



Wednesday, 22 May 1968,
 at 10.30 a.m.

NEW YORK

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President: Mr. Corneliu MANESCU (Romania).

AGENDA ITEM 64

Question of South West Africa (continued)

1. Mr. TOMEH (Syrian Arab Republic): Mr. President, the delegation of the Syrian Arab Republic wishes to join its voice to those of all the delegations that have preceded us here in congratulating you on resuming the Presidency at this part of the twenty-second session of the General Assembly.

2. It is a matter of great regret that the Assembly is called upon again to examine the question of South West Africa. Half a century of South African rule over Namibia has led this Territory neither to self-government, as the original terms of the Mandate envisage, nor to self-determination, as provided in resolution 1514 (XV) on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples. No matter what approach one uses to discuss this African Territory, a central fact is dominant: it is still under foreign domination; and a factor specific to its plight, and aggravating still further its situation, is that apartheid—for which the Government of South Africa stands condemned by the community of Nations and world public opinion—is deliberately fostered there. Thus the people of Namibia are denied not only their right to self-determination, but also their right to equality and human dignity.

3. The South African Government has from the start denied the international character of the problem. The fallacy of its argument need not be demonstrated, because even the terms of the original League of Nations, Mandate on which it bases its attitude do not make the question a domestic one under the exclusive jurisdiction of South Africa. However, for the removal of any doubt—no matter how unjustified—the International Court of Justice affirmed by its consultative opinion^{1/} the international status of the Territory thereby emphasizing the responsibility towards that Territory and its people, placed upon the international Organization.

4. In the face of an uninterrupted series of South African measures taken, not to promote the political, economic and social welfare of the people but, on the

contrary, to perpetuate their subjection to discrimination and inferiority, the Assembly in discharge of this responsibility put an end to the Mandate of South Africa over Namibia by its resolution 2145 (XXI). Likewise, it was in order to give that resolution the necessary instrumentality for implementation that the Assembly created on 19 May 1967 the United Nations Council for South West Africa [resolution 2248 (S-V)] with the specific task of administering the Territory until it achieves its independence.

5. What was the attitude of the Government of South Africa towards those resolutions? One of rejection of the principle and immobilization of the machinery for its implementation. This attitude is but the logical outcome of the intent of South Africa to annex in fact the Territory of Namibia and to invoke the question of legalism just to find any possible alibi for its open defiance of the world community and of international law.

6. Thus the United Nations finds itself confronted with a situation in which one of its Member States, while sitting in this Organization, nevertheless rejects its principles and its commands; and in which one Territory is ruled by force by a foreign Power to the detriment of the most elementary rights of its people.

7. Such defiance of the United Nations has become characteristic of the neo-colonialist forces that spread their terror and destruction. Behind a façade of legalism, self-defence, and martyrdom, they commit their atrocities and oppression against pacific nations. The philosophy underlying their behaviour is that they are superior to other races, and this superiority they want to consolidate by sheer force of arms and terror of destruction.

8. Everywhere their false arguments are the same, and we are used to them. They justify their colonialism of settlement by their civilizing mission and so-called democratic way of life. Their disdain of the birthright of peoples to their land and heritage, to their patrimony, takes the form of either subjection or eviction of rightful inhabitants, similar to that which plagues our part of the world, the Arab homeland.

9. They have all a common language in justifying their occupation: here it is prosperity, there that they have brought to peoples universal brotherhood. Yet by their very complex of superiority, and practice of apartheid and the notion of second-class and third-class citizenry, they suffocate human and moral values. One thing they never tire of seeking: foreign investments in their expansionist enterprise, because they want to use international capital to consolidate their rule of force and tighten the grip of terror. And thus, offering imperialist economic interests high dividends at the expense of subjected peoples' efforts or evicted

^{1/} International Status of South West Africa, Advisory Opinion: I.C.J. Reports 1950, p. 128.

peoples' properties, they assure themselves of strong imperialist backing.

10. As long as this unholy alliance persists, the spirit of the United Nations is defeated, its Charter flouted, and its moral force disdained. But for this imperialist backing, these neo-colonial phenomena would not have taken place, as several representatives have rightly pointed out.

11. It is really a great tragedy that in the second half of the twentieth century, after the establishment of the United Nations, this unholy alliance of imperialism and neo-colonialist forces with their lackeys and stooges, is establishing a rule of terror all over the world.

12. We say this because right in the heart of the Arab homeland we are suffering a similar conquest in which we see the alliance of the South African Government with the Israeli aggressor in our homeland. Only last month, in April, a new economic conference terminated its deliberations in the Arab occupied territory in which, according to Israeli sources, 500 leading Jewish industrialists and businessmen from three continents came to Israel to attend the four-day deliberations and to plan for the exploitation of the newly occupied Arab territories. The same source tells us that Mr. David Sussman, of South Africa, the youngest speaker, stated: "We hope to invest freely in this Promised Land, or, rather, this Land of Promise." This is taken from the Israel Digest, American edition, of 18 April 1968.

13. This unholy alliance continues in various aspects. In a British publication, the Jewish Chronicle dated 12 April 1968 we read:

"Professor"—so called—"Yigal Yadin, of Massada fame"—he was formerly chief of staff of the Israel Army—"has ended a two-week combined holiday and lecture tour of South Africa, during which he was everywhere acclaimed as a popular hero.

"He went with the intention of giving three lectures"—to the South African people—"on his Massada excavations and the Bar-Kochba caves in the Judean Hills; he was pressed to give five, but gave seven altogether—three in Johannesburg, two in Cape Town, where there was a 'black market' in tickets, and one each in Durban and Port Elizabeth."

14. The report goes on to say that this same man Yadin, "who was accompanied by Mrs. Yadin ... received the honorary degree of Doctor of Science from Witwatersrand University," and ends as follows: "The citation recorded the 'university's esteem for the Hebrew University, the Land of the Bible and its people'." It is therefore no mere coincidence that we, the Arab people, feel very strongly about the plight and tragedy of our brothers in South West Africa.

15. It has been said that the matter should be referred to the Security Council, but even in the Security Council, the South African Government and Governments sharing its philosophy have the tacit assurance that no sanctions would be envisaged against their illegal conduct, no efficacious boycott decreed and no condemnation of any avail.

16. Of course, we do not oppose the reference of this question to the Security Council. It has the prerogatives

of enforcement. But we do draw attention to the fact that South Africa went on with the trials of the South West African leaders, in spite of the injunctions of the Security Council in this respect, in exactly the same manner as the parade of the Israel Army in occupied Arab Jerusalem took place in spite of the condemnation of that parade by the Security Council. Have not many other Security Council resolutions, only recently, been flagrantly violated and defied? The echoes of the debate and the resolutions on Jerusalem have hardly subsided.

17. What remains for the peace and justice-loving forces to do is to devise more unity among their ranks, more help to the liberation movements, more mobilization of their potential and courage to point directly to the aggressors, their lackeys and their allies, and to affirm by word and deed that there can be no third alternative. One can either stand against aggression or be allied to the aggressors. Pious protests of innocence and impartiality are comforting, but they do not deter the adversaries of humanity from the course they have set themselves to follow.

18. In our opinion, the United Nations Council for South West Africa can continue its mission and channel such efforts. In the hour of reckoning, only positive achievements count, and we must enable the Council to fulfil this task.

19. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): Before calling on the next speaker, I should like to bring to the Assembly's attention the fact that after consultations and following a communication from the Chairman of the Afro-Asian group, Mr. Privado G. Jiménez, there seems to be general agreement to close the list of speakers wishing to take part in the discussion on agenda item 64 tomorrow, Thursday, 23 May, at 6 p.m. If there are no objections, the list of speakers will be closed tomorrow at 6 p.m.

It was so decided.

20. Mr. PEREZ GUERRERO (Venezuela) (translated from Spanish): The delegation of Venezuela has given its firm support to the resolutions adopted by the General Assembly on the question of South West Africa, which is once again under consideration.

21. At the fifth special session, our delegation supported the initiative to set up the United Nations Council for South West Africa, which was designed to facilitate the progress of the Territory toward independence after the termination of South Africa's Mandate over the Territory—a measure taken by the General Assembly when it adopted resolution 2145 (XXI).

22. This Territory is occupied illegally by the Republic of South Africa, whose Government has taken refuge in an attitude of outright intransigence and still shows no sign of any change. Despite its praiseworthy efforts, the United Nations Council for South West Africa finds itself in an impasse from which it is unable to extricate itself with the means at its disposal.

23. The delegation of Venezuela shares the view of many others that this is an intolerable situation which detracts from the authority of the United Nations. It is certainly a problem of universal scope which closely affects the whole of mankind. Fundamental

principles of international life, embodied in the Charter of the United Nations and in resolutions of this Assembly, are not only trampled underfoot, but, in the exercise of that illegal authority, crimes and acts violating human rights are being committed against the persons and communities fighting for independence of the Territory.

24. The conduct of the Government authorities, which arbitrarily control the destinies of the peoples of other territories in the southern part of Africa who are also engaged in the struggle for independence, is reprehensible in every respect. These authorities have calculated—needless to say quite falsely—that they will be able to perpetuate their domination by giving moral and material support to the South African authorities, which aim to maintain their subjugation of the Territory of South West Africa by their régime of terror.

25. What this unjust situation calls for is the giving of encouragement and support to those who are fighting indomitably for the independence of their country, in this corner of the great continent of Africa which has given rise to a wonderful movement for independence that has aroused immense sympathy throughout Latin America. However, in the case of South West Africa, unlike other cases, it is not possible to count on the support of the responsible Government to ensure that it finally takes the path of reason and gives its co-operation so that the indigenous people may achieve their independence.

26. Only one course is left open, and that is to insist that the Security Council take this matter seriously in hand and apply the relevant provisions of the Charter of the United Nations. If this question is not resolved, peace in that part of the world will be gravely endangered.

27. Let us hope that the General Assembly, by reiterating its firm decision regarding the question of South West Africa, will encourage the Security Council, with the support of all its members, especially the most powerful of them, to take measures that will bring about an appropriate solution to this grievous problem. Only in this way will the United Nations Council for South West Africa be able to act effectively and the United Nations fulfil a task which undoubtedly falls within its competence.

28. Mr. GHAIUS (Afghanistan): Mr. President, allow me at the outset to present to you my delegation's sincere appreciation of the exemplary manner in which you have been conducting the work of this twenty-second session of the General Assembly.

29. The present debate provides the community of nations with an opportunity to examine the problem of South West Africa once again and to ponder, in this respect, over the failures and frustrations of this Organization.

30. It is now more than two decades since the United Nations began trying to help the people of Namibia to achieve self-determination and independence. During all these difficult years of colonial occupation, not a ray of hope has filtered through the dark clouds surrounding the legitimate aspirations of Namibians

who are striving to take their place among the free nations of the world. Seldom has an issue of justice and independence, having the support of such an overwhelming majority of nations, been so stubbornly ignored by a colonial Power.

31. With the adoption by the General Assembly of resolution 2145 (XXI), irrevocably terminating the Mandate of South Africa over South West Africa, it was expected by some that there might be a change of heart in Pretoria. This was, of course, only an illusion.

32. It seems that since the adoption of that historic resolution the situation has gone from bad to worse. The South African Government, in complete defiance of the United Nations resolutions, has continued its brutal policies of repression and expansion, depriving the indigenous inhabitants of South West Africa of their right to social, economic and political emancipation. The Government of South Africa has not taken a single step towards relinquishing its authority over Namibia. On the contrary, South Africa is accelerating its efforts to consolidate its illegal presence in South West Africa. The South African régime is trying, with all the means at its disposal, to implement the provisions of the Odendaal plan establishing so-called separate homelands aimed at destroying the territorial integrity of South West Africa and extending to that unfortunate land—to which it has no right whatsoever—the evils of the universally condemned policy of apartheid.

33. The ruling circles in South Africa, without the least regard for world public opinion or for the provisions of resolution 2145 (XXI), are trying to transform that Territory into a colony, thereby depriving the indigenous population of its land, wealth and dignity. The Government of South Africa, by extending its policies of apartheid to South West Africa and by enacting repressive laws, such as the notorious Terrorism Act, intends, to break the will of the Namibians and to perpetuate its domination over that people.

34. Apartheid hampers the establishment of useful co-operation among the peoples of South West Africa who aspire to create a free and democratic country. Apartheid deprives the Namibians of an opportunity to acquire the knowledge, education and skills necessary for the future administration and development of their homeland. It was on charges under the Terrorism Act that the thirty-seven South African freedom-fighters, arrested in South West Africa were deported and brought to trial in Pretoria. Not only are the repressive and retroactive terms of that law a clear violation of fundamental human rights of the inhabitants of Namibia, but its promulgation after the adoption of resolution 2145 (XXI), by which the General Assembly terminated the Mandate over South West Africa, deliberately denies the international status of that Territory.

35. The United Nations Council for South West Africa, the General Assembly and the Security Council have successively called upon the Government of South Africa to discontinue forthwith that illegal trial and to release and repatriate the thirty-seven South West Africans.

36. All these actions by the world Organization have proved to be of no avail. The Government of South Africa continued the trials and imposed heavy sentences on thirty-three of the prisoners illegally detained. After the adoption of resolution 246 (1968) of the Security Council, by which it censured the Government of South Africa for its flagrant defiance of the authority of the United Nations and demanded that the Government of South Africa release and repatriate the South West Africans concerned, the Secretary-General of the United Nations received a letter from the Minister of Foreign Affairs of South Africa stating that the "convicted terrorists could not be released nor could their release be discussed"^{2/} — and that was that.

37. The negative and intransigent attitude of the Government of South Africa towards the United Nations was once again tested when the United Nations Council for South West Africa, in pursuance of its mandate laid down in General Assembly resolution 2248 (S-V), decided to enter South West Africa. As was expected, the Government of South Africa flatly refused entry to the Council, which was proceeding to the Territory to carry out there the functions entrusted to it by the General Assembly.

38. The delegation of Afghanistan wishes to express its appreciation to the United Nations Council for South West Africa for the efforts it has made in attempting to discharge its responsibilities. In reading through the report of the Council [A/7088 and Corr.1], one can realize to what extent the Government of South Africa is ready to carry on its policy of defiance towards this world Organization of which it is a member.

39. We are not stating a new fact when we stress that the United Nations has a direct responsibility towards South West Africa. This is not only a moral responsibility, not only a responsibility for safeguarding the human rights of the indigenous inhabitants of the Territory; it is a legal and formal responsibility as well. This legal and formal responsibility was established when the General Assembly by its resolution 2145 (XXI) terminated the Mandate of South Africa over South West Africa and decided that as a result of this action South West Africa had acquired a new status and ceased to be under the rule of the Pretoria régime. An overwhelming majority of the United Nations membership conferred upon the Organization the right to administer South West Africa directly until its accession to independence. The General Assembly by adopting resolution 2248 (S-V) created a new body for that purpose, the United Nations Council for South West Africa. It is also quite clear that in accordance with its primary task, which is the maintenance of international peace and security, the United Nations has to secure an end to the occupation of South West Africa by South Africa. The extension of the South African system of apartheid to South West Africa and South Africa's expansionist policies have had a corrosive influence on the political situation in the southern part of Africa, and may result sooner or later in a violent upheaval endangering the peace and security of the African continent.

^{2/} Official Records of the Security Council, Twenty-third Year, Supplement for January, February and March 1968, document S/8506, annex I, para. 12.

40. The continued presence of South Africa in South West Africa, after the termination of the Mandate, in itself constitutes an act of aggression against the people and the territorial integrity of Namibia, and its removal calls for the adoption of effective measures by the United Nations in conformity with the principles of the Charter.

41. The arrogance of South Africa in its illegal rule over South West Africa is backed by a powerful military machine. The embargo on arms adopted by the Security Council has been repeatedly flouted, allowing South Africa to acquire some of the modern means of warfare necessary for the furtherance of its repressive designs at home and to strengthen its aggressive purposes in South West Africa. The emergence of an alliance between South Africa and Portugal and the illegal régime of Salisbury has fortified the position of the South Africa régime in southern Africa.

42. There has also been a substantial increase in the volume of trade between South Africa and some of its major trading partners. Some other countries, which previously had no commercial relations with South Africa, have begun doing business with it. Notwithstanding the fact that the increase in trade and investment will consolidate the position of the racist régime of Pretoria and will delay the emancipation of non-white inhabitants under its rule, the relevant provisions of the General Assembly resolutions in that respect continue to go unheeded.

43. In order to enable South West Africa to exercise its inalienable right to self-determination and to achieve full independence, the United Nations must face up to its responsibilities. It should be said, in that connexion, that South West Africa is not only the responsibility of the General Assembly or of the United Nations Council for South West Africa; it is the responsibility of the Security Council as well. In fact the role of the Security Council and its permanent members has acquired a new significance in the light of the recent developments as reported to us by the United Nations Council for South West Africa.

44. There is wide agreement on the aims of the United Nations regarding South West Africa. It has now become imperative that we agree on the means of achieving those aims. All Members, particularly the permanent members of the Security Council, have to agree on a programme of action by the Security Council. Otherwise, because of our complacency, the cause of freedom will suffer irreparably in South West Africa. We are certain that if a spirit of co-operation prevails in the Security Council it can, by its involvement in the decolonization of South West Africa, make an effective contribution to the peaceful and just solution of the problem.

45. It is our considered opinion that the General Assembly has no alternative but to reiterate—and I quote from the Council's report—

"its request to the Security Council, in accordance with the provisions of these resolutions"—that is, resolutions 2248 (S-V) and 2325 (XXII)—"to take effective measures to ensure the immediate removal of South Africa's presence from the Territory with

a view to enabling the Council for South West Africa to discharge all its functions and responsibilities effectively" [A/7088 and Corr.1, para. 63].

46. The Security Council, in discharging its duties and responsibilities in connexion with the implementation of the resolutions of the General Assembly concerning South West Africa, should take into consideration the grave and serious implications of the continued occupation of South West Africa by South Africa. Therefore it must, in order to bring it to an end, take effective measures within the framework of Chapter VII of the Charter.

47. The United Nations Council for South West Africa in its report has put forward some pertinent suggestions for alleviating the plight of the refugees; facilitating the issuance of travel documents to South West Africans living in exile, planning for large-scale financial, administrative and technical assistance to the people of South West Africa, in order to facilitate the first steps of Namibia as an independent nation. These constructive suggestions deserve our most serious consideration,

48. The Council during its trip to Africa was impressed by the courage of the people of South West Africa and by their determination to struggle for the independence of their country. The South West African refugees expressed to the Council their determination to return to Namibia as early as possible and to continue the fight. We read in the Council's report that, although there might be differences between the political organizations of South West Africa, there was

"no evidence of any divergency in their views regarding the ultimate objective or the means and methods of its attainment. All the South West African political parties made it abundantly clear that they are committed to the goal of the independence of the Territory" [A/7088 and Corr.1, annex V, para.5].

That is indeed cause for satisfaction.

49. This shows to what extent the people of Namibia have become conscious of its right as a nation to freedom and independence. It wants to face the difficulties that lie ahead with determination and in unity.

50. In closing, I cannot avoid thinking of the pathetic and significant words uttered by Sam Nujoma, President of SWAPO (South West Africa People's Organization) when he appeared in Dares Salaam as a petitioner before the United Nations Council for South West Africa. He said:

"SWAPO's fight in Namibia is not against whites but against the system which subjugates the Africans. This fight will go on until victory is attained. Victory may be attained without the unnecessary loss of human life; on the other hand there may be much bloodshed before the final goal is achieved. The United Nations must act to avoid this last alternative...." [A/7088 and Corr.1, annex II, B.]

51. Mr. TCHERNOUCHTENKO (Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic) (translated from Russian): The position of the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic on the question of South West Africa is well known. It is based on support for the national liberation

struggle against colonialism and racism, the struggle for the elimination of social inequality. Our position on this question has already been set forth on many occasions both in statements made in the United Nations and in the official replies of the Byelorussian SSR to the questionnaires sent by the Secretary-General of the United Nations, which have been published in the relevant documents.

52. The Byelorussian SSR has never had any relations with the racist régime of the Republic of South Africa which is occupying South West Africa. Together with the other socialist countries and the progressive forces in the world, it has expressed and continues to express itself in the United Nations in favour of the adoption of decisions aimed at the speediest achievement of independence by the people of South West Africa.

53. The situation in South West Africa is an example of how the forces of imperialism, colonialism and racism are united in an attempt—doomed to failure—to keep South West Africa as a bastion of the struggle against the freedom and independence of the African peoples. In doing so, they blatantly flout the decisions of the United Nations. This is graphically confirmed by recent events.

54. It should be clear to all that the militant South African racists would not behave so brazenly if it were not for the support they are receiving from the United States, the United Kingdom, the Federal Republic of Germany and other Western Powers.

55. In its resolution 2325 (XXII) the General Assembly of the United Nations appealed to all States, particularly the main trading partners of South Africa and those which have economic and other interests in South Africa and South West Africa, to take effective measures designed to ensure the immediate withdrawal of the South African racists from South West Africa. In practical terms this meant the United States, the United Kingdom, the Federal Republic of Germany and other Western Powers. However, those countries have not lifted a finger to call those presumptuous racists to order. On the contrary, ignoring the decisions of the United Nations, they are expanding their political, military and other relations with the Republic of South Africa. Let me give a few examples.

56. On 10 December 1967 The New York Times reported that more than 260 American firms were doing a flourishing business in South Africa, and South Africa feels strong enough to disregard any warnings it is given. To this fact should be added data showing that in their policy of domination over South West Africa the racists of the Republic of South Africa rely on American investments amounting to more than \$600,000,000 and on trade with that country amounting to \$650 million per year.

57. Speaking in Johannesburg on 9 May 1968, the President of the Anglo-South African Trade Association, Mr. Bamford, said that 1967 was a record year for trade between the Republic of South Africa and the United Kingdom. According to the figures he gave, South African exports to the United Kingdom in that year amounted to 481.9 million rands, or \$674.7 million. Imports from the United Kingdom totalled 526.4 million rands, or \$737 million. South Africa is

the United Kingdom's second largest export market, while the United Kingdom is the largest export market of the Republic of South Africa. Exports to the United Kingdom accounted for 32.2 per cent of all South Africa's exports in 1967.

58. The Federal Republic of Germany is not far behind. In 1967, its imports from South Africa rose by 25.7 per cent and its exports by 27.5 per cent. Its annual trade turnover with South Africa amounts to more than two thousand million marks, i.e. \$500 million. This is twice as large as the trade turnover between those two countries in 1967. Obviously, in order to strengthen further and develop its relations with the South African Republic, the Government of the Federal Republic of Germany has appointed a former nazi as its Ambassador to Pretoria. The South African racists are doubtless impressed by the anti-human ideology and practices of Hitler's nazi régime.

59. Military and strategic interests play a role of no small importance in determining the Western Powers' policy in regard to South Africa and South West Africa. Those Powers regard South Africa and South West Africa, which is occupied by South Africa, as an important bastion of the so-called "free world", as a springboard for the struggle against the national liberation movements in Africa and other parts of the world.

60. Very enlightening in this respect is the statement made by Mr. Marshall, an American military historian and a retired General, which are contained in an article distributed in New York late last year by the Association for American-African affairs.

61. The General apparently fully endorses the words of a Mr. Zirpshi who, writing in one of NATO's publications, had the following to say about the strategic importance of the Republic of South Africa:

"Not only does it" (the Republic of South Africa) "stand as a bulwark against the conquest of the whole of Africa" (obviously by the Africans), "but it occupies the most important central position in the Southern Hemisphere at the junction of the Indian and South Atlantic Oceans.

62. For the countries of the NATO bloc, the Republic of South Africa plays a role of no small importance in their policy of combatting the national liberation movement, particularly in the Portuguese colonies. It is also well known that the South African racists have sent their troops to support the criminal régime in Southern Rhodesia.

63. The South African racists realize that, although Western diplomats verbally "condemn" the policy of apartheid, they can in fact rely on the help and support of the Western Powers. And it is precisely as a result of this help and support that South Africa, as The Times of London stated on 19 December 1967, has been and remains the strongest military Power on the African continent.

64. These are the facts. They show that the South African racists' domination in South West Africa is based on the economic and military aid and support of the United States, the United Kingdom, the Federal

Republic of Germany and other Western Powers, which, on account of their mercenary economic and military-strategic interests, do not really wish to implement the decisions of the United Nations. They do not wish to compel the South African racists to comply with United Nations decisions. They do not wish to exert their power and influence in the Republic of South Africa in order to settle the question of South West Africa in the interests of the long-suffering people of that Territory, who long for freedom and independence.

65. Unfortunately, in the course of this debate the representatives of several countries have put forward the view that all the major Powers—the permanent members of the Security Council—bear an equal, as it were a common, responsibility for non-compliance with United Nations decisions on South West Africa. It was very odd to hear this said. As is well known, the Soviet Union, on whose initiative the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples was adopted, has complied with and is strictly observing all United Nations decisions on South West Africa. It maintains no relations with the racist régime of the Republic of South Africa, and is doing its utmost to support the African peoples in their struggle for their final liberation from the colonialist and neo-colonialist yoke. It is striving for the immediate granting of independence to all peoples still languishing under colonial rule.

66. It should be borne in mind that in the matter of the achievement of freedom and independence by the people of South West Africa the key question was and still is that of putting an end to any kind of economic, political, military and other support given to the Republic of South Africa by its main allies—the major Western Powers.

67. In the opinion of the Byelorussian SSR, the United Nations must take effective measures to put an end to the domination of the South African racists in South West Africa. We maintain that the people of South West Africa have the right to immediate independence, in accordance with the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, and with General Assembly resolution 2145 (XXI).

68. Since the Pretoria Government has not complied with the United Nations decision on the termination of South Africa's Mandate for the administration of South West Africa, the United Nations General Assembly must state clearly that the continued presence of the South African authorities in the Territory of South West Africa is illegal and constitutes an occupation of that Territory.

69. The General Assembly must finally speak out authoritatively and condemn those who are protecting the South African racist régime, namely, the United Kingdom, the United States, the Federal Republic of Germany and several other Western countries, and must demand that they adopt effective measures against the racist régime of the Republic of South Africa, and in the first place the complete severance of economic, political, diplomatic, military and other relations with that régime. The Governments of those States must also take steps to ensure that their companies, private citizens and State organs

withdraw their capital investments from South Africa and South West Africa; this would undermine the economic foundations of the South African racists' domination in the southern part of Africa, and would seriously weaken the position of the present régime in Pretoria.

70. The measures would make it possible to create around the South African racists a situation of intolerance, international isolation and boycott. This would play an important role in eliminating their dominion.

71. The delegation of the Byelorussian SSR, of course, supports the demand of the Afro-Asian countries that the Security Council should consider the question of

adopting, in conformity with the United Nations Charter, the necessary measures to liberate the people of South West Africa from foreign occupation and to do away with the colonial and racist yoke imposed upon that Territory.

72. The delegation of the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, for its part, expresses its solidarity with the people of South West Africa in their struggle for freedom and independence, and reaffirms its readiness to co-operate with African and other States in adopting measures which would help South West Africa to achieve independence.

The meeting rose at 11.50 a.m.