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*President:* Mr. Corneliu MANESCU (Romania).

### Tribute to the memory of Senator Robert F. Kennedy

1. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): We have all been deeply distressed by the tragic news of the death of Robert Kennedy, Democratic Senator from the State of New York, following the attack upon his life.

2. Throughout his fruitful political life, in the highly responsible positions he held in the United States Government during the time when he was a close associate of his brother, John Fitzgerald Kennedy, and when he was himself a candidate for the United States Presidency, Robert Francis Kennedy devoted himself to furthering respect for the ideals of peace, the struggle against prejudice, discrimination and inequality, and of understanding and international co-operation.

3. His tragic end, which is being mourned in my country as in so many other parts of the world, is by no means the only ordeal suffered by a family that has in a short span of time sacrificed two lives in the political arena. On 26 November 1963 [1264th meeting], the General Assembly mourned the assassination of his brother, the President of the United States, in dramatically similar circumstances.

4. Nor is this the only time the American people and the entire world have been shocked by the savage cutting down of a human life dedicated to public good. Recently, the Reverend Martin Luther King, a leader in the struggle for emancipation and an outstanding son of the American people, shed his blood for the convictions that had guided him throughout his life.

5. Faced with such events, destined by their tragic nature to rend the veil of inertia and indifference, we are led to reflect on the defects and elements that mar the course of contemporary history, and on the ways of removing the obstacles in the path of progress, freedom and inequality. In the words of the American poet, Robert Frost:

"The tree the tempest with a crash of wood  
Throws down in front of us is not to bar  
Our passage to our journey's end for good  
But just to ask us who we think we are."<sup>1/</sup>

<sup>1/</sup> Collected Poems of Robert Frost, 1939 (New York, H. Holt and Co., 1939), p. 296.

That reflection on the route we have still to traverse before establishing a climate that will ensure respect for man, unhindered and unthreatened participation in national and international public life, the elimination of the sources of anxiety and tension, and the guaranteeing of fundamental rights irrespective of colour of skin, religious beliefs or political philosophy, could not be more to the point than it is here in the United Nations, whose supreme objective is to promote peace and progress through the efforts of all.

6. We pay tribute to the memory of a statesman who said:

"We must find a way to eradicate the attitudes that allow men to be controlled by the passions and ambitions that keep the world in a state of permanent conflict and that threaten the survival of each of us."

7. May I express here from this rostrum our feelings of deep sympathy for that sorely tried family and our condolences to the political leaders of the United States and to the entire American people.

8. I should like now to read the telegram of condolence I sent yesterday to Mrs. Robert Kennedy in my capacity as President of the General Assembly:

"We were grieved to learn the sad news of the death of your husband, the eminent statesman Senator Robert F. Kennedy.

"His tragic end has aroused great sorrow at the United Nations, whose mission is to help ensure that the world, kept safe from threats and acts of brutality, moves forward constructively and steadily, in full respect for the freedoms of every man and of every group, towards the ideals of peace and progress, principles to which the life and work of Robert F. Kennedy were so closely linked.

"Please allow me to convey to you, in my capacity as President of the United Nations General Assembly, and on my own personal behalf, our deep sympathy and our sincerest condolences."

9. I invite representatives to stand and observe one minute of silence in tribute to the memory of Senator Robert Francis Kennedy.

*The Members of the Assembly, standing, observed a minute's silence.*

10. Mr. GOLDBERG (United States of America): Mr. President, the eloquent tribute to Senator Robert Kennedy which you have just paid in the name of this great assembly of nations to the widow and family of the Senator calls forth the heartfelt thanks of the United States Government and the American people on this day of mourning.

11. With equally profound thanks I acknowledge the many warm and moving statements concerning Senator Kennedy which my country's delegation and the family have received from the distinguished Secretary-General and from colleagues and Governments representing every quarter of the globe.

12. I have been asked by Mrs. Robert F. Kennedy to read out the following statement to this Assembly:

"I wish to thank you, Mr. President, from the bottom of my heart for the tribute you are paying to my husband from the tribunal of the General Assembly of the United Nations.

"I would appreciate it very much if you would convey on my behalf to the Members of the United Nations the thanks of all members of the family for the many expressions of sympathy which they have made at the United Nations. These statements of affection and respect for my husband, who believed deeply that the Charter of the United Nations must be made a reality for all peoples of the world, are a source of great comfort to me and to all members of our family.

(Signed) Mrs. Robert F. Kennedy"

13. The many warm and moving statements, to which I have referred, assure me that in what I am about to say in my capacity as the representative of my Government I express the feelings of not only my own Government and people, but of Governments and simple citizens in every part of the world, to all of whom the death of Robert Kennedy is a most cruel loss.

14. We cannot speak to this great American who has just left us, nor can we restore him to life. But we can speak to one another; and we can reflect, to our own benefit, upon the meaning of his life and upon what we, the living, may yet do to redeem in some measure the tragedy of his death.

15. The terrible manner of Senator Kennedy's death gives painful, shocking proof of the profound evils that still afflict our world. Like his great brother, President John F. Kennedy, under whom I had the honour to serve, he too has fallen victim to the monstrous act of an assassin. Truly, as was written by the preacher Ecclesiastes:

"For man also knoweth not his time: as the fishes that are taken in an evil net, and as the birds that are caught in the snare; so are the sons of men snared in an evil time, when it falleth suddenly upon them."<sup>2/</sup>

16. Evil indeed is the net that snares such a rare spirit and valiant leader. And evil indeed is the time when human life is held so cheap that it can be snuffed out to gratify the vengeful passion of an individual.

17. Contemplating this evil, we come to the first way in which we, the living, can redeem the death of Robert Kennedy. We can and must resolve that, so far as lies within our power, human life shall be held not as cheap but as sacred; that all violence by man against his fellow man shall cease; and that all our differences, deep though they may be, shall be recon-

ciled in peace as the Charter bids us to do. Against all frustration and disappointment and even tragedy, we must remain faithful to that hope.

18. But more is demanded of us than that, for the peace we seek requires far more than the mere absence of violence; it demands the ever-increasing presence of justice. And here the life and teaching of Robert Kennedy can serve us as an example and guide.

19. Senator Kennedy was fully and vibrantly alive to the evils and injustices that afflict our world. He was acutely sensitive to the sufferings of the poor and the dispossessed. He abhorred the cruelty of racial prejudice and abominated apartheid and racial supremacy in all its forms and manifestations. He clearly understood why so many of our youth feel alienated from a civilization that often falls woefully short of their high ideals. For these young people he sought, in his own words, "a sense of possibility", a sense that alienation is not the answer, because the ideals they wish to pursue "are possible through personal effort".

20. In that faith, Senator Kennedy studied in detail, and sought workable solutions for, the most profound social problems of our day: the problems of racial injustice, of the anonymity of city life, of poverty and human degradation in many nations, of the overhanging threat of the spread of nuclear weapons, of the necessity for just and peaceful solutions of the unresolved international conflicts that trouble the world.

21. Transcending his concern for all these issues was Robert Kennedy's unquenchable faith that free men, by their own persevering efforts, can better their own lot. One of his favourite statements was this:

"Each time a man stands up for an ideal, or acts to improve the lot of others, or strikes out against injustice, he sends forth a tiny ripple of hope, and crossing each other from a million different centres of energy and daring, those ripples build a current that can sweep down the mightiest walls of oppression and resistance."

22. The spirit which Senator Kennedy described in those words was the spirit of youth, which was, as he put it,

"not a time of life but a state of mind, a temper of the will, a quality of the imagination, a predominance of courage over timidity, of the appetite for adventure over the love of ease".

23. The world-wide outpouring of grief for the loss of this brave young leader is proof enough that humanity still aspires to the heights that he spoke of with such eloquence and toward which he sought to move. Let us here in this Assembly and in the United Nations, who speak for Governments with the power to act, be ever mindful of those aspirations which all of our peoples hold in common, and let us seek to place at their service the same energy and courage of which he gave us such a shining example. Thus, even though the cruelty of his death is beyond our power to erase, we can in some way assure that his life was not lived in vain, but that it helped to set in motion ripples and currents that can truly save mankind.

<sup>2/</sup> Ecclesiastes, chapter 9, verse 12.

## AGENDA ITEM 64

Question of South West Africa (continued)

24. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): The Assembly will now continue its consideration of the question of South West Africa, and I should like to remind the Assembly that the list of speakers wishing to take part in the debate on draft resolution A/L.546 and Add.1 was closed yesterday, 6 June, at midday.

25. Mr. TARABANOV (Bulgaria) (translated from French): Mr. President, a few moments ago you expressed the most sincere condolences of the Members of the Assembly on the sudden death of Senator Robert Francis Kennedy. Senator Robert F. Kennedy's abrupt end was a surprise and a shock for all of us. What is distressing in this recent tragedy is that the Kennedy family has just lost, within a very short span of time, two famous sons in similar circumstances, one after the other.

26. On behalf of the delegation of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, I should like to convey to the family of the deceased and to the delegation of the United States of America, our most sincere condolences on the sudden and unexpected loss of Robert F. Kennedy.

27. The General Assembly now has before it a draft resolution [A/L.546 and Add.1] submitted by a very large number of delegations; that number is continually increasing, and for that reason I am unable for the time being to list exactly the co-sponsors of that draft resolution.

28. The delegation of the People's Republic of Bulgaria wishes to state at the outset that that draft resolution is a step forward in the attempts that are being made by a large number of delegations represented here, by the General Assembly, and by other United Nations bodies in order to be able to resolve a question that is becoming an open sore in southern Africa: the freeing of South West Africa from the colonial yoke and apartheid which have been imposed upon it by South Africa.

29. The debate that has taken place on the subject of South West Africa has brought out the main reasons underlying the brutal attitude of the Pretoria authorities, who treat with contempt and defiance the resolutions of the General Assembly, the Security Council and other United Nations bodies. In the course of that debate and over the past period it has become abundantly clear that those reasons lie above all in the political, economic, military and other support which is being given to South Africa by certain Western countries, headed by the United States of America, the United Kingdom and the Federal Republic of Germany.

30. The debate on South West Africa has also demonstrated once again that the South African racists would never have been able to defy our Organization in so insolent a manner if they had not been able to rely on the backing and support of those same Powers and their closest allies.

31. Yet General Assembly resolution 2325 (XXII) had already made an appeal addressed particularly to the Governments of States designated as the "main trading partners of South Africa and those which have economic and other interests in South Africa and South

West Africa" and requested those Governments "to take effective economic and other measures" and to exert their influence to bring about the implementation of the decisions of the General Assembly designed to put an end to the oppression of the South West African people and to grant freedom and independence to that people.

32. The attitude of arrogant defiance shown by the South African Government with regard to the question of South West Africa, especially during the time that has elapsed since the adoption of General Assembly resolution 2145 (XXI), reveals that in the absence of firm and clear statements backed up by concrete actions on the part of those same western Powers, it would be futile to expect for the time being a change in the attitude of the Pretoria Government, which is fully aware of the immense gulf that continues to exist between the words spoken here by the representatives of certain countries and the actions and practical steps taken elsewhere by those same countries.

33. The words of reprobation and even condemnation that we hear from time to time from the representatives of those same Powers and their feigned sympathy for the people of South West Africa can only remain an exercise in demagoguery and an example of hypocrisy, so long as they are not in accordance with their true policy and are not followed by corresponding concrete actions.

34. As several delegations have stressed during the debate, if in the present situation one wishes to achieve the liberation of the people of South West Africa, and if the United Nations wishes to play an active part in that liberation, the solution lies in the cessation of all the political, economic, military and financial assistance that has up to now been given to the Pretoria régime by its principal allies, namely, the United States of America, the United Kingdom and the Federal Republic of Germany.

35. It is precisely in that direction that, in the opinion of a large number of delegations, the General Assembly's attention should be turned, because only the cessation of that assistance will make it possible to eliminate the main obstacles to the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples in regard to that Territory and to put an end to the contempt shown by the authorities of South Africa for the views expressed by the large majority of Member States, both in United Nations decisions on this problem and in the course of the present debate.

36. That is why in the draft resolution before us, the General Assembly, after having reaffirmed the Namibian people's inalienable right to freedom and independence, renews its condemnation of the South African Government. Paragraph 5, which refers to States in a general but sufficiently clear way to enable one to understand which States are concerned, reads as follows:

"Condemns the actions of those States which by their continued diplomatic, political, military and economic collaboration with the Government of South Africa, have encouraged that Government to defy the authority of the United Nations and to obstruct

the attainment of independence by the Territory of South West Africa."

37. As the recent debates have shown once again, the South African racists have established in South West Africa conditions that are especially favourable to the activities of foreign monopolies. Those monopolies are continuing to operate in the territory in a manner incompatible with General Assembly resolution 2145 (XXI) and with other relevant United Nations resolutions, and to derive enormous profits from the exploitation they are continuing to carry on in that Territory. The financial monopolies of the United States and of the other Western countries are still practising an unrestrained colonialism in South West Africa, and are doing so vicariously, through the services of the racist régime of South Africa.

38. Consequently, it is necessary that the General Assembly should urgently request all States, in particular those States that have economic or other interests in South Africa and in southern Africa in general, to ensure that their nationals or companies registered in their territories desist from dealings with South Africa relating to the Territory of South West Africa, as set forth in paragraph 9 of the draft resolution before us. In our opinion, they must refrain not only from participating in business dealings affecting South West Africa, but, since the Pretoria Government is the active oppressor of South West Africa, they must also refrain from all relations with that Government so long as the Territory of South West Africa has not been liberated.

39. In view of the unchanged policy of certain Western Powers—and in the first place the United States of America, the United Kingdom and the Federal Republic of Germany—the request contained in paragraph 9, and addressed to all States "to take effective economic and other measures to secure the immediate withdrawal of the South African administration from the Territory of South West Africa", is fully justified, although, in the opinion of the Bulgarian delegation, it could have been drafted more clearly and more precisely. The draft resolution itself would thereby have gained in clarity.

40. The delegation of the People's Republic of Bulgaria shares the view expressed here by several delegations, namely, that the continuation of the foreign occupation of South West Africa by South Africa constitutes an act of aggression and a serious threat to international peace and security.

41. Therefore, our delegation, along with the co-sponsors of the draft, deems it appropriate and necessary that the General Assembly should recommend that the Security Council urgently take all effective measures to ensure the implementation of the draft resolution submitted to us for voting, and in particular that it take effective measures, under the provisions of Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter, to ensure the immediate end of South Africa's occupation of the Territory of South West Africa, so as to enable that Territory to accede to independence in accordance with resolution 2145 (XXI) and other relevant General Assembly resolutions. Of course, if the aforesaid Western Powers and their principal allies had taken the necessary

steps to restrain South Africa by ceasing to have commercial and other relations with it, South West Africa would long ago have already been on the way to liberation.

42. It is the obduracy of those very Powers—which neglect to take the steps the General Assembly asks them to take—that is forcing the countries concerned with the liberation of South West Africa to have recourse to the Security Council.

43. If the liberation of South West Africa cannot be achieved, if it cannot be brought about through the assistance and the effective collaboration of the countries we have mentioned, it will come, we are convinced, through the struggle of the South West African people and the peoples of Africa, it will come with the help of all the nations of the General Assembly, against the will and against the wishes of those Powers.

44. The position of the People's Republic of Bulgaria in regard to South West Africa is in accordance with the unstinting support we are giving to the struggle of oppressed peoples for national liberation and independence and against neo-colonialist interference and imperialist aggression. My country firmly supports the South West African people and unreservedly endorses the legitimate demand of the African countries to see that people freed at last.

45. In conformity with that policy and on the basis of the aforementioned considerations, my delegation will therefore vote in favour of draft resolution A/L.546 and Add.1. The Bulgarian delegation would also like to express the hope that that draft, submitted by a large number of Asian and African countries and representing, in our view, the minimum—I underline, the minimum—called for by the present situation, while remaining faithful to the noble ideals proclaimed by the United Nations, will receive the support of the largest possible majority of the Members of our Organization.

46. The sound and truly anti-colonial forces in our Organization must redouble their efforts to bring about the fulfilment of the rights of the Namibian people to freedom and independence. We feel sure that that will soon come to pass.

47. Mr. SHAHI (Pakistan): At the 1655th meeting of the Assembly I stated the position of my delegation on the situation arising out of the continuing defiance of South Africa in regard to the international status of the Territory of South West Africa. On that occasion I recalled the special obligation of the United Nations towards the people and Territory of Namibia and stressed the primary responsibility of the world Organization, under resolutions 2145 (XXI) and 2248 (S-V), to rescue the Namibian people from the oppressive yoke of South Africa.

48. The issues involved in regard to the question of Namibia are clear and straightforward. They emanate from the inalienable right of the people of Namibia to self-determination and independence. The realization of that right is being thwarted by the continuing usurpation of authority by South Africa in defiance of the decisions of the United Nations in resolution 2145 (XXI) and the subsequent resolutions of the General



Assembly on Namibia. This is the essence of the challenge which South Africa has posed to the world Organization. It is this challenge which we must meet resolutely and effectively. The African and Asian Member States have pondered long and deeply on the ways and means to do so. The draft resolution A/L.546 and Corr.1 and Add.1 represents a consensus of the views of the Asian and African delegations and of Yugoslavia. In formulating this draft, the African and Asian Members have been guided solely by the well-being and interests of the people of Namibia, who are a sacred trust of the United Nations, and by the compelling urgency of the situation.

49. The draft resolution has been most ably and eloquently introduced by the representatives of Tanzania and the Philippines [1667th meeting]. It has been further explained by the representatives of Guinea, India and Rwanda [*ibid.*]. Therefore, I shall confine my statement to brief comments on certain of its operative paragraphs which, in our view, embody its essence. These are operative paragraphs 4, 8, 9 and 13.

50. Operative paragraph 4 of the draft resolution condemns the actions of the Government of South Africa which are designed to consolidate its illegal hold over Namibia and to destroy the unity of its people and the territorial integrity of South West Africa. As pointed out by the United Nations Council for South West Africa in its declaration of 27 May 1968,<sup>3/</sup> these actions are being taken by the South African Government to implement recommendations of the notorious Odendaal Commission<sup>4/</sup> which would divide the Territory into small entities with a view to their ultimate annexation and to ensure South Africa's continued control over South West Africa. In pursuance of this odious and classical colonial policy, the South African Government is uprooting the indigenous inhabitants from their ancestral homes and destroying the unity and territorial integrity of South West Africa.

51. This action constitutes a grave violation of paragraph 7 of General Assembly resolution 2145 (XXI), which called upon the Government of South Africa to refrain and desist from any action, constitutional, administrative, political or otherwise, which would in any manner alter or tend to alter the international status of South West Africa. What else can the South African Government expect from the world but condemnation of its actions in defiance of the General Assembly's resolutions?

52. The inalienable right of peoples to self-determination and independence enshrined in the Charter was recognized and proclaimed by the General Assembly in its historic resolution 1514 (XV). Accordingly the people of Namibia, like any other subject people, has the inalienable right to independence and self-determination, and we believe that it is the duty of all States Members of the Organization to provide the necessary moral and material assistance to the people of Namibia in its legitimate struggle against the forces of oppression and colonialism represented by the South African administration of the Territory.

<sup>3/</sup> Official Records of the Security Council, Twenty-third Year, Supplement for April, May and June 1968, document S/8600/Rev.1.

<sup>4/</sup> Republic of South Africa, Report of the Commission of Inquiry into South West African Affairs, 1962-1963 (Pretoria, Government Printer, 1964).

53. Operative paragraph 8 of the draft resolution appeals to States Members of the United Nations for such assistance. We fervently hope that it will be extended in generous measure. The long history of the United Nations dealings with South Africa unmistakably demonstrates the need for concerted action against the Pretoria régime by the entire membership of the United Nations. In the view of the African and Asian delegations, if South Africa has been able to defy the United Nations with impunity, it is largely due to the economic collaboration it continues to enjoy with certain Member States.

54. It is high time that the competent organ of the United Nations had recourse to coercive measures, at least of an economic nature, against South Africa, and called upon all States, and in particular the major trading partners of South Africa, to implement them. Operative paragraph 9, which calls upon States Members of the United Nations to exercise such pressure by ensuring that their nationals or business corporations registered in their territories desist from their dealings with the Government of South Africa, would, we hope, constitute only a first step in that direction.

55. The African and Asian Member States are convinced that the implementation of General Assembly resolution 2145 (XXI) can be effected only by recourse to forceful measures as envisaged in the Charter of the United Nations. Accordingly, operative paragraph 13 recommends to the Security Council urgently to take the necessary effective steps under Chapter VII of the Charter. The General Assembly is within its competence in making such a recommendation. It must, however, be recognized that it is entirely within the competence and judgement of the Security Council to make its own determination in regard to the nature of the situation prevailing in South West Africa as a result of South Africa's illegal occupation and to decide which provisions of Chapter VII of the Charter would be appropriate for application.

56. All that operative paragraph 13 states is that a Chapter VII situation exists, that this is the considered view of the General Assembly. We would earnestly hope that this determination will not be lightly regarded by the Security Council. My delegation, for one, will be prepared to support recourse to appropriate Chapter VII measures by the Security Council, when it takes up for consideration the question of Namibia in pursuance of any recommendation that may be made by the General Assembly.

57. We are conscious that the role of the permanent members of the Security Council, and particularly of those permanent members and countries which continue to carry on extensive economic and other relations with South Africa, will be the crucial factor in securing compliance by South Africa with the decisions of the United Nations. It is our sincere hope that these countries will bring all their power and influence to bear on South Africa to induce it to relinquish its control over Namibia as enjoined by resolution 2145 (XXI).

58. Time is of the essence. Prompt action by these countries is both urgent and necessary if a great tragedy is to be averted in southern Africa.

59. Mr. MALIK (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (translated from Russian): Comrade President, the Soviet delegation associates itself with the condolences which you have conveyed on your own behalf and on behalf of the United Nations General Assembly to the family of the late Senator Kennedy. The Soviet delegation has already had the opportunity at a meeting of the Security Council to express its sympathy and condolence in connexion with this tragic event—the attack upon the life of Senator Kennedy.

60. Condemning acts of political terrorism in the same way as we categorically condemn aggression and all acts of aggression in any shape or form, we convey our sincere condolences to the family of the late Senator Kennedy in connexion with the great misfortune and sorrow which has befallen them—the death of Senator Kennedy.

61. The Head of the Soviet Government, Mr. Kosygin, has sent a telegram of sympathy and condolence to the late Senator's family.

62. The Chairmen of both Chambers of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR which is our Parliament, namely, the Soviet of the Union and the Soviet of Nationalities, have also sent telegrams of condolence to the President of the United States Senate.

63. Our country's position on the question of South West Africa was explained in detail in the statement made by the Soviet delegation during the general debate on the subject at the resumed twenty-second session of the General Assembly.

64. Now that the Assembly has begun to consider practical solutions aimed at liberating the people of South West Africa, the Soviet delegation deems it necessary to make some comments on the results of the past debate and to state its views on the draft resolution on South West Africa submitted to the General Assembly for consideration.

65. In the first place it is extremely important to note that the basic principles of our approach to the solution of the problem of South West Africa have met with extensive understanding and support at the current session. During the debate the delegations of the overwhelming majority of the States Members of the United Nations resolutely condemned the South African racist régime, and declared that their countries were prepared to continue in the most energetic manner the struggle against that régime. This virtually unanimous condemnation of the system of apartheid, racial discrimination, monstrous oppression and exploitation of the Africans in South Africa and South West Africa will undoubtedly give impressive moral support to the people of Namibia in their struggle, and will still further hamper the manoeuvres of the South African racists and their imperialist allies and protectors.

66. In this connexion, we cannot fail to note also the fact that in the course of this session, as always in the past, the delegations of the Soviet Union, of the other socialist countries and of the vast majority of the independent countries of Africa and Asia have unanimously condemned the policy of racial discrimination and the alliance of racists and colonialists and have advocated freedom and independence for the people of South West Africa.

67. That position on the question, which has been expressed by so many States Members of the United Nations in the General Assembly, is of particularly great significance for the achievement of the general aim of liberating all peoples fighting for their freedom and national independence, and for providing them with assistance and support in that noble struggle.

68. In the course of the debate many platitudes were uttered about the "responsibility of the great Powers" and the "duty of the permanent members of the Security Council". But to everyone who took part in the debate it is quite clear which of the great Powers, permanent members of the Security Council, have spoken in favour of the freedom and independence of the people of Namibia, and which are helping to enslave that people.

69. In the course of the debate the fact was fully confirmed that the main responsibility for the present situation in the question of the liberation of the people of South West Africa lies not only with the Pretoria racist régime but also with those countries which are supporting it. The representatives of a number of African States have stated clearly and unequivocally from this rostrum that the Western Powers—the United States, the United Kingdom, the Federal Republic of Germany, Portugal and others—are the accomplices of South Africa and are responsible for the sufferings of Africans, and that in this respect they speak the same language as the South African racists. Those countries are bent on maintaining and consolidating their strategic, military, political and economic positions in South Africa and South West Africa.

70. One can easily understand the indignation of many African and Asian countries at the fact that the Western Powers, although they may sometimes make critical remarks about the South African régime, are in fact encouraging its racist policies and helping to strengthen it. The delegations of a number of African States have quite rightly demanded that the Western countries should not confine themselves to criticizing the Pretoria régime, but should take positive steps to stop trading with that régime, cease to invest capital in the South African economy and sever all other ties with South Africa, so as to compel South Africa to relinquish its inhuman racist policy. It is quite obvious that as long as the Western Powers continue to support the racist apartheid régime, as long as they do not alter their attitude, the Pretoria régime will, as the representative of Malaysia, Mr. Ismail, pointed out, have a sense of security and protection, and South Africa's smugness, arrogance and defiance of this Organization will continue.<sup>5/</sup>

71. In all similar statements (and a good many have been made in one way or another from this rostrum) there has been unequivocal confirmation of the accuracy of our assertion that it is precisely the close collaboration of the Western Powers and monopolies with the Pretoria authorities that strengthens the racist régime of South Africa and constitutes the main obstacle to the liberation of the people of South West Africa.

72. If we go through the statements made during this session by the representatives of the countries which are the main trading and economic partners

of the racist régime of South Africa, we see quite clearly that those countries are following the same path as before: no effective action, let us seek contacts with the racists, hold talks with them and remonstrate with them. Here reference has even been made by way of excuse to the fact that the Governments of certain Western countries have already repeatedly made representations to the South African authorities. Those who have attended the plenary meetings of the General Assembly have also heard statements from the representatives of certain Western Powers about the "need for a realistic point of view", "the inadvisability of extreme measures and decisions", "the need to obtain the consent of the South African racists to receive and hear the representative of the Secretary-General", and so on. But no one in this hall has heard a single word from those representatives to the effect that the Western partners of the Pretoria racist régime are prepared to sever diplomatic, economic and all other relations with it and to refuse any support for that racist régime. That is where the crux of the matter lies. In the light of those facts, the Soviet Union deems it necessary to repeat once again, and to emphasize, its position in the respect that the General Assembly and the United Nations must, in one way or another, condemn the principal allies of South Africa for supporting the racist régime and must demand that they cease giving assistance to it. The complete domination exercised by United States, British, West German, South African and other Western monopolies over South West Africa is the main obstacle to the achievement of any radical change in the situation of the Namibian people.

73. I should like to turn now to the question of the draft resolution on South West Africa which is now before the Assembly for its consideration [A/L.546 and Add.1].

74. This draft resolution reaffirms the inalienable right of the people of South West Africa to freedom and independence and the legitimacy of their struggle against foreign occupation, and appeals to all States to provide them with the necessary moral and material assistance.

75. As is well known, the Soviet Union has always been and continues to be a firm advocate of the speedy and complete elimination of the odious system of colonialism, racial oppression and discrimination in any shape or form. It continues to hold that all peoples oppressed by colonialism and racism have an inalienable right to freedom and independence and that they must become free and independent as soon as possible. The Soviet Union has given and is continuing to give them all-round assistance in achieving these lofty and noble aims.

76. The Soviet delegation therefore considers the aforementioned provisions of the draft resolution to be of the utmost importance, and of course supports them.

77. The draft resolution also condemns the Government of South Africa, and calls upon all States to take effective economic and other measures designed to secure the immediate withdrawal of the South African administration from the Territory of South West Africa.

78. The condemnation in the draft resolution of those States which continue to co-operate with the racist régime of South Africa is significant and necessary, as is the appeal to all States to ensure that their nationals and companies desist from dealings relating to the Territory of South West Africa with the Pretoria authorities. We support these provisions also.

79. It is reported that certain delegations are attempting to weaken these two provisions of the draft resolution. The Soviet delegation, on the contrary, considers that for the benefit of the cause and in the interests of the Namibian people they should be considerably reinforced. The business men and monopolies of the Western Powers should desist not only from dealings with the Government of South Africa relating to their enterprising activities in the Territory of South West Africa, but should put an end altogether to any trade relations whatsoever with the racist régime of Pretoria, cease investing capital in that country, and withdraw the capital which they have already invested in the South African economy and in the Territory of South West Africa.

80. In the course of the discussion considerable attention was devoted to the United Nations Council for South West Africa, and the opinion was expressed that it should continue to function. The Soviet Union's position in regard to that body has already been stated by us during the work of the present session.

81. We are not inclined to foster illusions in regard to the possibilities of that body. However, bearing in mind the views of friendly African and Asian States on the subject, the Soviet delegation is prepared to co-operate with that Council in those specific questions whose solution might contribute towards liberating the people of South West Africa from the yoke of racism and colonialism. Of course, the questions relating to that body and its activities should not and cannot distract the attention of the Assembly from its first and foremost task, which is to ensure the independence of South West Africa. The General Assembly's main efforts must therefore be directed towards compelling South Africa to comply with the decision of the United Nations to terminate the Mandate for the administration of South West Africa.

82. Operative paragraph 7 of the draft resolution invites the United Nations Council for South West Africa, in co-operation with the Secretary-General, the United Nations Development Programme and the specialized agencies, to draw up a special programme of assistance for the people of South West Africa and to submit it to the General Assembly at its twenty-third session.

83. The Soviet delegation naturally reserves the right to study the specific proposals that will be prepared in this regard, and to state its views on them at the next session of the General Assembly. However, it should be assumed straight away that any expenditures connected with the activities of the Council or with the assistance to be given to the people of Namibia must be reimbursed primarily by the Government of South Africa and by its main partners who, along with the Pretoria régime, bear the political, economic and moral responsibility for that régime's continuing illegal rule over South West Africa.

84. As the Soviet delegation has already stated in the course of the debate (1648th meeting), the Soviet Union is sympathetic to the view expressed by many delegations of African and Asian countries that the Security Council should be called upon to consider the problem of South West Africa. We believe that the Security Council, acting in conformity with the Charter, can make a substantial contribution towards solving the problem of South West Africa and help the people of Namibia to make good their legitimate right to freedom and independence. Of course, in supporting this proposal, we assume that the wish of the majority of the Assembly that the Council should consider the question of South West Africa will be duly taken into account by all States members of the Security Council, including its permanent members.

85. In the light of the aforesaid considerations, the Soviet delegation deems it possible on the whole to assess the draft resolution positively, and will vote in favour of it.

86. In conclusion, we should like to stress once again from this exalted rostrum that the misanthropic ideology of racism and the practice of apartheid which the South African Government is trying to extend to South West Africa, that poisoned political weapon of the universally-hated system of imperialism and colonialism, is being used for the obnoxious purpose of perpetuating and maintaining colonial slavery.

87. Together with all free Africa and all peace-loving peoples, the Soviet Union categorically states that there is not, nor can there be, any room for racism and apartheid on the soil of Africa or anywhere on our planet. Those shameful phenomena, which are poisoning the political atmosphere and threatening the peace and security of peoples, must and will inevitably be swept away forever by the rising tide of the national liberation struggle, and by all the progressive forces of today.

*The meeting rose at 12.45 p.m.*