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President: Mr. Corneliu MANESCU (Romania).

Mr. Benites (Ecuador), Vice-President, took the Chair.

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 the United Nations Commissioner for South West Africa

1. The PRESIDENT (translated from Spanish): Before we take up the first agenda for this morning I should like to remind representatives that the Assembly decided, at its 1625th plenary session, to close the list of speakers on item 64 at noon today. It also decided, at its 1626th plenary session, to close the list of speakers on item 23 at 6 p.m. this evening.

2. Mr. MATSEIKO (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic) (translated from Russian): The South West Africa question, which, as we all know, has been continuously on the agenda of the General Assembly since the founding of the United Nations, is one of the most important aspects of the anticolonial struggle. In recent years it has become particularly acute. In view of the stubborn refusal of the South African colonialists to meet the lawful demands for independ-

ence of the people of South West Africa, the General Assembly, at its twenty-first session, terminated the mandate of the Republic of South Africa over the Territory and declared that State's presence in South West Africa illegal [resolution 2145 (XXI)].

3. The question was also considered in detail at the fifth special session of the General Assembly, which adopted further resolutions on the matter.

4. Yet even today we are obliged to note that, despite the adoption by the Assembly of resolutions 2145 (XXI) and 2248 (S-V), the Government of the Republic of South Africa has not changed its position and is still brazenly defying the United Nations and the whole of world public opinion.

5. As before, the racist régime of the Republic of South Africa is carrying out a policy of colonial enslavement, apartheid and racial segregation in the Territory of South West Africa, which it has annexed, and has no intention of implementing resolution 1514 (XV) in that Territory.

6. One may legitimately ask how it is possible for a handful of racists entrenched in southern Africa to think they can be allowed so brazenly to ignore the decisions of the United Nations?

7. This is due primarily to the obvious fact that the racist régime in the Republic of South Africa received all-round political, economic, military and other support and assistance from a number of Western Powers, in particular the United States of America, the United Kingdom, the Federal Republic of Germany and others. The main obstacle to the liberation of the people of South West Africa from colonialism lies in the self-same forces of imperialist reaction which, in order to preserve the colonial system, are stifling the national liberation movement in various parts of the world.

8. Everyone knows that one General Assembly resolution after another contains appeals to all States to discontinue trade, economic and military co-operation with the Republic of South Africa. Yet the facts show that the United States of America, the United Kingdom, the Federal Republic of Germany and certain other Western countries have not only failed to cut down such collaboration but, on the contrary, are increasing it, thereby giving all-round help in maintaining a bastion of colonialism in southern Africa.

9. Such a policy on the part of those States is dictated by their economic interests and strategic military aims in that part of the world.

10. The fact is that South West Africa, like the Republic of South Africa itself, is a place where foreign monopoly capital is highly concentrated and

intensely active and where the colonial régime offers ideal conditions for exploiting the labour of the indigenous inhabitants and the country's natural resources. Foreign monopolies, primarily in the United States of America and the United Kingdom, but also in a number of other countries, have a total of \$5,000 million capital investments in the Republic of South Africa. Hundreds of American, West German, and British companies and firms are operating in southern Africa. They control all mining in South West Africa, in particular, the diamond, lead, copper, zinc, tin and vanadium industries, as well as oil prospecting.

11. The profits earned there by the foreign monopolies are fantastic. During the past fifteen years, American companies alone have derived profits of \$800 million from the exploiting of the Republic's natural resources and labour—an amount four to five times greater than the original capital investment. In the fourteen years from 1948 to 1961 the Tsumeb Corporation, an American company which lords it over South West Africa, derived profits of more than R140 million—seventy times more than its joint-stock capital. The British company, Consolidated Diamond Mines of South Africa, annually pumps out of South West Africa sums amounting to almost double the Territory's total budget.

12. Relying on the support of the colonial régime of the Republic of South Africa, the foreign monopolies have seized more than half the land from the indigenous inhabitants of South West Africa.

13. The interests of those who are exploiting the indigenous population are served by the discriminatory legislation in force in the Republic of South Africa and in South West Africa, legislation which deprives the Africans of the opportunity to participate in the country's political and economic life. Racial discrimination with respect to wages results in a situation where the labour of the indigenous population is paid rates ten to fifteen times lower than that of the white settlers. The people have no opportunity to assert their rights through trade unions, are for the most part illiterate and are virtually deprived of medical services.

14. The recent measures adopted by the South African racists are equally directed towards the further enslavement of the indigenous inhabitants of South West Africa: the half million inhabitants of that Territory are to be driven into the eleven notorious "Bantustans".

15. The South African racist State is thus providing the monopolies in the United States of America, the United Kingdom, the Federal Republic of Germany and a number of other Western countries with an opportunity of enriching themselves at the expense of the sweat and blood of the African people and of plundering their natural resources.

16. It is therefore understandable that the ruling circles of those Western countries should protect the South African racists.

17. The importance attached to the Republic of South Africa in the United States of America can be judged from a statement made in 1967 by a United States Congressman, Mr. O'Hara. Speaking in the United States Congress in connexion with the anniversary

of the foundation of the Republic of South Africa, he said:

"South Africa has served as our loyal ally on past occasions and hopefully will be on our side in the future in the cause of peace or war. She is the natural repository of the large portion of the free world's gold, uranium, chromium, manganese, and diamonds".^{1/}

18. In order to strengthen the position of the racist régime in the Republic of South Africa, the Western countries are systematically giving it financial and economic assistance. Suffice it to say that from 1946 to 1960 the United States granted loans to the Republic of South Africa amounting to \$149.3 million. Ten of the largest banks in the United States of America, including the Chase Manhattan Bank, the First National City Bank, the Chemical Bank, and Bankers' Trust, have made available to South Africa automatically renewable credits amounting to approximately \$40 million.

19. There is a steady increase of trade between a number of Western countries and the Republic of South Africa. United Kingdom exports to the Republic of South Africa showed an increase of 33 per cent for example for the first half of 1967 alone, raising South Africa from fourth to second place as an importer of British goods.

20. Military co-operation between the Western countries and the South African racists serves the same purpose of strengthening the bastion of colonialism in Africa. Mention has already been made here of the agreement on which this co-operation is based, the Mutual Defence Agreement between the United States of America and the Republic of South Africa. A recent example of this co-operation was the ordering by the United States Department of Defense of approximately R1 million worth of South African electronic equipment for artillery, military maps, and so forth, to be produced by the firm Plessey, South Africa.

21. The West German militarists are showing themselves particularly keen to develop military co-operation with the Republic of South Africa. The Federal Republic of Germany has invested more than DM 500 million in the Republic of South Africa, some of it in military industries such as uranium-fission and aircraft and rocket production. According to information filtering into the world press, the Federal Republic of Germany and the Republic of South Africa are actively engaged in joint preparations for the production of nuclear missiles, which they plan to test in South West Africa. Experts from Bonn are producing and perfecting poison gases for military purposes in the Republic of South Africa.

22. The West German militarists are thus using the Republic of South Africa to produce weapons of mass destruction in order to carry out their inhuman plans of revanchism.

23. The policy of support for the Republic of South Africa pursued by the United States of America, the United Kingdom, the Federal Republic of Germany

^{1/} Congressional Record, Proceedings and Debates of the 90th Congress, First Session, vol. 113, page H 6428.

and a number of other Western countries is giving the racist rulers of that State confidence that they can act with impunity, leaving them a free hand and encouraging them to commit new crimes against the African peoples.

24. Evidence of this is the further intensification of repression and terror carried out against the indigenous population with the help of the Fascist Suppression of Communism Act and Terrorism Act and other legislation which has been extended to South West Africa. As a result, hundreds of African patriots have been thrown into prison, where they are undergoing cruel tortures. Many of those fighting for the independence of their country have been obliged to leave the country as a result of persecution.

25. The Pretoria racists are actively collaborating with their partners in the "unholy alliance"—the Fascist régime of Salazar and the racist régime in Southern Rhodesia in the suppression of the national liberation movement. As the report of the Committee of Twenty-Four (A/6700/Rev.1, chapter IV) shows, Portuguese soldiers have repeatedly cleared the frontier of Ovamboland of African patriots. At the same time, South Africa's armed forces have been taking their share in suppressing the liberation struggle of the Zimbabwe people in Southern Rhodesia itself.

26. The racist régimes of the Republic of South Africa and Southern Rhodesia, which with the active help of the Western Powers have become a bulwark of colonialism in Africa, constitute a serious threat to the neighbouring independent States and to the cause of peace and security throughout the African continent. Eloquent proof of this is provided by the chain of military bases encircling southern Africa like a spider's web. The Territory of South West Africa is also used for such bases. One, an air base in the Caprivi Strip, is in the immediate vicinity of the Zambian frontier. President Kaunda of Zambia has emphasized that this South African air base is a threat to the peace of his own country and to international peace.

27. In striving to maintain their domination and strengthen their control over South West Africa, the racist rulers of Pretoria resort to all manner of tricks and stratagems. One of the latest has been Pretoria's adoption of measures to alter the status of Ovamboland by the establishment of so-called self-government there.

28. In this connexion, the delegation of the Ukrainian SSR would like to express its full support for the resolution of the Committee of Twenty-Four on that question [A/6700/Rev.1, chapter IV, paragraph 185], which described those manoeuvres as an attempt to extend and strengthen the system of apartheid and racial discrimination by fragmenting the Territory of South West Africa, condemned those measures and reaffirmed the territorial integrity of South West Africa and its people's right to independence.

29. We consider that, in view of the stubborn refusal of the Republic of South Africa to implement resolution 2145 (XXI), the present session of the General Assembly should resolutely condemn the Government of the Republic of South Africa and demand that it im-

mediately implement the decisions of the United Nations.

30. In particular, the Government of the Republic of South Africa should be required to withdraw from South West Africa, immediately and unconditionally, all its military and police forces, together with its administrative apparatus.

31. The Government of the Republic of South Africa must immediately release from prison the African patriots who have been calling for the independence of their homeland and allow the return to South West Africa of political exiles who could take part in establishing a State in the Territory of South West Africa.

32. At the same time, taking into account the fact that the United States of America, the United Kingdom, the Federal Republic of Germany and other Western countries share with the Republic of South Africa the main responsibility for the non-implementation of the United Nations decisions in South West Africa, the General Assembly must most categorically condemn the policy of those countries, which is directed towards supporting the Republic of South Africa and hindering the implementation of resolution 2145 (XXI) on South West Africa.

33. The delegation of the Ukrainian SSR would like to emphasize that, so long as the United States of America and the other Western countries fail to renounce their support for South Africa, the solution of the question of granting independence to South West Africa will be fraught with extremely grave difficulties. For this reason, the United Nations must call upon all those States which maintain relations with the racist régime of South Africa, and particularly the United States, the United Kingdom and other Western countries having economic and other interests in South Africa and South West Africa, to discontinue their co-operation with the Republic of South Africa and take effective measures against its Government, including measures of an economic, diplomatic or other nature, in order to compel the Republic of South Africa to leave South West Africa and implement the relevant decisions of the United Nations.

34. The delegation of the Ukrainian SSR has already repeatedly had occasion to state its Government's position on the question of South West Africa. This position is based on the principles of Leninist foreign policy, which has always been one of wholehearted support for the national liberation movement of peoples, for their struggle for free and independent development and for the immediate granting of independence to the people of South West Africa.

35. The Ukrainian people feel a deep sense of solidarity with the just struggle of the people of South West Africa and are convinced that, with the support of the African peoples and all the progressive forces in the world, that people will attain national independence and establish its own sovereign state.

36. Mr. BUDO (Albania) (translated from French): The delegation of the People's Republic of Albania has on many occasions in the past stated its views on the question of South West Africa, particularly during the General Assembly's twenty-first session

[1448th meeting] and during the fifth special session [1509th meeting]. It goes without saying that our position remains unchanged.

37. Many lengthy discussions have been held in this Assembly over the years and many resolutions have been adopted on the policy of apartheid of the white racist Government of South Africa and on its colonial policy with regard to South West Africa. In its resolution 2145 (XXI), the General Assembly irrevocably terminated South Africa's Mandate over South West Africa; that was one of the rare steps taken in harmony with the purposes of the Organization, albeit in our opinion still insufficient, as we have not hesitated to emphasize at previous meetings.

38. As was to have been expected, the Fascist Government at Pretoria has, as in the past, completely ignored those General Assembly actions. What is more this rabid instrument of imperialism, in defiance of both the United Nations and world public opinion, has persisted in its colonialist policy and gone so far as to adopt measures leading to the de facto annexation of South West Africa. Must it be said again here that each time the General Assembly undertakes to consider important questions such as colonialism and racial discrimination, peace-loving Member States are at once and to their deep regret given evidence of the inability of the United Nations to make real contribution to the elimination of those abhorrent régimes which are enslaving peoples? How many times have we reiterated the fact—and how many attempts to do so have been made by Member States loyal to the basic purposes and principles of the Organization's Charter—that the Organization must carry out its mission as set forth in the Charter!

39. Notwithstanding all that, the Organization is marking time and the same problems come before it at each session unchanged, without the measures it has adopted or the efforts made by peaceful Member States having contributed in any way to their settlement.

40. Everyone can see that it is because of the wholehearted political, economic and military backing they receive from the imperialists and colonialists, principally the American imperialists, that the white racists of South Africa are able to flout United Nations resolutions and able to pursue ever further their policy of apartheid and their vicious oppressive and repressive Fascist schemes against the martyred South West Africans, who are struggling for their inalienable rights to self-determination and independence.

41. The United States of America, true to its policy of aggression against and domination of peoples, is working to preserve the colonial régime in South West Africa and to perpetuate the rapacious exploitation by imperialist monopolies of that country's native population and its riches. In line with its economic and strategic interests and hand in hand with its principal partners, American imperialism is providing the racist South African authorities with multilateral aid and is exerting every effort to strengthen the Fascist coalition between the Vorster, Ian Smith and Salazar cliques.

42. Thus, American imperialism has become the principal adversary of the peoples of that region who

are struggling for their national liberation, and at the same time poses a direct threat to all freedom and peace-loving peoples and countries on the African continent. The efforts being made by peaceful countries to assist the South West African peoples' struggle to free itself from the bondage of colonialism and apartheid are therefore being blocked by the aggressive policy and conspiracy of the colonial Powers, led by the United States. Not only does the Pretoria Government completely ignore General Assembly resolutions and flout the United Nations itself, but in addition it is persisting in taking steps leading to de facto annexation of the territory of South West Africa. It is constantly extending and applying ever more stringently its policy of apartheid that has so often been condemned by the United Nations. It is increasing its criminal acts and terrorist measures directed against that territory's population. At present the South African racists have opened at Pretoria a "gangster" trial of thirty-five South West African nationals, whom they have taken from that territory and whose sole crime is that they are struggling for their peoples' inalienable rights.

43. Confronted by all these acts, the United Nations remains inactive and is unable to make an effective contribution to the struggle of the people of South West Africa to free itself from the toils of the South African Fascists.

44. As for the inability of the United Nations to assist the peoples' national liberation struggle or to proceed to the settlement of the other important problems of our time, everyone is well aware—and the Albanian delegation has at every opportunity brought forward incontrovertible facts and evidence in support of this—that that helplessness is due to the baneful influence exerted in this Organization by the United States of America, an influence that has further increased in recent years owing to the collusion between the American imperialists and the Soviet revisionists at the expense of the freedom and security of peoples and of world peace. One of the results of that deplorable situation which prevails within this Organization, in connexion with the question presently being considered, was that the General Assembly was prevented from proclaiming, when it adopted resolution 2145 (XXI), the independence of South West Africa and from simultaneously providing for the necessary steps to that end that have been persistently demanded by the Albanian delegation.

45. The people of South West Africa is aware that it cannot expect its freedom and independence to come from the United Nations. That is made clear to us by the new impetus in that people's armed struggle to free its country from the chains of white racist colonial domination and imperialist monopolies, a struggle which it deems to be the only sure path to its liberation and independence.

46. The courageous South West African people is fully aware of the sacrifices and hardships it must overcome in freeing itself from colonial domination, but it is resolved to fight on to the end for the attainment of its freedom and independence, with all freedom and peace-loving revolutionary peoples solidly behind it in its struggle.

47. The Albanian people and its Government, in conformity with the revolutionary principles on which the policy of our socialist State is founded, are making common cause with the courageous struggle of the South West African people and express their deep conviction that, through its resolute and unshakable struggle, that people will certainly achieve victory over the white racists of South Africa and their protectors, who will all inevitably be forced to clear out of that African Territory.

48. Mr. Mamadou THIAM (Mali) (translated from French): The General Assembly is again this year undertaking an examination of the question of South West Africa, based on the new situation that has arisen as a result of resolution 2145 (XXI) and 2248 (S-V).

49. My delegation will try to set the examination of the question of South West Africa against the general background of the balance of forces in the world. Indeed, since the adoption of the historic Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, we have been witnessing an imperialist and colonialist counter-offensive in Africa and in the Middle Far East.

50. In Southern Africa, in particular, imperialism does not hide its support of the backward régimes of the colonial racists of Pretoria, of Salisbury and of the Fascist Salazar.

51. An objective analysis of that situation shows us that a large-scale conspiracy was fomented against the African peoples struggling for their innate rights to freedom, and that the international situation is promoting and encouraging that conspiracy against the legitimate aspirations of the peoples of the subjugated territories of Southern Africa.

52. Thus, you will understand that my delegation is taking part in those discussions with indignation. Indignation, because the decision to revoke the Mandate taken by our Assembly last fall [resolution 2145 (XXI)] had aroused an immense hope among the Bantu people of South West Africa, and that people was rightfully expecting the United Nations to carry out its obligation arising from the decision of 27 October 1966. The international community proved inadequate, too, for as sovereign States we have failed in our duty to the populations under international trusteeship since resolution 2145 (XXI) was adopted. My delegation will never be able to accept the legality of the position taken by the racist colonialists of Pretoria with regard to the problem of South West Africa.

53. There is a tendency in this discussion to forget that the question of South West Africa is first and foremost a colonial problem, with a trusteeship agreement inherited by our Organization from the defunct League of Nations. It is not my intention to reopen the discussion and review the history of this question. As everyone knows, Great Britain, in withdrawing from South Africa, entrusted to the racist Government of Pretoria the responsibility for exercising in its name the Mandate for trusteeship bestowed upon it by the League of Nations at the end of the First World War.

54. As heir to the defunct League of Nations, the United Nations assumed charge of all trust territories, including South West Africa. Our Organization should therefore have insisted that the racist settlers of Pretoria should faithfully carry out the provisions of the Charter, which in its Chapter XII lays down certain obligations for the mandatory Powers. The condoning of the non-observance of the applicable Charter provisions represents a basic betrayal of subjugated peoples in general, and of the Bantu people in particular.

55. In following the development of the South West African question, we may note all the perfidy displayed by imperialism in slowing down, or more precisely impeding, the expression of free determination by the Bantu people, a right set forth in the United Nations Charter and in resolution 1514 (XV).

56. The many discussions in the General Assembly on the question and the seventy-eight resolutions that have been adopted but not implemented reveal the serious contradictions that are at present agitating the world and the impact of which is being felt by our Organization. That situation has revealed the serious crisis that has continued to paralyse our Organization ever since the famous nineteenth session of 1964-1965, a crisis aggravated by the material weakness of the Third World countries and by the desire for supremacy evidenced by certain great Powers.

57. The case of South West Africa is therefore a test for the United Nations. If our Organization is unable to command respect for its own decisions, then the peoples have no other choice but to withdraw their confidence in an organization sundered by contradictions and to seek settlements elsewhere. The same holds true for the moral standing of the United Nations.

58. In fact, what has happened over the past year? The General Assembly adopted resolution 2145 (XXI) which terminated the trusteeship Mandate over South West Africa. Notwithstanding the legal arguments advanced by the racists of Pretoria, my delegation considers the occupation of South West African territory to be in flagrant violation of resolution 2145 (XXI) and contrary to the Charter. The only right the Pretoria racists have is to leave South West Africa, in conformity with the aforementioned resolution, since henceforth that Territory comes exclusively under the direct responsibility of the United Nations.

59. Instead of compelling the Pretoria régime to put into effect the relevant General Assembly resolutions, Member States that have the means of dissuasion are content with timorously disapproving the policy of the South African Government, a policy that is embodied in the racist apartheid philosophy in the Republic of South Africa and in South West Africa. That compliance, especially on the part of the Western European Powers and the United States of America, can be explained only in the light of the privileged position accorded foreign interests and monopolies by the Pretoria régime.

60. In that connexion, we need hardly recall that South Africa's great trading partners are none other

than the United States of America, followed by the United Kingdom, the Federal Republic of Germany, France and some other States. A concentration of Anglo-Saxon capital is enabling the Pretoria racists to achieve the rapid advances that are mentioned in all the newspapers and to defy our Organization with impunity.

61. In the report [A/6868 and Add.1] it submitted to the General Assembly on economic and other interests preventing the implementation of the historic Declaration contained in resolution 1514 (XV), the Special Committee reveals the frenetic exploitation of that Territory's natural wealth that is being carried out by the racist Pretoria régime and such international trusts as: the Anglo-American Corporation of South Africa, the South Africa Iron and Steel Industrial Corporation (ISCOR), the Diamond Mining and Utility Company, the British Petroleum Company, Swasol, etc.

62. At the end of January 1967, in other words, after the adoption of resolution 2145 (XXI), it was reported that capital investments in South West Africa were valued at 352 million rands, broken down as follows: 82 million rands invested in foreign capital other than South African; 170 million rands invested by the South African Government, of which 105 million rands in railways; 100 million rands invested by local and South African private enterprises. Thus, exploitation is continuing, in defiance of the resolutions reflecting international public opinion adopted by the General Assembly and the Special Committee. In support of that exploitation, the Pretoria régime is increasing its discriminatory laws in the Territory, illegally arresting peaceful citizens who are no longer under its jurisdiction. That serious action is a further breach of custom and of international law.

63. The violation of South West African territory and the arbitrary arrest of thirty-seven of that unfortunate country's nationals by the racist settler régime of Pretoria were condemned by the Special Committee in a resolution adopted on 12 September 1967 [A/6700/Rev.1, chap. IV, para. 232]. My delegation supported that resolution. Along with many other Member States of our Organization, it sponsored a text [A/L.536 and Add.1] that is at present before the Assembly.

64. That text testifies to our growing concern at all the violations and injustices being committed by South Africa against the population of South West Africa. In recalling the primary and special responsibility of the United Nations, we condemn the actions violating human rights that are being perpetrated by the Pretoria racists against the people of that Territory. In that text, we propose a certain number of measures, among them a request to the South African Government to put an end to the illegal trial of the inhabitants in question. Lastly, we bring those violations to the Security Council's attention. That text reflects the concern felt by most of the States of the world at the negation of human rights under the evil system of the supporters of apartheid. We hope it will be adopted unanimously and that it will enable further steps to be taken so that the Pretoria racists may be ordered to fulfil their

obligations vis-à-vis the population of South West Africa under the United Nations Charter.

65. The South African Government has flouted the United Nations long enough; the time has come to take steps against that rebellious State. The Charter lays down explicit sanctions. The United Nations cannot evade its responsibilities to the population of South West Africa and ask a regional organization such as the Organization of African Unity to resolve the crisis. The Organization of African Unity cannot take the place of the United Nations and assume such a responsibility for the following reasons.

66. First, the question of South West Africa is a problem inherited by the United Nations from the League of Nations; all the Member States in our Organization are therefore concerned in that Territory's future, and not merely the States members of the Organization of African Unity.

67. Secondly, we believe it would be dangerous to entrust the settlement of such a vital matter to a regional organization; that would establish a dangerous precedent, since other regional organizations could claim exclusive jurisdiction over certain disputed questions, which might result in a disruption of international peace and security.

68. We continue to be convinced that the solution to this painful problem lies in the respect for and implementation of the Charter by all States. The hidden support being lent to South Africa can also be explained by that country's strategic interest. Indeed, it is no secret that the Pretoria régime is leaning dangerously towards Nazi philosophy and that the State is growing daily more militaristic, with the expansionist and supremacist attitudes that this involves.

69. South Africa is already a serious threat to the sovereignty of some independent African States. We also know that it enjoys the support of the large imperialist Powers in its detestable plan to establish a commonwealth around its territory that would join together all African States lying south of the Equator. To accomplish that, South Africa is equipping itself with every fiendish means, including nuclear weapons. Testimony from petitioners and reliable official statements made by certain world figures leave no doubt in that regard. We are told that the base in South West Africa is being used as a meteorological observatory. No one can predict what that nuclear base will be used for in the future.

70. During the special session on South West Africa last spring, the General Assembly, in resolution 2248 (S-V), decided to set up a United Nations Council for South West Africa entrusted with administering the Territory. In view of the international situation, Mali believed, rightly, that that Council would be unworkable. The facts have proved us right, since no permanent Member of the Security Council has seen fit to support that Council. Lacking the firm support of the Powers that have the means of dissuasion, the Council was unable to discharge its responsibilities. We can, therefore, usefully draw the lesson to be learned from a year of gropings and hesitations so as to reassess the situation and note that, if no energetic measures are brought to bear on it, South Africa will not comply. In that connexion, my Government believes

that the proposal it made at the twenty-first session remains eminently sound. On 7 October 1966 the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Mali, Mr. Ousman Ba, stated:

"The United Nations has a major responsibility in this issue. The Charter is clear and does not lend itself to any quibbling. If South Africa refuses to comply with General Assembly's resolutions, it lies with the Security Council to act—and it can do so under Chapter VII of the Charter—and to take all the political, diplomatic and military steps necessary against that country which has for years been in open rebellion against this international organization of sovereign nations. The United Nations cannot shift the burden to the Organization of African Unity (OAU), and ask it to assume this responsibility by applying the measures provided for in the Charter; this would imply that it would be the Africans who would assume the 'military' responsibility for liberating South West Africa. It is well known that the OAU lacks the means for such an undertaking and it is unthinkable that the imperialist Powers would allow third parties to finance an operation directed against their interests, which we have amply shown to be extensive in South West Africa. The Security Council's responsibility in this matter seems to us indisputable and the General Assembly should demand that the Council should assume that responsibility to the full." [1433rd meeting, para. 64.]

71. That statement remains as valid as ever, and my delegation believes that the only way to success is still to be found in action by the Security Council, as stated by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Mali.

72. Mr. ZININ (Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic) (translated from Russian): The example of South West Africa convincingly shows how the forces of imperialism, colonialism and racism are opposing the will of the overwhelming majority of States Members of the United Nations. The United Nations has adopted dozens of resolutions concerning that Territory. Under resolution 2145 (XXI), the Republic of South Africa was deprived of its mandate over South West Africa. Yet the racist régime of the Republic of South Africa brazenly defies all United Nations decisions and continues its reign of terror in South West Africa.

73. Who is responsible for the situation which has arisen? Is it only the militant South African racists who have usurped power in South West Africa and with brute force are maintaining their domination there? No, I repeat, no. The protectors of the South African régime—the United Kingdom, the United States of America and other Western Powers—bear no smaller share of the blame. Instead of calling the racists to order—and, we say straight out, they have unlimited opportunity to do so—these Powers, guided by their own mercenary economic and military-strategic interests, are doing everything to develop their economic, political and other links with the Republic of South Africa.

74. The study made by the United Nations Secretariat^{2/} shows that foreign capital investment in the Republic of South Africa at the end of 1965 amounted

to \$4,802 million, of which almost three-quarters fell to the share of the United Kingdom and the United States of America.

75. The profits yielded to Western investors on their capital investments in the Republic of South Africa are incredible. This is where the whole truth lies. Since 1960 average annual profits have exceeded \$260 million. Is it any wonder that the Western Powers do not want a serious quarrel with the Republic of South Africa for any reason at all?

76. In violation of United Nations decisions, the United States, the United Kingdom, the Federal Republic of Germany and other Western countries are not only not discontinuing their trade with the Republic of South Africa, but are even accelerating its expansion. Despite the resolutions of the Security Council and the United Nations General Assembly, these countries are continuing to export arms and military equipment to the Republic of South Africa and to develop military co-operation with the South African racists.

77. The budget of the Republic of South Africa for 1967–1968 included an estimate of 38.4 million rands for the purchases of aircraft and aircraft equipment—9 million rand more than for 1966–1967 [A/6864/Add.1, para. 257]. The report of the Special Committee on the Policies of Apartheid of the Government of the Republic of South Africa shows that arms and military equipment are imported into the Republic of South Africa from the NATO Powers [*ibid.* paras. 258–266].

78. Mr. James Forman, representing an American organization, the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, told the Fourth Committee on 17 November 1967 [1721st meeting], that the Pentagon was purchasing electronic equipment in the Republic of South Africa for the use of the United States army—an example of the way the United States of America helps the South African racists by purchasing military equipment in the Republic of South Africa.

79. The agreement between the United Kingdom and the Republic of South Africa concerning the naval base at Simonstown, which is used jointly by the United Kingdom and South African navies, is still in force. Under this agreement, United Kingdom naval vessels pay regular visits to South African ports, thereby giving practical demonstration of their support for the apartheid régime.

80. The collaboration between the racist régime of the Republic of South Africa and the Federal Republic of Germany has become particularly active in recent years. The most sinister aspect of this collaboration consists in military contacts. These involve no less than the establishment of a Bonn-Pretoria atomic missile axis. There are plenty of facts to show the truth of this.

81. On 17 February 1967, the West German Chancellor, Kiesinger, speaking on television, made a very significant statement. He said that the Federal Republic of Germany had so far renounced the production of atomic weapons only on its own territory.

82. From this statement it is clear that the Federal Republic of Germany is giving itself freedom of action in regard to the production of atomic weapons on foreign territory—and is even intending to produce

^{2/} Foreign Investment in the Republic of South Africa (United Nations publication, Sales No.: 67.II.K.9).

them. It has found a suitable partner in the Republic of South Africa. There is an objective basis for such atomic co-operation: The Republic of South Africa has uranium and other atomic raw material, as well as vast expanses of land; the Federal Republic of Germany has money, atomic reactors, an advanced electronic industry and a corps of experts.

83. The deal has already been placed on a practical basis. The West German concerns of Krupp and Siemens are co-operating fully with the Republic of South Africa in order to speed up the completion of the job. Ships laden with uranium for West German plutonium-producing reactors are sailing from the Republic of South Africa to ports in the Federal Republic of Germany. A South African newspaper, the South African Financial Gazette, reports that the Federal Republic of Germany is receiving so much uranium that only some of it will be used in reactors; the rest is to be stockpiled for strategic purposes.

84. At the same time, co-operation between the Federal Republic of Germany and the Republic of South Africa in missile manufacture is increasing. In the experimental polygon near Pretoria and in the remote Tsumeb missile base in South West Africa, preparations are in progress for the testing of the Harp-3 long-range missile, with the active participation of the Federal Republic of Germany.

85. A Bonn-Pretoria axis is thus being created through the combined efforts of the West German revanchists and the South African racists.

86. The criminal actions of the racist clique in the Republic of South Africa and the support it receives from the imperialist Powers have deeper roots. I have in mind the interests of the international monopolies which have entrenched themselves in southern Africa and have no intention of leaving it. These monopolies provide the material basis for racist domination in the Republic of South Africa and South West Africa.

87. Recent events again bear out the conclusions and recommendations contained in the report of the Committee of Twenty-Four on the activities of international monopolies in South West Africa and on the activities of monopolies in southern Africa and in other colonial territories [A/5840, 3/ and A/6868 and Add.1], texts approved by the General Assembly of the United Nations in resolutions 2074 (XX) and 2288 (XXII). The monopolies continue to play a pernicious role in all spheres of life in South West Africa. They are plundering that Territory in the most blatant manner and reaping huge profits from their plunder.

88. The monopolies and the racist régime of the Republic of South Africa work in close collaboration. The South African racists provide the monopolies with cheap labour, cheapened further as a result of the policy of apartheid, which has turned the indigenous population of the Republic of South Africa and South West Africa into slaves of their white masters without any rights. In turn, the monopolies subsidize the racist régime with loans, transfers of funds and other payments. In a word, you scratch my back and I'll scratch yours.

89. The international monopolies support the racist régime by putting strong pressure on the Governments of the United Kingdom, the United States, the Federal Republic of Germany and other Western Powers not to take effective measures against the Republic of South Africa; and in that, to all appearances, they are succeeding.

90. Under the protection of the monopolies and the Governments of the United States, the United Kingdom, the Federal Republic of Germany and other Western Powers, the racist régime of the Republic of South Africa has turned South West Africa into a vast military and police camp. With the connivance of his senior partners, Vorster and his henchmen are committing more and more crimes against the African population. Tens of thousands of patriots are languishing in prison and in concentration camps. Africans who have taken up arms in the fight are being annihilated. On 11 September 1967 the so-called trial of thirty-seven African patriots from South West Africa opened in Pretoria. Their only crime was that, no longer willing to put up with the slavery of their people, they had taken up the fight for the national liberation of South West Africa.

91. It is significant that these freedom fighters are being tried under the notorious Terrorism Act, which came into force in June 1967, only the day before charges were brought against them and after, I repeat, after the adoption of the resolution by the United Nations General Assembly depriving the Republic of South Africa of its mandate over South West Africa. Under that so-called law, the South African racist régime can impose the death penalty on anyone it finds undesirable. It was obviously passed specially in order to condemn these thirty-seven patriots, for they were caught by the racist secret police before its adoption.

92. The delegation of the Byelorussian SSR, like the overwhelming majority of States Members of the United Nations, fully supports the measures provided for in the draft resolution introduced the day before yesterday [A/L.536 and Add.1] concerning the release of the arrested South West African patriots from the torture-chambers of the South African racists. In our view, under this resolution, the Governments of the Western Powers, and in particular those of the United States and the United Kingdom, must compel the South African authorities to stop this unlawful trial, release the arrested patriots and allow their unhindered return to their homeland in South West Africa.

93. Under the protection of the Western States the "unholy alliance" between the South African and Southern Rhodesian racists and the Portuguese colonialists is being strengthened; it constitutes imperialism's main striking force against the national liberation movement in southern Africa. South African armed forces and police are helping the Southern Rhodesian army in the suppression of the uprising of Southern Rhodesian patriots for the freedom of the Zimbabwe people. In return, the Southern Rhodesian racists are helping Vorster's bloodhounds track down and settle accounts with Southern Rhodesian and South West African patriots on Southern Rhodesia territory.

^{3/} Official Records of the General Assembly, Nineteenth Session, Annexes, annex No. 15.

94. After all this, it is gratuitous to say that such actions constitute a threat to peace and security in Africa. The policy of the United States, the United Kingdom, the Federal Republic of Germany and the other Western Powers which support the racist régime in the Republic of South Africa is, we are firmly convinced, the main obstacle to the liberation of South West Africa from the racist, colonialist yoke and to the attainment of freedom and independence by the long-suffering people of that Territory.

95. Yet there are delegations which, though sincere allies of the people of South West Africa, either do not realize, or do not wish to realize, that it is precisely those Powers which bear the main responsibility for the existing situation in the Territory.

96. In this connexion, in the opinion of the delegation of the Byelorussian SSR, the task of the United Nations is as follows. In order to drive the South African racists out of the territory of South West Africa, it is essential to force the Western Powers, especially the United Kingdom and the United States, the Powers with the most important economic, political, military and strategic interests in southern Africa, to discontinue their support for the racist régime in the Republic of South Africa. Until that happens, we can hardly expect any progress towards the implementation of resolution 2145 (XXI).

97. The delegations of the Byelorussian SSR and other socialist countries expressed these views at the fifth special session of the United Nations General Assembly. Permit me to recall the words of Mr. L. G. Kletskov, head of the delegation of the Byelorussian SSR at the fifth special session of the United Nations General Assembly, and Chairman of the Commission on Foreign Affairs of the Supreme Soviet of the Byelorussian SSR, at the 1510th plenary meeting on 1 May 1967.

"The policy of the South African Government and its patrons, the imperialist Powers, is the main obstacle in the way of an early solution to the problem of South West Africa" [A/PV.1510, para. 32].

Unfortunately, these views were not taken into account when resolution 2248 (S-V) was adopted.

98. We are firmly convinced that, in order to escape from these doldrums, the United Nations General Assembly must call upon the Western Powers, in particular the United States and the United Kingdom, to take decisive measures, economic and other, against the racist régime in the Republic of South Africa, in order to compel that régime to withdraw from the territory of South West Africa. It is extremely important that the Western Powers should take this stand in deeds, not words, so as to create the real prerequisites for the implementations of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples and General Assembly resolution 2145 (XXI). It is essential to mobilize world public opinion in defence of the people of South West Africa in order to apply adequate pressure on the racist régime of the Republic of South Africa and its supporters.

99. The General Assembly must call upon the Government of the Republic of South Africa immediately to

withdraw from the territory of South West Africa all its military and police forces, release all political prisoners and allow all political exiles to return to their homeland.

100. The implementation of these measures would permit the people of South West Africa to find genuine freedom and independence and settle their own internal affairs without interference from the imperialists and colonialists.

101. On the basis of its fundamental policy of support for the national liberation movement, the Byelorussian SSR stands solidly with the people of South West Africa in their struggle for freedom and independence and is ready to co-operate with African and other countries in working out ways of taking such measures in regard to the problem of South West Africa as would contribute to the elimination of racist and colonial oppression, the expulsion of the South African racists and the achievement of genuine independence by the people of South West Africa.

102. Mr. MURGESCU (Romania) (translated from French): The peoples' national liberation movement and the collapse of the colonial system represent one of the principal aspects of the great historical process of renewal in the world of today. In the course of that process, many newly independent States have appeared on the world map; many peoples, representing two thirds of the earth's population, have entered the sphere where history is made and are now in a position to contribute freely of their national genius to the material and spiritual progress of mankind.

103. The question before us today—that of South West Africa—brings us before one of the last bastions erected by imperialism in its attempt to halt that irreversible historic process.

104. The Romanian delegation, for its part, is examining the various aspects of that question in the light of one basic fact: General Assembly resolution 2145 (XXI). In our opinion, that resolution's validity, and its practical consequences cannot be questioned. Nevertheless, we are forced to re-examine it; and we shall continue to re-examine it so long as the Government of the Republic of South Africa is able to ignore it in practice, and so long as it continues to take advantage of the original Mandate granted it by the League of Nations, which, from a legal standpoint, no longer exists.

105. I do not think I need prove that an international mandate of this sort cannot be granted to anyone in perpetuity: it is provisional only, and it entails certain obligations. In this case, having been granted the original Mandate, South Africa, according to article 2 of the Mandate, undertook "to promote to the utmost the material and moral well-being and the social progress of the inhabitants ...".^{4/} That obligation was an integral part of the Mandate's objective, which was the setting up of conditions designed to ensure the granting of political independence to the people of South West Africa.

106. What then is the situation after more than half a century during which that Mandate has been in effect?

^{4/} Ibid., sixth session, Annexes, agenda item 38, document A/1901, annex I.

In answering that I should like to quote several facts noted in the extremely well-documented report drawn up 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.

107. First, from the economic standpoint:

"Indigenous controlled economic activity is limited to subsistence farming which amounted to only 3.5 per cent of the gross domestic product...to limited sales of livestock products and a small amount of trading in 'Native' locations and reserves. The control over the utilization of natural resources... is entirely in the hands of the 'white' population and virtually all the known major resources of the Territory have been granted to non-indigenous interests." [A/6868/Add.1, para. 123.]

108. I could go on quoting further and equally convincing facts from the aforementioned report. However, I believe that those I have quoted adequately sum up the situation: the economic activity of 86 per cent of the Territory's population represents barely 4 per cent of the gross domestic product.

109. As regards the social and cultural standpoint, only 0.3 per cent of African children attend secondary school, without, however, progressing beyond the first stage of secondary education. The infant mortality rate among the indigenous population is 40 per cent, one of the highest in the world, while for white children it is only 2.5 per cent, in other words, one of the lowest in the world. On the Ovamboland reservation, there are no more than four doctors for approximately 240,000 inhabitants.

110. Forced residence on reservations, racial discrimination, the fact that the indigenous population is deprived of the most basic political and civil rights— aspects that were brought out in detail by petitioners from those territories during the current session—only add to the dismal picture of the conditions set up in South West Africa by virtue of the Mandate that the Republic of South Africa is continuing, *de facto*, to exercise.

111. Facts provide the best proof of the sound basis on which the General Assembly, in resolution 2145 (XXI),

"Declares that South Africa has failed to fulfil its obligations in respect of the administration of the Mandated Territory and to ensure the moral and material well-being and security of the indigenous inhabitants of South West Africa and has, in fact, disavowed the Mandate."

112. However, the facts to which I have referred are actually much more serious than resolution 2145 (XXI) makes them seem; they do not merely reflect the past and the present, but they will also affect the future of the populations in question. Once more according to the aforementioned report [A/6868/Add.1, appendix II, para. 42], it is shown, and borne out by statistics, that the rate at which the principal known mineral resources of the Territory of South West Africa are now being exploited raises the prospect of their being depleted during the next fifteen years. To exhaust all resources before the indigenous population can accede

to political independence, to deprive that population of the material basis necessary to unite it as a nation, and to see to it that when the occupier will no longer be able to administer the colony, the colony will be in a position of economic dependency on South Africa— those are some of the additional aims underlying the attempts being made by the Republic of South Africa to put off implementation of resolution 2145 (XXI).

113. Therefore it seems to us that at this moment the first duty of the United Nations is to prevent the realization of those plans, to condemn the position of the Government of the Republic of South Africa, to seek effective measures to ensure, in conformity with the Charter, the implementation of resolution 2145 (XXI), and to arouse world public opinion so as to compel in that way as well the South African Government to respect international law.

114. The Romanian delegation is especially responsive to the statements made here by the representatives of many African countries, who have called our attention to the explosive situation created in that region of the world by the illegal presence of the Pretoria administration in the Territory of South West Africa.

115. The documents dealing with the problem before us prepared by the Fourth Committee and by the Special Committee of Twenty-Four fully reflect the South West African population's aspirations to self-determination and independence, as well as the struggle that population is waging to attain that supreme goal.

116. In the view of the Romanian delegation, that struggle constitutes the basic element for the solution of the problem. The international community would be shirking its fundamental obligations if it did not lend its support to that struggle, to the natural propensity of that Territory's population towards political organization, to its unity of action, which is the strongest guarantee that its yearnings for progress will be fulfilled.

117. On the basis of those considerations, the delegation of the Socialist Republic of Romania is in favour of draft resolution A/L.536 and Add.1.

118. As for the arrest, deportation and trial in Pretoria of thirty-seven South West African nationals, those actions are not only a flouting of the international statute set up by the resolution that was adopted last year by the General Assembly, but are also an unsufferable attempt to intimidate the whole population of that Territory, a further endeavour to divide it and to impede its struggle towards self-determination.

119. To put a stop to that illegal trial and obtain the release and repatriation of the prisoners, would under any conditions be an act of justice; it is all the more imperative when we are preparing to celebrate the International Year for Human Rights. However, in this particular case, putting an end to such abuse and injustice would have a far wider significance; it would mean that the international community had given effective support and a direct stimulus to the struggle for emancipation of the South West African population.

120. That is why the Romanian delegation feels called upon not only to vote in favour of draft resolution

A/L.536 and Add.1, but also to inscribe its name alongside those of the sponsors of that document.

121. Before concluding, it seems to me there is one inescapable question: How is it possible for the Government of the Republic of South Africa to be able to ignore for so long the resolutions of the General Assembly? On what resources is it really counting in the confrontation that is bringing it up against a people it is exploiting as well as against world public opinion? The answer can be found only by taking into consideration certain clearly established economic interests. Published data attest to the fact that half the Territory's land is leased to foreign monopolies for the exploitation of its mineral wealth; the mining sector, which represents nearly 50 per cent of the gross domestic product, is controlled, for example, by two large foreign companies; diamond production is also for the most part in the hands of foreign companies.

122. By continuing to administer the Territory of South West Africa in such an abusive manner, the Government of the Republic of South Africa is at the same time playing its role as the representative of selfish imperialist interests, of the large monopolies that exert no small influence on the foreign policy of certain States.

123. Is not the failure on the part of certain Member States to heed the repeated appeals of the General Assembly with regard to economic and financial relations with South Africa a fact? Is it not also a fact that military assistance is being provided to South Africa by certain Member States in defiance of Security Council and General Assembly resolutions? Do not such facts represent bonuses given South Africa so that it may continue to ignore United Nations resolutions and to oppress the population of South West Africa?

124. In other words, the implementation of resolution 2145 (XXI) depends on the denunciation of those who are in the background supporting the South African position; it depends on the arousing of world public opinion to make impossible the collusion that is at present enabling South Africa to flout General Assembly resolutions.

125. It is in the spirit of that position of principle that the Romanian delegation is prepared to make its contribution, in the future as well, to the early fulfilment of the basic goal: the gaining of independence by the population of the Territory of South West Africa.

126. Mr. VINCI (Italy): The position of the Italian delegation on the question of South West Africa has been clearly indicated by the support given by my country to resolution 2145 (XXI) which terminated the Mandate of South Africa over the Territory. That decision is, for my delegation, irreversible. We stand firmly by it. Following that decision, South West Africa comes under the responsibility of the United Nations, and our Organization must endeavour, in accordance with the principles of the Charter and with resolution 1514 (XV), to bring the people of South West Africa to self-determination and independence on the basis of their freely expressed will.

127. I believe that the part my delegation has played in the study of ways and means to achieve the final

objectives set forth by resolution 2145 (XXI) is well known. I do not think, therefore, that I need to go over it and recall the suggestions and proposals which the Italian delegation has submitted to the Ad Hoc Committee for South West Africa, on which we had the privilege to serve, and afterwards to the General Assembly in its special session. May I just underline at this stage that my delegation, together with other delegations, felt that the course we suggested would be both in keeping with the reality of the international situation and the conditions in the Territory, as well as with the capabilities of our Organization right at this moment. We knew we were not offering a magic formula for solving the problem; any delegation would be glad to do so. We were only proposing a realistic approach that we felt would give headway to an irreversible process, in the framework of resolution 2145 (XXI), towards the independence of the Territory.

128. It is a matter of regret to my delegation that our proposal was not put to the test, as we would know by now whether it would have worked or not. We never claimed that this approach would have been certain to succeed. We only maintained that it was worthwhile trying.

129. We regretted no less, to be unable to support other proposals, not because we did not share the main objectives, but because we did not feel they would succeed and because we felt that the burden put on the shoulders of the United Nations would be too heavy. For these reasons, as I say, with regret we did not support resolution 2248 (S-V) which, in our view, far from solving the problem could only render more difficult its solution and bring the whole problem to a deadlock. The conditions in the Territory, far from improving, have, in the meantime, worsened.

130. We are called upon now to consider the obstacles preventing the machinery set up by resolution 2248 (S-V) from attaining any positive result and we are told that we were perhaps too optimistic with our more modest proposals. The difficulties met in the implementation of resolution 2248 (S-V), are mentioned in order to point out that a more reasonable course had not a single chance. May I submit that the reverse might be true. Could it not be, in fact, that it is because of the too ambitious nature of resolution 2248 (S-V) and the provisions it contained that what we all had in mind did not materialize? I do not pretend to know the answer. But I believe that we have at least the right to ask for the benefit of the doubt.

131. I think, however, that in the face of the aggravation of the situation in the Territory, we have no time for, or interest in, recriminations. Our first duty today is to show clearly to the Government of South Africa that the overwhelming majority of the Member States considers the policies pursued by that Government in South West Africa as contrary to the obligations South Africa has under the Charter and contrary to the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly.

132. The situation in the Territory is getting worse essentially as a result of the policy pursued by the Government of South Africa. In fact, we are very deeply concerned about the decision taken by the Government of Pretoria to establish the so-called

"homelands" for the Ovambo people and for the Herero people. This decision is in violation of resolutions 1514 (XV) and 2145 (XXI) and might be the source of dangerous developments in so far as it threatens the Territory with fragmentation. We learned with dismay about another decision the Government of South Africa is now ready to take. In fact, we have been informed that proposals for constitutional changes affecting the status of South West Africa will be debated very soon in the South African Parliament. We are convinced that these decisions disclose that South Africa is now pursuing far-reaching policies in the Territory, policies which are contrary to the process of decolonization promoted by this Organization and carried out to its successful conclusion throughout the world. These actions are in open violation of the international status of the Territory and contrary to the very objective of self-determination which Pretoria itself proclaims.

133. Another very grave step taken by the Government of South Africa recently confirms the widespread fears that Pretoria intends to deal with South West Africa as if it were an annexed territory. I refer to the extension to South West Africa of the South African Terrorism Act. We have already made clear our opinion on this subject in the Committee of Twenty-Four. We consider the step taken by South Africa to be absolutely illegal under the provisions of resolution 2145 (XXI). We are, moreover, greatly disturbed by the provisions of the Act which are retroactive and which, contrary to all principles of human justice, universally affirmed, deprive the accused of the right to stand a fair trial. It has been, therefore, with concern and deep sorrow that we learned about the arrest and trial of thirty-seven South West Africans by the South African authorities, and it has been in accordance with this position that the Italian delegation, in the Special Committee, supported the resolution condemning the trial. [A/6700/Rev.1, chap. IV, para. 232.]

134. The Government of South Africa is trying to justify the Terrorism Act and the arrest of the South West Africans on the ground of the responsibility that South Africa has for the peace and well-being of the people of the Territory. But we are entitled to ask: what is the source and the purpose of this responsibility? Its source was and still is the will of the international community which in the past conferred the Mandate over the Territory to one country. The purposes are those intended by the same international community, namely, the self-government and, ultimately, the independence of the Territory. Now that the international community, by decisions adopted unanimously, has terminated the Mandate of South Africa, the only responsibility lying on the Government of Pretoria is to comply with these decisions and to co-operate with the Organization in pursuing those policies in order to give independence to South West Africa and to divert the population from the intention to resort to rebellion and guerrilla tactics.

135. In the present situation we feel that the United Nations has no choice but to continue in its efforts, first, to make the Government of South Africa feel all the weight of international public opinion—and in this respect I fully agree with the representative of Nigeria [1624th meeting] to the effect that we should

endeavour to back our decisions with the largest majority; second, to study and carry out, as the representative of Canada has suggested [*ibid.*] practical measures which could enable this Organization to establish contacts with the population of South West Africa and to prepare it for self-government and independence; third, to consider all possible practical steps which could bring the Government of South Africa and public opinion in South Africa to a more realistic understanding of the problem in all its implications, local and international, and, therefore, to co-operate with the United Nations.

136. It is with these considerations in mind that we urge all Member States concerned with a just solution of the question of South West Africa to endeavour to create in this Assembly the conditions for a strong unity of purpose.

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*)

137. Mr. MOROZOV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (translated from Russian): In connexion with the discussion on the report [A/6700/Rev.1] 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, we should like first to draw attention to the facts, contained in that report, about the number of countries for which the ignominious system of colonialism is over and done with.

138. The Committee, referring to the period of its activity, reports that in 1963 there were six such countries, three in 1964, two in 1965, four in 1966, but only one last year, Aden and the Protectorates of South Arabia, won independence, forming the People's Republic of Southern Yemen, whose admission to membership in the United Nations was recommended at yesterday's meeting of the Security Council [1384th meeting].

139. We have only to bear these facts in mind to be forced to the conclusion that they give cause for serious concern. These facts show that foreign oppressors—British, Portuguese, American and certain others—are still keeping under their rule the peoples of Angola, Mozambique, Guinea (Bissau), Southern Rhodesia, South West Africa and dozens of other territories on the continents of Asia and Latin America, in the Pacific, Indian and Atlantic Oceans, in the Caribbean and in other parts of the world, representing a total population of more than thirty million still under the yoke of colonialism.

140. The Special Committee whose report we are discussing has spent much time and energy discussing questions connected with this matter and has formulated and adopted dozens of important resolutions. There is no doubt that its work has been useful; it has helped to unmask the colonial Powers and has drawn the attention of world public opinion to the situation in the colonial and other Non-Self-Governing

Territories. Many of these important resolutions, however, and this has to be said with all emphasis, have remained unimplemented.

141. Yesterday, speaking from this rostrum on the question of South West Africa, I had occasion to stress the fact that the imperialist colonial Powers are continuing to show increasing resistance to the implementation of the Declaration of 14 December 1960. I said this was closely bound up with the intensification of the aggressive policy directed against the national liberation movement in Asia, Africa and Latin America. The aggression of the United States in Viet-Nam, acts of provocation by the United States against Cuba, Laos, and Cambodia, the intervention of foreign mercenaries in the affairs of the Congo, Israel's aggression against the Arab States—these are all links in the same chain.

142. I stress that the aggression in the Middle East has patently encouraged the colonialists in other parts of the world. This is what a so-called Minister of the racist régime in Pretoria, Marius Viljoen, said on 10 June 1967. He said—and this is typical of the colonialist attitude—that the war in the Middle East had not only forced the Arabs to reconsider their position, but had also quite properly made certain African leaders, who continued to attack the Republic of South Africa, reflect upon their position. That is what the colonialists are driving at—vain hopes, of course, for Israel's aggression in the Middle East has met and will be met again with the rebuff it deserves from all peace-loving States.

143. At the present time, for the purposes of our discussion and in the context of the question under consideration, it is important to stress that the increased activity of the colonialists in Africa, their threats and provocations, and the continuation of the colonial wars are directly connected with the establishment in Southern Africa of the military and political alliance of the so-called Republic of South Africa, Portugal and Southern Rhodesia. The United States, the United Kingdom and the Federal Republic of Germany are actively supporting and participating in the activities of this alliance, which, as several representatives of other delegations have rightly stressed, serves the interests of the international monopolies.

144. Here is further evidence, provided by a man who cannot be suspected of sympathy with humanity at large. I refer to a statement by the former Hitlerite general, Mellentin, now engaged as an instructor in the Republic of South Africa. He has said outright that there is question of creating a military organization to bring the racist forces operating in Mozambique, Angola, Southern Rhodesia and the Republic of South Africa, under unified military command.

145. Furthermore, the racists are planning and establishing the economic basis for this military and political conspiracy against the peoples of Africa. Another witness, the British newspaper The Financial Times, which also cannot be accused of particular sympathy for the population of the African continent, has openly revealed these plans and stated that the ground has already been prepared for an economic union of the colonialists which will embrace the

whole continent from the Atlantic to the Indian Oceans. I draw your attention to that point: a union which will embrace the whole continent from the Atlantic to the Indian Oceans. The newspaper went on to explain the purpose of this union. According to The Financial Times, the aim is to build up strong economic co-operation, which would mobilize all the natural and commercial resources of the region and to maintain the colonialists' control for the foreseeable future. This is how the colonialists are now arranging matters so as to establish a military and industrial set-up in Southern Africa as a basis not only for suppressing the national liberation movement in Southern Rhodesia, South West Africa, Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau), but also for bringing pressure to bear on the new independent African States in the interests of the international monopolies and of neo-colonialism.

146. As I have said, the main inspiration for this alliance comes from the United States of America, the United Kingdom, the Federal Republic of Germany and certain other Western Powers. In the statements of many representatives—we have quoted them in our own statement—specific facts have been adduced, proving the existence of a direct military alliance between these leading imperialist Powers and the racist régimes in Southern Africa. The United States of America, the United Kingdom and the Federal Republic of Germany are continuing to supply the South African racists with bombers, air-to-air missiles, and various types of small arms.

147. Here is yet another fact concerning the participation of the Federal Republic of Germany in this military and political conspiracy. More than 500 officers and men of the Bundeswehr are serving with the Portuguese forces as advisers and taking part in punitive operations of staggering cruelty against the Africans of Angola, Mozambique and so-called Portuguese Guinea. Since 1961, a secret military agreement has been in force between the Federal Republic of Germany and the so-called Republic of South Africa, providing for collaboration in the production of missiles and atomic weapons. Under this agreement, up to 1,500 designers, engineers and technicians are this year being recruited in the Federal Republic of Germany with the consent of the West German authorities, for the military industry of the Republic of South Africa. Yet another fact: in the near future it is planned to launch missiles, produced with the help of the West German firms Waffnen-und Luftrüstung AG and Hermann Obert Gesellschaft, from a military base in Southern Africa.

148. The military co-operation between countries which are members of the NATO aggressive bloc and the racists accounts for the breakdown in the application of sanctions and of many other decisions adopted under that heading in relation to the so-called Republic of South Africa and to Portugal. It is precisely by relying on NATO assistance that the racists in Portugal, South Africa, Southern Rhodesia and South West Africa are endeavouring to strengthen their domination.

149. In the general resolution [2189 (XXI)] on the report of the Special Committee of Twenty-Four, adopted at the twenty-first session in 1966, the General Assembly deplored

"... the attitude of certain States which, despite the resolutions of the General Assembly and of the Special Committee, continue to co-operate with the Governments of Portugal and South Africa and with the illegal racist minority régime of Southern Rhodesia, which are continuing to repress the African populations".

In adopting this resolution, the General Assembly, as we know, did not mention these States by name. From this, the United States of America, the United Kingdom and certain other Western Powers drew, as is now quite obvious, a conclusion which, to put it mildly, is highly original: not only has assistance from those States to the Portuguese, South African and Southern Rhodesian racists not ceased, but, on the contrary, is steadily increasing.

150. That is why we consider that the present session of the General Assembly should draw the appropriate lesson from all this. It is essential not only to condemn the establishment of an imperialist bloc of racists and colonialists in Southern Africa, aimed at maintaining colonialism in that area, but also, at long last, to mention by name those States which are inspiring the crimes committed against the people under the colonial yoke. These States are, first and foremost, the United States of America, the United Kingdom and the Federal Republic of Germany.

151. The Soviet delegation considers it its duty, again and yet again to draw the General Assembly's attention to those colonial countries where the people are waging a heroic struggle for their liberation. I am referring to Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau). To these countries may now be added Southern Rhodesia and South West Africa, where the liberation struggle is also taking the form of an armed struggle.

152. As we know, for more than seven years the people of Angola and so-called Portuguese Guinea have been heroically and courageously fighting for their homeland, their freedom and independence and this is the third year that the fires of liberation war has been raging in Mozambique. In this struggle, Portugal's armed forces would long ago have been utterly defeated, if Portugal had not continued as before to receive weapons, equipment and ammunition produced in the NATO countries. It is a fact that the Angolan, Mozambican and Guinean patriots are capturing as trophies weapons stamped "Made in the United States" and "Made in the Federal Republic of Germany". To these has now been added another stamp—"Made in Israel". Everybody can now see that Portuguese colonialism would long ago have been ended if it had not been for this military, economic and political support from its chief military and trading partners.

153. The tragedy of the Zimbabwe people continues. The worst fears expressed over the seizure of power by the racists in Southern Rhodesia in November 1965 have been confirmed. The four million Africans of that country find themselves in the hands of inhuman reactionaries. Terror and repression have befallen the Zimbabwe people. Thousands of patriots have been thrown into prison and hundreds of them are threatened with the death penalty. In that country, a preventive detention act has been passed, under which any African may be thrown into prison without trial or investigation. In that country, a policy of apartheid is being pursued

similar to that applied by the shameful racist régime in Pretoria.

154. And what has the United Kingdom, as administering Power, done to prevent racist violence and arbitrary rule in Southern Rhodesia?

155. The position adopted by the United Kingdom delegation even at the present session of the General Assembly towards consideration of the problem of Southern Rhodesia leaves no doubt that the United Kingdom Government is ready to make a deal with the racists behind the backs of the African people.

156. The illusions of those who naively believed in the declaration by the representatives of the United Kingdom and the United States of America expressing support for the cause of self-determination for the Zimbabwe people have now been finally dispelled. Nor do the Zimbabwe people any longer believe these declarations. They have taken up arms to fight for their freedom and independence.

157. It is the duty of the United Nations, the responsibility of this session of the General Assembly, to speak out in defence of the just struggle of the Zimbabwe people and to render them all possible assistance in their struggle.

158. The people of Oman are continuing their struggle for liberation from colonial domination.

159. Only yesterday, the General Assembly, by an overwhelming majority of votes, adopted a resolution indicating specific measures for the attainment of that aim. We recall that yesterday, in this hall, the colonial Powers, led by the United States of America and the United Kingdom, presented a united front in voting against this resolution, thereby putting themselves in the pillory. Does this not show why the Declaration of 14 December 1960 has not yet been fully implemented?

160. The situation which has arisen in connexion with the so-called small colonial territories also deserves attention. In recent times, the colonialists have been making increasing efforts to strengthen their rule over those territories and turn them into bases directed against the national liberation movement. The imperialist Powers are establishing naval and air bases in the small colonial territories. The colonialists realize that the movement of the peoples for liberation will sooner or later sweep them from the mainland and they are therefore counting on strengthening their position in their island colonial possessions. It is not without interest to note that this idea was put forward some years ago by none other than the British Air Chief Marshal Edmund Hudleston, who proposed that a world-wide system of island bases should be built up, which would not, as the Marshal said, be subject to nationalist influence. In accordance with this plan, bases in Guam, Puerto Rico, the Bahrein Islands, Ascension Island and many other islands have been repeatedly used and are intended to be further used for the suppression of the national liberation movement in Asia, Africa and Latin America.

161. The General Assembly, in resolutions adopted after a hard fight and against the stubborn opposition of the colonialists in this hall, has already pointed

out that the existence or establishment of military bases in the colonial territories and refrain from establishing new ones. We must point out, however, that this very important requirement is still not being implemented, because it is being sabotaged by the colonialists. Furthermore, the United Kingdom is expanding its military bases in the Bahrein Islands and the United States is doing the same in the Pacific Islands. Under an agreement dated 30 December 1966 between the United States and the United Kingdom, the Governments of those two countries have arranged for the joint construction of military installations on the islands of Aldabra and Diego Garcia in the Indian Ocean, where they intend to build air and naval bases. These islands will provide harbourage for the United States Polaris missile submarines. For the purposes of our discussion of the question now before us, it is important to stress that the Western press does not conceal the fact that all these bases, situated close to the shores of Asia and Africa, are directed against the national liberation movement.

162. The colonialists will resort to all kinds of tricks in order to strengthen their position in the small colonial territories.

163. It is sufficient to recall the recent events in the West Indian islands in the Caribbean, where the British have imposed on the population of those islands the status of so-called associated states. But, of course, whatever tragicomic farces the British colonialists play, the essence of the question of the colonial administration in the British possessions in the Caribbean is not changed.

164. No less resourceful than the United Kingdom are its United States accomplices in colonial oppression. This summer in the island of Puerto Rico, which has often rightly been called "island of sorrow and tears", the United States colonialists organized a so-called plebiscite for the local population to express its opinion concerning the future status of the island.

165. But what free expression of will can there be in the conditions prevailing in the island, when 90 per cent of the territory in reality belongs to United States companies and when there are tens of thousands of American soldiers occupying Puerto Rico? Is this not a mockery of what we understand by a plebiscite—the free expression of a people's will?

166. We should now like to recall that the Soviet Union, during the whole fifty years of its history, has always shown and still shows the same respect to all nations, great and small. Proceeding from this position of principle, the Soviet delegation considers that the General Assembly at its current session must condemn the colonialists' manoeuvres for the maintenance of their rule over the minor colonial territories and must above all call upon them to remove their military installations and withdraw their armed forces from those territories.

167. Now we feel that we must make a few comments concerning the work of the Committee of Twenty-Four and the tasks before it in the difficult year ahead, when events will develop against the background of indisputable facts which are evidence of an intensification of the aggressive course pursued by the Western Powers, especially the United States of America.

168. Naturally, this situation has impeded and will impede the Committee of Twenty-Four in its work. We know that the representatives of the colonial Powers in that Committee stubbornly resist every time the Committee takes a decision. The colonialists endeavour to turn the consideration of important questions in the Committee into routine verbal disputes, hinder the Committee's work in every possible way, and try to involve it in abstract discussions. We know that the refusal of the colonial Powers to implement the provisions of the 1960 Declaration has forced and still forces the Committee to return again and again to consideration of the situation in the self-same territories. Yet despite all this, the Committee has throughout its lifetime, including the year that has just elapsed, overcome the resistance of the colonialists, and adopted a number of important and useful decisions on questions relating to the implementation of the Declaration of 14 December 1960, decisions which help the national liberation movement and the mobilization of world public opinion in the struggle against the colonialists and racists.

169. The Committee took commendable initiative when it began to study the question of 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 Committee's work in this connexion and the documents it has produced have proved valuable in helping the General Assembly to take important decisions aimed at restraining the criminal activities of the imperialist monopolies. It is now the responsibility of the Committee of Twenty-Four to watch closely and ensure that these decisions are applied in practice, that they are implemented.

170. The statements of those members of the Committee of Twenty-Four who take their stand against colonialism have been and still are strongly echoed and supported by the overwhelming majority of Members of the United Nations and by world public opinion. The Committee has heard the statements of hundreds of petitioners. Its representatives have repeatedly visited the colonies themselves as well as neighbouring countries. This has given the Committee an opportunity to acquire a deeper knowledge of the situation in the colonies and of the state of the national liberation movement there and also to hear the statements of many representatives of national patriotic organizations.

171. The experience of the work of the Committee of Twenty-Four gives grounds for hope that in the future its contribution to the campaign for the elimination of the last vestiges of colonialism will be more successful and fruitful. Now that the Committee, on the basis of a thorough study of the situation in each colonial territory, has submitted its recommendations, many of which have already been approved by the General Assembly, its main task is to concentrate on the implementation of the decisions already adopted.

172. Seven years have elapsed since the General Assembly adopted the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. In our opinion, the time has come for a detailed report to be submitted at the next session of the General Assembly containing a thorough analysis of

progress in the implementation of the Declaration, and for that purpose the Committee must assiduously follow the implementation of decisions already adopted and at the appropriate time submit its recommendations to Member States and to the next session of the General Assembly.

173. In particular, and we would stress this, the Committee must keep close watch on the implementation of United Nations resolutions concerning assistance by the specialized agencies and other international organizations associated with the United Nations to the peoples of countries still under the colonial yoke and waging a struggle against the colonialists, including assistance in the reconstruction and development of the economy in parts of the world which have already been liberated from the colonialists.

174. The Committee must keep close watch on the implementation of United Nations resolutions concerning the elimination of colonialism and of such an important decision as the one I have already mentioned, concerning the removal of military bases and the withdrawal of foreign troops from the colonial terri-

tories. The Committee is entitled to call upon each State Member of the United Nations and it must do so, for information as to how the relevant General Assembly decision applying to the State concerned is being implemented.

175. All this would undoubtedly raise the work of the Committee to a higher level, and this would be in the interests of the liberation of peoples still under the colonial yoke.

176. It goes without saying that the Soviet delegation is ready to consider any other practical proposals which have been or may be put forward during the discussion, if their aim is the speedy and final elimination of the vestiges of colonialism. It also goes without saying that the Soviet delegation will strongly support any measures directed towards the full implementation of the historic Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

The meeting rose at 1.10 p.m.