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CONTENTS

	Page
<i>Agenda item 64:</i>	
<i>Question of South West Africa (continued) . . .</i>	1

President: Mr. Corneliu MANESCU (Romania).

AGENDA ITEM 64

Question of South West Africa (continued)

1. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): May I remind representatives that at the last meeting the General Assembly decided to close at 6 p.m. today the list of speakers wishing to participate in the discussion of this item.

2. Mr. SHEVCHENKO (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic) (translated from Russian): The considerable successes achieved by the national liberation movement in recent years is clear proof of the invincibility of the peoples' struggle for freedom and independence from the exploiter system of colonialism and imperialism. But we must not forget that there are tens of millions of people still living in colonial slavery today. One of these last remaining bastions of colonialism is South West Africa, illegally occupied by the South African racists.

3. The United Nations has been considering this question ever since its foundation. The General Assembly, at its twenty-first session, terminated South Africa's Mandate over the Territory of South West Africa and declared its presence in that Territory illegal.

4. The question was subsequently examined at the fifth special session and at the first part of the twenty-second session of the United Nations General Assembly. In 1968, the Security Council twice considered, and adopted decisions on, questions relating to the crimes committed by the Pretoria racists against the patriot freedom-fighters of South West Africa.

5. However, the South African racists are continuing to flout United Nations decisions, ignore world opinion and practice their policies of colonial robbery, apartheid and racial discrimination against the people of South West Africa. Not only has Pretoria failed to implement the United Nations resolution concerning the termination of South Africa's Mandate to administer South West Africa, but it is on the way to annexing that Territory and installing there its criminal system of apartheid. Recently the South African authorities have greatly speeded up the

implementation of the notorious Odendgal Plan,^{1/} condemned by the United Nations, which is designed, inter alia, to expropriate land from the indigenous population and to herd them into reservations. This law is a direct threat to the unity and territorial integrity of South West Africa. The South African racists are constantly increasing their terror and repression against the indigenous population; they are attempting to stop by force the struggle of the people of South West Africa for freedom and independence. The whole world was shocked by the criminal reprisals of the South African racists against the thirty-seven South West African patriots. Furthermore, Pretoria has even begun to address threats to the United Nations.

6. Thus, we are here confronted with an outrageous situation, in which the South African racists ensconced in southern Africa openly and brazenly ignore the decisions of the United Nations. The reasons for this are perfectly obvious and have been described in detail by many representatives at the twenty-first, fifth special and twenty-second sessions of the General Assembly, and at this year's Security Council meetings. Many earlier speakers in this debate have also referred to them.

7. As the delegation of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic has often pointed out, the essence of this problem is the fact that the South African racist régime has been receiving from the United States, the United Kingdom, the Federal Republic of Germany, Portugal and other Western Powers steady, all-round political economic and military support, which is increasing year by year. These same imperialist reactionary forces which try to smother the national liberation movement in various parts of the world—in South East Asia and the Middle East—are preventing the liberation of the people of South West Africa and are the bulwark of colonialism in southern Africa and other parts of the world.

8. As many representatives have already pointed out, this policy of constant support for colonial régimes in response to political, military, strategic and economic interests is an integral part of the general aggressive orientation of international imperialism.

9. These countries are doing their utmost to turn southern Africa into a colonialist racist bastion to be used to consolidate the strategic positions of the West in the area, maintain their domination and the colossal profits of the imperialist monopolies in the region, fight the national liberation movement, and exert constant pressure on the independent African States.

^{1/} See Republic of South Africa, Report of the Commission of Enquiry into South West African Affairs, 1962-63 (Pretoria, Government Printer, 1964).

It is well known that the Western Powers' policy of economic and military co-operation with Pretoria is contrary to the numerous resolutions adopted by the General Assembly, the Security Council and other organs of the United Nations. Nevertheless and in spite of all the decisions adopted by the United Nations, the Western Powers to which I have referred, and also Japan, far from breaking off their relations with the racist régime in southern Africa, are constantly expanding them.

10. Here, in the United Nations, however, the representatives of these countries are sometimes not loath to pose as "fighters" against colonialism and racism, but, to put it mildly, their words are at variance with their deeds.

11. It is no secret that South West Africa, like South Africa itself, is a prime target for exploitation by foreign monopoly capital, which, with the help of the racist régime in Pretoria, finds in the area extraordinarily advantageous conditions for making maximum profits by mercilessly exploiting indigenous labour and plundering the natural resources of this long-suffering African land.

12. South West Africa is controlled by the South African authorities, but its real masters are the monopolies of the United States, the United Kingdom, the Federal Republic of Germany and other Western countries. These hidden masters of South West Africa reap fabulous profits built on the blood and sweat of the Africans. Data furnished by the Committee of Twenty-Four [A/6868/Add.1] shows that, during the three-year period 1963-1966 alone, minerals worth more than 400 million rands were exported from South West Africa, while in the ten-year period 1955-1965, the Pretoria colonialists provided South West Africa with a total of only 3 million rands for so-called development. The indigenous population of South West Africa is denied all rights; it is poor and illiterate and has no medical services. The rate of pay for African workers, which is between ten and seventeen times less than that for Europeans is a source of enrichment for the foreign monopolies.

13. More than half the land of South West Africa—the richest part—has been taken away from the indigenous inhabitants by the racists and placed at the disposal of those same monopolies.

14. That explains why the imperialist monopolies are rushing into South Africa and why the ruling circles of the Western countries are supporting the racists of Pretoria in every way possible. The cost of production of a ton of steel in South West Africa comes to 38 dollars less than in the United States, because of the cheap labour of the non-white workers.

15. Even the United States press has pointed out that South West Africa is undergoing a veritable "invasion of mining companies", emphasizing that the greatest activity is being shown by the American companies which own the largest mines in South West Africa. While seizing from the people of South West Africa the land that has been theirs since time immemorial and plundering its riches, the Western monopolies are making every effort to strengthen the position of the racist régime in Pretoria, which is to their liking,

by providing it with financial, economic and other assistance. The Republic of South Africa enjoys automatically renewed credit from the ten biggest banks in the United States. And so, 300 American firms and more than 300 British firms do their business with the sweat and blood of Africans who are mercilessly exploited and denied all rights.

16. The United States has invested approximately \$1,000 million in South Africa, which receives 40 per cent of all goods sold by the United States in the African continent. South Africa is the second largest export market of the United Kingdom, which has invested more than £1,000 million in South Africa. Up to 1,000 million marks has been invested in South Africa by the industrial magnates of the Federal Republic of Germany. For a number of years South Africa has held first place in the investments of the Federal Republic of Germany in Africa. Other Western countries, and Japan, are also increasing their trade relations with South Africa.

17. These American, British and West German millions and millions are the economic corner-stone of the racist régime in South Africa.

18. Over the last fifteen years American firms have extracted approximately \$1,000 million in profits—i.e. four to five times more than their original investment—from their exploitation of the natural resources of South Africa. The profits received by United States companies in South Africa represents a return of 20-30 per cent annually on invested capital, which is higher than in other countries. British monopolies annually pump out more than £60 million in profits from South Africa. The profits of West German companies are more than twice as large as in Germany. This is why the United States and other Western countries are giving every support to the South African racists and why the Pretoria régime has the effrontery to hurl such an insolent challenge at the United Nations and even to threaten it. It is in the nature of imperialism not to stop at any crime in its pursuit of profits.

19. A further reason for this behaviour by the South African racists is the fact that, with the help of the NATO countries, South Africa has in recent years reinforced its army, supplied it with modern equipment, including various types of jet aircraft and tanks, and strengthened its navy. Pretoria in turn supplies the NATO countries with uranium and other strategic raw materials.

20. The imperialist Powers have assigned South Africa an important military strategic role. The United States, the United Kingdom and the Federal Republic of Germany have bases and installations in South Africa and their naval vessels make extensive use of its ports.

21. The support of the United States and its allies for the racists in Pretoria can also be explained by what was stated in the United States Congress by Mr. Monagan, a member of the House of Representatives, as follows:

"... we need South African help to supply our bases in the Far East. The attempt to maintain a

strategic position east of Suez forces us into dependence on South Africa".^{2/}

22. The Bonn militarists and revanchists have shown themselves to be particularly eager to have military co-operation with the racists and to strengthen their military potential. West German investments are going into uranium fission enterprises and into aircraft and rocket construction.

23. From time to time the world press publishes alarming news describing how the Federal Republic of Germany jointly with the Republic of South Africa are secretly preparing to produce rocket, chemical, nuclear and other weapons. The Bonn militarists are using South Africa to develop new types of weapons for their own rearmament and in order to arm Africa's bitterest enemies.

24. There can be no doubt that such weapons in the hands of the Bonn revanchists and the Pretoria racists would create further serious obstacles to the liberation of the African peoples who are still languishing under the colonial yoke, and would threaten peace and security. We therefore believe that the prompt conclusion of the treaty on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons—the draft of which is before this session of the Assembly—serves the basic interests of all peoples, including the peoples of Africa.

25. The western Powers' policy of support for the racists not only makes the Pretoria régime feel confident that it can act with impunity but also encourages it to commit new crimes against the African peoples. In spite of Article 25 of the United Nations Charter, Pretoria has not only failed to comply with the Security Council decision on sanctions against Southern Rhodesia but it has even started to violate openly that decision, which has mandatory force under the Charter. Moreover, South African troops last year entered the territory of Southern Rhodesia where they have since remained, taking part in the Smith régime's war against the Zimbabwe people.

26. Thus, the South African racists are performing special tasks by fighting against the national liberation forces in southern Africa and serving as a bridgehead against the newly independent African States.

27. We have closely followed this discussion on the question of South West Africa, and have been greatly impressed by the constructive approach of many delegations to this problem and by their desire to eliminate forthwith the vestiges of colonialism on our planet. We cannot, however, agree with those who, wittingly or otherwise, try to apply the same yardstick to the true friends of Africa who are giving the African peoples all kinds of assistance in their struggle for freedom and independence, and to those who support the colonialists, nurture the suppressors of African freedom, undermine the implementation of United Nations decisions and help to turn southern Africa into a bastion of racism and colonialism.

28. Such an approach, apart from being a distortion of the truth, may prevent those who are actually trying to assist the liberation of the people of Namibia from the colonial yoke from uniting their efforts.

29. We have listened with interest to the different suggestions which have been made, and we feel that many of them constitute a substantial contribution to our work.

30. Like many other delegations, we too support the programme of measures on this question outlined by the Soviet delegation, which is aimed at the immediate liberation of the people of Namibia. This programme adopts a constructive, convincing and realistic approach to the solution of the problem, analyses the main obstacles to the liberation of the Territory and shows how they can be overcome.

31. The delegation of the Ukrainian SSR has repeatedly explained its position on the question of South West Africa. That position is well known at the United Nations. It is based on our resolute and unswerving support for the African peoples, in particular the people of South West Africa fighting for its freedom and independence. That is why we support the demand for the immediate granting of independence to the people of South West Africa.

32. In view of South Africa's refusal to carry out the earlier United Nations decisions on South West Africa, the General Assembly should declare the presence of the South African troops, police and administration in South West Africa illegal, and should describe the situation there as an occupation of the Territory of South West Africa. We share the view of the Afro-Asian delegations that the Security Council should examine the question of the illegal occupation of the Territory of South West Africa and should take the necessary steps in accordance with the Charter to liberate South West Africa.

33. As the facts testify, it is the imperialist Powers' support of colonialism in southern Africa which is the main obstacle to the liberation of the people of South West Africa and the implementation of the relevant United Nations decisions. Therefore, if the people of South West Africa are to achieve independence it is first necessary to overcome the opposition not only of the outright colonialists but also, and most importantly, of those who stand behind them and support and encourage them in every way, of those who bear the main responsibility for the situation in South West Africa. It is no secret that this means the imperialists of the United States of America, West Germany, the United Kingdom, Portugal and other Western countries. The General Assembly must strongly condemn those countries and demand that they completely stop supporting the Pretoria régime. The United States, the Federal Republic of Germany, the United Kingdom and other Western countries which have economic, military and other interests in southern Africa must finally implement the decisions of the United Nations and take effective action against the South African racists, including economic, diplomatic and other measures, to compel South Africa to leave South West Africa.

34. In view of the responsibility of the above countries for the present situation in South West Africa, the General Assembly has every right to demand that as one of those measures those States should block all investments in, and withdraw existing investments from, the South African economy. It is the

^{2/} Congressional Record, Proceedings and Debates of the 90th Congress, Second Session, vol. 114, No. 42, p. H1952.

duty of the United Nations to create throughout the world an atmosphere of intolerance towards the colonialists, to isolate them and to mobilize all resources for a decisive struggle to eliminate colonialism.

35. We also consider it necessary for the United Nations, in its public information activities, to publicize the truth about the causes of the situation existing in South Africa and to indicate what the real obstacles are to the freedom and independence of the people of South West Africa and who is really guilty of undermining United Nations decisions on the question.

36. There would also be justification for deciding that the profits obtained by the monopolies in South West Africa through their exploitation of the minerals of the country and the labour of its people should not be taken out of South West Africa to be placed, for example, in South African banks, but should instead be used in the Territory for the good of its people to create and develop a new independent State.

37. It is also necessary to recognize as lawful the struggle of the people of South West Africa for their liberation from the fetters of colonialism, and to call on all States to assist them in that struggle.

38. The Ukrainian people has always been and remains a true friend of oppressed peoples fighting for their national and social liberation against colonialism and imperialism. We have given and shall continue to give such peoples assistance and support in their just struggle.

39. We are convinced, that, with the support of progressive forces everywhere and with the support of the African peoples, the people of South West Africa will shake off the chains of apartheid and colonialism and create its own sovereign national State.

40. Mr. HYDE (Sierra Leone): Mr. President, at this resumed twenty-second session of the General Assembly, I should like, on behalf of my delegation, to congratulate you on your sustained efforts in the conduct of the Assembly's business. I should also like to assure you of the continued support and co-operation of my delegation and the Government and people of Sierra Leone.

41. The question of South West Africa has been with the United Nations since 1946 and has been associated with the international community much longer. The history is a dark one of betrayed trust and confidence, blatant denial of human rights and justice, and an open defiance of United Nations authority.

42. The General Assembly on 9 February 1946, in one of its first acts, invited States which administered Territories held under Mandate to conclude trusteeship agreements with the United Nations. After the General Assembly had, in December 1946, approved eight Trusteeship Agreements, it was confronted with a request by the Union of South Africa for incorporation of the Mandated Territory of South West Africa into the Union. The Assembly refused the request and recommended that South West Africa "be placed under the International Trusteeship System" [resolution 65 (I)].

43. When all other administering States had "placed these Territories under the Trusteeship System or

offered them independence", [resolution 141 (II)] the General Assembly urged the Union to propose for the consideration of the Assembly at its third session a trusteeship agreement for South West Africa. The General Assembly at the same time took note of the decision of the Union not to proceed with the incorporation of South West Africa and it referred to the Trusteeship Council a report on the administration of South West African submitted by the Union "for the information of the United Nations".

44. At its third session the General Assembly noted with regret that its previous recommendations had not been carried out; took note of the Union's intention "to continue to administer South West Africa in the spirit of the Mandate"; and noted that the proposal for a closer association between South West Africa and the Union through "representation of South West Africa in the Union Parliament" did not mean incorporation and would not mean "absorption of the Territory by the Administering Authority" [resolution 227 (III)].

45. On 11 July 1949 the Union of South Africa complained that the information submitted by it "provided an opportunity to utilize the Trusteeship Council and the Trusteeship Committee as a forum for unjustified criticism and censure". It also informed the United Nations of the adoption of the South West Africa Amendment Act No. 23 of 19 April 1949, which introduced important changes in the form of association between South West Africa and the Union.

46. At that point the darkest pages of the history of South West Africa began to be written; at that point the roots of fascism began to take hold, and brutality and inhumanity became the watchwords. Few salient points stand out in the foregoing paragraphs; but basic to those points is the fact that South Africa had accepted the principles and spirit of the United Nations by signing the Declaration of 1942 and the Charter, thereby becoming an original Member of our Organization—and that is precisely the reason why it seats representatives in this Assembly.

47. The first of the points, referred to earlier, is the request made by South Africa to the United Nations for incorporation of the mandated Territory of South West Africa into the Union. This, in common sense, implies the recognition of the authority of the United Nations which flowed from the Declaration and the Charter agreements and the fact that South Africa respected such authority; otherwise the request need not have been made.

48. Secondly, with the United Nations taking over at its inception practically every facet of the League of Nations, it is obvious that the South African Government was fully aware that the Organization felt a paramount concern for peoples who had ceased to be under the sovereignty of the States which formerly governed them—Germany, in the case of South West Africa—and who were not yet able to assume a full measure of self-government. South Africa was also aware that two other paramount principles were the non-annexation of such peoples and their territories and the well-being and development of such peoples, which constitute "a sacred trust of civilization".

49. Thirdly, the Government of South Africa did, under this "sacred trust" undertake not to incorporate, absorb or annex the Territory under its administration.

50. The object of the Mandate regulated by international rules takes precedence by far over contractual relations regulated by national law. The creation of the Mandate was in the interest of the inhabitants of South West Africa, and humanity in general, as an international institution with an international object—a sacred trust of civilization. It cannot therefore be possible to draw any conclusion by analogy from the intention or idea of mandate in national law or from any other legal conception of that law. The international rules which regulate the Mandate constitute for the Territory of South West Africa, an international status recognized by all Members of the United Nations, and, more importantly, this should be recognized by the Government of South Africa.

51. When in 1949 the stage was set by South Africa for a showdown with the United Nations, little did the Members then think that twenty years later this body would have to grapple with a confrontation which is almost a physical one.

52. During this twenty-year period, the South African Government has fabricated several arguments to justify its recalcitrance. This body ought to be reminded that as far as mandated territories are concerned the rights of States and peoples do not lapse automatically. It obviously was the intention to safeguard the rights of States and peoples in all circumstances and in all respects. Chapters XI, XII and XIII of the Charter of the United Nations embody principles corresponding to those declared in article 22 of the Covenant of the League.

53. Over the years that have elapsed the efforts of this Organization to combat the impertinence and defiance shown by the racist Government of South Africa have been considerable, but they have met with unfortunate and frustrating results. Simultaneously with the United Nations efforts, the South African Government has carried out considerable counteracting political development through its policy of the annexation of South West Africa. I do not wish to burden this Assembly with the details of the recommendations of the so-called Odendaal Commission; inter alia, that Commission set out what the recommendations call "homelands" for each of the classified groups in the non-white population, other than coloureds, and the remainder of South West Africa would in effect be incorporated administratively and economically in South Africa. This constitutes an area equal to 43.22 per cent of the territory allocated for white settlement.

54. As recently as 14 March 1968, a South West Africa Constitution Bill was introduced into the South African Parliament to consolidate existing laws regarding the Territory and to repeal six complete amending acts dating back to 1925. This is one stage, among others, of the implementation of the recommendations of the Odendaal Commission, and my delegation urges that this should not be looked upon as a *fait accompli*. It is no secret that the recommendations were shelved to await the Judgment of

the International Court of Justice, which was another shameful part of this Organization's records. When the results were issued, the South African Government felt free to continue implementing the recommendations of the Odendaal Commission, and the act itself, in the view of my delegation, smacks of timidity.

55. It will be recalled that when the General Assembly adopted resolution 2145 (XXI) terminating the Mandate, it also set up the United Nations Council for South West Africa. The South African Government, in another act of terrorism tinged with fear, arrested, deported and tried thirty-seven South West Africans, one of whom died in hospital during the trial in Pretoria. And we are now informed that, as of March 1968, about 200 South West Africans are awaiting trial in South Africa. When the South African Foreign Minister, in response to Security Council resolution 246 (1968), said, inter alia, that his:

"... Government will not allow bands of terrorists to roam the countryside at large, murdering and intimidating peaceful communities and impeding their development",

and that:

"in the interests of all the peoples of South West Africa, convicted terrorists cannot be released nor can their release be discussed".^{3/}

he failed to ask himself this question: Who are the terrorists, the South Africans and their Government or the South West Africans who have been illegally arrested in their homeland, deported, tried and gaoled?

56. I shall now address myself to the report of the United Nations Council for South West Africa, particularly to the paragraph which states, inter alia:

"The Council is convinced that this situation constitutes the gravest threat to international peace and security in the area ... that the United Nations has a serious and direct responsibility to avert such a threat" [A/7088 and Corr.1, para. 62].

57. Indeed this is a grim reality with which this Organization has been faced for over a decade now, and it would seem to my delegation that a threat to international peace and security in Southern Africa is no longer important to some big Powers since a calculated and deliberate effort is being made in that area by the racist régime of South Africa, supported by those big Powers, to create an "empire" at the centre of which would be a minority of white racists. The serious and direct responsibility of the United Nations to avert this threat, around which violence is now building, is to wipe out the "empire". And in pursuit of this purpose, what is absolutely necessary is on-the-spot action. In other words, South West Africa can be governed by the Council only from within the Territory and not outside it.

58. The support given in the building of an "empire" in the twentieth century is, without a doubt, manifest in the voting records on the setting-up of the United Nations Council for South West Africa. None of the

^{3/} Official Records of the Security Council, Twenty-third Year, Supplement for January, February and March 1968, document S/8506, annex I, para. 12.

major Powers voted in favour of that resolution, and the best they did was to abstain. The automatic abstentions of those Powers run the whole gamut of resolutions concerning southern Africa, the site for the twentieth-century "empire". We witness it in the question of Southern Rhodesia, in the question of the territories under Portuguese administration, and in this question of South West Africa. The many trading partners of South Africa, particularly Portugal and France, form the main support of the South African Government in its effort to thwart every move of the United Nations. They have obstructed sanctions and continued their diplomatic, political, military and economic collaboration.

59. And yet Africa is urged at every point to vote solidly in favour of a treaty on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons. There is an attempt to steamroller this treaty through this Assembly without much opportunity for Governments to study its ramifications. It is considered more important, more "human", than the sufferings the African population of southern Africa is going through.

60. I should like to take this opportunity to congratulate the Council for its untiring efforts to overcome the problems facing it and for its report [A/7088 and Corr.1], on action taken so far.

61. My delegation is gratified by the objectives and projects that have emerged as a result of conferences and consultations held with representatives of the peoples of South West Africa, to which the Council must urgently direct its attention. We have not lost sight of the enormous significance of these objectives and we do not believe they are unattainable, if only the will is present.

62. The implementation of the decision to grant travel documents to nationals of South West Africa must, we think, be vigorously pursued, as the indications are that the need for such documents is urgent.

63. The urgency for the Council to formulate appropriate educational programmes and provide scholarship awards and social assistance to all South West Africans living, through no choice of theirs, outside the Territory, need not be emphasized.

64. My delegation pledges its co-operation and participation to the fullest extent of its ability.

65. On behalf of my delegation, I wish to pay tribute to the peoples of Namibia for their legitimate struggle, their courage, and their determination to achieve the coveted goal of independence for their country; and to the neighbouring territories, particularly to Zambia whose Government officials gave their untiring efforts and assistance to members of the Council, my delegation would like to say "Thank you".

66. Indeed, the attainment of such a goal would be nothing less than the greatest thing any nation could achieve. But in their struggle to achieve this, the people of Namibia necessarily requires the active support of the international community; and here I mean in particular the major Powers, which for this purpose are members of the Security Council and are also charged with the ever-mounting responsi-

bility for the maintenance of international peace and security.

67. My delegation does not now consider that there is a dispute between this Organization and the Government of South Africa. That stage was passed with the adoption of resolutions 2145 (XXI) and 2248 (S-V), which terminated the Mandate of South Africa over South West Africa and established the United Nations Council for South West Africa. It is now the grave responsibility of the major Powers, members of the Security Council, to avert a bloody volcanic eruption in southern Africa by grappling with the problem and not merely paying the lip-service that is normally paid to the spirit behind resolutions affecting the situation in southern Africa.

68. My delegation feels that there is hardly any time left for the Security Council to take the action envisaged in the provisions of operative paragraphs 7 and 8 of General Assembly resolution 2325 (XXII) to enable the United Nations Council for South West Africa to fulfil the tasks entrusted to it by the General Assembly.

69. To discharge its duties effectively on this question, the Security Council cannot now employ merely a grudging use of relevant provisions of the United Nations Charter. It is our conviction that the provisions of Chapter VII cannot be overlooked and must be given effect in dealing with South Africa, and that only this can fulfil the hopes the people of South West Africa have put in the United Nations.

70. There is not, and cannot be, an effective substitute for the willingness of Members of the international community to enforce, with vigour and conscience, the principles of their own Charter, and the plain terms of their own undertakings.

71. Mr. GEGHMAN (Yemen): At the time of the adoption of General Assembly resolution 2145 (XXI), very few, if any at all, expected the racist régime of Pretoria to yield to the United Nations decision to terminate South Africa's Mandate over Namibia. Again, when the General Assembly, on 19 May 1967, established the United Nations Council for South West Africa [resolution 2248 (S-V)], there was no illusion about how much the Council could accomplish or about the attitude of the South African racists. The first report of the Council [A/6897], contained no surprises for any one.

72. In December 1967 the General Assembly, in its resolution 2325 (XXII), *inter alia*, instructed the United Nations Council for South West Africa "to fulfill by every available means the mandate entrusted to it" and requested the Security Council "to take all appropriate measures to enable the United Nations Council for South West Africa to discharge fully" its functions and responsibilities. Everyone knew then what would be the fate of that resolution and of the United Nations Council for South West Africa. I should like here, if I may, to commend the Council for its efforts, against so many odds, and for its very informative and illuminating report [A/7088 and Corr.1].

73. The question now is where to go from here. This Assembly may continue—indeed, it seems unable to do otherwise—to adopt resolutions that will continue to

be defied and that, apart from their documentary value, will continue to be of no use. Unless teeth be given to these resolutions to effect their implementation, the racist régime of Pretoria will continue, with impunity, to defy the United Nations and the United Nations resolutions. We have seen how economic measures have proved to be ineffective and fruitless as long as non-compliance has continued to be the attitude of the major trading partners of South Africa.

74. In recent years certain countries have increased their trade with South Africa. All of them, with the exception of West Germany, are, regrettably, Members of the United Nations, and some are even members of the Security Council. I shall not quote here United States Senator Brooke, since other representatives who spoke before me have done so. A reference to his findings on his trip to Africa is, however, worth making.

75. In the opinion of my delegation, the defiance of the racist régime of Pretoria is due to a great extent to the economic support given it by its allies and trading partners. My delegation therefore is in favour of censuring those countries by name to expose them to the world community for what they are. For by continuing to do business with Pretoria they perpetuate injustice in South West Africa. Thanks to those who find it profitable to exploit human suffering for the sake of economic advantage, Pretoria continues to trample under foot the resolutions of the United Nations and the principles of human rights.

76. Nevertheless, almost every day we see them and hear them talking, tongue in cheek, about the United Nations Charter, the right of every people to self-determination, the rights of man. We hear them advocating "charitable" and "humanitarian" measures to help alleviate the misery of the flood of refugees caused by the racists transplanted in the Territory. This is like killing a man and then weeping over his corpse. Certainly had they respected the principles about which they talk there would have been no need for "charity". Had they co-operated with the United Nations and implemented its resolutions there would have been no refugees. The transplanted racists, be they in Pretoria, in Salisbury or in Tel Aviv, continue to defy the United Nations with impunity, continue to thrive and grow stronger, thanks to these new alchemists who change human tears into dollars and cents. They are as guilty of the crimes perpetrated against the Namibian people as the racist minority régime of Pretoria. However, to expose their hypocrisy to the world, to censure them by name or even to take the strongest measures against them will not solve the problem of the Namibian people. So the question persists: where do we go from here?

77. There seem to be three obvious alternatives: first, to instruct the United Nations Council for South West Africa to try again; secondly, to take measures to evict South Africa and implement United Nations decisions by force; or thirdly, to declare South West Africa independent.

78. For over twenty years the United Nations has dealt with the most important problems of the world

and adopted resolutions on them. The implementation of those resolutions has depended, more than anything else, upon the power of world public opinion, the respect for international law, and the degree of co-operation of Member States and their adherence to the principles of the United Nations Charter. There are States, however, which do not subscribe to these norms and consequently present the United Nations with a dilemma. That is the case of the transplanted racists, and that is where more forceful measures are called for. The United Nations must find a way to implement its resolutions and uphold the principles of its Charter. South West Africa, in the words of Ambassador Marof Achkar of Guinea, "... offers the United Nations an ideal testing ground of its effectiveness, not to mention its usefulness" [1648th meeting, para. 19].

79. Otherwise, the people of Namibia will be left with no alternative but the hard road of armed struggle. It will be a long struggle. It will be costly. It will cause tremendous hardships and untold sufferings. The Namibian people themselves are well aware of this fact. They are today, with the very limited means in their hands, valiantly facing the overwhelming and ruthless power of the racist usurpers. Let those who cherish the principles of human rights, who respect the rights of every people to self-determination, who profess and adhere to the belief that man should be free in his own land and should be master of his own destiny—let them render to the freedom-fighters all the assistance possible. Then let the United Nations declare that this is a just struggle for national liberation and self-determination. And the Namibian people will provide the force for the implementation of the United Nations resolutions and will take their freedom with their own hands.

80. It may sound paradoxical to advocate violence, even in the case of a struggle for national liberation, which is in essence a form of self-defence, a principle enshrined in the Charter. It may sound paradoxical to advocate any kind of violence from the rostrum of the United Nations, the Organization that was conceived to preserve and promote the cause of peace, the Organization which is based upon the principle of co-operation and peaceful coexistence among nations, the Organization which was established over the ashes of a horrifying global war fought "to make the world safe for democracy".

81. But the United Nations flag has flown over many a battlefield and blue-helmeted soldiers have had to fight and die in various parts of the world. The doctrines which wrecked the League of Nations and unleashed the Second World War are today in our midst, confronting the United Nations with the kind of challenge which the League of Nations could not stand up to.

82. Wars of national liberation have had to be fought all over the Third World in the era of the United Nations. The oppressed peoples have been left with no alternative. Those amongst us who have experienced such wars—and there are many in this hall—know exactly what I am referring to. National wars of liberation have been and continue to be the only road to salvation.

83. Mr. BANZAR (Mongolia) (translated from Russian): Mr. President, allow me on behalf of the Mongolian delegation to express once more our great satisfaction that you are again carrying out the duties of the high office of President of the General Assembly. My delegation is convinced that under your wise leadership the resumed twenty-second session of the United Nations General Assembly will successfully complete its task.

84. This resumed session of the General Assembly is continuing its consideration of one of the most urgent questions of the day disturbing people in every country of the world—the question of South West Africa, which has been discussed in the United Nations for many years ever since the first session of the General Assembly.

85. The delegation of the Mongolian People's Republic has always attached great importance to this question and welcomes the fact that it is being discussed at this resumed session of the General Assembly as an important priority item of the agenda.

86. The tragic events which are taking place in southern Africa have far more than the local significance and represent a serious threat to the general peace and security of peoples. The situation in South West Africa remains tense. The social conditions of the people of that country have not improved. The Government of the Republic of South Africa has not altered its position and continues boldly to defy the United Nations and public opinion throughout the world. South Africa has scorned the historic resolution of the General Assembly, resolution 2145 (XXI), which determined that the mandate over South West Africa was terminated and that the Territory was from then on under the direct responsibility of the United Nations. Typical of South Africa's stubborn refusal to cooperate with our Organization are the many insulting statements made by the leaders of the Republic of South Africa about the United Nations and its Members and the actions of the South African authorities in the wake of such statements.

87. On 1 November 1966, that is to say five days after the adoption of the aforementioned resolution, Mr. Vorster, the Prime Minister of the Republic of South Africa, hastened to describe that resolution as an illegal, unconstitutional and foolish decision. Such has been, and is, the attitude of the Government of the Republic of South Africa towards United Nations resolutions which are adopted as a result of enormous efforts by the overwhelming majority of the countries Members of our Organization.

88. To this might be added the fact that the present political structure of the Republic of South Africa is characterized by the fact that the white minority is in control of the overwhelming majority of the local population, which is deprived of the most elementary civil rights and freedoms. The indigenous population of South West Africa is subjected to cruel exploitation and oppression by the racists and is forced to live in special reservations as a source of cheap labour. The people of South West Africa have no political rights whatsoever and are deprived of the opportunity to obtain education, medical services and the basic necessities of life. The slightest manifestation of an

aspiration for freedom on the part of the people is cruelly suppressed by the combined efforts of the racist authorities and the foreign monopolies. The racist régime of the Republic of South Africa not only has declared all national liberation organizations illegal, but allows broad latitude to the activities of many fascist organizations and groups which are engaged in persecuting and doing away with the opponents of apartheid. The racists are systematically carrying out mass executions of innocent people and savage reprisals against those who advocate equality and the lawful rights of the people of Namibia.

89. Thus, the South African authorities are not only disregarding the decisions of the General Assembly and the Security Council, but even intensifying their military and political measures and adopting further malicious laws against patriotic and progressively-minded persons and organizations.

90. All these crimes being committed by the authorities in the Republic of South Africa are contrary to the principles and norms of contemporary international law, and in particular the Universal Declaration of Human Rights [resolution 217 (III)], the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of Genocide [resolution 260A (III)], the Declaration on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination [resolution 1904 (XVIII)] and the famous Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples [resolution 1514 (XV)].

91. The Republic of South Africa has not only failed to discharge its obligations under approximately eighty United Nations resolutions on South West Africa, but it has virtually turned that Territory into its colony and has extended to it the criminal policy of apartheid.

92. What is the reason for the stubborn refusal of the Republic of South Africa to comply with the decisions of the United Nations and the demands of world opinion? The answer to that question may be found in the political, economic and strategic interests of the racists of the Republic of South Africa themselves and of their allies. It goes without saying that without the generous assistance of the western imperialist Powers the Republic of South Africa would not dare to interpret the decisions of the United Nations as it chooses and flagrantly disregard them.

93. In violation of the many decisions of the General Assembly and the Security Council concerning mandatory economic, military and other sanctions against the Republic of South Africa, the western Powers continue to give the régimes in South Africa and Southern Rhodesia all possible assistance and support in the execution of their colonial policies against the interests of the African peoples. The monopolies of the United States of America, the Federal Republic of Germany, the United Kingdom and other countries are playing a major role in the plundering of South West Africa. By their words, these Powers uphold the rights of the people of South West Africa and oppose the racist régime of the Republic of South Africa, but in their actions they are constantly expanding their economic and trade relations with South Africa, thereby supporting the Pretoria régime and encouraging it to commit further racist crimes.

94. There is no need here to enumerate the facts since previous speakers have already done so convincingly, including the distinguished representatives of Ghana, Zambia, the Soviet Union and many other countries. This extensive economic and political co-operation with South Africa on the part of the Western Powers reduces to naught the efforts of the African, Asian, socialist and other countries which have broken diplomatic relations with the Republic of South Africa and are applying economic sanctions against that country in pursuance of the decisions of the Security Council and the General Assembly.

95. One cannot overlook the fact that in the southern part of the African continent a single political and military-economic complex has emerged in opposition to independent Africa. A series of agreements have been concluded between the Republic of South Africa, Portugal and the racist régime of Southern Rhodesia on economic, foreign policy and military matters.

96. All this is eloquent proof of the fact that the concerted activities of the South African racists and the other colonialists are directed towards ensuring by any and every means the preservation and perpetuation of their rule in southern Africa and the creation in that area of a powerful military-economic base for fighting the national liberation movement on the African continent.

97. The attempt to preserve racism and colonialism on the African continent is an integral part of the aggressive policy of international imperialism. Striking examples of this policy today can be seen in the aggression by the United States against the peace-loving Viet-Nameese people and the extremely tense situation in the Middle East and in other parts of the world.

98. The position of the Mongolian People's Republic on the question of South West Africa is well known to all Members of the United Nations and has been explained on more than one occasion in various United Nations organs.

99. The Mongolian people, who for more than two hundred years until they won their independence as a State were under the colonial yoke of foreign invaders, are far from indifferent to the fate of the people of South West Africa.

100. The Mongolian People's Republic, adhering to its consistent policy of support for countries and peoples fighting for their freedom and independence, resolutely upholds the inalienable right of the people of South West Africa to self-determination in accordance with the historic Declaration of the United Nations on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. This has been the position stated and restated by our delegation at every session of the General Assembly since the Mongolian People's Republic became a Member of the United Nations, i.e. ever since the sixteenth session.

101. In 1967, the Government of the Mongolian People's Republic, strongly denouncing the inhuman policies of apartheid, made its modest contribution to the United Nations Trust Fund established by a resolution of the General Assembly to assist the vic-

tims of the policies of apartheid practised by the Government of the Republic of South Africa.

102. All this shows that the peace-loving Mongolian people solidly support the peoples of far-off Africa who are fighting for their freedom and independence. My delegation is therefore deeply conscious of the fact that this question of South West Africa concerns the fate of millions of Africans, the fate of the oppressed and outraged people of Namibia. Consequently, the main task of our Organization in our view, is to do its utmost to promote the fulfilment of the legitimate demands of the people of South West Africa.

103. Our delegation must, however, note with regret that the efforts of the United Nations Council for South West Africa to carry out its mandate have proved ineffective owing to the opposition of the South African authorities. Our delegation has carefully studied the second report of the United Nations Council for South West Africa [A/7088 and Corr.1] and has come to the conclusion that the colonial régime in that country will not come to an end until the Western Powers stop giving the South African racists political, financial and military assistance. It is these concerted measures of the imperialists and South Africa which are paralyzing our Organization's efforts in this matter.

104. The results of the latest mission of the United Nations Council for South West Africa once again require the General Assembly to adopt more effective action against the policies of the Republic of South Africa. In this we must be guided by the provisions of the United Nations Charter, Chapter VII of which offers great possibilities for bringing pressure to bear on the colonialists and racists.

105. This session of the General Assembly must resolutely unmask and denounce the activities of those States which, disregarding the decisions of various United Nations organs, continue to maintain political, economic and other relations with the Republic of South Africa and thus help to strengthen the racist régime of South Africa. The Pretoria régime must be isolated from the outside world. There must be a comprehensive boycott of trade with the South African racists in order to put an end to the obstinacy of the authorities of the Republic of South Africa with respect to our Organization.

106. As far as the Mongolian People's Republic is concerned, it has not had and does not have diplomatic, consular, trade or any other relations with the Republic of South Africa.

107. The Government of the Mongolian People's Republic and public organizations in our country concerned with international affairs are exerting every effort to compel the white-minority racist régime of Pretoria to implement the resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council. The Mongolian delegation urges the political allies and main trading partners of the South African régime to exert their direct influence on the Government of the Republic of South Africa to make the latter strictly comply with the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter.

108. In accordance with General Assembly resolutions 2145 (XXI) and 2325 (XXII) and Security Council resolutions 245 (1968) and 246 (1968), our Organization must compel the Republic of South Africa to withdraw immediately from South West Africa all its military and police forces, and its administration and to release and repatriate all political prisoners.

109. My delegation shares the opinion of many delegations that the question of South West Africa should be referred to the Security Council for the adoption of further more effective measures against the Republic of South Africa and its protectors. The Mongolian delegation is also ready to support any other effective action directed towards the speedy eradication of the shameful system of racism and will co-operate to the fullest extent possible in the elimination of the threat to peace and security resulting from the existence of the white-minority racist régime in southern Africa.

110. Mr. ARIS (Guatemala) (translated from Spanish): Mr. President, the Guatemalan delegation wishes to congratulate you on the impartiality and tact with which you have conducted the debates of this session of the General Assembly.

111. From the southernmost part of the African continent, a Member State of this Organization, which has signed the Charter, is arrogantly defying United Nations resolutions, trampling human rights under foot with its infamous policy of apartheid, and keeping in subjugation a people and a territory clamouring for their freedom.

112. The economic and social situation in South West Africa grows more discouraging every day. The indigenous population receives absolutely no benefit from the economic activity of the Territory. Budgetary expenditure is directed mainly to satisfying the needs and interests of the so-called European inhabitants. It is obvious that the policy of the Government of South Africa is to keep the African indigenous inhabitants in a position of economic and social inferiority and to deny them their proper share of material well-being, cultural progress, and physical health.

113. Inequality and backwardness are formed in many parts of the world, but in most of them there exists some possibility of improvement. In South West Africa, this inequality and backwardness have been encouraged and established as a matter of principle.

114. The Republic of Guatemala, which has supported the liberating causes of decolonization and self-determination for the peoples of Africa and Asia ever since the United Nations came into being, has not stood aside and has not remained insensible to the tragedy of the people of South West Africa. As proof of this, I need only remind you that some thirteen years ago, on 17 October 1955, the representative of Guatemala in the Fourth Committee, speaking on the problem of South West Africa, said:

"Chapter XI of the Charter of the United Nations, which is an inseparable part of an international

document signed and accepted by sixty nations of the world, not only grants rights to and imposes obligations on the signatories between themselves, but also confers rights on the peoples of those Territories which have not achieved independence or full self-government.

"In the first place, the obligations of the administering Powers are supplemented by the obligations likewise undertaken by those countries which have no Territory in trust. The former have a sacred and temporary charge, sacred, because the fundamental interests and dearest aspirations of these peoples are at stake and must be respected, temporary, because it cannot and must not last longer than is necessary to achieve its objective.

"But the non-administering Powers also have a sacred charge: to see that the general advancement and progress of dependent peoples and their rapid march towards independence are not delayed or impeded in any way. This sacred charge which is both a legal and a moral one, has been entrusted to us by the Charter, but through the Charter it is also the mandate of numbers of peoples which, sometime in the future, will have to judge our actions and decide whether we have faithfully performed the duties accepted on their behalf."^{4/}

115. The eyes of the international community are on this Organization, watching its decisions to see whether it is really acting in accordance with the provisions of the Charter and complying fully with the terms of its own resolutions.

116. This Organization is at a crossroads: either it enforces its decisions or it loses the confidence of the civilized world. My delegation trusts that, whether South Africa likes it or not, South West Africa will gain its freedom and will obtain the rights which in justice belong to it.

117. I should like to repeat what was said by the Guatemalan Foreign Minister, Dr. Emilio Arenales Catalán, during the general debate on 25 September 1967:

"... Guatemala will support any measures that may be taken by the United Nations, or on behalf of the United Nations and with its authority, to impose the will of this Organization, which represents, within the framework of our institutions based on international law, the thinking and the conscience of Member States which have signed the Charter and are still prepared to live in conformity with it" [1566th meeting, para. 31].

118. And that is what we shall continue to do.

The meeting rose at 4.55 p.m.

^{4/} This statement was made at the 477th meeting of the Fourth Committee, whose official records are issued in summary form.