



CONTENTS

	Page
Agenda item 70:	
Question of Oman:	
(a) Report of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples;	
(b) Report of the Secretary-General	
Report of the Fourth Committee	1
Agenda item 23:	
Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples: report of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples (<i>continued</i>)	2
Agenda item 70:	
Question of Oman (<i>concluded</i>):	
(a) Report of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples;	
(b) Report of the Secretary-General	
Report of the Fourth Committee	13
Agenda item 64:	
Question of South West Africa (<i>continued</i>):	
(a) Report of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples;	
(b) Report of the United Nations Council for South West Africa;	
(c) Appointment of a United Nations Commissioner for South West Africa	13

President: Mr. Corneliu MANESCU (Romania).

AGENDA ITEM 70

Question of Oman:

- (a) Report of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples;
- (b) Report of the Secretary-General

REPORT OF THE FOURTH COMMITTEE (A/6966)

Mr. Dashtseren (Mongolia), Rapporteur of the Fourth Committee, presented the report of that Committee (A/6966) and then spoke as follows:

1. Mr. DASHTSEREN (Mongolia): During the Fourth Committee's consideration of item 70 many Members expressed the view that the colonial presence of the United Kingdom in the Territory of Oman was preventing the people of the Territory from exercising their right to self-determination and independence. It was thought that the economic and strategic interest of the United Kingdom in this Territory was a primary motivation for its continued refusal to implement the provisions of the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly.

2. A number of Members strongly affirm that the indigenous population alone has the exclusive right to make use of the natural resources of the Territory to the betterment of their own life, and that various concessions granted to foreign enterprises without the consent of the people constituted a violation of the fundamental right of the people of the Territory. Many delegations pointed out that the presence of the British armed forces and the existence of military bases in the Territory were aggravating the situation in that Territory and constituting a major hindrance to the exercise by the indigenous population of its right to freedom, and called upon the United Kingdom to withdraw its troops and military bases and to stop all repressive actions against the people of the Territory.

3. These views are reflected in the draft resolution which was adopted by the Fourth Committee by a vote of 70 to 16 with 18 abstentions [A/6966, para. 10]. With a view to effecting the proper and effective implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples in respect of this Territory, the Fourth Committee is recommending a number of measures addressed to the Government of the United Kingdom, to all Member States and to the Committee of Twenty-four which, I am confident, will command the wide support of the General Assembly.

Pursuant to rule 68 of the rules of procedure, it was decided not to discuss the report of the Fourth Committee.

4. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): I call on the representative of the United Republic of Tanzania on a point of order.

5. Mr. MALECELA (United Republic of Tanzania): I wanted, on a point of order, to ask the Chair whether, instead of proceeding to a vote on the item of Oman, perhaps we could take up the second item, item 23, and then return to the first item at a later stage. I am

making this request in the hope that the Assembly will accede to it, since at the start of a meeting there are always some delegations which find it very difficult to come in time, and it is our intention and our hope that when we come to vote on the question of Oman we will have as many delegations as possible in the Assembly.

6. Therefore, my point of order, Mr. President, is to ask you, and perhaps also to ask the Assembly, whether instead of proceeding to a vote on the question of Oman, we could take up the second item number and, after dealing with it, revert to the question of Oman specifically for the purpose of voting.

7. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): The Assembly has heard the proposal of the representative of the United Republic of Tanzania. If there is no objection, we shall go on to the second item of the agenda for this meeting and after that return to the first item.

It was so decided.

AGENDA ITEM 23

Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples: report of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples (continued)*

8. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): I call on the Chairman of the Special Committee, Mr. Malecela, of the United Republic of Tanzania, to speak.

9. Mr. MALECELA (United Republic of Tanzania): Before I proceed to my statement on the question of decolonization I wish to take this opportunity to convey to the delegation of India the condolences of the Government and people of Tanzania for the great loss which they have sustained in human life and property because of the earthquake which took place this week. We hope that the delegation of India will convey to the Government and people of India the condolences of the Government and people of the United Republic of Tanzania.

10. Permit me, Mr. President, to devote special attention in this statement to the situation in southern Africa, not only because it is so close to my country or because the Assembly has before it the report of the Committee of Twenty-four and the report [A/6818 and Corr.1] of the International Seminar on Apartheid, Racial Discrimination and Colonialism in southern Africa, held at Kitwe, Zambia, in July-August 1967—over which I had the honour to preside—but above all, because this is the region where colonialism and racism today represent the most serious challenge to the United Nations.

11. In 1960, when the General Assembly adopted the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples [resolution 1514 (XV)], several delegations expressed the hope that colonialism would be abolished within a decade; others thought that that was too long a period in which to implement the Declaration. The end of the decade is drawing to a close. While many colonial countries have attained independence during these years, and while we look forward to the independence of several other Territories

in the near future, nevertheless colonialism is far from being rapidly eradicated. It remains in existence as a challenge to the United Nations, especially in southern Africa where the intransigence of Portugal, the inhumanity of the racists of South Africa and the policies of the United Kingdom in Rhodesia have frustrated the implementation of the historic Declaration of the Assembly.

12. In Angola and Mozambique, in Southern Rhodesia, in South West Africa—and, I would add, in the Republic of South Africa because the problem there is essentially a product of colonial domination and has all the elements of colonial oppression—colonialism is inextricably linked with racism in a most explosive mixture which threatens not only peace in the area, but also the very future of international co-operation and the viability of this Organization.

13. We have in that area the "unholy alliance" of the Portuguese colonialists and the racist settlers of South Africa and Southern Rhodesia, reinforced by powerful foreign economic, financial and other interests which profit from the oppression of the African people, and protected by the connivance of powerful nations outside Africa. This alliance is essentially a criminal conspiracy directed against Africa and indeed a serious challenge to the United Nations. There can be no security for Africa, and there can be no future for the United Nations, unless this conspiracy is resolutely combated and destroyed.

14. The General Assembly and its Committee again this year have considered and formulated draft resolutions on each of the Territories in this area—the Portuguese Territories, Southern Rhodesia, South West Africa and the problem of apartheid in South Africa. They have also considered the activities of foreign economic and other interests which are impeding the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, the question of aid by specialized agencies to promote decolonization, the violations of human rights in colonial countries, the educational and other programmes to assist the victims of oppression, and many other related matters. The situation in each of the Territories in southern Africa has its special features which require separate consideration by the Assembly.

15. Now, when the Assembly is considering the problem of decolonization as a whole, I wish to concentrate on the common features of the situation in the Territories in Southern Africa and the inter-relationship of the problems, since these problems need to be seen in their proper perspective in order that more effective means for a solution may be devised.

16. The International Seminar on Apartheid, Racial Discrimination and Colonialism in Southern Africa was held in Kitwe, Zambia, from 25 July to 4 August—in accordance with General Assembly resolution 2202 A (XXI)—in order to consider the problems in southern Africa in their totality. The report of the Seminar which is before the present session of the General Assembly, is the result of consultation among representatives of Governments, specialized agencies, liberation movements, non-governmental organizations and eminent experts. It contains conclusions and

*Continuation of the debate at the 1624th meeting.

recommendations which deserve the serious consideration of this Assembly, and indeed of all States.

17. Permit me, Mr. President, to pay tribute to the President of the Republic of Zambia and to the Government and people of that country for their hospitality and their contribution to the success of the Seminar. Let me also pay tribute to the representatives of the liberation movements and non-governmental organizations, and to the eminent experts devoted to the struggle against racism and colonialism, for their great contribution to the Seminar.

18. Members of the Seminar fully recognized the distinctive features of the problems of each of the Territories which require separate consideration—the nature of the colonial relationship, the stage of the liberation struggle and the various legal aspects.

19. At the same time, the Seminar recognized that the problems in southern Africa have a number of common features, and they have been aggravated by the unholy alliance of Lisbon, Pretoria and Salisbury. It analysed those common features and emphasized the imperative need for effective international action in view of the imminence of wider conflict over the whole area. It made a number of recommendations for consideration by the United Nations and by the organizations and public opinion at large. As I had occasion to state at Kitwe, it attempted to present not a blueprint but a guide for action, an outline of the directions in which international action might develop effectively, for consideration by States, by this Organization and other bodies concerned. The General Assembly and its committees have already taken these conclusions into account in the consideration of various agenda items, and a number of non-governmental organizations have also taken them into account in planning their activities.

20. The basic features of the situation in southern Africa are well known; I refer, of course, to the colonial and racially dominated countries of the area, excluding the African States surrounded by them. In those countries, the political systems are based on racism, oppression, repression and naked terror. Political power is controlled by the white minority, which also controls the means of production and dominates the economic and social life of those Territories. The great majority of the people are deprived of their fundamental human and political rights. Their movements are restricted and freedom of employment is harshly denied them—not to mention the low wages paid by the exploiters. The African people have been robbed of their land, and they have been robbed of their mineral resources. In other words, the economy is based on the exploitation of cheap labour which is denied elementary trade union rights, and the treatment of Africans as only beasts of burden.

21. The racist minority governments use their monopoly over military and police power to suppress any efforts by the overwhelming majority of the African people to secure their rights to freedom, equality and human dignity. As resistance to oppression has continued and increased, the racist authorities have resorted to the most arbitrary laws and the most brutal police-State methods against the African people.

22. The Whites in these Territories have been constituted into an armed camp, with even women and children trained for war and indoctrinated with hate and fear of their fellow citizens, whose only fault happens to be the pigment of their skin and their desire that they should be treated as human beings—and this, mind you, in their own land. The South African régime announced in October that it would soon begin giving military training to all white women.

23. The colonial and racist rulers of these countries have scorned and defied all appeals and demands by the United Nations and the international community to revise their policies and bring them into conformity with the United Nations Charter and the historic Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. All those régimes constantly defy and defame the United Nations. For instance, they claim that they are the bastions of Western civilization and the stronghold against communism in southern Africa.

24. The Portuguese dictator, Salazar, declared at an interview in October:

"We are struggling to save the Western civilization in the southern part of Africa. It is the most promising and best endowed of the African continent. There we are opposing communist forces that are directly hostile to Western influence."

25. So all the crimes and all the oppressive acts committed by Portugal, all the oppression in Southern Rhodesia and in South Africa itself, are the means by which these Powers are supposed to defend Western civilization must mean oppression, the denial of human rights and the denial of human dignity. I really wonder whether that is the true meaning of Western civilization in Africa. In short, to the African the defence of Western civilization must mean oppression, the denial of human rights and the denial of human dignity. I really wonder whether that is the true meaning of Western civilization. If it is the true meaning, then I should like to say that the African people would like to do away completely with whatever Western civilization may be associated with those tortures.

26. Many years of pleading and of moral pressure have shown clearly that there is no possibility of persuading these few selfish minority Governments by appeals to reason. It is completely unrealistic to expect these very selfish Whites to give up their privileges voluntarily.

27. There seems, therefore, to be no peaceful ending of apartheid, racial discrimination and colonialism in southern Africa unless the colonial and racist régimes are forced to abandon their course and, indeed, unless the political structure of these Territories is changed radically.

28. On the other hand, the oppressed people of southern Africa have patiently tried every peaceful means to secure their inalienable right to freedom and dignity. Faced with the brutality of the rulers, with the fascist measures which make any non-violent struggle impossible, and with the ineffectiveness of this Organization—that is, the United Nations—they have been forced to conclude that they have no choice except to resort to arms. In this armed struggle,

large areas of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau) have been liberated. Many freedom fighters have already lost their lives in encounters with the racist and colonial armies. Many freedom fighters are in death cells or in colonial dungeons. Thousands of innocent Africans—men, women and children—have been killed or wounded in this military action.

29. The struggle may not be disturbing enough for those distant Powers and economic interests which find that their profits from the exploitation of African labour are not affected. At this juncture, I should like to say that my delegation regretted very much that on the same day that this Assembly was passing a resolution [2288 (XXII)] asking Powers to curb their economic interests in the colonial Territories, and almost at the same time, some American companies were signing an agreement in Portugal for the exploitation of oil in Mozambique. I wonder how long Africa will plead with the economic interests of the United States.

30. On the other hand, the oppressed people of southern Africa have determined to fight for their freedom. We already have over half a million refugees in the neighbouring African countries. We have over 100,000 foreign soldiers from Portugal on African soil killing Africans. We have constant incursions across the borders of independent African countries.

31. In short, what do these colonial Powers seek to achieve? The Zambesi today has become the dividing line between freedom and colonialism, between racism and non-racism, between justice and injustice, between respect for human person and utter disregard for human dignity, and indeed between democracy and terror.

32. South of the Zambesi, the white settlers have tried to set up a racist bastion, armed to the teeth and determined to wage a suicidal battle for the privilege of oppressing the African people. I need only remind you that the régime in Southern Rhodesia has acquired so many weapons that even the United Kingdom, a permanent member of the Security Council, is impressed with the military power of Southern Rhodesia; that Portugal has increased its military expenditure to nearly 40 per cent of its budget; and that in South Africa the military budget has increased six-fold since the Sharpeville massacre of 1960.

33. The racist régime in Pretoria, which is playing the role of the senior partner of the unholy alliance, has declared its own "Monroe Doctrine" against freedom in southern Africa and is constantly threatening independent African States. The racist Vorster announced on 23 October 1967 that he was not going to wait until members of the OAU reached the Limpopo. The Zambesi, he said, would be the border in this regard.

34. On 4 November 1967, the South African Minister of Defence, Mr. Botha, declared that the South African Defence Forces had the task of defending the whole of "southern Africa" against what they termed communism from the north. Speaking of the liberation movements in Angola and Mozambique, which he described as trouble-makers, he announced that South Africa would not allow the evil communist powers to gain a foothold south of the Zambesi—

If we were to see the involvement of some of the Western Powers, it can easily be explained that when there were South African forces in Southern Rhodesia the maximum that the British Government could do was merely to lodge a paper protest.

35. Even though these régimes feverishly prepare for larger conflict and hurl threats at independent African States, the Western Powers still continue to deny that the situation in southern Africa constitutes a threat to peace in terms of Chapter VII of the Charter and that international action under Chapter VII is appropriate.

36. When does a clear and present threat to the peace, indeed a military conflict such as we see in the Portuguese colonies, become a threat to the peace in the view of these Western Powers? Is it only when their economic interests are threatened? Is it only when the lives of their so-called "kith and kin" are endangered? Is it only when they realize that the national liberation movements, which they had done everything possible to frustrate, appear to be on the verge of accomplishing conclusive victories?

37. For centuries, Africa has been the victim of oppression and exploitation, the victim of the slave trade, colonization and recolonization. It has suffered the massacre of millions of its people, the depopulation of vast areas, the ruthless exploitation of its labour and its riches and the humiliation of a great majority of its people simply because they happen to be black.

38. Yet, as Africa has begun to recover its freedom and dignity in the past decade, the African revolution has been mainly a humane revolution aimed at restoring Africa's dignity and independence. The African people have not sought to take revenge and inflict inhumanity and humiliation on their oppressors. They have shed their blood for their freedom when there was no other way: half a million lives have been lost in the struggles for liberation in Algeria, in Morocco, in Tunisia and in Kenya. But the African people have followed the path of peace wherever possible and have even welcomed their erstwhile oppressors to remain in their lands as equals and not as masters.

39. This African revolution for the recovery of freedom and dignity is not complete so long as any part of Africa remains under alien domination, so long as any African is humiliated because of his colour. No country in Africa is secure in its freedom so long as oppression remains in the southern part of our continent.

40. The African people do not seek violence. They want Africa to be non-aligned. If they choose violent methods to regain their dignity, it is only because they are forced to do so by their oppressors and to a certain extent by the complacency of the United Nations. The African people want a peaceful solution to the situation in southern Africa, assisted by the combined efforts of the international community. That is why we have pressed again and again in the United Nations for international economic sanctions against Portugal and South Africa.

41. Even today, despite all the bloodshed, the liberation movements in the Portuguese Territories are ready for negotiations on self-determination and inde-

pendence. The people of Zimbabwe are ready for discussion with the colonial Powers on the liberation of their country. The people of South Africa are ready for a discussion of a democratic course for their country.

42. We have tried by all peaceful means to persuade the Portuguese colonizers to grant independence to their colonies, to persuade the White settlers in Southern Rhodesia and those in South Africa to recognize the inalienable rights of the African people. We have tried to persuade the Pretoria régime to restore South West Africa to its people. But the colonialists and white supremacists have treated all our appeals with contempt and have indeed declared war on the movement for liberation.

43. When they reject a peaceful solution, there need be no doubt that the oppressed people will fight, whatever the cost, because no human being worth the name can permanently allow himself to be regarded as a sub-human-racial type and subjected to degradation and humiliation. Indeed, there is a limit to how long any people can be suppressed. And as far as African people in southern Africa are concerned, the limits now are beyond endurance. There can be no doubt that the cause of freedom in southern Africa will prevail.

44. But will the world watch idly, when Africa is again forced to shed its blood, ignoring the incalculable dangers of a racial conflagration? Will the United Nations merely continue the ritual of adopting ineffective measures, forgetting the Principles and Purposes of its own Charter and the reason for its very existence?

45. The oppressed people of southern Africa have no illusions. They know that their struggle may be long and difficult but they are determined to liberate themselves, whatever the cost in blood and suffering. They have a right to expect from all States which subscribe to the Charter of the United Nations that those States shall not aid the oppressors. They have a right to expect sympathy and support from their African brothers and from all those who believe in the principles of the Charter. It is at this juncture that we always call upon those with economic interests in South Africa not to aid our enemies.

46. The United Republic of Tanzania, for its part, is unequivocally committed in the name of its own freedom to the uncompromising struggle against racism and colonialism in all its forms and manifestations in the southern part of Africa. We recognize that our own freedom and independence is not secure as long as the racists and colonialists are allowed to continue their crimes against humanity in the southern part of our continent.

47. The African States have declared that the cause of the oppressed peoples of southern Africa is the cause of all the peoples of Africa. Tanzania is fully committed to this cause.

48. At this juncture, I wish to reiterate what I said in Kitwe:

"We assure the Governments of the Western Powers that neither the liberation movements of southern Africa nor the African people want them to shed even a single drop of their blood for the

liberation of southern Africa. But, at the same time, we demand—and we will never cease to demand—that they should stop all collaboration with the enemies of the African people and the enemies of humanity. Let them disengage themselves totally from the racist and colonial régimes in southern Africa or they may find themselves in confrontation with the liberation movements and all the African peoples." [A/6818 and Corr.1, annex IV, para. 15.]

49. I do not think that it is too much for Africa to say to the Western Powers "While we agree that you should not come and die for our independence, please, for heaven's sake, do not aid our enemies".

50. We now come to another significant and tragic feature of the situation in southern Africa. In every part of southern Africa where the oppressed people struggle for their freedom, they face the same collection of forces ranged against them—the unholy colonialist-racist alliance of Pretoria, Lisbon and Salisbury, supported by the greedy and unprincipled foreign economic and financial interests and protected by certain Western Powers, and other Powers, which continue to collaborate with those oppressive régimes.

51. Here, in the United Nations, the Western Powers resist every proposal for effective action to resolve the situation in southern Africa. These Powers, we readily admit, are quite profuse in their pious condemnations of colonialism and apartheid, but they oppose every meaningful action to eliminate those evils. They are even opposed to measures against Portugal or South Africa, when the régimes in Lisbon and Pretoria are massacring the African people and trampling on the principles of the Charter, even when they openly and cynically defy the Security Council resolutions on mandatory sanctions against Southern Rhodesia.

52. We have again and again invited the Western Powers to put forward effective alternatives for ending colonialism and apartheid in southern Africa if they disagree with our proposals, but I must say that these efforts have been in vain.

53. Despite our earnest appeals, and despite numerous resolutions of this Assembly, those Governments, and the powerful economic interests in those countries, have tremendously increased their trade with the colonialist and racist régimes. They have increased their investments in the area and developed a massive arms industry for the South African régime. They have, either directly or indirectly, helped the Smith régime to resist economic sanctions. They have frustrated the implementation of the United Nations resolutions on southern Africa. They have supplied all the sophisticated military equipment used by Portugal, South Africa and the Ian Smith clique to kill and intimidate the African people. They have provided military training for the armies of these régimes. They have thus provided one of the most blatant examples of hypocrisy in international affairs.

54. We have no desire to criticize the Western Powers as such. We wish that they were on the side of the freedom-fighters—at least some of them. But with the exception of some Scandinavian countries, those Powers seem to have largely abandoned the moral values they profess in the pursuit of the fabulous profits derived from the oppression of the African

people in the southern part of Africa. We find them solidly ranged against action to end apartheid and colonialism. It pains us to see that those who talk the loudest about freedom, democracy, justice and so on in their own countries are the very ones who have, in more than one way, perpetuated actions designed to assist in the trampling underfoot of these same principles in the southern part of Africa.

55. In short, they have become the main props of the Lisbon-Pretoria-Salisbury axis. It is because of their equivocation and complicity that this unholy alliance is able to defy and challenge the United Nations and redouble the oppression of the African people. It is their attitude that makes the struggle for the liberation movements very difficult.

56. As the Kitwe Seminar has stated in its final declarations:

"The international community must now face the immediate consequences of the violence which past failures to act effectively have made inevitable, recognize the reality of this revolutionary situation, and reassess its role in this context.

"The Seminar does not subscribe to the view that the United Nations no longer has a useful role to perform. On the contrary, its responsibility for halting through energetic international action the danger of an escalation of violence has become even more important." [A/6818 and Corr.1, para. 124.]

57. We therefore urge that the United Nations should act now with a sense of urgency and in all seriousness.

58. We call for the implementation of the many resolutions adopted on the southern African problems, which have remained meaningless for want of sincere co-operation by certain Powers which collaborate with these oppressive régimes.

59. We call for an unequivocal recognition of the legitimacy of the struggle of the oppressed people for freedom and dignity, for all appropriate support for this struggle, and for an end to all collaboration with the oppressors, who are enemies not only of the African people but of the principles of the Charter of the United Nations.

60. We call urgently for the crushing of the racist minority régime in Southern Rhodesia as a matter of priority, and we warn that this necessitates effective action to prevent South Africa and Portugal defying the resolutions of the Security Council.

61. We call on the Security Council to assume effectively its responsibilities under the Charter and to take decisive action—not ineffective action—against the unholy alliance in southern Africa in the light of the resolutions adopted by this Assembly by impressive majorities. We call on all States to support such action, and particularly appeal to the Great Powers and to the Powers which still collaborate with the oppressive régimes in southern Africa to heed the overwhelming opinion of Member States and cooperate in facilitating and implementing action by the Security Council.

62. I need not dwell on the gravity or the urgency of the situation in southern Africa, as the Secretary-General has repeatedly drawn the attention of this

Organization to it. In fact, many Western statesmen—even the Tories in the United Kingdom—have recognized that in southern Africa the world is faced with an explosive situation which may seriously endanger relations between large segments of humanity.

63. The present conflict in southern Africa may not be impressive in relation to the wars of other parts of the world. But as the Right Rev. C. Edward Crowther, Bishop of Kimberley—who has since been deported from South Africa—said at the Pacem in Terris Conference in Geneva in May 1967:

"The next decade could well see in southern Africa the emergence of a situation which could show up Viet-Nam as a merely localized conflict. The rejection of apartheid, colonialism and racism by those who have suffered so long could well develop into a world-wide movement which rejects racism as the delineation between the haves and the have-nots."

64. It is our earnest hope that enough wisdom will prevail over the situation in southern Africa and that another major conflagration, even more serious in magnitude and more disastrous in consequence, will be averted by timely action. The time to act is now; otherwise it may be too late.

65. Let me now turn to the problem of decolonization as a whole. First, regarding the question of small Territories, I know that this problem is currently being widely discussed by many scholars. To me, the problem of small Territories should be a problem that the colonial Powers must allow to be the role of the United Nations. Otherwise we are bound to have a lot of unnecessary conflicts—conflicts that are not only unnecessary but that can definitely be easily avoided. For instance, I should like to point out that many of the conflicts we have had in the Caribbean Territories could easily have been avoided if the United Nations had been allowed to perform its role, but due to the refusal of the administering Power we are now faced with some conflicts which are absolutely unnecessary. Therefore I do hope that this Assembly will come up with some definite suggestions on the problem of small Territories. On the other hand, I want to stress that whatever other solutions may be suggested they must be supplementary to the principles of self-determination and independence; whatever other suggestions may be forthcoming, they must inevitably be bound up with what the Committee of Twenty-Four is doing. I say this because of late we have seen a number of ideas, some of which are out of line with these principles.

66. There are small Territories which, after self-determination, may wish to be independent and yet remain outside the membership of this Organization. Such States may have certain arrangements with other Powers.

67. It is my delegation's opinion that such States must have some kind of link with the United Nations so that in the event of any problems arising their complaints and problems can be processed through the right channels within this Organization.

68. Secondly, I want to emphasize the question of visiting missions. It is now nearly seven years since the Committee on Decolonization was appointed. It is

therefore necessary that some new fields of working relationships be tried. Time and again, either in the Committee of Twenty-Four or in the Fourth Committee, we are told by colonial Powers what a wonderful job they are doing in their colonial Territories. Sometimes, of course, we are told of the special difficulties that these Powers have to face in such Territories.

69. The Committee of Twenty-Four and the Fourth Committee have on numerous occasions suggested visiting missions either from the Special Committee or from any other commission appointed by this Assembly. Yet to date the reply has always been negative. Let me, for instance, give a concrete example. Take, for example, the question of Fiji. On several occasions the United Kingdom representative, Lord Caradon, has spoken with passion of the so-called special problems that his Government is encountering in Fiji. With all his liberalism on decolonization, Lord Caradon would not accept the idea of a visiting mission to Fiji.

70. It is sometimes suggested privately that the leaders of the people in these Territories do not want any visiting mission from the United Nations. I very sincerely doubt that this is the case. Let me point out that the colonial Powers cannot expect the Committee of Twenty-Four or the membership of this Organization to continue to take their word on colonies as factual as long as they do not allow the United Nations to play a positive role in this field. After all, we are always being told that in the colonial Territories they are doing a wonderful job and have nothing to hide. If that is the case then they should allow the United Nations to go into their colonial Territories and gather facts and the opinions of the people on the spot. I appeal to the colonial Powers to allow the United Nations to make this positive contribution. I have said that, though it is difficult to open old wounds, I should like to give the example of South Yemen, which became a republic just a few days ago. I am convinced that if the United Kingdom Government had allowed a visiting mission to Aden, had allowed a visiting mission to what is now the Republic of Southern Yemen, many of the lives which were lost as a result of the struggle could have been saved. For it is only in this way that the United Nations can be familiarized with the situation in those Territories. If I mentioned the United Kingdom and Lord Caradon, it was merely to cite an example. Otherwise, this is true of other colonial Powers—for instance, Australia, the United States, Portugal and the others.

71. Let me now turn to my third point—and this is in connexion with the wishes to the colonized peoples. I should like to suggest that the United Nations organize a conference of all the political leaders from the colonial territories so that, at least for once, this body can hear those leaders; so that, at least for once, this Organization can have recommendations from the same people who are fighting for their very independence. I know the Committee of Twenty-Four has always presented a lot of documentation, but it is my feeling that such a conference could bring out some very useful suggestions on decolonization for the consideration of this august body. In making this suggestion I am fully aware of its financial implications; but, for heaven's sake, let us not be told that this cannot be done on

financial grounds. Such a seminar or conference could be organized by the Secretariat of the United Nations in consultation with the Committee of Twenty-Four. I do hope that Members of the Assembly will examine this proposal.

72. Finally, let me say that the colonial problem has been, and continues to be, a product of Western imperialism. As long as this problem continues, it must remain a shameful thing for the Western Powers. Therefore, it is the same Western Powers which can determine whether its elimination will be by armed revolution or through peaceful channels. The indication is, however, that the Western Powers want colonialism, especially in southern Africa, to be eliminated through an armed struggle—a violent struggle. Otherwise they would have given this Assembly some concrete proposals to end a condemned and evil system of which they have been prime builders. Let me assure them that all their economic interests lie in the goodwill of the very people they are now helping to suppress. They must know that there is so much to be gained, from all angles, in terms of freedom, independence and human dignity. For them the consideration will be mutual benefit, rather than exploitation and oppression.

73. Let me repeat what I said a few minutes ago: It is this Assembly which must act; and perhaps the right time is now. The people of southern Africa—and, indeed, the colonized people of the world—are determined to be free; and it is this Assembly which will in a way contribute to the determination of how many people must be murdered in southern Africa and how many must be killed, in order to bring the principles of the Charter on the equality of men into reality in the colonized part of the world.

74. Mr. MWEMPU-SAMPU (Democratic Republic of the Congo) (translated from French): The consideration of agenda item 23 offers us an opportunity to make a general statement, recalling the ways and means whereby the Congolese delegation intends to contribute effectively to the implementation of the General Assembly's Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

75. The second half of our century has been marked by the liberation of most of the peoples of Asia and Africa, long subjected to colonial régimes that were contrary to respect for the principles of equal rights and the self-determination of peoples.

76. Twenty-two years after the signing of the Charter of the United Nations by fifty-one nations and seven years after the adoption by the General Assembly of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples [resolution 1514 (XV)], our Organization today consists of 122 Member States, and soon more will come to swell the ranks of free peoples joined together in this international family. This vast surge of liberation is largely due to the efforts of the Organization, for certain Members which, under Article 73 of the Charter, were responsible for administering Non-Self-Governing Territories with a view to ensuring, with due respect for the culture of the people concerned, their political, economic and social advancement, and to developing self-government, have failed in their sacred trust. What could be more lawful then, than for the United Nations, in its

historic Declaration of 14 December 1960, to turn its attention to the struggle being waged by dependent peoples to recover their inalienable right to freedom, dignity and independence.

77. It is at this point that one should stress how decisive a role has been and is being played in respect of the implementation of this Declaration by the Committee of Twenty-Four. The balance-sheet is impressive; but we cannot slacken our efforts as long as a single oppressed and colonized people remains in the world.

78. In this connexion, my Friend of State, Citizen Joseph Desiré Mobutu, opened the session of the Special Committee at Kinshasa, on 29 May last, said:

"If the goals which the former colonial peoples have struggled to attain are just, and if they have been recognized by the overwhelming majority of States, there is no valid reason why these principles should be misunderstood or rejected in any part of the world.

"The idea that has presided over the decolonization of the whole world is just and well-founded. We of the Congo are here to bear witness to that. It would be contrary to elementary logic, therefore, to allow this idea to be flouted." L/

79. We have noted with deep satisfaction that the Special Committee is sparing no effort in carrying out the difficult task entrusted to it by the General Assembly in the decolonization process. Its studies or reports on each Non-Self-Governing Territory are always most helpful in the consideration and adoption of recommendations on behalf of the dependent Territories. Meetings away from Headquarters, or the despatch of special sub-committees to those Territories, enable the oppressed peoples, through their liberation movements, to make themselves heard directly and to give an accurate picture of the effects of the United Nations recommendations as regards the emancipation of the peoples of these Territories. We must, therefore, deplore the unco-operative attitude of certain Administering Powers which refuse to open the gates of the Territories under their domination to the special visiting missions which the United Nations has decided to send there. These Powers, and certain other Members of our Organization, are thus still trying to undermine the efforts of the United Nations to speed the process of decolonization.

80. In addition to these obstructive factors there are the activities of the foreign economic monopolies which draw great profits from the colonial régimes and do their utmost to perpetuate them. We must therefore greet with enthusiasm resolution 2288 (XXII), recently adopted by an overwhelming majority of the General Assembly, which strongly condemns

"... the exploitation of colonial Territories and peoples, and the methods practised in the Territories under colonial domination by the foreign financial, economic and other interests..."

which handicap the harmonious development of the present or future interests of the indigenous inhabitants, who are entitled to use their own natural

resources and to profit from them. To deprive them of this right is tantamount to robbery.

81. Those interests, which help to obstruct the development of the indigenous inhabitants, are deaf to criticism and indifferent to pressure, stolidly continue to perpetuate the colonial régimes in Africa, Asia and in the Pacific and Atlantic regions. It is in order better to counteract the undermining efforts of these forces hostile to decolonization that pressing appeals have been made to the specialized agencies and international organizations associated with the United Nations to join with the voting majority in the Organization to deny any further assistance to the humiliating régimes of Pretoria, Salisbury and Lisbon.

82. These agencies should turn towards the colonial peoples who are fighting desperately to free themselves from this alien grip and should co-operate with the nationalist movements through the intermediary of such regional organizations as, in the case of Africa, the Organization of African Unity.

83. The United Nations has, of course, always reaffirmed the inalienable right of the colonial peoples to freedom and independence and has recognized the legitimacy of the struggle they are waging to attain that right. It is with this noble aim in view that recommendations denouncing the behaviour of the Administering Powers and of foreign monopolies which refuse to subscribe to the implementation of resolution 1514 (XV) and the application of resolutions calling on Member States and specialized agencies to lend the necessary moral and material assistance in restoring the rights of the colonial peoples, have always been a dominating feature of our work here.

84. Unfortunately, these resolutions break down at the implementation stage, because of the refusal of the opposing factors to which I have already referred to co-operate in the work of the United Nations on behalf of the liberation of the dependent peoples. The size of the colonial picture in the world is by no means small, and this calls for a few brief observations on our part.

85. On the African continent the unhappy spectacle of southern Africa, where the Pretoria, Salisbury and Lisbon régimes band together to constitute a bastion of white racism and colonialism, is far from reassuring. The racist fortress being built in this part of Africa clearly runs counter to the purposes and principles of the United Nations, and as such it should be dismantled without delay, for if maintained it offers an inevitable launching pad from which the forces of evil can attack the young African Republics. The recent attack on my country is a grave instance of this.

86. The security of the new African States will be fragile as long as there are still strategic enclaves along the coast; in this connexion, the fact should be brought out that an airfield has been built on the island of São Tomé to serve as an emergency base for jet-fighters, and that the Cape Verde archipelago is being used to relay a major underwater telephone cable linking Europe and South Africa. The colonial régimes ruling in these enclaves, in the hands of the reactionaries, must be removed, so that free Africa can be still freer.

87. To close this chapter on colonialism in Africa, let us note that there are certain colonial situations

L/ Statement made at the 511th meeting of the Special Committee.

which have special features; I refer to Gibraltar, French Somaliland, Ifni and the Spanish Sahara. The non-administering Powers directly concerned in the solution of the questions that have arisen in regard to these Territories should bear in mind that their rivalries and disagreements will not promote the decolonization of the disputed Territories. It is the principle of self-determination for the peoples of these Territories that should be at the core of their deep disquiet over the determination of the future status of these Territories.

88. The time has come, therefore, to recall that the Charter of the new Organization of African Unit lays down the principle of respect for the frontiers, artificial though they may be, that ensue from colonial régimes. This consensus has been reached in order to help strengthen the feelings of unity and brotherhood among the African peoples, for any questioning—sometimes on very comprehensible grounds—of these frontiers, or the resurrection of territorial claims, would undoubtedly launch Africa on a downhill path of division and permanent conflict among its members.

89. As for the colonial territories in the Pacific and Atlantic regions, the principle of their emancipation cannot be called in question, for the concept of independence—in the terms of the Charter of the United Nations which proclaims the equality of nations—does not relate merely to territories of a certain size or population. It is incumbent upon us to promote the accession of these peoples to sovereignty and, once they have acquired that status, to guarantee their territorial integrity, and to call for increased assistance from the specialized agencies to help these peoples to build their nations.

90. As my delegation sees it, most of the information on these territories comes from the reports of the Special Committee. Accordingly, my delegation believes that the following measures and principles should be applied in these territories:

(1) The Administering Powers should hasten the constitutional evolution of these Territories, for the slowness that marks these reforms merely delays still longer the accession of these territories to self-determination.

(2) The inadequacy of education and training facilities seriously handicaps the progress of these peoples towards the conquest of their independence. There is no need to stress that it is the special duty of the specialized agencies to watch over this aspect of the social development of these colonial Territories.

(3) The problems arising out of the dimensions, isolation and sometimes limited resources of these Territories should not in any way delay the implementation of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV). We believe that the only way to allow the peoples to express their views freely on the future status of their Territory is by popular consultation through recognized democratic processes. The Administering Powers are openly seeking to make the economies of these Territories dependent upon the requirements of the military bases which are installed there, and in this way they count upon forcing these populations to choose association with them. These manoeuvres are forcing these peoples to live in permanent dread of

their countries' economic collapse if they choose any other status than association with the Administering Power. It is for this reason that not only must the military bases be evacuated, but the Administering Authorities, are under an obligation, in co-operation with ad hoc bodies of the United Nations, to reconvert the economic structures of those territories so as to reduce their economic dependence on the Administering Powers and thus enable them to decide freely on the future of their Territories.

(4) Lastly, an interesting trend which is beginning to emerge and develop among territories of very small dimensions was revealed to us by Mr. Roger Fisher, of the island of Anguilla, when he submitted his petition on 8 December to the Fourth Committee (1743rd meeting). This petitioner implied that, for a small territory of restricted area, instead of complete independence there might be association with the United Nations, rather than association with an Administering Power under the auspices of the United Nations. This petitioner's suggestion merits special attention from the Organization, because it shows the ardent desire of the peoples of small territories to safeguard the prerogatives and attributes of sovereignty.

91. In the opinion of my delegation, the few principles and measures that we have just indicated should guide the activities of the United Nations on behalf of the decolonization of colonial Territories situated in the Pacific and Atlantic regions.

92. The Democratic Republic of the Congo, which has such long common frontiers with one of the last strongholds of moribund colonialism, is physically aware that the liberation of the colonial peoples cannot be regarded as something that has been accomplished. Peace and security will still be threatened as long as any part of the universe is under foreign domination.

93. The Congo must share the joint responsibility for contributing to the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. It should be recalled that during the year now ending the Special Committee, at the invitation of the Congolese Government, held its session at Kinshasa at the very time when there were warships stationed in the port of Lobito to intimidate the Congolese Government. The Special Committee was able to see for itself the wretched lot of our impoverished brother peoples in Angola, fleeing their burning villages after repeated bombings by Salazar's forces, simply because Portugal regards Angola as a European territory. This is, indeed madness!

94. At a more regional level, the Congo allowed the Co-ordination Committee for the Liberation of Africa to sit at Kinshasa to review the problems arising out of the continued existence of colonialism in Africa. This Committee, which is an organ of the Organization of African Unity, is a vivid illustration of all indigenous Africa's constant desire to participate in the efforts of the United Nations to do away with foreign domination of other peoples. This healthy co-operation between the OAU and the United Nations in this very specific field is a clear sign of the commingling and complementary character of their objectives, particularly as regards the liberation of still-enslaved peoples.

95. In this connexion, this eloquent passage from the statement made on 4 October at the 1683rd meeting of the Fourth Committee by the new Under-Secretary for Trusteeship and Non-Self-Governing Territories, Mr. Djermaakoye, is highly significant:

"While our century is distinguished by the innumerable successes of science and technology, while man now controls nature and has at his disposal vast technical resources, our conscience cannot allow millions of human beings to continue to be denied their most elementary right, namely the right to control their own destiny.

"At a time when man is at the same time under the constant threat of mass destruction and at the point of conquering space, one can only deplore the existence of an intolerable contradiction and a frightful anachronism, namely, that peoples are still suffering under colonial dominion and deprived of their basic rights.

"At a time when the world should be aware of its solidarity, when co-operation between nations should be given ever-increasing expression, it is regrettable that certain Powers continue to hesitate to order their relations with the peoples whom they administer. Evidence shows that co-operation between former administering Powers and former colonial Powers is not only possible but feasible, since all must co-operate if ultimately the interests of everyone are to be ensured." (A/C.4/689.)

96. At the end of his statement, the Under-Secretary made "an appeal to the Administering Powers . . . an appeal to reason, an appeal to accelerate the process of decolonization so that the world may at last know an era of justice and peace in a renewed equality between free men and nations." (*Ibid.*)

97. Such a fervent appeal cannot remain a dead letter. For its part, the Democratic Republic of the Congo which, in the sombre aftermath of its accession to independence had to have recourse to the United Nations to re-establish its territorial integrity so gravely threatened by international high finance, and which, in the course of its existence, has more than once called upon the same Organization to end the aggression of which it was the victim, feels this appeal deeply and wishes to reaffirm that if the United Nations is to remain universal and democratic, it must respect the rule of the majority. The strength of an institution like ours comes from the good faith with which all its Members agree to submit unequivocally to the recommendations it adopts, for the impasse reached by the League of Nations is still a lesson of history which in my delegation's view should inspire the behaviour of all the Members of the United Nations.

98. Mr. SZYMANOWSKI (Poland): The issue of final decolonization presents a most important test for the United Nations, and in more than one sense. First, it is an old problem and its solution is long overdue. Almost a quarter of a century has passed since the equal rights of all nations to independence and sovereignty were solemnly proclaimed in the Charter. Seven years ago the historic Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples [resolution 1514 (XV)] formulated the position of the United Nations on this matter in very clear and cate-

gorical terms. Yet today the problem still stands on our agenda; and let it be said at once, the situation is far from satisfactory.

99. First, we do note with satisfaction the accession to independent statehood of the People's Republic of Southern Yemen and of Nauru, but otherwise, after years of very encouraging achievements, final decolonization has come up against a wall of surprisingly effective resistance. It is the obligation of the United Nations to overcome this resistance, and the test consists in its ability to meet this obligation.

100. Secondly, what is at stake here is not an issue of minor or secondary importance, but a most fundamental objective of our Organization, and one of both political and moral character. The failure to see it through would be a major defeat for the United Nations, its authority and its prestige. How long indeed can we continue to adopt resolutions, appeals, recommendations and condemnations while a handful of colonial régimes make a mockery of them?

101. Thirdly, the existing situation constitutes a source of serious tension and a direct threat to the peace. This has been clearly stated in a number of United Nations resolutions and documents; and yet, statements to this effect have again met with reservations in the course of our debates in the Fourth Committee during the present session.

102. Let me recall, therefore, that the colonial régimes in southern Africa constitute a direct threat to the security and territorial integrity of the neighbouring States; that Angola under Portuguese administration has been used as a training ground and base for mercenary troops invading the Democratic Republic of the Congo; that South Africa has been sending its armed forces into Southern Rhodesia; that numerous small colonial Territories of the big Powers have been turned into a system of military bases, thus becoming a source of increased tension, and so on.

103. Finally, the United Nations is being put to a test because decolonization is one of the few issues on which there exists—apparently at least—almost complete unanimity within our Organization. The overwhelming majority of nations stand united against colonialism with no more than two or three isolated régimes openly taking the opposite view. Under these circumstances, the stubborn resistance of those régimes constitutes a defiant challenge to the United Nations. I should like to add that the task and the test which we are facing are of a most urgent nature. The situation in colonial Territories is by no means static. In one after another of those Territories the people, determined to achieve freedom and independence, and faced with stubborn resistance and growing arrogance on the part of their oppressors, are inescapably embarking upon the road to armed struggle. We now have major wars of liberation going on in the Portuguese Territories; we have a guerilla struggle in Southern Rhodesia and in South West Africa, and the United Nations has repeatedly recognized the legitimate nature of those struggles.

104. All those considerations emerged very clearly in the debate of the Fourth Committee during the present session. We reviewed the progress of the implementation of the anti-colonial Declaration Terri-

tory by Territory, and the conclusions of our discussion were hardly encouraging. One might say that the remaining strongholds of colonialism have grown stronger; that the process of decolonization in its final stage has suffered a setback; and that the colonialists now appear to be more arrogant and defiant than before. Nowhere can this be seen more clearly than in the south of Africa, and I think it is hardly necessary to point once again to the role played by what has come to be known all over the world as the unholy alliance of racist and fascist forces in that part of the continent. Our efforts to cope with these forces have so far been abortive. It is by now obvious to all that the system of selective sanctions introduced against Southern Rhodesia has failed to produce the desired results. The decision concerning South West Africa remains unimplemented. Portugal is more than ever determined in her refusal to recognize the right of the millions of Africans in her colonies to self-determination.

105. I said a moment ago that the results of the debates in the Fourth Committee were not encouraging. Yet by no means would I call them fruitless. We have certainly made progress in revealing and exposing the real and essential factors of a situation that is something of a paradox. Speaker after speaker pointed to these facts: some 200,000 white people holding Southern Rhodesia with her 4 million indigenous inhabitants; some 20,000 Whites from South Africa holding South West Africa with her population of about half a million people; the small, poor and backward Portugal not only holding the enormous Territories of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau) but waging war there against millions of people; and that with the united support of practically the whole of the outside world standing behind those millions of enslaved people.

106. Those isolated minorities of white racists are not our real adversaries in the battle for decolonization. They would not survive another day if it were not for the formidable forces that stand behind them; and until those forces are clearly recognized, exposed and condemned, we shall make little progress in our task. It seems that this year's debates have marked a step forward in that respect. The debates made it very clear that two factors were chiefly responsible for the present situation—that is, for the resistance and survival of colonialism. They are: the Western Powers which lend their support to colonial régimes, and the foreign monopolistic interests reaping super profits from colonial Territories and working hand-in-with those régimes.

107. Colonialism is not particularly popular in the world today. It would take a good deal of political courage to come out openly in its defence. That is why we are witnessing a very unsavoury show of hypocrisy and political double-talk. The big Powers of the West—above all the United States and the United Kingdom—pay lip service to anti-colonialism; they generously express their disfavour with colonialism and racism; they even join in anti-colonial declarations—but at the same time they effectively protect, support and assist the condemned régimes. Whenever it comes to the introduction of any effective measures against those régimes, these Powers oppose it. When such measures are adopted, they by-pass or flout them.

108. The case of Southern Rhodesia provides a good example. We have, on the one hand, a neighbouring country like Zambia going to considerable sacrifice and hardship in an honest effort to implement faithfully the sanctions imposed, severing its natural economic ties with Southern Rhodesia; on the other hand, we have the United Kingdom, a major Power and the administering Power, bearing the main responsibility and pretending to lead the struggle against the illegal rebel régime, declaring openly at the outset that it will never resort to the use of force and, what is more, that it will never engage in what it calls economic war against the main allies of that régime.

109. Further examples could be cited, such as the assistance offered to Portugal by her NATO allies while she is engaged in suppressing the liberation movement in her colonies, or the continued cooperation with South Africa, which refuses to recognize the United Nations decisions depriving her of the mandate over South West Africa.

110. The other essential factor responsible for the persistence of colonialism is the role played by the vested interests, the foreign monopolies operating in dependent Territories. That factor has come to the fore again and again, whenever any United Nations body probed the situation in any non-self-governing Territory. But this year, for the first time, the matter has been placed as a separate item on the agenda for our session, and that ought to be welcomed as a very significant step forward in the process of decolonization. Without a proper diagnosis of the true forces behind colonialism, the struggle against it cannot be brought to a successful end. These monopolies, the true heirs to the tradition of colonial exploitation, have now been branded as the major obstacle in the road of colonial countries and peoples to independence.

111. These two forces are closely interrelated and cannot be viewed separately. Monopolistic interests do not come from nowhere. They originate from certain countries and those countries, far from bridling them and curtailing their activities, protect and assist them in every conceivable way, indeed encourage their continuing expansion. Here again, the abundance of data brought forward by the documents considered at this session, and in the debate itself shows clearly that the United States, the United Kingdom and the German Federal Republic are chiefly responsible for the existing situation.

112. The attitude of these countries so eloquently described a moment ago by the Ambassador of Tanzania gives not only material support to the colonial régimes but political encouragement as well. It was none other than Portugal who kept asking for roll-calls whenever we came to vote on the anti-colonialist draft resolutions in the Fourth Committee and in the plenary sessions. They want to know who their friends are and their officials have been bragging about the results of votes showing the support lent to the cause of racism and colonialism by the big Powers of the West. Indeed this year's session has shown that the colonial régimes have grown more defiant and arrogant than before.

113. The key to the situation in the field now under review lies in the attitude of the Member States of

the United Nations. It has been found out again and again that peace is indivisible. So is freedom. Certain trends in the present climate of international relations are not conducive to the bringing down of the forces of colonialism. Armed aggressions, whether in Viet-Nam, or in the Near East, or anywhere else, being manifestations of imposing a country's way on others by force and violence encourage the racist colonial régimes to act in the same spirit. The sight of the big Powers clinging to their overseas territories for military purposes of their global strategy, without any regard for the interests and aspirations of the local population, sets an example for the régimes bent on brutal exploitation and oppression.

114. I have mentioned before the case of South African troops invading the territory of Southern Rhodesia. When this was discussed in the Fourth Committee, the representative of South Africa came forward with a statement that this was a normal lawful international practice. The Committee was so shocked by this amazing contribution to international law that it decided to bring this declaration to the notice of the Sixth Committee for consideration [A/C.6/383].

115. The attitude of all Member States will decide whether we pass the test before us. In order to do away with colonial exploitation and racial discrimination, the ugly practices of apartheid, and the defiant resistance of colonial régimes, we need united action on the part of the United Nations. In order to achieve unity of action, we must clearly recognize and point severely to those who undermine and thwart our efforts, whether openly or indirectly. And this is the first conclusion of this year's debates.

116. Secondly, the situation in the Territories under review is characterized now by an increasingly dramatic struggle led by the liberation movements. The United Nations has more than once recognized it to be a legitimate struggle. Practical conclusions ought now to be drawn from this. They go in three directions: First, all must be done to enforce the binding decisions of the United Nations aimed at cutting off all aid and assistance to the colonial régimes. Secondly, effective help must be provided by the United Nations, the specialized agencies, the Member States, and the various international organizations to the people in those Territories struggling for their freedom. This means both political and moral and material support to meet the immediate needs of the present day as well as those connected with these peoples preparing themselves for their future independent existence. Thirdly, a definite effort must be made by the United Nations, particularly by its Office of Public Information, to publicize much more widely than so far the problems of decolonization, the true picture of the colonial system and of the forces standing behind it, as well as the facts about the present liberation struggle.

117. Finally, the General Assembly ought to consider the past and the future work of its own organ, the Committee of Twenty-Four. Poland feels honoured to serve on this Committee and we think it deserves much appreciation for its honest and very fruitful efforts. The Committee has done much to bring home to all of us the salient facts on colonialism. It has also done much, especially through its field sessions in Africa,

for the colonial peoples by hearing their plight and by demonstrating to them the active interest of the United Nations. The Committee should by all means continue its work of exposing facts about the colonial system, of probing every deeper its true mechanism, finding out about the needs and aspirations of the people in the colonial countries and pointing the way to their realization. The initial groundwork has been done and it would now be worthwhile to consider the best directions and methods for further endeavours. My delegation is of the opinion that the Committee, having probed extensively into the situation in the various Territories, should now concentrate on pursuing further a more synthetical study of the general elements common to nearly all colonial Territories in the same vein as it tackled the role of foreign economic interests.

118. To quote just one example of matters deserving thorough research, the Committee might take up the role assigned to colonial Territories in the global military policies of the big Powers of the West. We should also insist that the various administering Powers let the Committee's visiting missions enter the Territories in order to gather the necessary information for the General Assembly. In this connexion, one must not forget that apart from Territories formally recognized as dependent, there are others which, in spite of the various forms of legal status they have, are actually in a colonial situation. This may be illustrated by the example of the numerous letters of petition coming to the United Nations from Puerto Rico and other Territories.

119. I have pointed to many discouraging elements of the situation with regard to the progress of decolonization. Let me not, however, conclude on a note of pessimism which indeed is not called for. The progress is slow and the obstacles formidable. Yet the ultimate outcome cannot leave any doubt whatsoever. There is no force in the world that could halt the millions of people determined to have their freedom and enjoying the support of the rest of the world in this aspiration. The very fierceness of resistance on the part of the colonialists is the best proof that they realize the hopelessness of their cause. The last word is being and will unavoidably be spoken by the peoples concerned themselves.

120. Regardless of all the patronizing declarations by the colonial Powers concerning their record of "offering" independence to colonial peoples, all the experience so far shows that freedom has to be won through hard and determined struggle. This, however, does not detract from the responsibility of the United Nations to do its utmost to assist such a struggle.

121. This is not only a political issue but a moral one, above all. And this brings me, in conclusion, to one argument which has repeatedly come up in all debates on these problems. Those speaking against the basic force of colonialism, namely the unholy conspiracy of monopolistic business and colonialist policies, have been accused time and time again of introducing ideological accents into a matter-of-fact debate, of making ideological propaganda.

122. The Polish delegation for one does not consider it is something to deny, to be embarrassed or ashamed of. Of course, it is basically a question of ideology

and a matter of principle, an issue on which there is a natural division of positions. As a socialist country, we stand firmly on the side of freedom, independence and sovereignty for all nations and against any form of colonialism, oppression and exploitation. These happen to be the principles of the United Nations Charter itself—in our view, a document of ideological character.

123. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): Before going on to the next item on the agenda, I should like to remind representatives that the General Assembly decided this morning (1626th meeting) to close the list of speakers on agenda item 23 tomorrow, Wednesday 13 December, at six o'clock.

AGENDA ITEM 70

Question of Oman (concluded):*

- (a) Report of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples;
- (b) Report of the Secretary-General

REPORT OF THE FOURTH COMMITTEE (A/6966)

124. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): We return now to agenda item 70, on which the Assembly will now vote. I put to the vote the draft resolution recommended for adoption by the Fourth Committee and appearing in the Committee's report (A/6966, para. 10).

The draft resolution was adopted by 72 votes to 18, with 19 abstentions [resolution 2302 (XXII)].

AGENDA ITEM 64

Question of South West Africa (continued):*

- (a) Report of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples;
- (b) Report of the United Nations Council for South West Africa;
- (c) Appointment of a United Nations Commissioner for South West Africa

125. Mr. BOUATTOURA (Algeria) (translated from French): When, a year ago, the General Assembly decided to terminate South Africa's Mandate over South West Africa and to assume responsibility itself for leading that Territory to independence [resolution 2145 (XXI)], there were great hopes that the situation would evolve in accordance with the ideals of the Charter.

126. A majority of Member States had in fact approved that decision, bearing in mind the complexity of the problem and the difficulties it raised. They realized that their action could succeed if and only if they maintained their harmony and co-operation.

127. They also realized that the ending of the Mandate would be a decisive step only to the extent that supplementary and effective action was taken to confirm its significance. Nevertheless, when our Organization began to examine the real content of its responsibilities, as regards both nature and dimensions, a con-

troversty sprang up which could obviously only dissipate the efforts already made by Member States and lessen the effectiveness of their actions.

128. Some delegations rejected the idea of direct United Nations responsibility for the administration of the Territory. Others, while admitting the principle of the administration of the Territory by the United Nations, tried to prevent any practical steps being taken to allow the organ charged with its administration to carry out its duties. Moreover, these same States advocated as a first step the opening of a dialogue with the South African authorities.

129. Along with several other delegations the Algerian delegation had expressed doubts concerning the provisions of resolution 2248 (S-V), which recommended the dialogue with the South African authorities. Of course our delegation understood the concern of those delegations which wanted a gradual implementation of the provisions of the resolution, and we pay a tribute to the wisdom that this implies, just as we recognize the desirability of a dialogue and of contact. Nevertheless, in the present case, it would be misjudging the situation to believe in Pretoria's goodwill. How can we conceive of a dialogue with South Africa when for twenty years, in reply to our exhortations, this country has been pursuing a policy of oppression and contempt for the decisions of our Organization?

130. How, indeed, can we hope for a conciliatory attitude on the part of South Africa when it defies the aspirations of the entire international community?

131. My delegation also regretted that no effective measures were envisaged to enable the United Nations Council for South West Africa to carry out the duties and responsibilities entrusted to it by the General Assembly.

132. Despite our doubts, and without hoping for too much, we nevertheless rallied to the majority of States Members of our Organization, so as to help to maintain the spirit in which resolution 2145 (XXI) had been adopted. But what has been the attitude of the South African authorities towards the wish of Member States to promote, with their assistance, a peaceful settlement in accordance with the hopes of all the international community? The South African authorities have not changed their attitude and, continuing their so-called administration have speeded up their policy of annexation and partition without the African population of the Territory having had any opportunity to express their opinion on the institutions they wish to have. However, it has been possible to hear these views on certain occasions, and that has incited the Pretoria Government illegally to extend the provisions of the Terrorism Act of 1967 to the Territory of South West Africa. Any legitimate resistance was thus dubbed terrorism, and consequently thirty-seven inhabitants of the Territory have been arrested for so-called violations of this illegal Act. Indeed, one of them has since died, as a result of torture inflicted on him during interrogation.

133. These arrests took place after the General Assembly had revoked South Africa's Mandate over South West Africa. It was therefore in flagrant violation of that decision and against the unanimous wish of the international community, which no longer recognized

*Continuation of the debate at the 1625th meeting.

any South African right over the Territory, that these steps were taken.

134. This is how Pretoria responded to the hope that was expressed that a dialogue might be established between the international community and the South African authorities. These authorities have refused all contact and rejected all the decisions of the General Assembly. Have they not declared *inter alia* that the adoption of resolution 2145 (XXI) is illegal and invalid? Have they not rejected the letter addressed to them by the United Nations Council for South West Africa? The Council's report rightly brands this attitude when it says:

"... the attitude of the Government of South Africa constituted a flagrant violation of the General Assembly and an outright rejection of its resolutions 2145 (XXI) and 2248 (S-V)" [A/6897, para. 15].

135. If we analyse the situation today, we find, on the one hand, that South Africa is not disposed to respect the most recent decisions of the General Assembly, nor is it desirous of co-operating with the United Nations Council on South West Africa so as to enable it to carry out the duties and responsibilities with which it has been entrusted. As a result, this organ, set up by the General Assembly, has been unable to carry out the task assigned to it under resolution 2248 (S-V), which was to administer South West Africa until it became independent, with the widest possible participation by the people of the Territory.

136. Obviously, this task can be undertaken only if there is an effective transfer of responsibilities. However, Pretoria's attitude precludes this for the time being.

137. On the other hand, the General Assembly has recognized its direct responsibility as regards the administration of the Territory and has taken concrete steps to assume that responsibility. The establishment of the United Nations Council for South West Africa was the first effective step towards a full and complete take-over of the administration of the Territory. Today it is obvious that because of Pretoria the Council cannot carry out the functions assigned to it, and our first duty must be to enable it to do its work by taking the appropriate measures.

138. By including paragraph 5, section IV, in resolution 2248 (S-V), the General Assembly had already asked the Security Council "to take all appropriate measures to enable the United Nations Council for South West Africa to discharge the functions and responsibilities entrusted to it by the General Assembly". It is time for the measures in question to be taken so that the United Nations Council on South West Africa can carry out its task effectively. On the basis of this paragraph, the Security Council could, in the first place, ask the South African authorities to respect the Assembly's decisions and not to impede the task of the United Nations Council for South West Africa. The Security Council might also envisage taking steps against the Pretoria régime if it persists in its negative attitude. Chapter VII of the Charter provides for measures which might possibly be taken against the Pretoria régime, for unfortunately it would seem that only energetic action can persuade South Africa of the

need to adopt an attitude in compliance with the decisions of the United Nations.

139. Taking as our basis the policy followed by South Africa for the past twenty years, we suggested at the twenty-first session that the measures just mentioned should be considered. Several delegations, including our own, had in fact voiced serious doubts as to the likelihood of a change of policy on the part of South Africa, unless it was forced into it.

140. After more than a year of fruitless efforts, we must now put the Administering Council in a position to discharge its task, as it has defined it itself in its report:

"... the Council reaffirmed even more strongly its determination to seek by all means to obtain the implementation of the General Assembly resolutions, notwithstanding the present attitude and actions of the Government of South Africa" [*Ibid.*].

141. The implementation of these resolutions is a duty of all States, for our mandate invests us with a responsibility and obligations such that the future of the people and the Territory of South West Africa depend on them.

142. At the special session of the General Assembly on South West Africa, the Algerian delegation declared [1505th meeting] that it was the duty of all States, and not merely that of a limited number, to put into operation the process of independence for South West Africa and to guarantee its sovereignty and territorial integrity. It is a common responsibility which we must share. Today we are more convinced than ever that without the efforts of us all, we shall not achieve the aim we have set ourselves. But we should like to add that although, at the special session on South West Africa, we agreed to restrain our action with a view to giving those who still believed in Pretoria's goodwill an opportunity of proving that they were right, today, faced with South Africa's total refusal to cooperate, we no longer have the right to temporize.

143. We must take concrete and effective steps to enable the United Nations—and in particular the United Nations Council for South West Africa—to assume its responsibilities and discharge its functions. Consequently, we must approach the Security Council and call upon it to demand of South Africa that it should respect the decisions of the General Assembly and allow them to be implemented. If necessary, the Security Council could ensure that its demand is complied with through the application of the measures provided for in the Charter.

144. Lastly, the Assembly must also protest against the so-called sentence of the thirty-seven men imprisoned for the violation of an illegal Act. This Act is a flagrant contradiction of the provisions of resolution 2145 (XXI) and calls for a vigorous condemnation on our part and for a demand for the immediate release of the prisoners and their repatriation.

145. Mr. EL KONY (United Arab Republic): Although one year has elapsed since the General Assembly terminated the Mandate of South Africa over the Territory of South West Africa [resolution 2145 (XXI)] and decided almost unanimously to assume direct responsibility of administration, the United Nations is not

yet able to carry out that responsibility. South Africa, which, in the words of the General Assembly, "has no other right to administer the Territory", continues to exercise the powers of administration and legislation, in total defiance of the United Nations authority.

146. By paragraph 2 of part IV of General Assembly resolution 2248 (S-V), of the fifth special session, the United Nations Council for South West Africa has been requested:

"to enter immediately into contact with the authorities of South Africa in order to lay down procedures, in accordance with General Assembly resolution 2145 (XXI) and the present resolution, for the transfer of the administration of the Territory...".

147. The United Nations Council on South West Africa, at the very beginning of its work, took the initiative in contacting the authorities of South Africa. That initiative was met on the part of the South African authorities by impudent rejection of the resolutions of the General Assembly and by challenge of the United Nations authority.

148. This is clearly reflected in the letter of the Minister of Foreign Affairs of South Africa in which he stated:

"The South African Prime Minister himself has on a number of occasions, since the adoption of the resolution, stated that the South African Government considers the resolution as illegal." [A/6897, annex II.]

He went on to state that:

"In purporting to terminate, unilaterally, South Africa's right of administration of South West Africa, the majority in the General Assembly therefore acted in conflict with one of the basic principles upon which Members joined the Organization." [Ibid.]

149. The Prime Minister of South Africa, in explaining the position of South Africa on the resolutions of the General Assembly on South West Africa, stated, in an address to the Congress of the Nationalist Party on 1 November 1966:

"As for the question of what we are going to do about this decision and what the Government's advice to you is—I say go on with your work. We will continue to administer South West Africa as we have always done and we will carry out what has been planned, taking into account the demands of the times." [A/6700/Rev.1, chap. IV, para. 16.]

The Prime Minister of South Africa put emphasis on the fact that South Africa will carry out what has been planned, namely, the annexation of the Territory to South Africa.

150. That is, briefly, the attitude of the South African Government towards the resolutions of the General Assembly and towards the United Nations Council on South West Africa.

151. Such an attitude on the part of South Africa did not come as a surprise to any of us. In fact, it was expected by the Members of the General Assembly even before adoption of resolution 2145 (XXI) and resolution 2248 (S-V) of the fifth special session. This explains

why the General Assembly in resolution 2248 (S-V), requested the Security Council:

"to take all appropriate measures to enable the United Nations Council for South West Africa to discharge the functions and responsibilities entrusted to it by the General Assembly".

152. I hope that by now all Members have realized that any contact with South Africa will not produce anything new nor have any effect on the attitude of South Africa.

153. Faced with this situation, the United Nations Council for South West Africa has informed the General Assembly that the refusal of South Africa to co-operate in the implementation of the General Assembly resolutions makes it impossible for the Council to discharge effectively all of the functions and responsibilities entrusted to it by the Assembly. The Council for South West Africa was left, therefore, as a result of the attitude of South Africa, with no alternative but to seek the assistance of the Security Council [A/6897, paras. 18 and 19.]

154. In paragraph 6 of resolution 2248 (S-V) obvious stress was laid on the role of the Security Council in assisting the Council for South West Africa to discharge its functions.

155. The United Nations Council for South West Africa, recommended to the General Assembly that it should request the Security Council to take appropriate action in accordance with section IV, paragraph 5, of resolution 2248 (S-V) of the fifth special session so as to enable the Council for South West Africa to discharge all its functions and responsibilities effectively [ibid., para. 19].

156. It is our hope that the Security Council, and in particular its Permanent Members, will heed the appeals of the General Assembly and act in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations and fulfil its obligations. Meanwhile, the Council for South West Africa will continue to perform its functions, within the limitations imposed upon it by the attitude of the South African authorities.

157. It is now examining all ways and means of carrying out, as far as possible, some of the functions and responsibilities entrusted to it. For example, the Council had received requests from some South West African nationals that it issue passports to them to enable them to travel, since they still carried South African passports. Such action by the Council to exercise the administrative and legislative powers as far as the situation allows it to do is no innovation in practice or in law.

158. The Territory of South West Africa is in fact under belligerent occupation by South Africa. That occupation must not be allowed to suspend or destroy the authority of the United Nations over the Territory. The Council's powers of administration over South West Africa include exclusive jurisdiction over all South African persons and over all things in the Territory. The Council must not be prevented from doing now what it can do were it in the Territory. It should, therefore, exercise all possible powers of administration and legislation. In this regard, the Member States are expected to co-operate with the Council in dis-

charging its functions, particularly because the resolutions of the General Assembly have binding force in this specific case.

159. By paragraph 7 of resolution 2145 (XXI) the General Assembly called upon South Africa to refrain and desist from any action, constitutional, administrative, political or otherwise, which will in any manner whatsoever alter or tend to alter the present international status of South West Africa. Yet South Africa continues to exercise all administrative and legislative powers, even in a manner contrary to all rules of international law and elementary human rights. The illegal arrest and trial in South Africa of thirty-seven South West African nationals is but one example. Not only have these nationals been arrested and deported to South Africa, but also they have been charged with offences under the South African Terrorism Act, which by its very terms is clearly a violation of fundamental human rights.

160. The problem we are facing today is of a different character. We are not merely faced with the denial of self-determination by an administering Power, or by a refusal of the administering Power to respect the recommendations of the General Assembly, we are faced with a belligerent application of a territory which is under the United Nations administration. It is within this context that the problem of South West Africa should be dealt with. Otherwise, we would be stepping backwards to the point before the adoption of resolution 2145 (XXI).

161. As the Council on South West Africa rightly said:

"The Council considers that the continued presence of South African authorities in South West Africa constitutes an illegal act, a usurpation of power and a foreign occupation of the Territory which seriously threatens international peace and security." [A/6897, para. 18.]

162. May I draw the attention of this Assembly to the fact that tens of thousands of the people of South West Africa have always looked, for twenty years, toward the United Nations to save them from the tyranny of the South African régime. They pin their hopes in this Organization for two reasons: firstly, it is the international community, represented by the League of Nations, which entrusted the administration of the Territory to South Africa. Secondly, it is the United Nations, by its actions during the last twenty years and, in particular, by adopting resolution 2145 (XXI), which has encouraged and strengthened their hopes. In spite of the disappointment of the colonial peoples, particularly the people of South West Africa, in the United Nations, yet, peaceful people have never ceased to regard the United Nations as the guardian of morality, justice and rule of law.

163. In conclusion, I wish to sum up the condition of my delegation as follows: Firstly, the General Assembly should condemn South Africa for its rejection of the resolution [2248 (XXI)] of the General Assembly and for its refusal to co-operate with the United Nations Council on South West Africa. Secondly, the continued presence of the South African authorities in the Territory of South West Africa should be considered as a usurpation of power, foreign occupation and an act of aggression against the Territory.

Thirdly, the Security Council has the obligation to enable the Council on South West Africa to discharge the functions entrusted to it. Fourthly, the Council on South West Africa should exercise all administrative and legislative powers required to establish the authority of the United Nations and which could help the people of South West Africa. Fifthly, all States should be called upon once again to render all possible moral and material assistance to the Council on South West Africa in the discharge of its functions. Sixthly, those States that, through their co-operation with South Africa, have encouraged South Africa to defy the authority of the United Nations, should be called upon to refrain from assisting South Africa. Finally, the Council on South West Africa should be requested to draw up a plan for the development of South West Africa in all fields. In this regard the specialized agencies should be requested to render to South West Africa technical and financial assistance, through a co-ordinated emergency programme, in co-operation with the Council.

164. Mr. PASHA (Pakistan): The General Assembly took a momentous decision at its twenty-first session when it overwhelmingly decided to terminate the Mandate conferred on South Africa in respect of the territory of South West Africa and to assume direct responsibility for its administration, with a view to enabling its people to exercise the right of self-determination and to achieve independence [resolution 2145 (XXI)]. It was noteworthy that this decision had the near unanimous support of the membership of this world body including the two super-Powers. General Assembly resolution 2145 (XXI), embodying this important and historic decision, was accordingly acclaimed as a major triumph in the struggle against retrograde forces of racism which have been undermining the security and well-being of the indigenous people of southern Africa.

165. In accordance with the provisions of General Assembly resolution 2145 (XXI) the Ad Hoc Committee for South West Africa was constituted and charged 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. In pursuance of its directive the Ad Hoc Committee, on which Pakistan had the honour to serve along with thirteen other Member States, submitted its report to the General Assembly at the fifth special session held in April this year.^{2/} For reasons already known to the distinguished representatives, the Ad Hoc Committee was unable to submit a unanimous recommendation. However, it submitted for consideration of the General Assembly three specific proposals and some suggestions for the discharge of the direct responsibility assumed by the United Nations. The proposal submitted by the four African Members and Pakistan had called for the establishment of a United Nations machinery for direct administration of the Territory. These proposals had also envisaged implementation procedure for the installation of the United Nations machinery in the Territory. The proposals tabled by the Latin American members of the

^{2/} Official Records of the General Assembly, Fifth Special Session, Annexes, agenda item 4, document A/6640.

Ad Hoc Committee were similar in most respects to the Afro-Pakistani proposals except for the provisions relating to implementation.

166. Under the Afro-Pakistani proposals the General Assembly was to have declared South Africa's refusal to transfer the reins of administration to the United Nations in the Territory, and the continuance of the illegal administration therein, as an act of aggression against the Territory and its people.

167. Furthermore, the General Assembly was asked to recommend to the Security Council action under Chapter 7 of the Charter to oblige compliance by South Africa with the decision of the General Assembly and secure the vacation of the Territory. The Latin American proposals on the other hand did not spell out any action by the Security Council in respect of implementation. The implementation part of these proposals was based on the premise that South Africa might yet be persuaded to accept the decision of the General Assembly to terminate the Mandate and agree to the transfer of power in the Territory to the United Nations administration.

168. As it will be recalled, these proposals called upon the United Nations Council for South West Africa, which is to assume direct responsibility in the Territory, to enter immediately into contact with the authorities of South Africa in order to lay down procedures, in accordance with resolution 2145 (XXI) for the transfer of the administration in the Territory. The third proposal tabled by the Western countries did not envisage direct United Nations administration and was couched in terms signifying acquiescence in the continued de facto administrative presence of South Africa notwithstanding termination of its Mandate.

169. With a view to reconciling the divergent points of view, the Afro-Asian delegations, during the course of the fifth special session, held extensive consultations with the members of the other regional groups. Thanks to the spirit of co-operation and understanding, they were able to iron out their differences with the Latin American group. As the gap dividing the points of view of the Afro-Asians and the Western countries was rather wide, it was not possible to arrive at a mutually acceptable agreement with them. It will be recalled that, following the negotiations, the Afro-Asian and Latin American delegations jointly tabled a revised draft resolution which was subsequently adopted by an overwhelming majority [resolution 2248 (S-V)]. In accordance with that resolution the Council for South West Africa was constituted and has embarked upon its functions. Pakistan is privileged to serve on this Council.

170. In pursuance of the directive given by the General Assembly the Council on 28 August, through its President, addressed a communication [A/6897, annex I] to the Foreign Minister of the Republic of South Africa requesting him to indicate the measures that his Government proposed to take to facilitate the transfer of the administration of the Territory. Although more than two months have elapsed since then, the South African Government has not even acknowledged receipt of this communication. On the other hand, the Foreign Minister of South Africa addressed a com-

munication to the Secretary-General dated 26 September of this year [ibid., annex II], setting out the views of his Government in regard to the decisions on South West Africa taken by the General Assembly during the twenty-first session and the fifth special session. In this communication the South African Foreign Minister referred in passing to the communication from the President of the Council for South West Africa.

171. The defiant attitude of the Pretoria authorities, as clearly reflected in the communication from the South African Foreign Minister addressed to the Secretary-General and in several other statements of the white minority leaders of South Africa, was not unexpected. For twenty years the Republic of South Africa has defied the Organization and frustrated the efforts of Member States to persuade it to co-operate in enabling the people of South West Africa to exercise their rights in accordance with the Mandate and the Charter of the United Nations. We had, therefore, no illusions about the response of the South African authorities to a clear-cut call from the General Assembly to vacate the Territory of South West Africa and to hand over its administration to the Council for South West Africa.

172. In the light of the long and bitter experience, the Afro-Asian Member States of the United Nations, during the fifth special session, had urged adoption of implementation procedures calling for action by the Security Council to oblige compliance by South Africa. Our proposals in this regard were, unfortunately, misunderstood. We were accused of unreasonableness. We were told that we were spoiling for a fight and a direct confrontation with South Africa. We were counseled to establish a dialogue with the South African authorities, in the first instance, to effect the transfer of administration of the Territory. Speaking in plenary, the permanent representative of Sweden stated:

"It is, of course, not possible to be optimistic about the result of an attempted contact. But the attempt has to be made in order to explore fully the chances of a peaceful solution and to prepare for further United Nations action in the matter." [1507th meeting, para. 9.]

173. Several other delegations also urged the necessity of establishing contact with the de facto administration in South West Africa as a preliminary step towards the assumption of direct responsibility. Speaking on this aspect of the matter, the permanent representative of Denmark stated:

"It seems to me to be evident that, in order to carry out its tasks, whatever they may be, it will be necessary for this body to come into contact with, on the one hand, representatives of all sections of the people and, on the other hand, the Government of South Africa." [1514th meeting, para. 6.]

He went on to say:

"in the interest of broad support for the next steps to be taken, I find contacts with South Africa appropriate both because that is a practical necessity and because it will clearly demonstrate to everyone concerned whether the envisaged procedure is likely to lead to any progress at all" [ibid., para. 6].

174. Urging establishment of contact with the de facto South African authorities, the representative of Chile stated:

"We are well aware that no one could accuse the United Nations of undue impatience in the long-drawn-out business of South West Africa, and if at the end of it all sanctions do prove essential, the responsibility for bringing them about will fall not on us but on those who stubbornly refuse to pay heed to the sense of justice of the international community." [1504th meeting, para. 125.]

He went on to say:

"We do not wish it to be said that the General Assembly itself has closed the door to a possible change of attitude on the part of the South African Government." [Ibid., para. 126.]

175. In deference to the wishes of our Latin American colleagues and the urgings of other delegations, the Afro-Asian Member States agreed to make explicit provision in the draft resolution for the establishment of contacts by the Council for South West Africa with the de facto administration for the sole purpose of establishing procedures for the transfer of administration. Any idea of a negotiated settlement with South Africa was clearly ruled out.

176. The publicly announced refusal of the South African Government to co-operate with the Council for South West Africa in the implementation of the General Assembly resolutions has placed serious obstacles in the way of the effective discharge of the responsibilities of the Council for South West Africa. As the Council has stated in its report to the General Assembly [A/6897], the Government of South Africa is not only defying the United Nations, but is continuing to act in a manner designed to consolidate its control over South West Africa. The action of the South African authorities in carrying out a number of previously postponed decisions leading to greater racial segregation, including the setting up of institutions of so-called tribal self-government in Ovamboland, is indicative of the irresponsible and defiant attitude of South Africa towards the decisions of the United Nations.

177. The world community has also noted with concern the arrest, deportation and trial in Pretoria of thirty-seven South West Africans charged with offences under the South African Terrorism Act. The Council for South West Africa has voiced its concern and indignation at this illegal action by the South African authorities and has called upon them to respect the international status of South West Africa and to release the South West Africans now undergoing trial in Pretoria.

178. The world community has once again been presented with another challenge to its authority by the South African administration. My delegation believes that the world community should deal effectively with the continued defiant posture of the South African authorities. The response of the United Nations should be firm and prompt. Any other action will undermine the trust of Afro-Asian countries in the determination of this Organization to uphold the Principles and Purposes of the Charter.

179. The South African authorities have frustrated the effective discharge of the functions and responsibilities of the Council for South West Africa by refusing to lend their co-operation. It is now incumbent on the General Assembly to take suitable action to enable the Council to discharge its functions and responsibilities effectively. The continued presence of South African authorities in South West Africa constitutes an illegal act and a usurpation of the powers and responsibilities of the United Nations. As pointed out by the Secretary-General in his introduction to the annual report, meaningful progress in decolonization in South West Africa can take place only if effective pressure is brought to bear by the Security Council. My delegation fully shares the views expressed by the Secretary-General that unanimity in deploring an existing situation should be accompanied by an equally unanimous sense of responsibility and determination to remedy that situation.

180. Guided by those considerations, the Council for South West Africa has recommended for consideration by the General Assembly that it should take the necessary measures, including addressing a request for appropriate action on the part of the Security Council in accordance with operative paragraph 5 of part IV of resolution 2248 (S-V), to enable the Council to discharge all its functions and responsibilities effectively [A/6897, para. 19]. My delegation believes that it will be necessary now for the General Assembly to recommend to the Security Council action under Chapter 7 of the Charter to oblige South Africa to comply with the decision of the United Nations on South West Africa. Any delay or hesitation on the part of the United Nations in responding to the challenge from South Africa is likely to undermine the authority of this world Organization and embolden the racist minority régimes in southern Africa to pursue their nefarious activities with impunity. As pointed out by my Foreign Minister in his general statement in the Assembly on 10 October:

"It is now incumbent on us to overcome the obstacles placed in the way of effective implementation of the Assembly's decisions. Heavy responsibility for their fulfilment continues to rest with the permanent members of the Security Council and the major trading partners of South Africa." [1584th meeting, para. 143.]

181. During the fifth special session of the General Assembly, the Afro-Asian members of this Organization demanded realistic and firm action to compel South Africa to relinquish its authority in South West Africa. In deference to the wishes of our Latin American colleagues and of other delegations, the Afro-Asian members agreed to defer their proposal in that regard. Unfortunately, as a result of the deferment of firm action by the United Nations, we are witnessing a situation in South West Africa which is worsening from day to day and threatening to pose a threat to the maintenance of international peace and security in that region. My delegation believes that the United Nations cannot afford to keep tinkering with the problem by resorting to half-hearted and ineffective measures. The time for such measures in the southern half of Africa is long past. The United Nations must act positively and with expedition. The clock of progress

in South West Africa cannot be put back; it can only go forward if the world is to be spared the horrors of a racial conflict. My delegation therefore commends for the consideration of the Assembly the recommendations of the Council for South West Africa contained in its report [A/6897, paras. 18 and 19], and hopes that they will be adopted by an overwhelming majority.

182. Mr. MOROZOV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (translated from Russian): The tenor of the discussion on South West Africa indicates the ever-growing resistance on the part of the forces of imperialism, colonialism and racism to the will of the overwhelming majority of States Members of the United Nations. Opposing independence for the people of South West Africa are the same reactionary and imperialist forces as are supporting colonialism in other parts of the world, engaging in armed aggression in South-East Asia and supporting aggression in the Middle East. It is a known fact that the southern part of Africa, especially South West Africa, has been given a special role to play in the plans of international imperialism.

183. As has been repeatedly pointed out here, this is due both to the rich natural resources of that country and to its strategic position. South West Africa has become an important link in the chain of the last remaining colonial bastions. In defiance of United Nations resolutions the South African racists have extended to South West Africa the same régime of oppression and terror against the indigenous population that prevails in Pretoria.

184. The South West African patriots who call for the liberation of their native land are subjected to cruel persecution, arrest and torture.

185. The illegal arrest by the authorities of South Africa of dozens of fighters of the South West African People's Organization who are still in the arbitrary power of the police has been condemned in resolutions adopted by the Special Committee on the Situation with Regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples (the Committee of Twenty-Four) and by the whole of progressive world public opinion.

186. In that connexion, the Soviet Government strongly supports the African delegations' demand for urgent consideration of the question of condemning the racist régime's illegal arrest, deportation and imminent trial of thirty-seven South West Africans fighting for the freedom and independence of South West Africa. It is essential that the General Assembly immediately demand their release.

187. We also think that on the basis of paragraph 2 of the draft resolution [A/L.536] the Governments of the United States of America and the United Kingdom must forthwith take the measures necessary to compel the racist régime in Pretoria to discontinue this illegal trial, to release the thirty-seven patriots fighting for their national liberation and to repatriate them to their own country, South West Africa.

188. The actions of the South African racists are a threat not only to the people of South West Africa but to the other African peoples as well. It is a known

fact for example, that police and troops of the South African racist régime are patrolling South West Africa's borders with Angola and Zambia.

189. In pursuing their policy of repressing the national liberation movement, the racists are relying on a closely knit system of military bases situated both in the Republic of South Africa itself and in South West Africa. Walvis Bay, the largest part of South West Africa, has been turned into a naval base, constructed with assistance from the Federal Republic of Germany. Military engineering work is constantly in progress also at the air base in the Kaprivi Strip, an important strategic region of South West Africa adjoining Zambia and Angola.

190. It should be pointed out that this policy is being pursued in close contact with the Portuguese colonialists and the racists of Salisbury. What is being carried out is, as has already been pointed out here in the debate on South West Africa, a policy aimed at the dismemberment of the Territory of South West Africa. For this reason the Soviet delegation in the Committee of Twenty-Four, supported the resolution [A/6700/Rev.1, chap. IV, para. 185] which has been mentioned here, adopted by the Committee on 19 June and reaffirming the territorial integrity of South West Africa and condemns the measures taken to alter the status of Ovamboland.

191. We ask, what are the real reasons why the South African racists are able to ignore the decisions of the United Nations, about which enough has already been said here? Our answer to this question is that it has long been clear that the Republic of South Africa alone, by itself and relying on its own resources, would not have been able for so long to oppose the legitimate demands of the States Members of the United Nations. If this resistance to the decisions of the United Nations continues, it is due primarily to the active participation of the main trading partners of the so-called Republic of South Africa in its racist policy. These main trading partners are, in the first instance, the United States of America and the United Kingdom. The fact is that the ruling circles of these countries continue as before to be motivated by their own selfish political, economic, military and strategic interests: precisely that is the reason why they continue to give many different kinds of assistance to the racist régime in Pretoria.

192. That is why we wish to raise our voice here to protest as strongly as possible against attempts to pass over these obvious facts in silence. We are raising our voice against attempts to hedge instead of resolutely demanding that those principally to blame for the tragedy of the people of South West Africa should stop their criminal policy of direct and indirect support for the shameful régime of the racists.

193. It must be noted, unfortunately, that the representatives of a number of countries claiming to be sincere friends of the people of South West Africa disregard these facts, which prove the direct responsibility of the United States of America, the United Kingdom and other Western Powers.

194. Yet it is clear that the United States and some other Western countries which proclaim in words their sympathy with the people of South West Africa

and vote in favour of many of the resolutions adopted by the United Nations in practice continue to subordinate their policy with respect to the racists of Pretoria to economic, military and strategic considerations and, animated by narrowly selfish imperialist considerations, continue in practice to give broad support to the South African racists.

195. The fact is that the unprecedented statements and actions of the representatives of Pretoria in refusing to carry out United Nations resolutions are prompted by precisely this support. This policy, which is pursued by a number of Western Powers, is closely bound up with the interest of the foreign monopolies in keeping South West Africa a colony. The international monopolies are subjecting the people of this country to the most merciless colonial exploitation. They are plundering its natural resources. This is a fact; no one can deny that almost one-half of the country's territory has been farmed out to a few large foreign monopolies, dominated by United States, United Kingdom and South African capital.

196. The De Beers monopoly operating through its affiliate Consolidated Diamond Mines of South West Africa Ltd. is particularly active in the Territory of South West Africa. This imperialist predator has seized almost the whole of the country's mineral resources. Suffice it to say that this monopoly recovers approximately 70 per cent of the total, including 98 per cent of the diamond yield.

197. The annual income of Consolidated Diamond Mines alone amounts to almost double the country's entire budget. The second largest mining company is the Tsumeb Corporation, which is also closely linked with United States and United Kingdom monopolies.

198. The same imperialist countries as before still occupy the key positions in the economy and foreign trade of South Africa. Approximately four-fifths of the Republic's automobile and miscellaneous machinery imports, for example, come from the United Kingdom, the United States and the Federal Republic of Germany. The capital investment of these three countries constitutes the foundation of its economic structure. Let us remember that the United Kingdom accounts for 60 per cent of all foreign investment in the Republic of South Africa, while according to official figures the share of the United States and the Federal Republic of Germany is steadily increasing. Receipts from United Kingdom investment alone bring in £60 million sterling annually.

199. Ample documentation on the stranglehold which the international monopolies of these and certain other Western Countries have on the economy of the Republic of South Africa and South West Africa is contained in the report of the Committee of Twenty-Four on the activities of foreign companies in southern Africa and other colonies. I refer to document A/6868 and Add.1. This material has been quoted in statements made by delegations during the discussion in the Fourth Committee and also here, in particular during the discussion of the dire consequences of the activities of monopolies in this part of the world.

200. In the scramble to extract maximum profits, the United Kingdom oil monopolies like Shell and British Petroleum, and the United States monopolies like

Caltex, Mobil Petroleum Co., American Metal Climax, Newmont Mining Corporation and others continue to operate in South West Africa.

201. As we have repeatedly emphasized, the high profits reaped by the monopolies are derived from the exceptionally cruel exploitation of the African population. The foreign monopolies give a part of the profits obtained in this manner to the South African rulers to strengthen their racist political and military apparatus in South West Africa.

202. Because of the dominance of the foreign monopolies and the South African racists over the economy of South West Africa, agriculture, which is preserved here and there by some of the indigenous population, accounts for only 3.5 per cent of the country's gross production. The economy is thus made lopsided, precisely so that excess profits can be extracted.

203. The ruling circles of the United States and the United Kingdom are, in the final analysis, responsible for the creation in southern Africa of a bloc of colonial countries, including the so-called Republic of South Africa, Southern Rhodesia and the countries under Portuguese rule.

204. This bloc has become a bastion of colonialism and imperialism on the African continent and is leading the struggle against the national liberation movement of the peoples still under the yoke of colonialists and racists. This bloc also constitutes a serious threat to the African States which have recently attained independence. The imperialists' idea is that South West Africa should form part of a single geographical land mass owned by the colonialists and racists in southern Africa, the purpose of which is to perpetuate their domination over the indigenous African population of many millions.

205. The imperialists understand very well that, were South West Africa to win true independence, the monolithic nature of this bloc would be undermined. That is the reason why the imperialists are so stubbornly holding on to the Territory of South West Africa and establishing there military installations and bases where their armed forces may be concentrated.

206. It is not out of place to say a few words about the strategic significance of the southern part of the African continent. Let us turn to a witness who is the Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs of the United States. On 1 March 1966, Mr. Williams said:

"The position of southern Africa athwart the sea route around the Cape of Good Hope makes its ports highly useful logistically to the U.S. Navy, particularly in support of Atlantic Fleet ships en route to and from Viet-Nam waters."

207. And here is another, no less distinguished witness—to use the language of the high courts—Mr. Lang, United States Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense. This gentleman, speaking on 8 March 1966 about United States military communications bases in South Africa, said:

"[The United States of America] will continue to need the tracking facilities [in South Africa] ... in connexion with the defense communications satellite project."

208. The list of such statements could be continued indefinitely, but I have said enough to show that these more than frank statements call for no comment.

209. It should be pointed out that the relations between the West German revenge-seekers and the racists of Pretoria—those who, together with their more powerful military and trade partners, are responsible for the non-fulfilment of the repeated decisions of the General Assembly—have recently been developing with particular intensity.

210. In March of this year the so-called Prime Minister of the so-called Republic of South Africa, Mr. Vorster stated that over the last few years good relations had been established with the Bonn Government and that he saw no reason why those more than cordial relations should not be further developed.

211. This statement is particularly interesting and deserves the General Assembly's attention, because the collaboration between the racist régime in Pretoria and the Federal Republic of Germany is becoming increasingly dangerous to peace, inasmuch as it extends not only to the economic but also to the military field. Here are the facts. On 3 April 1967, Mr. Botha, the Minister of Defence of the Republic of South Africa, visited the Federal Republic of Germany to conduct negotiations concerning the further development of the joint manufacture of rockets and other modern weapons. In accordance with these plans for joint research, there was a return visit from the Federal Republic of Germany in the same month, April 1967. A certain Hermann Obert, a West German specialist in rocket manufacture and a member of the neo-Nazi party, visited the Tsumeb rocket base in South West Africa in order to familiarize himself with the work being done on the two-stage rocket Harp-3.

212. It is no secret in either the Republic of South Africa or the Federal Republic of Germany that joint work in atomic energy, including the manufacture of atomic weapons, is going on full blast between the two countries. In this, the imperialist circles of the Federal Republic of Germany are availing themselves of the services of the South African racists for their own re-armament and for the armament of these most implacable foes of African freedom, the racist rulers in Pretoria.

213. In this connexion we cannot but fail to note the contrast between this policy on the part of the revanchist circles of the Federal Republic of Germany and the declaration by the German Democratic Republic. I refer to document A/6941, circulated as an official document of the General Assembly. This declaration is founded on the peace-directed foreign policy of the German Democratic Republic, which consistently supports national liberation movements, including those on the African continent, and it lays emphasis on the threat to peace and international security presented by the attempts to form a bloc of racist régimes in Southern Africa.

214. I have enumerated all these facts in order to show the political, military and economic reasons

why the imperialist Powers are playing a direct and active part in everything concerned with the maintenance of colonialism in South West Africa. That is why the United States, the United Kingdom and the Federal Republic of Germany are the States primarily responsible for the fact that the relevant resolutions of the United Nations have not so far been implemented.

215. During the debate on South West Africa at the fifth emergency session of the General Assembly, the Soviet delegation had an opportunity to explain the Soviet Union's position on how the problem of South West Africa could be solved.

216. Our position in that respect is based on the Soviet Union's consistent and traditional policy, aimed at giving every kind of support to peoples fighting for their freedom and independence and at overcoming the imperialist and colonial Powers' opposition to the process of eliminating the last vestiges of colonialism.

217. In pursuance of this policy, we have supported and are supporting the African and Asian States in their efforts to liberate the people of South West Africa from colonialism and the racist yoke and to give the people of South West Africa the help they need to establish a free and independent State.

218. We still believe, as we did before, that to achieve this goal the General Assembly will first have to overcome the resistance of the ruling circles of the United States of America, the United Kingdom, the Federal Republic of Germany and various other Western Powers.

219. We maintain that the only possible guarantee of the unimpeded and independent development of the people of South West Africa is the immediate granting of independence to the country and the transfer of power to the indigenous people.

220. The experience gained by the young States of Asia, Africa and Latin America in their struggle for liberation convinces us that only by transferring the Government to representatives of the people can the establishment of a new State be guaranteed.

221. We believe—and we should like to emphasize this—that the necessary results cannot and will not be achieved by mere palliatives.

222. The period since the adoption of the latest United Nations resolutions on South West Africa has shown—as the representatives of the African and Asian delegations who have spoken before me have said—how futile it is to place any hope at all in negotiations with the forces of racism in Pretoria. The period which has elapsed since the adoption of the latest United Nations resolutions has confirmed the point of view of the USSR and a number of other socialist countries concerning the necessity of resolutely demanding that the Republic of South Africa should immediately and unconditionally dismantle the whole military, police and administrative apparatus it has set up on the illegally held Territory of South West Africa, that the political prisoners should be released and that conditions should be created propitious for the repatriation of those who are fighting for the freedom and independence of South West Africa.

223. We can hardly fail to draw attention to the fact that many Western delegations which have spoken here from this rostrum—and also in the corridors of the United Nations—and which hypocritically pretend to be the friends of Africa are again bringing up the idea of negotiations between the United Nations and the racist régime of Pretoria. They are practically ready to send a representative of the Secretary-General there. Allow me to tell them that they have the wrong address: it is not on Pretoria, but first of all on Washington and London that the General Assembly should bring the necessary pressure to bear to put an end to the farce which is still being played out by the ruling circles in those capitals.

224. Emphatic condemnation by the General Assembly of the hypocritical policy of the United States and the United Kingdom on the question of South West Africa and the categorical demand of them that they take urgent steps to implement the Assembly's resolutions—that is what is necessary, if progress is to be made in this matter.

225. The successful solution of the question of granting independence to the people of South West Africa is directly related to the need for the main allies and trading partners, as they are usually called, of the Government of the Republic of South Africa to change their policy of support for the criminal régime of Pretoria.

226. That is why we propose that, together with the forceful condemnation of the Government of the so-called Republic of South Africa—and in this respect we support the proposals made here concerning the condemnation of this policy—the General Assembly must no less forcefully condemn the policy of the United States of America and the United Kingdom in regard to South West Africa. The General Assembly must demand of the Governments of both countries the immediate and unconditional cessation of any kind of support for the racist authorities in southern Africa in the form of trade, investment, military supplies or in any other form.

227. As before, we consider that the General Assembly should require the Governments of the United States and the United Kingdom to take effective diplomatic, economic and other measures in relation to the so-called Republic of South Africa, to secure the withdrawal of the South African racists from the Territory of South West Africa.

228. We repeat that any attempt to circumvent this problem, which has long since become the key to the attainment of freedom and independence for the people of South West Africa, can only worsen the situation and in practice confer impunity on those guilty of continuing their criminal policy with regard to the people of South West Africa.

229. The Soviet Union delegation's approach to the draft resolution which will be submitted for the General Assembly's consideration will be governed by these considerations and by the desire to contribute to securing for the people of South West Africa their inalienable right to freedom and independence.

230. Mr. CERNIK (Czechoslovakia) (translated from Russian): More than a year ago, in resolution 2145

(XXI) of 26 October 1966, the General Assembly almost unanimously decided to terminate South Africa's Mandate over South West Africa and to assume direct responsibility for the Territory. The overwhelming majority of States Members of the United Nations, with the exception of only a few diehard colonialists and their protectors, thus clearly showed that they favoured the immediate liberation of South West Africa from colonial and racist rule.

231. A year after that resolution was adopted, however, we must note with regret that the efforts of our Organization have been in vain and that there has been no change in the situation of South West Africa and its people. In noting this, we should like at the same time to stress that the main responsibility for this rests on the Vorster Government, which systematically refuses to recognize the authority of the United Nations, continues to pursue its own policy in South West Africa and is consequently one of the main obstacles to decolonization throughout southern Africa.

232. The report of the Special Committee on the Situation with Regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples [A/6700/Rev.1, chap. IV] and the report of the United Nations Council for South West Africa [A/6897] contain enough incontrovertible facts to show that the reactionary policy of the Government of South Africa with regard to South West Africa has been intensified and that the policy of apartheid has been extended to that Territory, which is gradually being annexed.

233. We find particularly disturbing the assertion in the report of the Committee of Twenty-Four that the implementation of the political recommendations of the Odendaal Commission,^{3/} which worked out a series of broad measures for the political and economic subordination of South West Africa to the Republic of South Africa, is already far advanced.

234. The application of apartheid in all its ramifications and the introduction of new terrorist legislation against the National Liberation Movement and other measures for strengthening the Republic of South Africa's control over South West Africa, which many delegations have spoken about here, constitute a glaring violation of the international status of South West Africa and are diametrically opposed to resolution 2145 (XXI) adopted at the General Assembly's twenty-first session.

235. That is why the Council for South West Africa notes repeatedly in its report to the General Assembly that:

"... the continued presence of South African authorities in South West Africa constitutes an illegal act, a usurpation of power and a foreign occupation of the Territory which seriously threaten international peace and security." [A/6897, para. 18.]

236. The activities of the South African authorities in South West Africa constitute a mockery of our Organization and have therefore rightly been condemned by various United Nations organs. The General As-

^{3/} Republic of South Africa, Report of the Commission of Inquiry into South West Africa Affairs, 1962-1963, Pretoria, Government Printer, 1964.

sembly must also condemn the application of the policy of apartheid and racial segregation on the Territory of South West Africa as a crime against humanity.

237. It is absolutely necessary that our Organization should also take measures for the prompt release of thirty-seven patriots unlawfully imprisoned by the South African racists and now facing death in a Pretoria prison. These measures are provided for in the draft resolution submitted by fifty-eight States [A/L.536]. The Czechoslovak delegation supports this resolution and will vote for it.

238. At present, whenever the policy of apartheid pursued by the Republic of South Africa is discussed in the various bodies, we observe a paradoxical situation: all speakers, without exception, condemn the policy of the South African racists, yet, to our great regret, this unanimity of international opinion has not found expression in a single international action which might force the Pretoria régime, which is threatening international peace and security as it is, to change its policy.

239. Some Western countries—the most important trading partners of the Republic of South Africa among the capitalist countries—are by their assistance and support merely encouraging the Vorster Government in its insolence. This economic, financial and other assistance is the main reason for the failure of our Organization's efforts to force the Government of the Republic of South Africa to withdraw from the Territory of South West Africa. It is clear that the strategic and economic interests of the United States, the United Kingdom and the Federal Republic of Germany in that part of the world are far more important to them than the fate of the people of South West Africa and indeed of all of southern Africa.

240. The discussion in the United Nations so far has proved conclusively the futility of making speeches in favour of independence for the people of South West Africa and at the same time continuing to support the racists and colonialists in Pretoria. Not only is such an approach self-contradictory; it actually impedes the settlement of the South West Africa question and other problems connected with the eradication of colonialism and racism throughout southern Africa. Recently, the efforts of some Western Powers have been directed at obtaining United Nations recognition of the Republic of South Africa as the de facto administering Power for South West Africa and at initiating United Nations negotiations with it. Negotiations about what we would ask? On 25 September 1967 [1565th meeting], the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of South Africa told the Secretary-General that the Republic of South Africa would not relinquish South West Africa. That, surely, is a clear enough statement. Not only is it completely and explicitly negative in content; its tone, which the Czechoslovak delegation strongly deplores, is self-assured and contemptuous.

241. Unless the Republic of South Africa were first to accept resolution 2145 (XXI), negotiations with it would be a step backwards and could not yield positive results. The call for the commencement of negotiations is proof of the two-faced position of a number of Western States, which, while wanting, through negotiations, to compel the South African racists to change their course, are at the same time, only strengthening them in their intransigence by continuing to give them support. Is this not rather an attempt to gain time, so that international public opinion may gradually come to accept the de facto situation in South West Africa?

242. At the General Assembly's twenty-first session [1425th meeting] and its fifth special session [1507th and 1517th meetings] the Czechoslovak delegation explained its views on how all these problems could be most effectively solved. The factors which have determined our position have not changed since then. Recent events have not only offered nothing to disprove, but have rather confirmed the correctness of our position.

243. We have always said, and we say again, that the people of South West Africa must be granted freedom and independence without delay.

244. The first and basic prerequisite for achieving this end is that the South African racists leave South West Africa, withdraw all their military and police units; that all terrorist and discriminatory laws throughout the Territory be replaced, all political prisoners released and all those sentenced to exile be given the opportunity of voluntary repatriation. Only in this way can the main obstacles to the liberation of the people of South West Africa be removed.

245. In our opinion, the General Assembly must appeal to all States, and primarily to those giving most support to the Pretoria régime, to take decisive economic, diplomatic and other measures against the Government of the Republic of South Africa for the purpose of forcing it to withdraw from South West Africa and to implement the provisions of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples and of resolution 2145 (XXI), adopted at the General Assembly's twenty-first session in 1966.

246. The Czechoslovak delegation suggests that the implementation of those provisions would contribute to the attainment of the ultimate goal—the independence of South West Africa and the freedom of its people.

247. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): I remind you that at its 1625th meeting, the Assembly decided that the list of speakers on agenda item 64 should be closed tomorrow, Wednesday 13 December, at noon.

The meeting rose at 6.50 p.m.