ibid.*, paragraph 93]. There can be no doubt that the peoples of Latin America and Japan—who share our concern in a world where peace and security seem to be yielding to the law of the jungle—are endeavouring, as they always have, to find the best possible solutions for the problems confronting the world. Thus their proposals on the question under consideration demand our immediate attention. However, we would urge them to fill in certain gaps: they have not yet clearly stated what attitude the United Nations should take if the Government of South Africa decides to obstruct their mission to South West Africa.

134. The carefully considered and unambiguous Afro-Asian proposals have been sufficiently commented on by most of the Afro-Asian delegations that have already spoken, and there is no need to dwell on them further. We should merely like to say that we naturally support them because, in our opinion, they offer the most practical solutions to the questions raised here by certain delegations concerning the ways and means to be used in, and the duration of, the administration of South West Africa by the United Nations. We firmly believe that it is in these proposals that we should lay our hopes of finding a reasonable solution to the problem which weighs so heavily on our hearts and our minds.

135. In conclusion, we should also like to inform our colleagues from the socialist countries that we respect their ideas on the freedom and independence of peoples and we understand perfectly their concern and their fear that the errors of the past may be repeated in South West Africa if the Assembly does not act with the greatest circumspection. Their wise advice offered

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

so generously is consequently most valuable and commands our sympathy. We would, therefore, urge them not to adopt too inflexible an attitude which might lead to an impasse and we hope that after they have

heard the many appeals made in this hall, they will give us their co-operation.

The meeting rose at 1 p.m.