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**President: Mr. Emilio ARENALES (Guatemala).**

*In the absence of the President, Mr. Allimadi (Uganda), Vice-President, took the Chair.*

**AGENDA ITEM 64**

**Question of Namibia (*continued*):**

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

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(c) **Appointment of the United Nations Commissioner for Namibia**

1. Mr. NSANZÉ (Burundi) (*translated from French*): Sir, in your capacity as President of this meeting, I should like to offer you my hearty congratulations.

2. I should now like to address my remarks to the titular President, the Minister for External Relations of Guatemala. In expressing its joy and relief at his recovery and his return to this platform, the delegation of the Republic of Burundi has a twofold and noble duty to perform. We pay him our deeply sincere respects, but not in order to follow the common tradition of praising every President, in accordance with the proverb in the melodious Spanish language "*Cántaro nuevo hace buen agua*", which in English means: "Water tastes better out of a new jug". My delegation wishes to take this opportunity to repay a debt of gratitude to Mr. Arenales, who as early as 1954 fearlessly supported the independence of Burundi, which President Michel Micombero and his valiant Government are defending with incomparable gallantry. We rejoice at the victory over illness of the President of this Assembly, a statesman whose intellectual gifts and human qualities are dedicated to the cause of peace among nations.

3. The United Nations has been striving to restore Namibia to the Namibians for almost a quarter of a century and this

seems an appropriate juncture to take stock of the time and efforts devoted to South Africa, the sums spent on studies, reports, travel and personnel, and the many resolutions adopted by the world community concerning the recovery of Namibia by the United Nations, in order to rescue it from the clutches of *apartheid*. This Assembly is without the shadow of any doubt highly qualified to deal with this series of questions.

4. It is all the more difficult, therefore, to justify not only the indulgence but even the meekness shown by certain Powers in face of the interminable rebellion of one Member State against the United Nations.

5. This defiance undoubtedly gives rise to a double affront: firstly, the Government of Pretoria feels justified in preening itself on being the subject of constant concern in the United Nations; secondly, the dignity and the very essence of the United Nations itself are profaned by it. In this way, South Africa succeeds in mobilizing the human and material resources it needs to solve this problem. Despite the reaction of world opinion against South Africa's disdain of the world community, it is astounding that there are still some States that not only tolerate but, what is worse, encourage conduct that is incompatible and irreconcilable with both the letter and the spirit of the Charter of the United Nations.

6. In view of the friendship and co-operation marking the Republic of Burundi's relations with many countries of the North Atlantic community, my Government feels free to explain the legitimate and fundamental reasons underlying its urgent appeal for a revision of the positions taken on the question of Namibia. Of course, the fact that these countries belong to the same military, commercial and economic groupings as Pretoria has led them into a labyrinth from which it is extremely difficult to escape, given the many ties of culture, race and language—and possibly of destiny—uniting them with the Whites of South Africa.

7. Using these factors and considerations as a pretext, governmental and other circles, which can be extremely clear-sighted with regard to other far-reaching problems, often allow themselves to be mesmerized by the passionate pleas of the South African leaders and inevitably fall into the traps laid for them by the specious and sentimental rhetorical flights of the standard-bearers of *apartheid*.

8. Hectored and bullied by the South African racists and hypnotized by their cries for help on behalf of their hard-pressed idol, many of Pretoria's associates persist in turning a blind eye to its criminal defiance of the United Nations in Namibia, whose political and social structures are nothing more than a faithful replica of South Africa's.

9. If the key members of the Atlantic Alliance would finally accept that, in accordance with the spirit of the age, the tide of liberation for the peoples of the world is irreversible, South Africa would be forced to bow to the inevitable and hand over Namibia to its rightful owners.

10. The members of the Atlantic Alliance are undoubtedly on the horns of a dilemma with regard to Pretoria. What is this dilemma exactly? The agonizing perplexity of some members of the Atlantic community stems from the difficulty they have in either rejecting South Africa's hold on them or in deciding once and for all to embark on the final decolonization of Africa.

11. This reluctance to carry to completion the movement for the liberation of our continent is clearly apparent in the attitude of those who either defend the representatives of *apartheid*, or abstain on the question of Namibia. This state of affairs, alas, is the source of chronic friction, if not of outright hostility, in the United Nations, or in the relations between Africa and certain members of the Atlantic Alliance. Some of these countries are on occasion astonished to witness, ironically enough, the anti-Western fury of the peoples of Africa, whose leaders today owe their influence and their following almost entirely to the training which they received from the cultural and scientific heritage of the West.

12. There are some who choose to see signs of ingratitude in the intransigence of Africans who demand an immediate end to the presence of Pretoria in Namibia. Others go so far as to describe such an attitude as unrealistic.

13. However, the almost ritual value which Western societies attach, quite rightly, to egalitarian democracy and the sacred respect which they publicly proclaim for the right to human freedom must be the guiding motives in solving the question of Namibia, and this would not be asking much of most of the North Atlantic Alliance countries which normally provide a protective cover for South Africa.

14. All the same, if the supporters of South Africa were obliged to make sacrifices by denouncing the crimes of *apartheid*, such sacrifices should be accepted for so precious a cause as the equality and freedom of mankind. Simón Bolívar, the liberator of the South American continent, who stigmatized the enslavement of man by man in the following terms, serves as a magnificent example:

"I have left intact that law of laws—equality. Neglect it, and all rights and safeguards will vanish. We must make every sacrifice for it, and at its feet, cast the dishonored and infamous relics of slavery."

15. The essential and indispensable character of equality between peoples, as defined by the hero of Latin American independence, admits of no doubt about the motives which inspire, both within the United Nations and outside it, the champions of the immediate restitution of Namibia to the Africans to whom it rightfully belongs.

16. An entirely impartial survey shows that any sound policy claiming to have constructive, long-term aims must recognize that the bondage imposed by South Africa on the non-Whites will, in the future, seriously endanger relations between the continents.

17. The delegation of Burundi is of the opinion that the States which are the prime movers in the Atlantic Alliance are in a position to prevent such an appalling eventuality which unless it is averted at once may well establish a permanent dividing line between future generations.

18. How can the staunch supporters of Pretoria be willing to call down on their heads the curses which, in the future, will fall thick and fast upon them because they will have been guilty of creating a permanent abyss between our descendents? How is it possible, without trembling with fear, to envisage a future human species whose white members would have to pay for the crass stupidity of the present idolators of *apartheid*, and whose black members, by way of reprisal, would hold their white contemporaries responsible, although at that time they were innocent?

19. Relying on the strong backing which they possess, the leaders of the South African segregationist cult are not yet prepared to abandon their separatist convictions. The November 1968 issue of the *Monde diplomatique* shows that what I have revealed here is far from being a mere figment of my imagination. I should like to quote from that periodical:

"Pretoria has many assets—its overwhelming economic power in the region; its great technological superiority, which can serve the cause of peace as well as war; the certainty that it enjoys the support of business circles in the Western world. These are no small advantages."

20. It is true that the close relationship between Governments and the leading circles of a racist Pretoria is the source of immediate advantages and profit. It is equally true, however, that these advantages are temporary.

21. The fact is that the protectors of a nazi clique are incurring international censure and are deliberately alienating the emerging continent, on the eve of extensive and highly fruitful co-operation between the new Africa and the rest of the world, and that they are doing so in return for something which is inevitably bound to vanish and crumble in the hands of the present beneficiaries! For, whatever happens, the votaries of *apartheid* will not everlastingly escape from the liberation movement which is sweeping the world. On the other hand, a decision to break away from the exploiters, in Namibia in particular and in colonial territories in general, would open up new opportunities for a co-operation beneficial both to the North Atlantic Governments and to Africa and Pretoria itself.

22. Such an adaptation of the modern world to the needs of the century and the legitimate demands of the victims of foreign domination would at one and the same time be a long-term investment and the swan-song of the hard history of decolonization, the inevitable nature of which is apparent amidst the vast turmoil in which the rights of the Namibians are caught up, and there would be a final reconciliation between Africa and the former metropolitan countries.

23. It is agreed that Africans, just like other human beings in various parts of the world, are prepared to overcome, wherever it may be, every obstacle and to face every hardship in order to recover this inalienable gift of nature—freedom for every human being—thus illustrating

Montalembert's concept of that sacred secret which is the right to be free. Montalembert, in fact, said:

"No, the complaints, the sufferings, even the invectives which freedom allows, which reveal its faults, which draw attention to its dangers and excesses, could never, without the most shocking injustice, be invoked as an argument against it"—

that is to say against freedom and the equality of men.<sup>1</sup>

24. The crossroads to which the obstinacy of Pretoria has brought the United Nations make more assistance from the socialist community necessary.

25. Certainly the bitter disappointments which the segregationist dogma of the *apartheid* Government has inflicted on the Organization may in the long run deprive us of the valuable support of avowed partisans of the liberation of Namibia. For the latter, as for us, the fight put up by African nationalists must be regarded as the focal point of the liberation movement. As this is our theory, we feel it unnecessary to stress the point. Nevertheless, we consider it essential to emphasize that the disdainful obstinacy of Pretoria vis à vis the universal authority of the United Nations calls for measures.

26. At the present phase of the Namibian question, a new approach is therefore required. A considerable financial participation by the United Nations is essential if such an undertaking is to have results. We agree that the allocation of part of the United Nations budget to educational and school programmes for Namibians, as the United Nations Council for Namibia recommends in its report [A/7338 and Corr.1, para. 45, 8(a) and (b)] constitutes one of the most onerous aspects of the problem. Such demands are warranted in several respects.

27. Firstly, under the terms of resolution 2248 (S-V) of 19 May 1967, which terminated South Africa's mandate over the Territory, Namibia is now under the jurisdiction of the United Nations. Hence it goes without saying that the obligations of the Organization towards Namibia necessarily and automatically entail financial and budgetary responsibilities, making it essential for the United Nations to play an active part in drawing up emergency programmes to meet the country's urgent needs. Our Organization must assume these financial responsibilities which, after all, are only a consequence of its jurisdiction over Namibia, a consequence inherent in the nature of the mission it has assumed as a political and humanitarian institution devoted to the Namibian cause which it has adopted and must accordingly meet the cost.

28. Secondly, the United Nations Council for Namibia, having a mandate to exercise the supreme authority of the General Assembly in the territory, will be unable to carry out its tasks effectively if it is obliged to operate without an adequate budget.

29. In view of the arguments prevailing here we are bound to admit that the road to be travelled to reach our goal is unquestionably a thorny one. The nazi Government which is insidiously endeavouring to thwart every initiative and

decision of the United Nations is strewing obstacles in our path.

30. Faced with a situation of immeasurable gravity, the socialist community, whose support for the liberation of Africa has not been lacking in the past, will readily appreciate the need for further sacrifices at the budgetary level.

31. It is in the supreme interest of all the Members of the United Nations to form a coalition against *apartheid*, which is only a plagiarism of Hitlerian nazism and might possibly be the cause of another international conflagration in the near future.

32. When on 13 May 1968 [1653rd meeting], before this Assembly I drew a parallel between Hitlerian nazism and Afrikaner nazi *apartheid*, I produced irrefutable evidence to show that the proponents of the segregationist doctrine in South Africa had all been either followers or plagiarists of the Fuehrer.

33. In my statement in the Security Council on 10 November 1967 [1374th meeting] on the collusion between Pretoria and Lisbon ample and revealing evidence of their global, large-scale, long-term plot was produced.

34. Pretoria, in its new strategy, inspired by its passion for hegemony, is preparing to give vent to its nazi fury from the Cape to Katanga. This political and racist voracity, once stimulated, will not be satisfied with setting subjugated Southern Africa ablaze; everything possible will be done to include such sovereign States as Tanzania and Zambia in order to bring them into the orbit of the Aryan South African race.

35. In the last analysis, the annexation of Namibia by the Pretoria Government represents only one stage in a long series of annexionist and expansionist designs plotted by the Pretoria-Lisbon "tandem". The diabolic strategy planned by the masters of the most ruthless racial segregation has as its main and immediate target the countries most directly exposed to the rapacious grasp of the Pretoria-Lisbon-Salisbury trio which seeks at all costs the systematic inclusion of the African sub-continent in the white stronghold.

36. Here is some evidence:

"Like blood belongs in one common realm. . . . Thus, this little frontier town [of Braunau] seems to me the symbol of a great task. . . ." <sup>2</sup> A State which, at a time of racial contamination, jealously watches over the preservation of the best elements of its own, must one day become the ruler of the world."

That is what Hitler said in his book *Mein Kampf*.

37. This racist postulate, which underlies the theory designed to deify one race by condemning the others to slavery, is elucidated in a work by Raymond Aron, from which I quote the following passage:

"The only way in which it is possible to perpetuate the subjugation of the conquered is to forbid them entry into

<sup>1</sup> C. Montalembert, *Avant-propos aux discours*, 1860.

<sup>2</sup> *Mein Kampf*, p. 19.

the qualified professions to ensure to the representatives of the master-race a monopoly of the functions of scientific and administrative leadership. This is how the Whites proceed in the Union of South Africa. It is what the Nazis would probably have done in Eastern Europe, drawing the logical conclusions from the doctrine according to which the Slavs are a subhuman race born into slavery and destined to permanent servitude. The doctrine of the essential inequality of man, a doctrine condemned by industrial society within homogeneous communities, can be applied by racists to the relations between communities . . .".<sup>3</sup>

38. The identification of the aims of the South African Whites with those achieved by Hitler may today appear to be an exaggeration of Pretoria's plans; but tomorrow may show that the miscalculation lies in the failure of some Members of the United Nations to recognize how far the preparations for dealing mortal blows against Africa have gone.

39. The taking-over of southern Africa which the apostles of the deification of the white race are plotting is predicted in the following passage from the *Monde diplomatique* of November 1968:

"If the Rhodesian rebellion should be successful and sanctions are revoked, it is said that the same policy of partition, leaving the Whites in control of all the towns and all the large industries, might be extended to the north of the Limpopo, in Rhodesia, and perhaps eventually to Angola and Mozambique.

"In addition to all that, and although it is rarely admitted in public, there is also talk of encircling Zambia, of circumventing Tanzania, and of reducing these two countries to the state of docile satellites, like Malawi, then of extending this policy as far as Katanga."

40. Faced with such a mania for expansion as that shown by the partisans of *apartheid*, it is easy to imagine that Namibia, occupied in violation of the most elementary rules of international law, will serve the conqueror as a vital springboard from which to launch the attack against the areas to be plundered in the future, namely, the south-east regions of Africa.

41. There is no need to demonstrate that such an astute stratagem, whose purpose it is to dominate the whole of southern Africa, literally takes over the doctrine of Adolf Hitler, in particular the task of ensuring the triumph over all "false and unnatural" laws of a so-called natural and sacred law: that of the community of blood.

42. No doubt the Pretoria Government is defying the universal authority of the United Nations in order to uphold the work of the Lord, so great is the white man's self-deification in South Africa, while the expansionist and "unitarist" aims bear a striking resemblance to the Hitlerian doctrine set forth in *Mein Kampf*.

43. Now, all the circumstances tend to corroborate the various predictions that the starting of a war by Pretoria is no longer an intention but a certainty. If it does not seem

likely to occur in the immediate future, its outbreak will in any case only be a question of timing.

44. Like the leader of the German national-socialist party, the creators of the monstrous *apartheid* system vow an implacable hatred to the race that lives alongside them and preach the same philosophical dogma which recognizes a superior race of human beings, like Hitler in his *Weltanschauung*, a philosophical concept formulated as a true religion. Just like Hitler, the creators of *apartheid* have no watchword other than the worship of "racial unity based on the community of blood", as formulated by Hitler himself in the *Volksturm*.

45. If, unlike the Fuehrer, the South African nazi conspirators do not aspire to the conquest of half of Africa, driven by the need for *Lebensraum*, they contemplate taking the offensive for many reasons, and in particular:

(1) To meet the needs with which the standard bearers of racial inequality and their Rhodesian and Portuguese acolytes are faced in their feverish crusade to perpetuate the colonial slave dictatorship;

(2) To ensure the political survival of an *apartheid* Rhodesia and to assist an economically-backward Portugal to escape from its glaring poverty, as corroborated by the passage quoted below;

(3) To extend and defend the white stronghold;

(4) To acquire and exploit a broader and more diversified market.

46. Here is evidence taken from the *Monde diplomatique* for November 1968:

"All told, there is an informal but effective alliance between South Africa, Portugal and the rebellious Rhodesian régime, which enjoys the support of influential circles in the United States and in Western Europe . . . it is essentially South Africa itself . . . governed by men who appraise the facts of their situation in a perspicacious and calculating spirit. . . . First, there was a growing conviction that the economic power of South Africa would be turned to better account if it covered a broader common market—including its raw material sources such as the petroleum of Angola—a kind of common market controlled by Pretoria and Johannesburg. . . . Since 1962 the new political offensive has taken two main forms. Firstly, regular military co-operation with Portugal and Rhodesia, even before the settlers' *coup d'état* in 1965. . . . Finally, there was the rebellion of the Rhodesian settlers and the need for South Africa, if this rebellion was to survive, to extend its influence to the north and to place this same Rhodesia under its wing by making it a political and economic satellite. . . . It is quite possible that the existence of a Portuguese empire midway through the 1960s is an absurdity . . . in a country where perhaps half the population is still illiterate and where only one child in fourteen who attend school has any chance of staying there after the age of eleven, where social services are still 'rudimentary', where public housing has shown that '60 per cent of the houses had no electricity and that 80 per cent were without bathrooms . . .', where the general state of the economy is

<sup>3</sup> R. Aron, *Peace and War* (New York, Doubleday and Co. Inc., 1966), p. 547.

one of chronic under-employment in rural areas and serious unemployment in the towns."

47. Both the abundance and the authenticity of this evidence and the concordant facts, together with the numerous premonitory symptoms, confirm the sinister forebodings prevalent in Africa with regard to the South African nazis.

48. A very recent article published by a review whose reputation, reliability, objectivity and extensive knowledge of African affairs compel respect and belief, asserts that the predictions of a nuclear conflagration started by Pretoria against the countries of Africa are far from being figments of the imagination. This article states:

"This fear expressed by the representative of Burundi is supported by the statement in the news bulletin of the *Allgemeine Deutsche Nachrichtendienst* dated 19 June that the West German chemical concern Farbwerke Hoechst, AG, has, together with two South African undertakings and with the express approval of the racist régime in South Africa, established a new plant at Kochfontein. This plant will produce ferrous silica, which is used in processing uranium and lithium ores.

"... In the autumn of 1963 the nazi banker Abs held several conversations with representatives of the former Verwoerd administration and measures were agreed upon for the large-scale production of fissile material for atomic bombs.

"... The Kochfontein plant was established one month after the West German firm Kloeckner, of Duisburg, had taken over the majority holding in Lithium Mines Pty. Ltd. of South Africa, thus creating a nuclear base of its own. The Kloeckner concern will build, near the town of Karibib, where there are two profitable lithium mines, an ore-processing plant, since lithium is of the greatest importance in nuclear and rocket technology."<sup>4</sup>

49. All the evidence goes to show that the preachers of *apartheid*, driven by their wild obsession to ensure the triumph of a predestined race, are taking great pains to model their devilish ideology literally on the Aryan theory of the destruction and ostracism of other human races. Essentially exterminatory, such an ambition cannot attain its perfidious ideal without causing colossal and staggering harm to mankind and dealing it a mortal blow, according to the actual predictions of the father of Nazism, from whose autobiography I quote:

"Then"—writes Adolf Hitler who at the time was twenty years old—"I was weighed down by disquieting forebodings and distressing fears. I found myself confronted with a doctrine inspired by egoism and hatred, mathematically calculated to bring victory but whose triumph was bound to deal a mortal blow to mankind."

50. Consequently the nuclear danger which is smouldering in the arsenals of the knights of *apartheid* requires the intervention of the General Assembly and firstly of the Security Council.

51. Nevertheless, the Government of Burundi continues to believe that the leaders of the two camps—the Atlantic

Alliance and the socialist community—have a very special mission to carry out in order to check the Nazi menace to the peace and security of nations.

52. By restoring the social equality and political sovereignty of the Africans in Namibia, the two Colossi will assuredly be acting in accordance with their respective ideologies, one immortalized in the works of Alexis de Tocqueville on equality and its natural implications for Western society, and the other in the works of Jean Jaurès on the three practical rules which must incite the socialist world to combat colonial exploitation.

53. The delegation of Burundi, without wishing to exaggerate an international catastrophe to which South Africa holds the key, felt that it was in the interests of the United Nations to size up this possible danger, which must be attacked at the roots, and from which if it were to materialize Africa would not be the only one to suffer, because its disastrous effects would inevitably extend beyond the frontiers of the young continent.

54. These are the reasons which have led me to give this statement the title: "Need for a universal coalition against *apartheid* in Namibia and in South Africa, as a plagiarism of Hitlerian Nazism, both in its ideological nature and in its expansionist designs".

55. The PRESIDENT: The debate on item 64 is now concluded. I give the floor to the representative of Somalia, who wishes to introduce draft resolution A/L.556.

56. Mr. FARAH (Somalia): Before introducing draft resolution [A/L.556], I should like to say that the delegations of Bolivia, Indonesia, Mauritius and Senegal have added their names to the list of co-sponsors. More than two years have elapsed since this Assembly, voicing the moral indignation of the world community, put an end to South Africa's right to administer Namibia and took upon itself direct responsibility for enabling the African inhabitants of that unhappy land, victims of South African racist oppression, to attain their legitimate right of self-determination and independence in accordance with the Charter and the declaration contained in resolution 1514 (XV). What has occurred since that momentous decision is known to us all. The sombre story of South Africa's defiance of the United Nations, of which it is a founding Member, the continued illegal occupation by it of Namibia, the intensification of its racist oppression of the people, who are wards of the United Nations, the trials and convictions under the Terrorism Act of 1967—all this is fully recorded in the reports of the United Nations Council for Namibia [A/7338 and Corr.1], and the Special Committee of Twenty-Four [A/7200/Rev.1, chap. VII], and in other records of this Assembly.

57. Speaker after speaker in this present debate on the item has come to this rostrum to condemn the Government of South Africa for its ruthless oppression and for its blatant defiance of this Assembly, of the Security Council and of world opinion. This afternoon the representative of Burundi has given us a grim description of living conditions in the Territory and has also given us a description of some of the unhappy events which have led to the present situation.

<sup>4</sup> *Remarques africaines*, No. 317 of 11 July 1968, p. 308 (note).



58. The point to which this Assembly must now address itself is whether South Africa can continue to defy with impunity the United Nations and to ignore the resolutions of this body and of the Security Council; for by so doing, it places in jeopardy the authority of the United Nations and the whole fabric of international co-operation. The United Nations has assumed a direct responsibility towards the people of Namibia, which it is obligated to discharge and from which it cannot back away.

59. It is because we have a deep sense of this commitment that the delegation of Somalia has joined with forty-seven other sponsors in preparing the draft resolution contained in document A/L.556 which I now have the honour to present for the Assembly's consideration. In its preambular paragraphs, Members will see that it recalls resolution 1514 (XV) containing the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples in which the Assembly reaffirmed the right of all colonial peoples to self-determination and independence. It recalls in particular General Assembly resolution 2145 (XXI) and Security Council resolution 246 (1968) whereby those two organs of the United Nations recognize their special responsibility to the people and Territory of Namibia.

60. In its operative paragraphs 1 and 2, the draft resolution reaffirms the legitimacy of the struggle of the people of Namibia against the foreign occupation of their country and condemns the Government of South Africa for its refusal to comply with the decisions of the Assembly and its continued efforts to partition the Territory and destroy its national unity and integrity.

61. The most important paragraphs are, of course, operative paragraphs 3 and 4 which draw the attention of the Security Council to the seriousness of the situation and recommend that it take urgently all effective measures to ensure South Africa's immediate withdrawal from Namibia, so as to enable the Territory to attain its independence in accordance with resolutions 1514 (XV) and 2145 (XXI).

62. It is the view of my delegation and of the other sponsors that it is for the Security Council—which has the primary responsibility for the maintenance of peace and security and which alone has the power of enforcement—to concern itself with this matter. Faced with this outright defiance by South Africa, not only of this Assembly but of its own authority, the Security Council in our opinion has no longer any alternative but to take the necessary measures to obtain South Africa's compliance.

63. Finally, permit me to say a word about the United Nations Council for Namibia whose excellent report has been the basis for our discussions. We in the delegation of Somalia pay tribute to the Council and to its Acting Commissioner for their tireless and indomitable efforts on behalf of the people of Namibia. Theirs is a thankless task and they are to be commended for the imaginative manner in which they have discharged their obligations, despite the complete non-co-operation of South Africa. We consider that the Council has made an important contribution within the limits of its mandate and, in operative paragraph 5 of the draft resolution, the sponsors have commended its recommendations to the appropriate organs of the United Nations for action.

64. The delegation of Somalia, together with the other sponsors, hopes that this draft resolution will be overwhelmingly endorsed by this Assembly. We consider that South Africa's defiance of the United Nations can no longer be tolerated and that action by the Security Council must not be delayed. The United Nations must re-establish that unity of purpose and unity of action which characterized the adoption of resolution 2145 (XXI), if there is to be meaningful action on the part of the Organization and if we are to fulfil the pledge that has been made in the clearest of terms to the people of Namibia to accord them the right to self-determination and independence. It is the hope of the sponsors that this draft resolution will be overwhelmingly endorsed by the Assembly.

65. The PRESIDENT: Inasmuch as rule 90 of the Assembly's rules of procedure does not permit the proposer of a proposal or of an amendment to explain his vote on his proposal or amendment, I shall now allow the sponsors of the draft resolution A/L.556, together with any other delegations wishing to do so, to speak on this draft resolution, after which the Assembly will hear the explanation of votes on the two draft resolutions under this item [A/L.556 and A/L.557].

66. Mr. HASAN (Pakistan): The representative of Somalia has just introduced the forty-seven-Power draft resolution [A/L.556]. His statement supporting the draft resolution was lucid and his arguments were convincing. It would therefore be superfluous on the part of my delegation to add anything to what he has so clearly and ably stated.

67. However, in the course of my general statement earlier on the question of Namibia [1730th meeting] I stated, on behalf of my delegation, that the Government of South Africa presumes to question the authority of the United Nations in regard to the territory, thereby challenging the historic General Assembly resolution 2145 (XXI). It is also the policy of the Government of South Africa to destroy the effectiveness of the authority of the United Nations Council for Namibia, thus seeking to bring this Organization into disrepute. For that reason, and because of the fact that South Africa has persistently defied the relevant resolutions of the Security Council and the General Assembly regarding the territory, operative paragraph 2 once again condemns South Africa.

68. The United Nations has a special responsibility to the people and Territory of Namibia. It cannot shirk that responsibility. Therefore it is recommended in operative paragraph 4 that the Security Council should urgently take all effective measures in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter of the United Nations to ensure the immediate withdrawal of South African authorities from Namibia, so as to enable the territory to attain independence in accordance with the provisions of General Assembly resolutions 1514 (XV) and 2145 (XXI).

69. The Council for Namibia has been entrusted with the task of administering the territory on behalf of the United Nations. That task it must discharge. It is necessary, therefore, that adequate assistance and facilities should continue to be available so that the Council is able to perform its duties and functions. Consequently, operative paragraph 7 of the draft resolution requests the Secretary-

General to continue to provide the necessary assistance and facilities to enable the Council to perform its duties and functions. In conclusion I express the hope of my delegation, as one of the sponsors of the draft resolution, that it

will receive the support of the overwhelming majority of Member States of this Organization.

*The meeting rose at 4.35 p.m.*