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**OFFICIAL RECORDS OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY  
FIFTH SPECIAL SESSION**

# **PLENARY MEETINGS**

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**VERBATIM RECORDS OF MEETINGS  
21 APRIL - 13 JUNE 1967**

**UNITED NATIONS**





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*Prefatory fascicle*



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FIFTH SPECIAL SESSION**

# **PLENARY MEETINGS**

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**21 APRIL – 13 JUNE 1967**

**UNITED NATIONS**

**New York, 1973**

## INTRODUCTORY NOTE

The *Official Records of the General Assembly* consist of records of meetings, annexes to those records and supplements. The records of meetings include corrections requested by the delegations and such editorial modifications as were considered necessary. The annexes of the fifth special session are published in a separate volume.

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Symbols of United Nations documents are composed of capital letters combined with figures. Mention of such a symbol indicates a reference to a United Nations document.

## CONTENTS

Note of convocation

Agenda

Composition of the General Committee

Check list of documents

### 1502nd (opening) meeting

*Friday, 21 April 1967, at 3 p.m.*

AGENDA ITEM 1:

Opening of the session by the Chairman of the delegation of Afghanistan

AGENDA ITEM 2:

Minute of silent prayer or meditation

AGENDA ITEM 3:

Credentials of representatives to the fifth special session of the General Assembly:

(a) Appointment of the Credentials Committee

AGENDA ITEM 4:

Election of the President

AGENDA ITEM 5:

Organization of the session

AGENDA ITEM 6:

Adoption of the agenda

### 1503rd meeting

*Monday, 24 April 1967, at 10.30 a.m.*

AGENDA ITEM 7:

Question of South West Africa

### 1504th meeting

*Tuesday, 25 April 1967, at 3 p.m.*

AGENDA ITEM 7:

Question of South West Africa (continued)

### 1505th meeting

*Wednesday, 26 April 1967, at 10.30 a.m.*

AGENDA ITEM 7:

Question of South West Africa (continued)

### 1506th meeting

*Wednesday, 26 April 1967, at 3 p.m.*

AGENDA ITEM 7:

Question of South West Africa (continued)

### 1507th meeting

*Thursday, 27 April 1967, at 10.30 a.m.*

AGENDA ITEM 7:

Question of South West Africa (continued)

### 1508th meeting

*Friday, 28 April 1967, at 3 p.m.*

AGENDA ITEM 7:

Question of South West Africa (continued)

### 1509th meeting

*Monday, 1 May 1967, at 10.30 a.m.*

AGENDA ITEM 7:

Question of South West Africa (continued)

### 1510th meeting

*Monday, 1 May 1967, at 3 p.m.*

AGENDA ITEM 7:

Question of South West Africa (continued)

### 1511th meeting

*Wednesday, 3 May 1967, at 3 p.m.*

AGENDA ITEM 7:

Question of South West Africa (continued)

### 1512th meeting

*Thursday, 4 May 1967, at 10.30 a.m.*

AGENDA ITEM 7:

Question of South West Africa (continued)

### 1513th meeting

*Thursday, 4 May 1967, at 3 p.m.*

AGENDA ITEM 7:

Question of South West Africa (continued)

### 1514th meeting

*Friday, 5 May 1967, at 10.30 a.m.*

AGENDA ITEM 7:

Question of South West Africa (continued)

## 1515th meeting

*Friday, 5 May 1967, at 3 p.m.*

## AGENDA ITEM 7:

Question of South West Africa (continued)

## 1516th meeting

*Thursday, 18 May 1967, at 3 p.m.*

## AGENDA ITEM 7:

Question of South West Africa (continued)

## 1517th meeting

*Friday, 19 May 1967, at 10.30 a.m.*

## AGENDA ITEM 7:

Question of South West Africa (continued)

## 1518th meeting

*Friday, 19 May 1967, at 4.30 p.m.*

## AGENDA ITEM 7:

Question of South West Africa (continued)

## 1519th meeting

*Monday, 22 May 1967, at 10.30 a.m.*

## AGENDA ITEM 8:

Comprehensive review of the whole question of peace-keeping operations in all their aspects  
Report of the Special Political Committee

## 1520th meeting

*Monday, 22 May 1967, at 3 p.m.*

## AGENDA ITEM 8:

Comprehensive reievew of the whole question of peace-keeping operations in all their aspects (continued)  
Report of the Special Political Committee

## 1521st meeting

*Tuesday, 23 May 1967. at 10.30 a.m.*

## AGENDA ITEM 8:

Comprehensive review of the whole question of peace-keeping operations in all their aspects (concluded)

Report of the Special Political Committee

## 1522nd meeting

*Tuesday, 23 May 1967, at 3 p.m.*

## AGENDA ITEM 9:

Question of the postponement to 1968 of the United Nations Conference on the Exploration and Peaceful Uses of Outer Space

## AGENDA ITEM 3:

Credentials of representatives to the fifth special session of the General Assembly (concluded):

(b) Report of the Credentials Committee

## AGENDA ITEM 7:

Question of South West Africa (continued)

ADJOURNMENT OF THE SESSION

## 1523rd meeting

*Tuesday, 6 June 1967, at 3 p.m.*

## AGENDA ITEM 7:

Question of South West Africa (continued)

1524th (closing) meeting

*Tuesday, 13 June 1967, at 10.30 a.m.*

## AGENDA ITEM 7:

Question of South West Africa (concluded)

## AGENDA ITEM 2:

Minute of silent prayer or meditation

CLOSING OF THE SESSION

## NOTE OF CONVOCATION

The Secretary-General of the United Nations presents his compliments to the Permanent Representative of . . . to the United Nations and has the honour to refer to the question of convening the fifth special session of the General Assembly.

By resolution 2145 (XXI) of 27 October 1966, the General Assembly, inter alia, established an Ad Hoc Committee for South West Africa "to recommend practical means by which South West Africa should be administered, so as to enable the people of the Territory to exercise the right of self-determination and to achieve independence, and to report to the General Assembly at a special session as soon as possible and in any event not later than April 1967".

By resolution 2220 (XXI) of 19 December 1966, the General Assembly decided "to refer the report of the Special Political Committee on the comprehensive review of the whole question of peace-keeping operations in all their aspects to the General Assembly at its fifth special session, to be held not later than 30 April 1967" and requested "the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations to continue the review of the whole question of peace-keeping operations and to report to the General Assembly at its fifth special session".

On the basis of the decisions set forth in the above-mentioned resolutions and in accordance with rules 3 and 10 of the General Assembly's rules of procedure, the Secretary-General has the honour to inform the Permanent Representative that the fifth special session of the General Assembly will convene at United Nations Headquarters, New York, on Friday, 21 April 1967, at 3 p.m.

Furthermore, the Secretary-General has the honour to inform the Permanent Representative, in accordance

with rule 16 of the rules of procedure, that the provisional agenda of the session will be the following:

- "1. Opening of the session by the Chairman of the delegation of Afghanistan.
- "2. Minute of silent prayer or meditation.
- "3. Appointment of the Credentials Committee.
- "4. Election of the President.
- "5. Organization of the session.
- "6. Adoption of the agenda.
- "7. Question of South West Africa.
- "8. Comprehensive review of the whole question of peace-keeping operations in all their aspects."

The Secretary-General also wishes to inform the Permanent Representative that he has been requested by the Chairman of the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space to bring to the attention of the General Assembly at its fifth special session the Committee's recommendation that the United Nations Conference on the Exploration and Peaceful Uses of Outer Space, scheduled to be held at Vienna in September 1967 in accordance with General Assembly resolution 2221 (XXI), should be postponed for a period of approximately one year. On the basis of that recommendation the Secretary-General intends to request in due course the inclusion in the agenda of the fifth special session of a supplementary item entitled "Question of the postponement to 1968 of the United Nations Conference on the Exploration and Peaceful Uses of Outer Space."

The Secretary-General reminds the Permanent Representative that the credentials of those representatives who are not already authorized to represent their Governments in the General Assembly should be issued in accordance with rule 27 of the rules of procedure.

7 March 1967

## AGENDA<sup>1/</sup>

1. Opening of the session by the Chairman of the delegation of Afghanistan.
2. Minute of silent prayer or meditation.
3. Credentials of representatives to the fifth special session of the General Assembly:
  - (a) Appointment of the Credentials Committee:
  - (b) Report of the Credentials Committee.
4. Election of the President.
5. Organization of the session.
6. Adoption of the agenda.
7. Question of South West Africa.
8. Comprehensive review of the whole question of peace-keeping operations in all their aspects.
9. Question of the postponement to 1968 of the United Nations Conference on the Exploration and Peaceful Uses of Outer Space.

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<sup>1/</sup> The agenda of the fifth special session was adopted by the General Assembly at its 1502nd plenary meeting, on 21 April 1967. For the relevant documents, see Official Records of the General Assembly, Fifth Special Session, Annexes, agenda item 6.

## COMPOSITION OF THE GENERAL COMMITTEE

The General Assembly decided that the President, Vice-President and Chairmen of the Main Committees of the twenty-first session would serve in the same capacities at the fifth special session, except that, in so far as the Chairmen of the Third, Fifth and Sixth Committees were concerned, Morocco, Turkey and Czechoslovakia would appoint representatives to replace Mrs. Halima Warzazi, Mr. Vahap Asiroglu and Mr. Vratislaw Pechota, respectively, who were absent.

The General Committee of the General Assembly for the fifth special session was therefore constituted as follows:

### *PRESIDENT OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY:*

Mr. Abdul Rahman PAZHWAQ (Afghanistan).

### *VICE-PRESIDENTS OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY:*

The representatives of the following Member States: AUSTRIA, BOLIVIA, CHINA, CONGO (DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF), COSTA RICA, CYPRUS, FRANCE, GABON, GREECE, HUNGARY, IRAQ, RWANDA, SENEGAL, TRINIDAD AND TOBAGO, UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS, UNITED KINGDOM OF GREAT BRITAIN AND NORTHERN IRELAND and UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

### *CHAIRMEN OF THE SEVEN MAIN COMMITTEES OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY:*

*First Committee:* Mr. Leopoldo BENITES (Ecuador);

*Special Political Committee:* Mr. Max JAKOBSON (Finland);

*Second Committee:* Mr. Moraiwid M. TELL (Jordan);

*Third Committee:* Mr. Mohamed TABITI (Morocco);

*Fourth Committee:* Mr. FAKHREDDINE Mohamed (Sudan);

*Fifth Committee:* Mr. Nazif CUHRUK (Turkey);

*Sixth Committee:* Mr. Zdenek SEINER (Czechoslovakia).

## CHECK LIST OF DOCUMENTS

*Note.* Listed below are the documents pertaining to the fifth special session. An asterisk after the agenda item indicates that the document is published in the corresponding fascicle of the Official Records of the General Assembly, Fifth Special Session, Annexes.

Document No.	Title	Item	Observations and references
A/6637	Report of the Special Political Committee	8	For the printed text, see <u>Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-first Session, Annexes, agenda item 33, document A/6603</u>
A/6638	Provisional agenda of the fifth special session	6*	
A/6639	Request for the inclusion of a supplementary item in the agenda of the fifth special session: note by the Secretary-General	9*	
A/6640	Report of the <u>Ad Hoc</u> Committee for South West Africa	7*	
A/6641	Letter dated 4 April 1967 from the representative of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics to the President of the General Assembly	8	For the printed text, see <u>Official Records of the Security Council, Twenty-second Year, Supplement for April, May and June 1967, document S/7841</u>
A/6642	Supplementary item proposed for inclusion in the agenda of the fifth special session	6*	
A/6643	Letter dated 21 April 1967 from the Secretary-General to the President of the General Assembly		Mimeographed
A/6644	Agenda of the fifth special session	6	<u>Official Records of the General Assembly, Fifth Special Session, Plenary Meetings, prefatory fascicle, agenda</u>
A/6645	Statement of financial implications: note by the Secretary-General	9*	
A/6646	Letter dated 24 April 1967 from the President of the General Assembly to the Secretary-General		Mimeographed
A/6647	Letter dated 26 April 1967 from the Secretary-General to the President of the General Assembly		Ditto
A/6647/Add.1	Letter dated 5 May 1967 from the Secretary-General to the President of the General Assembly		Ditto
A/6648	Letter dated 25 April 1967 from the representative of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics to the Secretary-General	7	Ditto
A/6649	Letter dated 25 April 1967 from the representative of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic to the Secretary-General	7	Ditto
A/6650	Letter dated 28 April 1967 from the representative of the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic to the Secretary-General	7	Ditto



Document No.	Title	Item	Observations and references
A/6651	Report of the Fourth Committee on the hearing of petitioners	7*	
A/6652	Letter dated 1 May 1967 from the representative of Czechoslovakia to the President of the General Assembly	8	For the printed text, see <u>Official Records of the Security Council, Twenty-second Year, Supplement for April, May and June 1967, document S/7852</u>
A/6653	Financial implications of the draft resolution contained in document A/L.516 and Add.1-3; note by the Secretary-General	7*	
A/6654	Report of the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations	8*	
A/6655	Report of the Credentials Committee	3	Replaced by A/6655/Rev. 1
A/6655/Rev.1	Report of the Credentials Committee	3*	
A/6656	Note by the Secretary-General	7*	
A/6657	Resolutions adopted by the General Assembly during its fifth special session (21 April — 13 June 1967)		<u>Official Records of the General Assembly, Fifth Special Session, Supplement No. 1</u>
A/AC.129/...	Documents of the <u>Ad Hoc</u> Committee for South West Africa	7	Documents in this series are mimeographed
A/C.4/686 and Add.1	Requests for hearings	7	Mimeographed
A/C.4/SR.1680	Summary record of the meeting held by the Fourth Committee during the fifth special session		<u>Official Records of the General Assembly, Fifth Special Session, Fourth Committee, 1680th meeting</u>
A/L.516 and Add.1-3	Afghanistan, Algeria, Burma, Burundi, Cambodia, Cameroon, Central African Republic, Ceylon, Chad, Congo (Brazzaville), Congo (Democratic Republic of), Cyprus, Dahomey, Ethiopia, Gabon, Gambia, Ghana, Guinea, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ivory Coast, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Laos, Lebanon, Liberia, Libya, Madagascar, Malaysia, Mali, Mauritania, Morocco, Nepal, Niger, Nigeria, Pakistan, Philippines, Rwanda, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Sudan, Syria, Thailand, Togo, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, United Arab Republic, United Republic of Tanzania, Upper Volta, Yemen, Yugoslavia and Zambia; draft resolution	7*	
A/L.516/Rev.1	Afghanistan, Argentina, Barbados, Bolivia, Brazil, Burma, Burundi, Cambodia, Cameroon, Central African Republic, Ceylon, Chad, Chile, Colombia, Congo (Brazzaville), Congo (Democratic Republic of), Costa Rica, Cyprus, Dahomey, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Gabon, Gambia, Ghana, Guatemala, Guinea, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Laos, Lebanon, Liberia, Libya, Madagascar, Malaysia, Mauritania, Mexico, Morocco, Nepal, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Pakistan, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Rwanda, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Sudan, Syria, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, United Arab Republic, United Republic of Tanzania, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yemen, Yugoslavia and Zambia; revised draft resolution	7	For the text of this document, see General Assembly resolution 2248 (S-V)

Document No.	Title	Item	Observations and references
A/L.517	Saudi Arabia: draft resolution	7*	
A/L.518 and Add.1 and 2	Argentina, Australia, Austria, Brazil, Bulgaria, Canada, Czechoslovakia, France, Hungary, India, Iran, Italy, Japan, Lebanon, Mongolia, Morocco, Poland, Romania, Sweden, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Republic, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and United States of America: draft resolution	9	<u>Idem</u> , resolution 2250 (S-V)
A/PV.1502 to 1524	Verbatim records of the plenary meetings during the fifth special session of the General Assembly		<u>Official Records of the General Assembly, Fifth Special Session, Plenary Meetings, 1502nd to 1524th meetings</u>
A/RES/ 2248(S-V)- 2251(S-V)	Resolutions adopted by the General Assembly during its fifth special session (21 April-13 June 1967)		<u>Ibid., Fifth Special Session, Supplement No. 1</u>

United Nations  
**GENERAL  
ASSEMBLY**

Official Records



FIFTH SPECIAL SESSION

**1502nd  
PLENARY MEETING**  
(Opening meeting)

Friday, 21 April 1967,  
at 3 p.m.

**NEW YORK**

**CONTENTS**

	Page
<i>Agenda item 1:</i> <i>Opening of the session by the Chairman of the delegation of Afghanistan . . . . .</i>	1
<i>Agenda item 2:</i> <i>Minute of silent prayer or meditation . . . . .</i>	1
<i>Agenda item 3:</i> <i>Credentials of representatives to the fifth special session of the General Assembly</i> <i>(a) Appointment of the Credentials Committee . . . . .</i>	1
<i>Agenda item 4:</i> <i>Election of the President . . . . .</i>	1
<i>Agenda item 5:</i> <i>Organization of the session . . . . .</i>	2
<i>Agenda item 6:</i> <i>Adoption of the agenda . . . . .</i>	3

*President: Mr. Abdul Rahman PAZHWAK*  
*(Afghanistan).*

**AGENDA ITEM 1**

Opening of the session by the Chairman of the delegation of Afghanistan

1. The TEMPORARY PRESIDENT: In accordance with rule 30 of the rules of procedure, I declare open the fifth special session of the General Assembly.

**AGENDA ITEM 2**

Minute of silent prayer or meditation

2. The TEMPORARY PRESIDENT: I invite representatives to stand and observe one minute of silent prayer or meditation.

*The representatives stood in silence.*

**AGENDA ITEM 3**

Credentials of representatives to the fifth special session of the General Assembly:  
(a) Appointment of the Credentials Committee

3. The TEMPORARY PRESIDENT: We shall proceed with the appointment of the Credentials Committee.

4. Rule 28 of the rules of procedure provides that a Credentials Committee shall be appointed at the beginning of each session and that it shall consist of nine members, to be appointed by the General Assembly on the proposal of the President.

5. With a view to expediting the work of the special session, and in accordance with precedents, it might be appropriate if the Credentials Committee were to consist of the same members as served during the twenty-first regular session—namely, Austria, El Salvador, Guinea, Ivory Coast, Japan, Nepal, Nicaragua, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the United States of America.

6. If there is no objection, I shall consider the Credentials Committee constituted accordingly.

*It was so decided.*

**AGENDA ITEM 4**

Election of the President

7. The TEMPORARY PRESIDENT: I now invite the Assembly to proceed to the election of the President of the General Assembly at its fifth special session.

8. I call on the representative of Liberia on a point of order.

9. Mr. BARNES (Liberia): The General Assembly convenes in special session today. This is in accordance with the decisions taken at the twenty-first session as reflected in resolution 2145 (XXI) which relates to the question of South West Africa and resolution 2220 (XXI) relating to a comprehensive review of the whole question of peace-keeping operations in all their aspects.

10. These questions of moment before the fifth special session are of the highest importance. They are vital and crucial in the sustained efforts of the United Nations to attain the ends of its existence, among which are: to ensure for all peoples the exercise of the right of self-determination and achievement of independence; and the maintenance of international peace and security.

11. We dare not abdicate our clear responsibility in these pressing matters and thus underscore the weakness of our will, the narrowness of our vision and the weariness of our purpose.

12. The General Assembly, at its twenty-first session, honoured itself by electing to the high office of President the distinguished and eminent Mr. Abdul Rahman Pazhwak, Chairman of the delegation of Afghanistan. The wisdom of that selection was eloquently attested to by the competent, objective and impartial manner in which he gave guidance to the deliberations of that session and thus brought it to a successful conclusion. Moreover, it was another example of the good judgement of the Assembly in electing as its President a person of exceptional talents, experience and integrity and of conscientious

and unshakable devotion to the purposes and principles of the United Nations.

13. Following the precedents established at the third and fourth special sessions, I should like formally to propose that Mr. Pazhwak be re-elected President by acclamation for the duration of the present session. Under his able guidance and direction and with the co-operation of the Assembly, we can be sure that the work of this special session will be productive of a full measure of success.

14. Mr. WALDHEIM (Austria): It gives me great pleasure to support the proposal of the representative of Liberia to re-elect His Excellency Ambassador Abdul Rahman Pazhwak as President of the General Assembly at its fifth special session.

15. Ambassador Barnes has already stressed the great merits which Ambassador Pazhwak has acquired in the service of the United Nations. Ambassador Pazhwak is indeed well known to all of us. As President of the last regular session of the General Assembly he demonstrated on many occasions his devotion to the United Nations, his great skill, capacity and perfect knowledge of international affairs. It was under the wise leadership of President Pazhwak, at the last regular session of the General Assembly, that the Treaty on the peaceful uses of outer space, the Covenants on human rights, the draft codification of the law of treaties, the reaffirmation of the principle of non-intervention and last, but not least, further progress in the field of decolonization were accomplished.

16. We have greatly admired President Pazhwak's tact, patience and perseverance in dealing with most difficult and intricate matters. We are convinced that, under his wise and enlightened guidance, the fifth special session of the General Assembly will be able to proceed with its work smoothly and arrive at a successful conclusion.

17. I have therefore great pleasure in supporting the proposal for re-election of Ambassador Pazhwak as President of the fifth special session of the General Assembly and I am convinced that this proposal will receive the unanimous support of this Assembly.

*By acclamation Mr. Abdul Rahman Pazhwak was elected President of the General Assembly at its fifth special session.*

18. The PRESIDENT: It is difficult indeed for me to find words to convey to the representatives who have spoken and to all of you the deep sense of appreciation I feel for the confidence which, once again, you have placed in me by electing me President of the Assembly at its fifth special session. Allow me, once again, to assure you that I shall do all in my power to justify this great expression of confidence and that I shall seek to fulfil the duties entrusted to me.

19. For my part, may I bring to mind the spirit of co-operation which existed throughout the deliberations at the previous session, both among the Members and between all delegations and the Chairman. That spirit of co-operation demonstrated in the most practical fashion the sincere desire and determination of our entire membership to achieve the objectives en-

shrined in the United Nations Charter. Encouraged therefore by the co-operation extended to me during the Assembly's twenty-first session, I wish to seize this opportunity to express my sincere and confident hope that the same spirit will prevail during the special session.

20. This special session which brings us here today is of particular significance, for it deals with problems of crucial importance, problems of justice and problems of peace.

21. A constructive outcome of our co-operative efforts at this session of the Assembly will have a great and significant impact on the future of the United Nations. Yet we must recognize that, never, in its history, has this Organization been confronted with questions which called for a greater spirit of understanding in facing the realities of situations.

22. The main items on the agenda of this session contain highly complex constitutional and political aspects. Their solution needs to be sought with foresight, patience and realism, both in the context of the present international situation and in light of the important considerations affecting the future of these questions.

23. When the life and rights of peoples, when the fate of this Organization and the ultimate purpose not only of the peoples of the United Nations but of all mankind, are involved, one can do no less than appeal to all to show realism, patience, a sense of diplomacy and a spirit of co-operation in the interest only of justice and peace.

24. This session will be dealing, in my view, with problems on which we are not divided on matters of principle. We are here to strive towards the realization of common aims and ends; to achieve these in a manner both practical and fruitful should be our primary and constant approach.

25. I am confident that the wisdom of the Assembly will fulfil the hopes all of us share for the success of this session.

## AGENDA ITEM 5

### Organization of the session

26. Mr. TOMOROWICZ (Poland): Mr. President, I am happy indeed to be the first to congratulate you on your election once again to the high office of President of the General Assembly—this time at its fifth special session. For all of us who had the privilege of being guided by you during the twenty-first session, your present election is a source of deep satisfaction.

27. For the purpose of ensuring satisfactory as well as efficient procedures and positive results from our deliberations, the Polish delegation wishes to propose to the General Assembly the re-election of the Vice-Presidents and the Chairmen of the Committees of the Assembly at its twenty-first session by acclamation for the duration of the present session. At the same time it would be understood that, in the absence of a committee chairman, the delegation from which the chairman was chosen at the twenty-first session should designate a representative to replace him. I believe that the above procedure not only follows the example set by your re-election, Mr. President, but also fol-

lows the precedent of the third and fourth special sessions of the General Assembly which met in 1961 and 1963 respectively.

28. The greatest advantage of this procedure lies in providing us with the same General Committee which so successfully steered us through many trials at the twenty-first session. I hope that our simple and practical proposal will meet with the unanimous approval of the General Assembly.

29. While making its proposal, the Polish delegation, of course, fully maintains its well-known position concerning the representation of the People's Republic of China in all the organs of the United Nations.

30. Mr. JIMENEZ (Costa Rica) (translated from Spanish): On behalf of the Latin American countries of the Latin American group at the United Nations, and as Costa Rica currently occupies the Chair of that group, I have the honour to express our gratification at the Assembly's wise decision to elect Mr. Pazhwak as President of this fifth special session. His outstanding merits and the wisdom he displayed as President of the General Assembly during the twenty-first session are sufficient qualifications to justify his re-election. Consequently, not only do we express our satisfaction to him; we also congratulate the General Assembly on having taken this decision.

31. I have the further honour of supporting the proposal, just made by the representative of Poland as Chairman of the group of Eastern European countries, that those countries whose representatives were Vice-Presidents of the General Assembly during the twenty-first session and Chairmen of the Committees at that session should also designate representatives to fill those offices during the present special session.

32. The PRESIDENT: The representative of Poland has proposed that the General Committee which will serve during the special session should be the same as that of the twenty-first regular session. His proposal has just been seconded by the representative of Costa Rica. If I hear no objection, may I take it that the Vice-Presidents and the Chairmen of the Main Committees of the Assembly at its twenty-first session are elected by acclamation for the duration of the present special session?

*It was so decided.*

33. The PRESIDENT: I have been informed that, among the Committee Chairmen, the following are not present at this session: Mrs. Warzazi of Morocco, Chairman of the Third Committee; Mr. Asiroglu of Turkey, Chairman of the Fifth Committee; and Mr. Pechota of Czechoslovakia, Chairman of the Sixth Committee.

34. For the purpose of ensuring the representative character of the General Committee and in accordance with the decision taken by the General Assembly, I would request the delegations of Jordan, Morocco, Turkey and Czechoslovakia to convey to the Secretary-General the names of the representatives who will serve in the General Committee at this special session.

## AGENDA ITEM 6

### Adoption of the agenda

35. The PRESIDENT: This special session has been called for the specific purpose of considering the following items: the question of South West Africa and the comprehensive review of the whole question of peace-keeping operations in all their aspects. The Assembly also has a request for inclusion in the agenda of a supplementary item entitled "Question of the postponement to 1968 of the United Nations Conference on the Exploration and Peaceful Uses of Outer Space" [A/6642].

36. For the sake of expediency, and in view of the fact that the provisional agenda consists of items arising out of decisions of the twenty-first session and that the supplementary item is based on the unanimous recommendation of the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space [A/6639], the Assembly may wish to adopt its agenda in plenary meeting without reference to the General Committee. In the absence of any objection, may I consider that the General Assembly so decides.

*It was so decided.*

37. The PRESIDENT: I now ask the Assembly whether there is any objection to the adoption of the agenda [A/6638 and A/6642]. If there is no objection, I shall consider the agenda adopted.

*The agenda was adopted.*

38. The PRESIDENT: We now come to the allocation of the three items, namely, items 7 and 8 of the provisional agenda and the supplementary item.

39. At the twenty-first session, the question of South West Africa was considered directly in plenary meetings, and the item entitled "Comprehensive review of the whole question of peace-keeping operations in all their aspects" was allocated to the Special Political Committee. I understand, however, that a majority of representatives feel that both those items and the question of the postponement to 1968 of the United Nations Conference on the Exploration and Peaceful Uses of Outer Space should be dealt with directly in plenary meetings. If the Assembly so decides, the petitioners requesting permission to speak on the question of South West Africa will be heard in the Fourth Committee, which will submit a report on such hearings to the plenary Assembly before the latter concludes its consideration of the item. Furthermore, the Fifth Committee will meet to deal with financial implications of any draft resolution submitted to the Assembly. May I take it that the Assembly agrees to those arrangements?

*It was so decided.*

40. The PRESIDENT: There is another matter which requires consideration by the General Assembly at this stage. At the 1499th plenary meeting, on 19 December 1966, the Assembly was informed that, without any extension of the duration of the fifth special session as originally envisaged, namely, three weeks, no additional cost would be involved in placing an additional item on the agenda and that each week of

extension of the session beyond the three-week period would entail an additional expenditure of \$30,000 per week [1499th meeting, para. 93]. The General Assembly may wish to review the situation at the beginning of the third week of the special session and

then decide on the closing date. In the absence of any objection, I shall take it that the Assembly so decides.

*It was so decided.*

*The meeting rose at 4.35 p.m.*

United Nations  
**GENERAL  
ASSEMBLY**

Official Records



FIFTH SPECIAL SESSION

**1503rd  
PLENARY MEETING**

Monday, 24 April 1967,  
at 10.30 a.m.

**NEW YORK**

**CONTENTS**

	Page
<i>Agenda item 7:</i>	
<i>Question of South West Africa . . . . .</i>	<i>1</i>

**President: Mr. Abdul Rahman PAZHWAQ**  
**(Afghanistan).**

**AGENDA ITEM 7**

**Question of South West Africa**

1. The PRESIDENT: This morning the Assembly will begin its consideration of item 7 of its agenda on the question of South West Africa.

*Mr. Wodajo (Ethiopia), Rapporteur of the Ad Hoc Committee for South West Africa, presented the report of that Committee and then spoke as follows:*

2. Mr. WODAJO (Ethiopia), Rapporteur of the Ad Hoc Committee for South West Africa: In accordance with resolution 2145 (XXI), and in particular operative paragraph 6 thereof, I have the honour to submit to the fifth special session of the General Assembly the report of the Ad Hoc Committee for South West Africa [A/6640]. It is to be noted that operative paragraph 6 of resolution 2145 (XXI) specifically states that the Assembly:

"Establishes an Ad Hoc Committee for South West Africa—composed of fourteen Member States to be designated by the President of the General Assembly—to recommend practical means by which South West Africa should be administered, so as to enable the people of the Territory to exercise the right of self-determination and to achieve independence, and to report to the General Assembly at a special session as soon as possible and in any event not later than April 1967".

3. At the 1471st meeting, the President of the Assembly designated the following Member States to serve on the Ad Hoc Committee: Canada, Chile, Czechoslovakia, Ethiopia, Finland, Italy, Japan, Mexico, Nigeria, Pakistan, Senegal, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Republic and United States of America.

4. At its first meeting the Ad Hoc Committee elected by acclamation Mr. Jakobson of Finland as Chairman, Mr. Piñera of Chile as Vice-Chairman, and Mr. Wodajo of Ethiopia as Rapporteur.

5. In all, the Committee held sixteen meetings, and as no one set of proposals obtained majority support, the Committee decided to transmit to the Assembly three proposals submitted to it by three groups of its member delegations.

6. Mr. JAKOBSON (Finland): Mr. President, I am happy to have this opportunity to extend to you congratulations on behalf of my delegation and of myself. Your election assures us that this special session will be conducted with the same efficiency and fairness which we became accustomed to during the last regular session of the General Assembly.

7. The fact that a special session of the General Assembly has been convened primarily for the purpose of considering the question of South West Africa has in itself a profound significance. It demonstrates the acceptance, on the part of the great majority of Member States, of an active engagement in the search for means by which the people of South West Africa can be helped to achieve self-determination and independence. It is no longer possible for anyone to dismiss South West Africa as a far-away country whose affairs need not concern us. We are all of us deeply involved in the question of South West Africa. We have assumed direct responsibility for the Territory. We must find ways to discharge that responsibility. Failure to do so would mean defeat not only for the cause of the people of South West Africa but for the United Nations itself.

8. While the special session thus underlines the importance of the question of South West Africa, the fact that such a session was considered necessary points to the formidable difficulties of the task we have undertaken. The task was set out in resolution 2145 (XXI) adopted by the General Assembly at its twenty-first session. It has generally been recognized that this resolution marked a turning point in the long history of the consideration of the question of South West Africa in the United Nations. It was a turning point for two reasons: first because the General Assembly, having despaired of solving the problem through a judicial process, took the irrevocable step of putting an end to the mandate of the Republic of South Africa and placing the Territory of South West Africa under the direct responsibility of the United Nations; and, second, because this decision was supported by an overwhelming majority of Member States, including the two most powerful nations of the world, the Soviet Union and the United States. It is obvious that this latter fact has potentially far-reaching political implications.

9. At the same time, any realistic appraisal of the political implications of the voting on resolution 2145 (XXI) at the last session of the General Assembly cannot overlook that, of the two delegations which voted against the resolution, one represents the State which in fact has possession of the Territory of South West Africa, and that the two delegations which abstained from voting both represent permanent members of the Security Council. This fact points to the

dilemma we face when we turn to the question of translating the decision taken by the General Assembly into reality. At the twenty-first session this dilemma remained unresolved. Resolution 2145 (XXI) did not indicate the means by which the United Nations could discharge the responsibility it had assumed for the Territory of South West Africa. Consideration of this problem was deferred to this special session. In the meantime, the Ad Hoc Committee for South West Africa was to recommend—and here I quote from operative paragraph 6 of resolution 2145 (XXI):

"practical means by which South West Africa should be administered, so as to enable the people of the Territory to exercise the right of self-determination and to achieve independence."

10. The mandate received by the Ad Hoc Committee was not wholly unambiguous. It could be taken to mean that the Committee could limit itself to drawing up a blueprint for the administration of the Territory, without dealing with the question of implementing it. Although this was not explicitly discussed, the Committee in fact acted on the assumption that a broader interpretation of its mandate had been intended by the General Assembly. Accordingly, the Committee considered the question of South West Africa in all its aspects.

11. The Ad Hoc Committee's report [A/6640] which has just been introduced by the very able Rapporteur of the Committee, Mr. Wodajo of Ethiopia, contains a full account of the discussions that took place in the course of the sixteen meetings held by the Committee. In that sense, the report speaks for itself and needs no elaboration from me. I should like, however, to make a few observations with regard to those aspects of the work of the Committee which are reflected on indirectly in the report.

12. Intensive consultations were carried on between the delegations represented on the Ad Hoc Committee throughout the period during which the Committee was meeting, in order to ascertain to what extent the different positions might be reconciled. It is obvious, as can be read from the report itself, that some common elements could be found. For instance, it was the declared purpose of all the proposals and suggestions submitted to the Committee to bring about the independence of the people of South West Africa with as little delay as possible. The Committee also unanimously upheld the principle that the unity and integrity of the Territory and its administration must be maintained. All the members of the Committee, in spite of differences with regard to the need for a United Nations administrative machinery, expressed the view that the United Nations must be prepared to launch a programme of technical, educational and economic assistance for South West Africa. It can further be pointed out that the three formal proposals submitted to the Committee all envisage the creation of a new United Nations organ of a more permanent character than the Ad Hoc Committee, an organ called "a United Nations Council for South West Africa".

13. Having said that, I am bound to point out, however, that the points of agreement to some extent are more apparent than real. The functions of the proposed council, for instance, are defined in very dif-

ferent terms in each proposal. In the proposal originally submitted by the four African delegations [A/6640, paras. 45-82], with which the delegation of Pakistan later associated itself, the council will be an administrative body which is to proceed to South West Africa with a view to taking over the administration of the Territory. Under the proposal submitted by the delegations of Chile and Mexico [*ibid.*, para. 93], the council would first enter into contact with the authorities of South Africa in order to lay down procedures for the transfer of the Territory, and it would assume administrative responsibility only after it had been installed in the Territory. In the proposal submitted by Canada, Italy and the United States [*ibid.*, para. 84], the council would have no administrative function at all, but would, in co-operation with a special representative to be appointed, among other things, determine the necessary conditions that would enable South West Africa to achieve self-determination and independence.

14. In the course of the consultations it became clear to all who participated that the different positions could not be reconciled. The differences are real and in some instances fundamental, and it would be a disservice to the Assembly to try to gloss over them. It was not possible to arrive at any agreed conclusions, and it was also evident that none of the proposals could command the support of a substantial majority of the members of the Committee. In those circumstances it was agreed, as was pointed out by the Rapporteur, that the best service the Committee could render the General Assembly was to submit a report containing all the proposals and suggestions made by delegations in the Committee, as well as an account of the discussion that had taken place. It was, after all, not for the Ad Hoc Committee to take a final decision on the means by which South West Africa should be administered. It is for the General Assembly to take that decision. The task of the Committee was—and here I quote the statement made by our Secretary-General at the first meeting of the Committee on 17 January 1967—"to assist in the taking of concrete and constructive decisions by the appropriate organs of the United Nations for a just and peaceful solution of the problem".

15. In spite of the differences of view among its members, I think it should be said in all fairness that the Ad Hoc Committee carried out its task in a most constructive spirit and dealt very thoroughly with all aspects of the problem. It was therefore not for lack of time or effort that the Committee failed to provide the General Assembly with a ready-made formula for a solution.

16. In the light of the experiences of the Committee, the prospects for reconciling the different approaches to this problem at this special session of the General Assembly may thus seem bleak. Yet the experiences of the Committee need not be entirely relevant to the special session of the Assembly. It is understandable that at the Committee stage delegations are more inclined to insist on the integrity of their proposals and positions than they might be now during this special session.

17. At any rate it is the hope and expectation of my delegation—and I am sure of many others—that the



few weeks that are available to us now be used for a determined effort to maintain the grand coalition of nations that supported the historic decision of the twenty-first session of the General Assembly on the future of South West Africa. That cannot of course be an end in itself. It must serve the purpose to which, by virtue of that decision, the General Assembly is committed. As I said in the beginning, the termination of the mandate was an irrevocable step. Anything that we may decide at this special session must carry us forward from that point. But the cause of the people of South West Africa would not be served by disagreements that would divide the Assembly and thus dissipate the strength of world opinion. Only by maintaining the impressive majority that emerged at the last session can we hope to make the influence of the United Nations felt in shaping the future of South West Africa.

18. Mr. MAKONNEN (Ethiopia): Mr. President, allow me to associate my delegation with those delegations that spoke before us in expressing sincere congratulations and best wishes on the occasion of your election to the high office of President of the General Assembly at this fifth special session. Those of us among our colleagues who had the privilege of working closely and collaborating with you during the twenty-first session have come to appreciate and admire the statesmanlike qualities that have made you a natural choice for this high and important post. As we look to you once again in this session for leadership and guidance, we have every reason to feel confident that your profound knowledge and experience in United Nations affairs, coupled with your proven capacity for wise and expeditious action, will enable this session to achieve a constructive and fruitful result.

19. I should also like to express through you, Mr. President, our congratulations and best wishes to all your colleagues in the General Committee on the occasion of their election to the high offices of this special session.

20. The General Assembly is to consider the question of South West Africa in what will this time obviously be a context different from those within which it had been discussed in the past. For, if the Assembly is to be consistent with itself, the debate at this fifth special session will have to proceed within the sole context of resolution 2145 (XXI) and in the light of the report of the Ad Hoc Committee for South West Africa [A/6640]. Thus, the nature of the debate has to be limited. There should not be any question of reopening the voluminous dossier on this matter, which for over twenty years has been exhaustively debated in various forums and organs of the United Nations.

21. As we see it—and indeed as all prudent men should see it—the problem of South West Africa has reached a decisive stage as it is a fait accompli which has acquired an unambiguous definition. It therefore behoves the Assembly to take up this question from where it left it, with a view to moving it to a decisive stage of effective implementation. We also have every reason to hope that the Assembly, at this session, will discuss the South West Africa question with the same kind of concern and foresight that characterized the debate on this matter at the twenty-first session.

22. It cannot be too much emphasized that the mandate of the Ad Hoc Committee in pursuance of which the report now before the Assembly is submitted was very specific and unambiguous: namely, it was to recommend "practical means" by which South West Africa should be administered so as to enable the people of the Territory to exercise their right of self-determination and to achieve independence. This specific mandate of the Committee, it must also be emphasized, was based on certain decisions of principle made by the Assembly in resolution 2145 (XXI). These are: first, that the Mandate exercised by South Africa over South West Africa is terminated; second, that South Africa has no other right to administer the Territory; and third, that henceforth South West Africa comes under the direct responsibility of the United Nations.

23. It goes without saying, therefore, that the Assembly cannot reopen discussions on these decisions of principle: on whether or not South Africa has violated and continues to violate its obligations under the Mandate; on whether or not apartheid as a system indeed represents a violation of South Africa's mandate obligations; and finally—and this is perhaps what South Africa wants us to do at this session, that is to engage in a futile debate—on whether or not the lately-announced "gimmicks" of self-government for one part of the Territory are consistent with the objectives of resolution 2145 (XXI). If the Assembly were to enter into such an exercise, then, I submit, it would not merely be marking time; it would, in point of fact, be taking a step which would represent a significant retrogression. To do so would indeed give the impression that the Assembly was going back on its word, thus impairing the authority and prestige of the United Nations.

24. With this note of caution, I now propose to deal with the specific objective for which this special session has, in part, been called. It is to take positive decisions in the light of resolution 2145 (XXI) and the report of the Ad Hoc Committee regarding "practical means" by which South West Africa should be administered.

25. As the first speaker from among the delegations that presented the joint African-Pakistan proposals [A/6640, paras. 45 and 82], and equally as a representative of one of the Governments which was entrusted with the carrying of Africa's, and indeed the United Nations, cause to the International Court of Justice, I believe it is incumbent upon me to give, at the very outset of the debate, a clear assessment of the work accomplished by the Committee, as well as to give an appreciation of all proposals contained in the Committee's report.

26. Let me say first of all, in full agreement with the eloquent statement made by our Chairman, Ambassador Jakobson, that our discussions in the Ad Hoc Committee were conducted in an atmosphere free of acrimony and were uniquely marked by a high sense of cordiality and respect for each other's point of view. There was, moreover, throughout our work an all-pervading sense of purpose and recognition of the high importance of the task entrusted to the Committee. This cordiality and this high sense of purpose were not impaired even when we, in the final

analysis, agreed to disagree. For this singular achievement of harmonious endeavour the credit should go, in the first place, to our Chairman, Ambassador Max Jakobson of Finland, and to the members of his Bureau who, with great patience, wisdom and resourcefulness led the Committee in this most difficult of tasks. I believe my delegation owes it to itself as well as to the General Assembly to acknowledge publicly that whatever has been achieved by the Committee is in large part due to the efforts of Ambassador Jakobson and his colleagues; for they have, in addition to conducting our meetings in the most impartial manner, continuously sought in informal meetings outside the conference hall to reconcile our points of view. If there has not been in the Committee the kind of agreement that we had hoped for, this has certainly not been for lack of trying, and certainly not for lack of trying on the part of the Chairman, to whom we present once again our sincere expression of appreciation and gratitude.

27. The Assembly will have noted in the report of the Committee four schools of thought regarding the practical ways by which United Nations responsibility with respect to South West Africa are to be given effect. However, no proposal having been submitted with respect to one of them, the proposals considered and transmitted by the Committee to the Assembly are, in the main, three. Be that as it may, the fourth school of thought is important in itself and has to be considered for the purposes of our discussion on a par with the other three proposals. I shall deal with it later on as such when I come to consider each of the proposals that figure in the Committee's report.

28. It also seems to me pertinent to point out right at the outset that in its consideration of the various proposals and suggestions contained in the Committee's report, the Assembly will have to labour against one disadvantage. This is that most of the meaningful and substantive discussions, as well as the views and observations of members of the Committee on each other's proposals, were made off the record at informal meetings and private discussions. Whatever formal comments were made at the meetings of the Ad Hoc Committee were rather inhibited and, in most cases, held to the necessary minimum. While this method expedited the work of the Committee and was useful in many respects, it nevertheless rendered the report of the Committee incomplete, in that many things that should have been said at the Committee's meetings remained unsaid and hence unrecorded. Consequently, the report does not reflect the detailed views and appreciation of the members of the Ad Hoc Committee in respect of each other's proposals and suggestions; nor does the report, for that matter, bring to the fore our points of agreement and disagreement.

29. It is with a view to filling this gap in the record of the Committee, as well as to indicating the views of my delegation—views which are, needless to say, shared by the African and Pakistani delegations—with respect to our and the other proposals, that I shall now briefly consider each of them.

30. First of all, an explanation or two is needed with respect to the African-Pakistan proposals [A/

6640, paras. 45 and 82], if only to dispel erroneous interpretations or malicious misrepresentations.

31. Let it be said that our proposals, as a whole, reflect the only logically imperative conclusions one could draw from the important decisions of principle made by the Assembly in its resolution 2145 (XXI). That is a fact admitted by even our severest critics. It is stated beyond any reasonable doubt in resolution 2145 (XXI) that the mandate conferred upon His late Britannic Majesty and exercised on his behalf by the Republic of South Africa is terminated and that the United Nations has thereafter assumed direct responsibility for the administration of the Territory.

32. With a United Nations administration as a premise, the African-Pakistan proposals proceed from the assumption that a United Nations administration should be physically established in the Territory itself. For it would have been the height of inconsistency to envisage a different eventuality. Indeed it would have been a futile, academic exercise to consider the possibility of an administration, as it were, by remote control.

33. Our proposals are also based on the recognition that United Nations responsibility with respect to South West Africa is specific in its nature and objective and limited in its scope: it is, in our view, to enable the people of the Territory to exercise their right of self-determination and to achieve their independence. It is unnecessary to point out in this respect that there is no implication whatever in our proposals that the people are not ready for independence or that some period of United Nations tutelage is necessary to prepare the people for this destiny. On the contrary, as staunch defenders of resolution 1514 (XV), we believe that all peoples, their level of economic and social development and other considerations notwithstanding, are ready for immediate independence, at any and all times.

34. The fact of the matter, however, is that, as all of us are aware, there are special circumstances obtaining at present in South West Africa: the octopus hands of South Africa are to be seen everywhere in the Territory; the political and social institutions are either built on apartheid or heavily influenced by other racist impositions. Moreover, South Africa has given clear evidence of its intention to dismember and annex the Territory of South West Africa. These obstacles have to be removed and in their place democratic institutions have to be instituted if we seriously desire to advance the people immediately to independence.

35. Thus there is a definite need, in our opinion, to establish United Nations machinery to fill the time gap that is inevitable between the removal of apartheid and the completion of the necessary preparations that would allow the people to exercise their right of self-determination. It should therefore be emphasized here that, as we have made abundantly clear in the Committee, the primary raison d'être of a United Nations administration at this stage shall be to hold elections and to convene a constituent assembly to draft an independence constitution—that is, to supervise and assist in the self-determination process.

36. Thus our proposals make the creation of a United Nations council the first and the most important step. Despite what has been said in the Committee and what will no doubt be said elsewhere, we have at the various stages of the Committee's work recognized the need for such a United Nations council to undertake the required preparatory work before it proceeds to the Territory. In that preparatory work we have not even excluded the possibility of this United Nations body undertaking all the necessary contacts, including contact with the de facto administration of the Territory—it being understood, of course, that any such contact with the latter should at no time be regarded as an opening of negotiation. It is obvious that there cannot be any negotiation because there is nothing to negotiate. Any contact with the de facto administering authority must of necessity be limited to the actual transfer of administrative functions.

37. We have assumed in our proposals that full use will be made of indigenous personnel and the financial and natural resources of the country to meet expenses involved in the actual administration of the Territory—that is, to provide for basic governmental services; for security, education, health, justice, local administration, and so forth. On the basis of an examination of the existing data on the economy of the country, our assessment is that the Territory has sufficient resources to pay for its own administration. To the extent that the revenue generated in the Territory might not be able to meet the cost of economic development, we have recommended that the United Nations family of institutions lend a helping hand from their regular sources of finance on an urgent and emergency basis, it being recognized that the Territory has not benefited from such assistance in the past. If there should be need above and beyond that, we have provided that recourse could be had to a special fund established for the purpose.

38. Finally, having regard to the sad record of South Africa in its relations with the United Nations, and particularly to what the Prime Minister and other highly placed officials of the Government of South Africa have said since the adoption of resolution 2145 (XXI), we could not, in the final analysis, have envisaged the implementation of that resolution without providing for eventual enforcement action by the Security Council, in the event South Africa persists in its defiance of the will of the General Assembly. For us to have done otherwise would be tantamount to whitewashing a future that is bound to be grim and difficult, especially if the United Nations does not from the very beginning show a clear determination to live up to its decision.

39. However, in order not to make it difficult for those who might have juridical misgivings in this respect, we have been careful not to make our recommendation for enforcement action automatic. The final language on this aspect incorporated in our proposal has been carefully drafted in order, first, to make only continued defiance by South Africa of United Nations authority an act of aggression; second, to make it obvious that, although the Assembly on its own authority could define such defiance or other acts of obstruction as constituting aggression, any call for action in this regard will have only the force of a

recommendation; and, third, to make clear that the enforcement action to be undertaken by the Security Council will be initiated only as a consequence of an independent finding of aggression by the Security Council itself. There is therefore no ground for apprehension that our proposal violates the Charter.

40. So much for our proposals. In contradistinction to our proposals the Assembly has before it the three-Power proposals of Canada, Italy and the United States to which, for the sake of brevity, I shall henceforth refer as the Western proposals [*ibid.*, para. 84].

41. With regard to the Western proposals, the first thing to note is that they are based on a different concept of United Nations responsibility from the one contained in resolution 2145 (XXI). Under them, the primary task of the United Nations is envisaged as being one of undertaking further study and survey of the situation in general and the economic conditions in particular, doing such things as determining future requirements of technical assistance, and finally—whatever this means—determining "the necessary conditions" that will enable South West Africa to achieve self-determination and independence.

42. In all fairness to the sponsors of this plan, it should also be stated that they envisage that a representative of the General Assembly in conjunction with a committee of three States will consult with representative elements of the peoples of the Territory so that "a nucleus of self-government may be established". In that connexion, special note should be taken of the fact that the task of assisting in the creation of what the sponsors call a "nucleus of self-government"—whatever is understood by that concept—is not made the primary objective of United Nations responsibility. That task, in addition to the fact that it is secondary in their scheme of priorities, is couched in a very permissive language—it is to be noted that the word "may" is repeatedly used.

43. Secondly, the Western proposals are based on the assumption, albeit by inference I must admit, that while what the sponsors call a "nucleus of self-government" is being nurtured, the de facto administration by South Africa is to continue. There is no suggestion in their plan that the apartheid system imposed by South Africa on the Territory is to be replaced. Nor is it clear under whose auspices the so-called nucleus of self-government is to develop.

44. Thirdly, the whole of the Western proposal is based on a belief that there is wide room for negotiation—negotiation, I suppose, for a hand-over—with the de facto administration, even a prospect for hope that such a negotiation could yield results without, however, indicating what is to be negotiated or showing any tangible cause for such an optimism.

45. Fourthly, there is no mention in the Western proposals of what should be done should South Africa persist in defying United Nations authority; no implementation procedure, no enforcement action by the Security Council is envisaged, nor even is it sought to establish the basis for such action. That kind of approach obviously does not meet the basic requirements of resolution 2145 (XXI).

46. I need hardly say, in winding up my brief review of the Western proposals, that we have been disturbed and most disappointed by what we can describe only as an apparent sign of retreat and vacillation inherent in the proposal presented jointly by Canada, Italy and the United States. We appeal to those countries, and through them to the other colleagues in the Western group, to honour their pledge by giving positive and genuine support to a resolution which we have passed together and for the implementation of which we have common responsibility.

47. I propose now to take up the Latin American plan [*ibid.*, para. 93], with which Japan is associated.

48. I believe I owe it to myself to preface my consideration of that plan with an acknowledgement of the constructive and statesmanlike role played by the Latin American delegations throughout our arduous task in the Committee. Not content with merely stating their views—views, it must be noted, which are in absolute accord with our own—but mindful of their strategic place in the spectrum of world politics, our Latin American colleagues in the Committee were, as ever, anxious to bring nearer divergent points of view.

49. Let it be said, first of all, with regard to the Latin American proposals that, very much like our own proposals, they are based on the assumption that, in the language of resolution 2145 (XXI), United Nations direct responsibility for South West Africa implies the establishment of a United Nations machinery of administration. Thus, the institutional set-up they have envisaged to that end is very much like our own. They envisage a council comprising a small number of States, to be assisted by an executive officer to be called the United Nations Commissioner. Very much as we do, they also envisage that this United Nations organ of administration should have the primary task of supervising and organizing the self-determination process, namely, the undertaking of consultations and the convening of a constituent assembly. Inasmuch as the people themselves are not already taking part in democratic institutions of self-government, the Latin American plan envisages—again very much as does our own plan—that the United Nations institution of administration should perform such essential tasks of government as legislation and law enforcement.

50. Unlike our proposals, however, the Latin American plan is not very clear on the immediate necessity of the presence in the Territory of the United Nations institution of administration. Nor does it provide for an implementation procedure should the *de facto* administrator, namely South Africa, meet the United Nations with active hostility as it has done in the past and as it is likely to do if we are to judge by its latest pronouncements of defiance and the measures it has resorted to since the adoption of resolution 2145 (XXI). It is to be noted that the Latin American proposals are throughout predicated on the conditional expression "when"; thus, it is stated: "When the Council has been installed in the Territory, it shall" do this and that; but nowhere is it made clear how that situation is to be brought about.

51. Moreover, one gains the impression by reading through the Latin American plan that this situation is going to be brought about through contacts and negotiations with the authorities of the Republic of South Africa, again without its being indicated what there is to negotiate.

52. I have pointed to these differences—differences which are more apparent than real—between our proposals and the Latin American proposals with the sole aim of seeking clarification to our mutual advantage. I share the hope and confidence which I know exists in both of our groups that the difference will be ironed out during the course of this session and that the traditional solidarity between the Afro-Asian and the Latin American nations can be, as ever, maintained.

53. After having dealt briefly with the three proposals that are before the Assembly, I now feel it pertinent that I should address a few words to what I had referred to earlier as "the fourth school of thought" which, although not submitted in the form of a proposal, nevertheless figures prominently in the Committee's report. It is also a very important point of view as far as we are concerned as its exponents have always been in the forefront of the anti-colonial struggle. I refer, of course, to the point of view of the socialist members of the Committee, namely, Czechoslovakia and the USSR.

54. We understand and appreciate that consistency of tradition, policy and, above all, philosophy should have required those two countries friendly to the African cause to state categorically in the present instance that, without further ado, the people of South West Africa should immediately be granted their independence. On the principle of this we could not agree more with them.

55. The practical question is, however, could or should the South West African situation be considered as being identical in every respect to the type of colonial problem with which the United Nations has dealt in the past? I have endeavoured to show so far why this situation could not be so considered. In point of fact, the problem has its own characteristics and, as I said earlier, this is a situation that cannot be divorced in the final analysis from eventual resort to the enforcement mechanism of the United Nations because of the well-known attitude of South Africa in the matter.

56. The suggestion made by our two friends from the socialist group that the Organization of African Unity should be responsible for an interim period for the administration of South West Africa in the name of the General Assembly, with a view to enabling the people to achieve their independence is, in itself, a worth-while challenge which is at once flattering to us Africans and meaningful in its implications. We therefore regard this generous gesture of confidence as a reaffirmation of basic faith in the ability and capacity of peoples to hold the reins of their collective destiny in their own hands.

57. In our estimation, however, the situation in South West Africa should not be seen from that angle alone, however correct a perspective it may afford. There are forces in the world today that, although

not always prepared to recognize that all peoples everywhere are ready to take their destiny in their own hands, are none the less glad that this should be said of Africans in South West Africa in the present instance, in the hope that such a profession will absolve them of any further direct responsibility for the emancipation of the people of South West Africa. Therefore, the suggestion that the Organization of African Unity should accept the administration of South West Africa might afford those same forces that are, in full knowledge or unwittingly, aiding and abetting apartheid and racism in South Africa a convenient escape valve from their responsibility. Moreover, I have already had occasion to point out, the threatening attitude of South Africa in the southern part of Africa, and particularly in the present instance in South West Africa, is posed as much against African States and the Organization of African Unity as it is against the United Nations itself. Having regard to the circumstances, United Nations responsibility cannot be over-emphasized.

58. Another point that needs to be stressed in this respect is the fact that the alliance of colonialism in southern Africa, buttressed to a large extent by aid and trade from South Africa's western trade partners, disposes of enormous military and economic power which the recently emancipated, fledgling African States cannot hope to match in the near future. Let it be said, however, that although to say this may be a recognition of an actual situation it nevertheless does not change the strategic long-range outcome of the struggle for freedom against colonialism; for, even left to itself, apartheid as a system could not continue for long, as it is bound to be shattered from within. The contribution of African States to this struggle, strengthened by the aid of all progressive forces, will of course increase and will be a major complement to the efforts of the people themselves.

59. In the actual circumstances, however, I would be less than candid if I did not state here that this task is beyond the Organization of African Unity. It is primarily a sacred task for which the United Nations has taken direct responsibility for and on behalf of the whole community of nations.

60. If, on the other hand, the proposals of the socialist countries refer to the useful role that the Organization of African Unity can play in the Territory after the United Nations has evicted South Africa from South West Africa by all the necessary means at its command—including enforcement action, should that be necessary—the challenge implicit in such a proposal will, I submit, assume a different character, which we shall be only too glad to examine.

61. To this end, therefore, we need a clarification from the socialist countries; and we have every reason to hope that this clarification will be forthcoming at this fifth special session, thus maintaining the historic tradition of solidarity which has always characterized relations between the Afro-Asian and socialist groups in the common struggle against colonial racism.

62. I have tried in my presentation to give a fair and balanced view of what transpired in the Committee. While giving a somewhat detailed analysis of our own proposals, I have at the same time expressed our

views and attitudes with regard to the proposals submitted by other delegations.

63. If I have taken the liberty of elaborating on these points, it is because of my conviction—shared by colleagues in the Committee—that the United Nations, and this special session in particular, has an overriding and urgent responsibility with respect to this international territory and its people.

64. Having thus given an appraisal of the situation as reflected in the report presented to the General Assembly, I should now like to return to specifics and to sum up with a brief indication of what we expect from this special session of the Assembly.

65. First of all, having regard to its last decision as contained in resolution 2145 (XXI), we expect this Assembly to take the only logical and necessary follow-up action. Having terminated the Mandate of South Africa for the administration of South West Africa, and having thus taken direct responsibility to advance the territory to independence, the General Assembly must, without further delay, establish an effective machinery for the implementation of its decision.

66. There is now in a sense an administrative vacuum in the Territory of South West Africa since the Assembly adopted resolution 2145 (XXI). No one in South West Africa today is lawfully responsible for the administration of the territory, the people, of course, being excluded from participation in the conduct of their own government. The United Nations is in duty bound at this session to fill that vacuum of administrative responsibility by giving practical effect to the discharge of the direct responsibility it has assumed to enable the people to exercise their right of self-determination and to achieve independence. That can be done only by the establishment in the Territory of a United Nations machinery on the basis of our proposals, which provide a comprehensive basis for effective United Nations action.

67. We also request this fifth special session of the General Assembly to recognize the urgency of the problem by envisaging, in the event of any delaying tactics or of continuing defiance of its authority by South Africa, the necessity of resorting to enforcement measures under Chapter VII of the Charter.

68. We cannot see how the problem of South West Africa can be resolved without envisaging such eventual United Nations enforcement action. Not to accept this necessity would, in our opinion, be tantamount to not recognizing the problem for what it is. Enforcement action, on the other hand, as I have already had occasion to explain, does not necessarily mean, in the first instance, the use of military force. The life-giving sustenance of this bulwark of resistance in southern Africa is trade and investment from abroad, and if the major trade partners of South Africa join in the effort to strike by collective action at that source the resistance can and will be broken.

69. What gives South Africa the audacity to defy the United Nations is the coverage provided by the Western partnership. Therefore we believe that it is the duty of the Western partners of South Africa to live up to their duties and responsibilities in that respect, for it is for them, if only they so wish, to

oblige South Africa to honour United Nations decisions. The crucial question is how long the Western Powers can afford to continue to play what can only be described as a game of double standards by which on the one hand they give support to principles and decisions of the United Nations while on the other hand they continue giving strength to the very forces that obstruct and frustrate the efforts of the Organization. We appeal to the Western Powers to abandon such a policy, which is inconsistent with the long-term interest of the United Nations and of world peace.

70. I have said on other occasions, and I repeat once again, in conclusion, that South West Africa is a test case for the United Nations. A failure in this case will have untold consequences for the future of the Organization by undermining the faith of all peoples that have reposed their trust in the Charter.

71. At this special session, the General Assembly should reaffirm in no uncertain terms that it meant business when it asserted its authority to bring independence to South West Africa and will, therefore, accept no nonsense from the racist régime in Pretoria. That is the essence of the African-Pakistan proposal, and we have presented it with the conviction that that is the only effective way in which the United Nations can discharge the direct responsibility it has assumed to lead the people to self-determination and to the achievement of independence. The case of South West Africa is a clear case for international rectification which our Organization cannot and must not fail to carry through.

72. Mr. ACHKAR (Guinea) (translated from French): Mr. President, my delegation is happy to see you presiding over the General Assembly once again, and we sincerely congratulate you on your re-election.

73. When the General Assembly sets up committees to assist it in finding the best solutions to the problems before it, it is traditional to thank these committees and congratulate them when we come to consider the reports they submit to us after all their hard work and efforts which are frequently crowned with success.

74. In deference to this tradition, my delegation would like to express its thanks and congratulations to the Ad Hoc Committee for South West Africa, known as the Committee of Fourteen. It would have been even more pleased if it could have done so out of conviction rather than for reasons of tradition. We are disappointed that the report submitted to us marks a departure from the optimism which prevailed on the occasion of the adoption of the historic resolution [2145 (XXI)] in which the General Assembly terminated "the Mandate conferred upon His Britannic Majesty to be exercised on his behalf by the Government of the Union of South Africa", and decided that "South Africa has no other right to administer the Territory and that henceforth South West Africa comes under the direct responsibility of the United Nations".

75. In this same resolution 2145 (XXI) the General Assembly decided to set up the Ad Hoc Committee for South West Africa which was "to recommend practical means by which South West Africa should

be administered, so as to enable the people of the Territory to exercise the right of self-determination and to achieve independence...".

76. We must remember that, in a dramatic display of solidarity, all States Members of the United Nations, with the exception of three States which follow a reactionary line—France, the United Kingdom and Malawi—agreed, when confronted with the problems of the liberation of southern Africa, to take that historic decision, which did honour to the United Nations, opened up prospects for a happy solution to the crisis in South West Africa and represented a rebuke to the International Court of Justice for its failure to discharge its responsibilities. The Committee of Fourteen has, however, been unable to submit to us a set of unanimous recommendations. Thus we are confronted with three proposals: one from the African members of the Committee, Ethiopia, Nigeria, the United Arab Republic and Senegal, which were joined by Pakistan [A/6640, paras. 45 and 82]; one from three of the Western Powers, Canada, the United States and Italy [*ibid.*, para. 84] and, finally, one from two Latin American Powers, Chile and Mexico [*ibid.*, para. 93].

77. Without wishing to question the good faith or goodwill of the States members of the Committee of Fourteen, we must say that the excessively laborious efforts made at the time of their nomination in order to achieve some sort of political balance in the Committee did not augur well. Be that as it may, the members of the Committee of Fourteen, having been unable to reach agreement among themselves, seem now to suggest that the 122 delegations of the Assembly may find it easier to do so.

78. We must study the three proposals contained in the report of the Committee of Fourteen very carefully in order to discover the points of agreement and disagreement, and thereby to gauge the extent to which the General Assembly will be able to discharge its responsibilities in implementing the measures it had freely decided upon for liberating the Territory of South West Africa, which is still illegally occupied by the racist South African aggressors.

79. An examination of the proposals submitted by Canada, the United States and Italy clearly shows that part—unfortunately a large part—of the Committee of Fourteen does not really envisage any genuine solution likely to put an end to South African aggression and ensure an effective United Nations presence in South West Africa, in order to bring about the independence of this country which is considered as one single entity. On the contrary, these proposals suggest that we should have studies, more studies and still more studies, which would be entrusted to a Special Representative who would act more or less under the authority of a United Nations Council—I am tempted to say a "Royal Commission" of the United Nations. His duties would include reporting to the twenty-second session of the General Assembly on the progress made in discharging his mandate, and recommending further measures for the implementation of the decisions of the fifth special session. Note this carefully: "decisions of the fifth special session", not of the twenty-first regular session of the General Assembly. According to the Western proposal, no decision should be taken at this fifth special session,



except to set up a body and appoint an official. It is obvious that such a procedure—whether or not this is the intention—would be tantamount to the ceremonial burial of any effective role the United Nations might have in the liberation of South West Africa. Hence, these proposals are quite unacceptable and, with all due respect to my friends of Canada, the United States and Italy, I must say that the underlying motives are questionable.

80. On the other hand, the Guinean delegation must express its satisfaction at the honest and serious efforts made by the delegations of Chile and Mexico, efforts which are reflected in the proposals submitted by those two delegations. In our opinion, these proposals are entirely in line with the decisions taken at the twenty-first session and contained in resolution 2145 (XXI). Our Latin American friends propose the establishment of a United Nations Council for South West Africa which would be installed in the Territory itself and would entrust executive and administrative tasks to an official bearing the title United Nations Commissioner for South West Africa. This Commissioner would assume full responsibility for the promotion of the economic and social well-being of the population until independence, though ultimate responsibility for the administration of the Territory would rest with the General Assembly. The Council's terms of reference, as proposed by Chile and Mexico, are such as would be likely to bring about the country's independence under the most democratic conditions. The other aspects of the Latin American proposals are no less interesting. They are, moreover, in keeping with the objectives which all those countries that voted for resolution 2145 (XXI) seemed to have accepted for South West Africa.

81. Nevertheless, the proposals of our friends from Chile and Mexico are applicable only in so far as South Africa would be prepared, voluntarily or under moral and possibly political pressure from the General Assembly, to comply with the Assembly's decisions. This is a very far-fetched assumption in the light of existing circumstances and of our long experience of the insolence of the apartheid Government in the face of the decisions, recommendations and appeals of the United Nations.

82. This naturally brings me to the proposal submitted by the fraternal States of Ethiopia, Nigeria, the United Arab Republic, Senegal and Pakistan. My delegation is sorry to note in this connexion that no agreement was possible between the Africans and the Latin Americans, even though most of the African proposals are similar to those put forward by the Latin American countries. The difference, which should not be minimized, lies in the fact that the Africans have tried to demonstrate a realistic outlook by incorporating in their proposal the very probable assumption that South Africa will not collaborate with the United Nations in implementing the administrative, economic, social and political measures advocated in connexion with an effective take-over of the Territory on behalf of the United Nations. This explains why the Security Council is requested to take measures against South Africa under Chapter VII of the Charter, and to adopt appropriate measures against any State which obstructs or frustrates the task of the United Nations

Council on South West Africa, if South Africa remains in South West Africa despite the decisions of the United Nations—an act which would be regarded as an act of aggression against the people and Territory of South West Africa and also a flagrant challenge to the authority of the United Nations.

83. Obviously, the delegation of Guinea believes that the proposals made by the four African States and Pakistan are more in keeping with the intentions clearly expressed in resolution 2145 (XXI), with the aspirations of the South West African people, and with the facts of the present situation; and we earnestly hope therefore that at the end of these discussions, there will be a greater degree of unanimity on the basis of these proposals and that the united front which the General Assembly presented at the twenty-first session to the defiance and arrogance of South Africa will thereby be re-established.

84. We felt that we should limit our remarks to the formal proposals which have been submitted. However, some members of the Committee of Fourteen—namely, the socialist countries, the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia, whose anti-colonialism needs no further proof—have also suggested certain methods for the implementation of resolution 2145 (XXI) [A/6640, paras. 68-79]. These methods must be assessed in the light of the present situation. Without altogether rejecting the suggestions of the socialist countries, we consider that a pure and simple proclamation of the independence of South West Africa, without the adoption of measures for the effective achievement of independence, would not be enough to transform the Territory into a sovereign State, even with the assistance of the Security Council which, as we all know, has not—owing to its membership—been in the forefront of the decolonization movement. Furthermore, the broader and more complex question of peace-keeping operations should not be allowed to obstruct United Nations decolonization efforts in a context where the legality of possible intervention by the Organization in one form or another, in accordance with the Charter, is clear beyond any shadow of doubt.

85. The equivocations of Member States and the half measures proposed by some of them can only afford encouragement for the racist and adventurist Government of Pretoria. This is perfectly clear from the acts perpetrated by that Government since the establishment of the Committee of Fourteen, which was given the task of transforming into reality the decision to revoke South Africa's Mandate.

86. The Committee of Fourteen itself, in spite of the differences of opinion existing in it, did not hesitate to decide unanimously that one of South Africa's actions was incompatible with resolution 2145 (XXI), and therefore illegal. This was the action taken as a part of the sinister Odendaal Plan,<sup>1/</sup> regarding the so-called autonomy of the Bantustan of Ovamboland.

87. While the United Nations, through the Committee of Fourteen, was considering ways and means of expelling South Africa from South West Africa and of guiding that Territory towards self-determination and

<sup>1/</sup> See Report of the Commission of Enquiry into South West Africa Affairs, 1962-63. Pretoria, Government Printer, 1964.

independence, the Pretoria régime embarked upon its infamous programme of creating ten miniature Bantustans covering 40 per cent of the area, in which it proposed to "dump" 90 per cent of the population, thereby realizing its grand design, which has always been to annex all or part of South West Africa. We know that any attempt by South Africa to annex a part or the whole of South West Africa has been described in resolution 1899 (XVIII) as constituting an act of aggression.

88. Furthermore, South Africa is benefiting more and more from the obvious complicity of the fascist régime in Portugal and the illegal racist régime of the Rhodesian settlers. It has even succeeded in buying the complicity of African States such as Malawi. South Africa is so confident and so active that it has even managed to win the sympathy of a senior official of the Secretariat, Mr. Gardiner, Executive Secretary of the Economic Commission for Africa, who no longer has any scruples about publicly expressing political opinions which are contrary to the explicit feelings and the decisions of the General Assembly, and to the unanimous aspirations of the African people. The question of apartheid is the most recent example of this.

89. In view of the deliberate intention of the South African authorities to disregard the United Nations and to ignore world public opinion and the aspirations of the people of South West Africa, some nationalists in that country have started the struggle for armed liberation by undertaking guerrilla operations at several points in the Territory of South West Africa. Naturally, South Africa is reacting by launching a campaign of savage repression. All this has been taking place in an international Territory which the South African bandits are occupying illegally and in regard to which the United Nations has proclaimed its exclusive responsibility and its firm intention of assuming that responsibility.

90. In truth, such a situation, while seriously endangering peace and security in that sensitive region of Africa, highlights the impotence of the United Nations which is due to the refusal of the major Western Powers, permanent members of the Security Council, to allow that body—which wishes to be respectable and considers itself respected—to take adequate measures to lance the abscess of South West Africa, that Achilles heel of South Africa, the homeland of neo-nazism euphemistically known as apartheid.

91. Thus we are trapped in a vicious circle, since the General Assembly cannot take comminatory enforcement decisions and the Security Council, which is empowered to do so, is paralysed in its main function of maintaining peace and security. This vicious circle must be broken in order to enable the United Nations to assert its authority in South West Africa and, indeed, throughout the whole world. If the United Nations fails in South West Africa, its failure might sound the death knell of this great Organization, because the confidence placed in it by the peoples of the world would be seriously shaken in the face of so obvious a lack of authority.

92. In the opinion of the Guinean delegation, the question of principle which we have to face is a very simple one, and it would be as well to repeat it: South Africa

is illegally occupying South West Africa; it is displaying a constant contempt for the United Nations; there is no question of adopting a complacent attitude towards South Africa; we must simply discuss, define and implement measures for putting an end to the illegal occupation of South West Africa.

93. If we fail in our efforts, we shall have given the signal for general violence and will also have given it our blessing. In the circumstances, it seems quite clear to us that it is the duty of all those who are sincerely interested in the liberation of South West Africa, first, to put an end to all relations which might strengthen South Africa, and, secondly, to provide strong material and moral support to the nationalist movements in South West Africa to help them organize themselves for the defence and the liberation of their homeland.

94. The Guinean delegation believes that the Assembly should decide, at this session, to establish a United Nations Council for South West Africa and to appoint a United Nations Commissioner for South West Africa whose terms of reference and functions should be in line with the proposals submitted by the four African States and Pakistan. This plan should include a time-limit for the Council and the United Nations Commissioner to assume their responsibilities effectively after the withdrawal of South Africa from the international Territory, and it should also include a provision to the effect that, if South Africa does not comply with the decisions of the General Assembly, the Security Council would, on the expiry of that time-limit, be requested to convene immediately in order to take appropriate measures to deal with South Africa's defiance of the United Nations and to put an end to the aggression of which South West Africa is the victim. We believe that the measures to be adopted by the Security Council should be mandatory and should allow the international Territory of South West Africa to accede to sovereignty and national independence as quickly as possible.

95. Never before has the United Nations had such a favourable opportunity to display initiative, intelligence, a spirit of enterprise and a sense of responsibility in the exercise of its indisputable rights. It would be disastrous if it missed an opportunity so unique in its history.

96. Mr. BAROODY (Saudi Arabia): I wonder, Mr. President, whether I should congratulate you on your election, or ourselves on having elected you as President of the Assembly at this special session. I think we should congratulate both you and ourselves. At the same time, I do commiserate with the President, the Secretary-General, and in fact all of us who are concerned with this problem. I observed the deliberations of the Committee of Fourteen and on one occasion I asked for the floor to be heard. I am glad I was not heard, because today the President reflected the things I wanted to say in far better manner than I could have hoped to say them.

97. I am afraid we shall be engaging in an exercise in futility in dealing with this question. What we need today more than ever, at this special session of the General Assembly, is a little clear thinking and a little plain talking. We continue ad nauseam to say that the people of South West Africa should be liberated. We



continue to say ad nauseam that South Africa should bow to the will of the Assembly or of some other organ of the United Nations. What is the result? Perhaps some of us thought that by repeating our deliberations in Special Committees and in General Assemblies, as we have been doing for the last twenty years, reiterating in this special session what has been said over and over again, this might constitute pressure on South Africa to do something in conformity with the Charter. However, our pious hopes have been misplaced. Let us pause for a moment to think how the major Powers have reacted towards this thorny problem.

98. The major Powers know as well as do all of us here that South Africa had a Mandate which was transferred to it by the United Kingdom after the conference in Versailles in 1919-1920. The major Powers today are engaged in another great conflict. They tell us, perhaps, in private, that there is no war going on in South West Africa, there is no bloodshed to speak of; that although there may perhaps occur certain riots or uprisings now and then, there is nothing to warrant their effective intervention. All of you know where the limelight is nowadays: it is on South-East Asia. They are both intervening very effectively there. Many of us indeed would wish that they would put one-tenth of the effort they are putting into South-East Asia into this problem; this question would then be resolved.

99. I have a few words also to address to our Afro-Asian brothers. If we had the means ourselves to organize and wage war against South Africa, we should not be spending so much time in the United Nations, after twenty years of deliberation with no results whatsoever. I have been here for twenty years and I know that this question has been with us for twenty years. And after twenty years, what do we find? During the last session, the Afro-Asians climbed down from the authority of the United Nations to that of a Committee of the United Nations, a Committee to resolve this question—as if, by our calling it a Committee of the United Nations, the South Africans would be impressed. They are laughing up their sleeves. That is the fact, that is plain talk.

100. Then, the Committee of Fourteen talks about "practical means". What practical means? There are two practical means: the practical means of persuading South Africa—and so far we have failed to persuade South Africa; and the practical means of intervention—and the two major Powers, and other Powers as well, including the medium and small ones in the bargain, are either unwilling or unable to intervene. Then too we engage in saying that we should fix a target-date. What target-date? When and how?

101. All this reminds me of a passage in Shakespeare's Romeo and Juliet:

"What's in a name? That which we call a rose,  
By any other name would smell as sweet."<sup>2/</sup>

What do the three draft resolutions submitted by the Committee of Fourteen recommend? They recommend a council. What's in a name? That which we call a council by any other name would prove ineffective. What is the difference between a committee and a council?

102. From the report, we find that there are five avenues, or, as they are called, alternatives: the General Assembly, the Security Council, the Trusteeship Council, a special ad hoc committee or council, and the Secretary-General. With your permission, Mr. President, we shall very briefly explore here what each of those organs or the Secretary-General—who is not an organ—could achieve.

103. The General Assembly has been seized of this problem for twenty years. The result is zero. Incidentally, the Arabs were the first to invent the zero. The result has been zero; I can say it as an Arab—zero.

104. In the Security Council we cannot be sure that any of the five major Powers, which can do so if they want, will not exercise the veto. We cannot be sure about that. They will find all kinds of excuses for exercising the veto. They will possibly say that we had better resolve the problem by negotiation, and that would be reason enough for some of them, or one of them, to exercise the veto. But they do not think this way in the case of the Far East. They do not go by negotiation there; they take things into their own hands and exercise the veto, at least some of them.

105. As for the Trusteeship Council, it is paralysed in this question, for how can it act as trustee over a Territory to which it may not be admitted?

106. The special committee I leave till the end.

107. As for the Secretary-General, he should never again become involved in trying to resolve this question personally. We should not burden him more than we have done in the case of the question confronting all of us in South-East Asia. How many wise, reasonable and logical declarations has the Secretary-General made so far? And what has been the result? No one heeds him. The caravan of war marches on. What could the Secretary-General do in this case?

108. Thus we come to the last avenue that seems to be open to us: a special, ad hoc committee or council. I am glad that the sponsors have used the phrase "committee or council"; the two words are almost synonymous. I believe that the sponsors of the three draft resolutions presented to the Committee of Fourteen acted in good faith. No one can question the zeal, the integrity and the sincerity of the members of the Committee of Fourteen. No one can doubt that they addressed themselves seriously to this thorny question. But again we find that three draft resolutions have emerged instead of one. There are fourteen members in the Committee, and three draft resolutions have been submitted.

109. The only practical resolution would have been the so-called Afro-Asian text, if there had been any means of implementing it. I think that if the Africans and Asians had the means to take the required action, they would not even have submitted this draft resolution; they would simply do what has to be done in respect of South West Africa. But they do not have the means. If they had, I would be in the vanguard, even at my age, and would march with them. But, I repeat, they do not have the means—at least for the moment.

<sup>2/</sup> Act II, Scene 2.

110. But this is a warning to our friends from South Africa. For we still want to call them our friends; they sit here with us. This is a warning. No one can be sure that a few years from now people may not seize power in a few countries in Africa and, by-passing the United Nations, take up arms and create a situation in South Africa and South West Africa that will be very difficult to contain.

111. Our South African friends seem to be complacent. They know that for the present no one is ready to act. But that is a wrong attitude. I am not preaching to South Africa here. However, from my humble experience I know that patience can come to an end. The Africans and Asians, and others of the same persuasion who do not come from those two continents, may one day take things into their own hands and bypass the United Nations. It may not take too long before people will be aroused to take things into their own hands.

112. Is there, then, a remedy? Why have we convened here? Can there be a stop-gap, as they say, before the things to which I have referred happen? I believe that there can be.

113. I think that the three draft resolutions of the Committee of Fourteen should be unified. This special session of the Assembly should appoint a sub-committee to see how the three draft resolutions can be unified. I think that that sub-committee should take into consideration what I proposed during the last session in draft resolution A/L.486, dated 18 October 1966.<sup>3/</sup> It may be recalled that I agreed to suspend action on that draft resolution, because our Afro-Asian friends climbed down from their insistence on a United Nations authority. They proposed the establishment of a committee. I told some of them that I was a young man in the twenties and that I still remember what Clemenceau said to his colleagues at the Versailles Conference: if you want to kill any item, establish a committee and refer that item to it.

114. They were elated; they said that the committee would solve this problem. Now they are talking about a council. And so it goes: committee-council; council-committee. Are we trying to fool ourselves? Let us not fool ourselves. If we do so, the people outside these halls will not be fooled. We should bring the right kind of pressure to bear on South Africa. And the right kind of pressure consists in challenging South Africa with regard to its intentions. If South Africa does what it proposes to do, it will gerrymander or fragment the Territory on the basis of tribal loyalties, and the problem will become more intricate and complex.

115. I have received and read, as I am sure most of the representatives here have done, a well-produced book sent out by South Africa with regard to what it is doing in the Territory. The book shows South West Africans engaged in various activities, in factories, in science, and so forth. It is, I repeat, a well-produced book. It must have cost a lot. It is well documented, too. But the Government of South Africa has forgotten that what the people of South West Africa needs is

respect for the dignity of the individual. They do not want to be looked down on by South Africa. The South West Africans would trade all those benefits described in the book for the restoration of their human dignity, of which they have been robbed.

116. Shall we reason with South Africa? Shall we challenge South Africa with regard to its intentions? I think that that is what we should do.

117. I wish to refer again to my draft resolution A/L.486. I shall not take up the Assembly's time by reading out all the preambular paragraphs. However, I should like to read out the two operative paragraphs, as follows:

"1. Decides, pending the functioning of the United Nations Administering Authority for South West Africa, and only on an interim basis, to request the President of the General Assembly together with the Secretary-General to hold consultations with Member States with a view to asking one or more Members to act on behalf of the United Nations as Co-Administrators with South Africa for the administration of South West Africa;

"2. Reaffirms that the aforementioned Co-Administrators shall be appointed to serve only during the short period required before the United Nations Administering Authority takes over the responsibility of preparing South West Africa for full freedom and independence."

118. If the Government of South Africa is sincere in saying that it is eventually going to liberate South West Africa, why does it not manifest its good intentions and accept two or three co-administrators with it so that the process may be accelerated? I do not see any reason why South Africa does not, unless it wants to treat South West Africa as its private domain. South Africa tells us: "No, we will do it eventually." And the 122 Members of the United Nations tell South Africa: "We should like to see it done forthwith because you have forfeited your right as a Mandatory Power." South Africa replies: "No, we are not responsible to the United Nations because it is a League of Nations Mandate that we are exercising." And we could go on indefinitely arguing the legal niceties and the juridical intricacies of the question without getting anywhere. That would be an abortive method.

119. Since we have three draft resolutions, why can we not incorporate in those draft resolutions the idea of appointing two or three co-administrators? This means that South Africa would show its goodwill towards the 122 Members of the United Nations which are asking South Africa to do so, pending the putting into effect of the points that—I do not have to enumerate them—are itemized in those three draft resolutions. We should have one resolution in this Assembly, not three, to preserve our unanimity in trying to reason with South Africa to accept co-administrators, pending the achievement by South West Africa, as we all hope, of its independence.

120. Those were the few ideas which I found it necessary to express. This item has been in my thoughts

<sup>3/</sup> Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-first Session, Plenary Meetings, 1449th meeting, paras. 172-178.

ever since I came to the United Nations. I thought it was my duty to engage in some clear thinking and plain talking lest we go around in circles, lose more time and become the laughing-stock of people outside these halls, who then might say, "How true it is that

the United Nations is nothing but a debating society for diplomats who are paid to exercise their wits against each other without translating those words into action."

*The meeting rose at 12.45 p.m.*



United Nations  
**GENERAL  
ASSEMBLY**

Official Records



FIFTH SPECIAL SESSION

**1504th  
PLENARY MEETING**

Tuesday, 25 April 1967,  
at 3 p.m.

**NEW YORK**

**CONTENTS**

*Agenda item 7:*

*Question of South West Africa (continued) . . . 1*

**President: Mr. Abdul Rahman PAZHWAQ  
(Afghanistan).**

**AGENDA ITEM 7**

**Question of South West Africa (continued)**

1. Mr. SHAHI (Pakistan): Mr. President, on behalf of the Pakistan delegation, I should like to offer to you our warmest and most sincere congratulations on your election to the high office of President of the General Assembly at its fifth special session. In electing you, Sir, by acclamation, the General Assembly has accorded befitting recognition to the esteem and trust that you have inspired among all delegations, and to the great ability with which you conducted the business of the twenty-first regular session.

2. Your elevation gives my delegation special satisfaction because Afghanistan and Pakistan not only are the closest of neighbours but also, from time immemorial, have been linked to each other by the ties of blood, culture and fate.

3. You have rightly observed, Mr. President, that this special session of the General Assembly will be of particular significance in the history of the United Nations because it is called upon to deal with problems of crucial importance, which you have termed "problems of justice and problems of peace" [1502nd meeting, para. 20]. Indeed, the present session may well turn out to have been a fateful one, for this Organization is confronted with a direct, immediate and formidable challenge to its position and authority by one of its Member States. The historic decision taken by the General Assembly at its twenty-first session, by an almost unanimous vote, to terminate the Mandate of the Republic of South Africa over South West Africa and to assume direct responsibility for the administration of the Territory now presents the United Nations with the inescapable choice: to go forward or to retreat. Either way, the consequences will be far-reaching for the United Nations, for Africa and for the world.

4. Our task in this special session, in accordance with paragraph 6 of resolution 2145 (XXI), is to adopt

"practical means by which South West Africa should be administered, so as to enable the people of the Territory to exercise the right of self-determination and to achieve independence".

5. In the report [A/6640] of the Ad Hoc Committee on South West Africa, which was charged with the task of making recommendations in this regard, three different proposals have been set forth for the consideration of the General Assembly. The question is, which of those proposals should the General Assembly adopt?

6. The first proposal was that submitted by the four African members of the Ad Hoc Committee, namely, Ethiopia, Nigeria, Senegal and the United Arab Republic, with whom Pakistan was privileged to associate itself as a co-sponsor [*ibid.*, paras. 45 and 82]. That proposal consists of recommendations divided into four interrelated parts but constituting an integral whole.

7. The first part provides for the creation of a United Nations machinery for the administration of South West Africa, namely, a United Nations council which shall assume responsibility for the administration of the Territory on behalf of the General Assembly until independence. The council's immediate task will be to establish, in consultation with the representatives of the people, a constituent Assembly which will frame an independence constitution on the basis of which a legislative assembly will be elected and responsible government established. On formal declaration of independence, the council shall transfer all powers to these institutions. A United Nations commissioner will be appointed, to whom the United Nations council will entrust executive and administrative tasks.

8. The second part of the African-Pakistan proposal deals with the requirements of finance and personnel for the administration of South West Africa under the United Nations.

9. The third part sets forth an implementation procedure for establishing the United Nations machinery in the Territory. The Council is required to proceed to the Territory to take over the administration, ensure the withdrawal of South African authority and base itself there. The procedure also envisages a declaration by the General Assembly that South Africa's refusal to allow induction of the United Nations administration, and the continuance of its illegal rule in South West Africa after the termination of its Mandate, will be an act of aggression against the Territory and its people. In that event, the General Assembly would recommend to the Security Council action under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations, to compel the Republic of South Africa to terminate its aggression.

10. The fourth part of the African-Pakistan proposal sets a target-date for the declaration of independence of South West Africa upon the establishment of a

legislative assembly and a responsible government —not later than June 1968.

11. Those are, in brief, the principal elements of the African-Pakistan proposal which was so ably presented yesterday to this Assembly [1503rd meeting] by the representative of Ethiopia and which my delegation, as a co-sponsor, has the honour to commend for favourable consideration by the General Assembly.

12. Before I proceed to state the views of the delegation of Pakistan on the other proposals, I should like to associate my delegation with the tributes paid to Ambassador Max Jakobson of Finland, the Chairman of the Ad Hoc Committee on South West Africa, and to the members of his Bureau by the representative of Ethiopia for the patience, good will and spirit of conciliation shown by them in attempting to reconcile the different points of view.

13. The proposal submitted by Canada, Italy and the United States [ibid., para. 84] also provides for a United Nations council and a special representative for South West Africa. The task of the special representative, however, is confined to establishing contacts, making a survey of the resources of the territory, ascertaining what elements may be considered representative of all the people living there and consulting them in order that, with their accord, a "nucleus of self-government" may be established in South West Africa as soon as possible. The special representative is charged, inter alia, with the task of determining the necessary conditions that will enable South West Africa to achieve self-determination and independence.

14. While this proposal appears to envisage a United Nations machinery consisting of a council and a special representative, it confines the function of the former—that is, the council—merely to co-operating with and receiving the reports of the latter—that is, of the special representative—whose main task in turn is limited to study, consultation, contacts and survey of the resources of the territory. This proposal does not provide for the assumption of direct responsibility by the United Nations for South West Africa, nor for the establishment of a United Nations administration. While it refers, in the preamble, to the reaffirmation of the right of the people of South West Africa to self-determination, freedom and independence, in the relevant operative part of the proposal it only directs the special representative to

"determine the necessary conditions that will enable South West Africa to achieve self-determination and independence".

15. My delegation considers it inappropriate that one individual, even though he may be the special representative of the United Nations, should be given the mandate to determine under what conditions the people of South West Africa should exercise their right of self-determination. When we the nations of Asia and Africa and those of other regions under colonial rule were struggling to wrest our independence, we never accepted that our right of self-determination should be contingent on whether the necessary conditions were present or not. Furthermore, the momentous decolonization resolution of the General Assembly, 1514 (XV), expressly declares

that "inadequacy of political, economic, social or educational preparedness should never serve as a pretext for delaying independence".

16. How can it be objectively determined what are the necessary conditions for the achievement of independence? Scores of nations of Africa, Asia and other regions have become independent during the last twenty years. Conditions in South West Africa can compare not unfavourably, on the basis of information already available, with those prevailing in several other Member States of the United Nations. Why then should South West Africa be singled out for different treatment? Independence is a matter of self-determination both as to the act and as to its timing, by the people concerned and not for determination by an outside agency.

17. The Western proposal speaks of consultation

"with all representative elements in order that, with their accord, a nucleus of self-government may be established in South West Africa as soon as possible".

18. In principle, the accord of representative elements on the future constitutional structure of the territory should be considered essential. But, in the first instance, the system of apartheid, imposed on the territory by South Africa, will not permit the white and non-white elements of the population to reach such an accord. Further, following the well-known policy of "divide and rule", the Republic of South Africa, during the decades of its administration of the Territory, has continuously attempted to create rivalries and divisions. The colonial and racist authorities of South Africa, so long as they are present in South West Africa, would never permit a consensus to emerge. That provision, therefore, about the "nucleus of self-government" to be established with the accord of all representative elements is bound to hinder and not advance the cause of freedom of the people of South West Africa.

19. As representatives are aware, the South African Government has, in violation of General Assembly resolution 2145 (XXI), offered a so-called "nucleus of self-government" to the people of a part of South West Africa on the basis of the recommendations of the Odendaal Commission<sup>1/</sup> envisaging fragmentation of the Territory into numerous non-viable units, the so-called "homelands" in pursuit of its pernicious policy of "Bantustans".

20. A "nucleus of self-government" is not the same as self-government. That provision in the Western proposal falls short of the requirements of resolution 2145 (XXI), paragraph 6, which provides not for a nucleus of self-government but for a United Nations administration to enable the people of the Territory to exercise the right of self-determination and to achieve independence.

21. Besides those considerations, the most serious deficiency of the Western proposal seems to us to be a tacit acquiescence in the continuance of the illegal administration in South West Africa and a further

<sup>1/</sup> Report of the Commission of Enquiry into South West Africa Affairs, 1962-63, Pretoria, Government Printer, 1964.

lease of life to the odious system of apartheid, when the crux of the problem before us is how to end both.

22. For all these reasons, the Pakistan delegation concludes that the Western proposal fails to rise to the level of the situation before the General Assembly after the termination of the Mandate. It is out of context and falls considerably short of the expectations of the General Assembly set forth in paragraph 6 of resolution 2145 (XXI).

23. The third proposal has been submitted by the delegations of Chile and Mexico [A/6640, para. 93]. In the view of my delegation, this proposal has been clearly thought out and precisely formulated, and, except in certain respects, we would consider it to be in accordance with the mandate given to the Ad Hoc Committee by the General Assembly, namely, to recommend practical means for establishing a United Nations administration in South West Africa to enable the people of the Territory to achieve independence. The two Latin American countries envisage, as does the African-Pakistan proposal, a United Nations administration consisting of a council, elected by the General Assembly, and a United Nations commissioner. The tasks assigned to the council are similar to those set forth in our proposal. The financing provisions are also not dissimilar. To that extent, this proposal does not differ significantly from the African-Pakistan proposal. Where the Chilean-Mexican proposal is at variance with the latter is in the measures contemplated for its implementation. No action under Chapter VII of the Charter is spelled out. Instead, the United Nations council is required to

"enter immediately into contact with the authorities of the Republic of South Africa in order to lay down procedures, in accordance with resolution 2145 (XXI), for the transfer of the Territory with the least possible upheaval, a time-limit for its completion being prescribed".

24. The target-date for the declaration of independence of South West Africa by the United Nations remains to be specified, in the Chilean-Mexican proposal.

25. It seems to my delegation that this proposal is based on the premise that the Republic of South Africa may yet be persuaded to accept the decision of the General Assembly to terminate the Mandate, and to agree to transfer the powers of government, in respect of the Territory, to the United Nations. The question arises: is this premise, or hope, valid? For twenty years the Republic of South Africa has defied the Organization and frustrated the efforts of Member States to persuade it to co-operate in enabling the people of South West Africa to exercise their rights recognized in the Mandate and in the Charter of the United Nations. Is it, therefore, realistic to expect that South Africa will now be persuaded to part with its usurped power and illegal authority over the Territory within a given time-limit? In the light of South Africa's record of defiance and violation of seventy-six resolutions of the General Assembly and three advisory opinions of the International Court of Justice—which differed not at all from judgements, even though unenforceable—and of the latest pronouncements of South Africa's representative in this

forum, what hope can be sustained that the Pretoria régime would be amenable to persuasion or would show decent respect for law or the conscience of mankind?

26. It is difficult for the Pakistan delegation to believe that this kind of miracle can happen. Therefore, in our view, it would be more realistic to plan the course of action of the United Nations on the assumption that South Africa would continue to oppose the jurisdiction and authority of the United Nations and would bar United Nations access to South West Africa.

27. In addition to these three proposals, the Ad Hoc Committee's report sets forth the views of the socialist members, namely the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia. While these delegations are in basic agreement with the African-Pakistan proposal, including the provision for action by the Security Council under Chapter VII of the Charter, they differ from it in two important respects. The socialist States are in favour of an immediate declaration of independence for South West Africa and have expressed doubts about the creation of United Nations machinery for the administration of the Territory, even on an interim basis. They believe that the Organization could and should carry out its direct responsibility for South West Africa, primarily by obtaining the assistance and co-operation of the Organization of African Unity. The United Nations is to confine itself to providing technical assistance to the Territory and maintaining close co-operation with the OAU.

28. The sponsors of the African-Pakistan proposal are gratified at the strong support expressed in the Ad Hoc Committee by the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia for the basic approach reflected in the provisions of the proposal, and, in particular, for the implementation measures envisaged if the Republic of South Africa does not permit the induction of the United Nations administration and continues to remain in illegal occupation of the Territory. Indeed, we would expect no less from the Soviet Union, a permanent member of the Security Council, which took the bold initiative a few years ago of submitting a proposal to the General Assembly on decolonization, a proposal which emerged in its final form as resolution 1514 (XV) of 14 December 1960, entitled "Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples".

29. Now, in regard to the misgivings of the socialist delegations on those aspects of the African-Pakistan proposal that concern an interim United Nations administration over South West Africa, and the deferment of a formal declaration of independence of the Territory until June 1968, my delegation would hope that the explanation and elucidation given by the representative of Ethiopia yesterday will serve to allay these misgivings to a considerable extent. The Organization of African Unity, through its Council of Ministers in their last meeting held in Addis Ababa, has fully approved and supported the memorandum of Ethiopia, Nigeria, Senegal and the United Arab Republic, submitted to the Committee on 10 February, providing for the establishment of a United Nations administration in the Territory in consequence of the termination of the Mandate.

30. The representative of Ethiopia stated clearly [1503rd meeting] that, in the present circumstances, it would be beyond the capacity of the Organization of African Unity to assume responsibility for the interim administration of South West Africa. He has also given valid reasons why a declaration of independence of the Territory should be deferred for a short time, in order that the structure of apartheid in South West Africa may be dismantled and the people of the Territory enabled to exercise their right of self-determination in a meaningful manner.

31. My delegation considers those reasons to be sufficient justification for the United Nations to proceed to establish its own machinery of administration and to defer a declaration of independence until a legislative assembly and a responsible government have been set up, not later than June 1968.

32. In regard to the functioning of the proposed United Nations administration, my delegation is of the view that we can profit from our past experience of United Nations activities and operations and so determine the composition, mandate, control and operation of the United Nations machinery as to preclude it from being turned into an instrument serving the ends or interests of any State or group of States.

33. We are anxious to ensure that the people of South West Africa are enabled to exercise their right of self-determination in conditions of freedom and security. An immediate proclamation of independence is no guarantee that the people of the Territory will in fact enjoy the blessings of independence or that they will be able to exercise the rights that independence is expected to bestow on them. Considering the continued hostile attitude of South Africa, we believe that it is only behind the protective shield of United Nations machinery that the people of the Territory of South West Africa will be able to achieve and maintain the precious status of independence.

34. In view of what I have already said concerning the other proposals, as well as concerning the views of the socialist States, it is not necessary for me to say much in explanation or justification of the principal features of the African-Pakistan proposal. Furthermore, the representative of Ethiopia and other speakers who have preceded me have analysed and set forth very clearly the meaning and purport of our proposal.

35. The African-Pakistan proposal has been conceived and given expression in accordance with the letter and spirit of General Assembly resolution 2145 (XXI). It attempts to face, and not evade, the central issue: that the Republic of South Africa is most likely, regardless of the termination of the Mandate and the illegality of its authority in South West Africa, not only to refuse to withdraw that authority from the Territory, but also, on the basis of all available evidence, even to oppose the induction of the United Nations administration. It is to meet this challenge that the African-Pakistan proposal provides that, in that event, the General Assembly should declare that South Africa's continued presence in South West Africa and any action taken by the Pretoria régime which frustrates or obstructs the task of the United Nations council would be an act of aggression against the people

and the territorial integrity of South West Africa. Can the General Assembly do less in the situation which faces the United Nations in consequence of the termination of the Mandate and the decision to assume direct responsibility for the administration of South West Africa?

36. The representative of Ethiopia has explained why, in the final analysis, the implementation of resolution 2145 (XXI) could not be envisaged without providing for the possibility of measures by the Security Council under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations, should South Africa persist in its defiance of the will of the General Assembly, as reflected in that resolution. He went on to explain that the provision in the African-Pakistan proposal to the effect that the Security Council should take action under Chapter VII of the Charter against South Africa for such defiance is intended as a recommendation of the General Assembly to the Security Council. It would be for the Security Council, when it received such a recommendation, to consider the application of measures under Chapter VII of the Charter.

37. Mr. President, in your statement to the General Assembly after your election [1502nd meeting] you called for realism on the part of all of us in this special session in dealing with the problems of justice and the problems of peace. The question may be asked: does the African-Pakistan proposal reflect a realistic approach to the problem of overcoming the defiance of the Republic of South Africa towards the attempt of the United Nations to discharge the sacred trust of civilization that it has now assumed in behalf of the people of South West Africa? Is it realism to expect the Security Council to take measures under Chapter VII of the Charter to rescue that Territory from one of the worst forms of misrule and oppression, in fulfilment of that sacred trust? My delegation would ask: should not the same test of realism be applied to the other proposals before us?

38. South Africa has refused for over two decades to co-operate with the United Nations in ensuring respect for the human rights of the people of the Territory and preparing them for the responsibility of self-government. South Africa has persistently rejected recommendations of the world community to assimilate the Mandated Territory into the International Trusteeship System, as was done by the other administering Powers in the case of their Territories. South Africa for twenty years refused to submit reports and forward petitions or to accept the supervision of the General Assembly over its administration of South West Africa. South Africa has systematically carried out a policy of de facto annexation of the Territory, in violation of the resolutions of the General Assembly and the Advisory Opinions of the International Court of Justice. South Africa is exporting apartheid to the Territory, setting up the whites against the non-whites and one segment of the non-white population against another.

39. Is it, then, realistic to expect that South Africa would enter into contacts and a dialogue with United Nations organs to reach agreement on the transfer of South West Africa to United Nations administration, or even to permit the establishment of a nucleus of self-government within the Territory? There can hardly be any doubt about the answer.



40. The African-Pakistan proposal is, we believe, more realistic than the other proposals because it takes the negative and defiant attitude of South Africa into account and seeks to provide for an element of deterrence.

41. The touchstone of the realism or otherwise of the African-Pakistan proposal is not what the Republic of South Africa is prepared to do or not to do, but the willingness of the permanent members of the Security Council to act in accordance with the imperatives of the situation resulting from the action taken by the United Nations in terminating the Mandate.

42. The African-Asian Member States hope that the general membership of this world Organization will demonstrate the same resolve and determination as it manifested at the last regular session of the General Assembly, and will proceed to undertake practical and effective ways to bring to the people of South West Africa the rights and dignities that have been won by other peoples in the world.

43. Let it not be said of us that when a situation demanded resolution and firm action, we were weighed in the balance and found wanting.

44. Mr. IGNATIEFF (Canada): Mr. President, I should like to take this opportunity to congratulate you on your election as President of the General Assembly at its fifth special session. We know from our experience at the twenty-first regular session that the Assembly can look forward to wise, skilful and impartial guidance under your direction.

45. I should also like to associate myself with the remarks of my Ethiopian colleague in paying tribute to the outstanding work of the Chairman of the Ad Hoc Committee, Ambassador Jakobson, and the other members of the Bureau. The atmosphere of the Committee, as Mr. Makonnen indicated, was constructive and cordial. I can only hope that the same spirit will inspire our deliberations in this special session of the General Assembly.

46. In speaking on South West Africa at this time, I realize that as a member of the Ad Hoc Committee for South West Africa, the Canadian delegation has the special responsibility of explaining the proposals with which we have been associated in the report of the Ad Hoc Committee [A/6640], which is now under consideration in this Assembly and to which some delegations have already addressed comments, some of which seemed to have been based on at least some misunderstanding.

47. First of all, I should like to make it plain that the Canadian delegation regrets as much as any other delegation that the Ad Hoc Committee was unable to achieve a consensus. We stated at the outset of the Committee's meetings, and I repeat now, that we considered it important that we should put forward at the special session proposals which would command the kind of overwhelming support in the United Nations General Assembly as was forthcoming for resolution 2145 (XXI). I believe, however, that discussions in the Committee did show that, despite differences in the proposals put forward in our report, there was a substantial area of agreement between members of the Committee on a number of important points, to

which, if I may say so, some of the statements made so far seemed to have done less than justice.

48. All delegations reaffirmed their adherence to the historic decision of the United Nations contained in United Nations General Assembly resolution 2145 (XXI). The United Nations has decided that, South Africa having forfeited its right under the Mandate, South West Africa comes under the direct responsibility of this Organization. I think it is clear from the records that every member of the Committee accepted that fact as a starting point. There were honest differences of opinion on how in practical terms that responsibility should best be exercised. There was, I believe, no difference of opinion that in exercising that responsibility, the aim of the United Nations must be to enable the people of South West Africa to exercise the right to self-determination with as little delay as possible.

49. The differences of opinion were on what would be the best or the most practical method of obtaining this agreed goal. In talking of differences, therefore, I think we should be careful, in accounting to this Assembly on the work of the Ad Hoc Committee, to explain precisely what those differences are, rather than to allege interpretations of other peoples' resolutions. I should therefore like to explain the considerations which guided my delegation and the reasons which led us to join our Italian and United States colleagues in submitting proposals, which are now, through the Committee's report [ibid., para. 84], before the Assembly.

50. First of all, I wish to emphasize that Canada accepts the decision of the United Nations General Assembly, contained in resolution 2145 (XXI). We accept that the Mandate of South Africa was terminated by that decision, that the Territory henceforth comes under the direct responsibility of the United Nations, and that the United Nations must discharge its responsibilities in helping the people of South West Africa to independence and self-determination.

51. In determining what practical means the Committee should recommend for the attainment of that goal, the Canadian delegation was influenced by two main considerations: the interests of the people of South West Africa and the interests of the United Nations. To serve both considerations, we believed and we still believe it is essential that all avenues for a negotiated solution of the problem must be explored before considering other measures. We must establish, in particular, whether the South African Government is prepared to co-operate in the orderly transfer of the administration of the Territory. For that reason, my delegation sought, in consultation with like-minded delegations, an alternative to the proposals for direct and immediate United Nations administration. We considered those proposals to be impractical, because they were clearly not acceptable to those who would be mainly responsible for their implementation. We considered that while the United Nations had assumed direct responsibility for finding a solution to the problem of South West Africa, that did not mean that the only way to exercise that responsibility is through direct administration by the United Nations. It appeared to us that a better approach to the implementation of resolution 2145

(XXI) would be to envisage from the start that the Territory will have to be administered by its own inhabitants and that the most practical way of achieving this is to have the United Nations seek, in co-operation with a de facto administration, to establish a nucleus of unified self-government in the Territory. We think that this is a preferable alternative to direct United Nations administration and we firmly believe that it is in accord with the decisions taken by the United Nations in resolution 2145 (XXI).

52. In considering how this result could be achieved, it is only common sense to recognize that there is a de facto régime in the Territory, even though its legal right to continue has lapsed in accordance with resolution 2145 (XXI). Some contact with that authority will in any case have to be made in fulfilling the terms of resolution 2145 (XXI) under any arrangement. My delegation considers that, in the first instance, in any event, any such contact by the United Nations, in accordance with the principles of the Charter, should be in terms of an attempt at a negotiated solution.

53. Provision is made in our proposal for that contact to be made through a representative for South West Africa nominated by the Secretary-General. In considering how best to implement the resolution, with the least harm to the people of South West Africa and to the United Nations, we consider that the Secretary-General could make a real contribution in this way. As a first stage, therefore, we envisage that the Secretary-General should nominate a special representative of known international reputation to determine the necessary conditions which would enable South West Africa to achieve self-determination and independence.

54. The United Nations representative for South West Africa, we propose, would be given a broad mission of exploration and consultation. It would be his task, first of all, to become thoroughly familiar with the conditions in the Territory, in order to be in a position to discharge effectively his other tasks and to be able to base his recommendations on a personal understanding of the problems which have to be solved. A fundamental aspect of this familiarization would be a comprehensive survey, concentrating in particular on the Territory's human and material resources, in order to verify and complete the information which is already available to us. With this background, this representative would be well placed to determine precisely which elements can be regarded as speaking for the people of the Territory as a whole. Consultation with these elements in order to determine the wishes of the people would, in our view, be an essential task; the step by step acquisition of responsibilities by a nucleus of government, established on the basis of these consultations, would be a more satisfactory approach than the imposition from the outside of an administrative apparatus.

55. On the basis of his survey and consultations, the special representative would be in an unequalled position to assess the nature and amount of technical and economic assistance which the people of South West Africa will require to establish a viable self-administration. We would envisage the elaboration, on the basis of his report, of a comprehensive programme of assistance in which all Members of the

United Nations would be given an opportunity to discharge in a concrete way the moral burden which they assumed in taking over the responsibility for South West Africa. In our view, the special representative should not consider the specific tasks which we would assign to him as restrictive. He should thus feel that he has free rein to pursue all activities which he feels may help to clear the way for the people of South West Africa to achieve self-determination and independence.

56. In carrying out his mission, the special representative would work closely with a council whose function would be to exercise in a continuing way the United Nations responsibility for South West Africa. In our view, this body should be as representative as possible of the different attitudes to this problem in the Assembly, yet compact enough to work in an effective and close-knit way. The special representative would report regularly to this council on his progress and on the initiatives which he has in mind and should rely on it for both advice and guidance.

57. I realize that there are many delegations whose patience has been worn thin by the failure of the Government of South Africa to co-operate with the United Nations both on this issue and in pursuing the policy of apartheid, which the Canadian Government has more than once publicly condemned. But I am most concerned that the United Nations, having taken a binding and what we believe is an irrevocable decision, should proceed by gradual pragmatic means to the attainment of the goal which we are agreed upon and in full realization of the consequences of its actions. What we are looking for, after all, is a permanent solution which both satisfies the aspirations of the people of the Territory for self-determination and independence, and which is consistent with the purposes and principles of the Charter.

58. We believe that the proposals submitted by our three delegations represent the most practical recommendation which has so far been put forward in our search for such a permanent solution. We therefore seriously commend it to the favourable consideration of this Assembly.

59. In conclusion, I have tried in these remarks to explain the characteristics and advantages of the proposals submitted by the delegations of Italy, the United States and Canada, as I see them. I have not wished to indulge in unconstructive criticism of the proposals submitted by other delegations, either formally or in the course of statements made during the meetings of the Ad Hoc Committee for South West Africa. I have felt it incumbent, however, to explain why the Canadian delegation finds itself unable to support the other proposals set out in the report of the Ad Hoc Committee. One calls for the creation of a council with administrative functions, but does not, in our view, suggest a practical method of installing that council in the Territory to enable it to carry out its responsibilities. The other envisages the use of coercive measures and direct confrontation which, I believe, given the present circumstances, would be abortive.

60. Such proposals raise the most serious issues for Members of the United Nations. It is Canada's view

that they should not be considered until all other methods of attaining our objectives have been fully explored. In this regard, the attitude of the Government of Canada was enunciated as long ago as 1947 by the then Prime Minister when he said: "No society of nations can prosper if it does not have the support of those who hold a major share of the world's military and economic power."

61. I quote again: "We have to make practicability the touchstone of our attitude towards the United Nations", our present Prime Minister said in 1949.

62. It is well, therefore, before Members impose unattainable tasks upon this Organization, that we recognize the limitations which the facts of life impose on us, and that we do not recommend action which cannot be implemented. I consider, on the contrary, that the proposals submitted in the name of the delegations of Italy, Canada and the United States are consistent with resolution 2145 (XXI), but at the same time recognize the present limitations of the capability of the United Nations and, therefore, represent the most effective and practical method of proceeding in gradual stages towards the realization of our agreed goal.

63. Mr. KUZNETSOV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (translated from Russian): Mr. President, I should like to associate the USSR delegation with the congratulations extended to you on your unanimous election as President of this special session.

64. The USSR delegation is prepared to do everything it can to make this session a successful one. We shall endeavour, in co-operation with other delegations, to ensure that the questions on this session's agenda are decided in strict conformity with the lofty principles of the United Nations Charter, in the interests of the peoples fighting for freedom and independence, and in a way that will promote the maintenance and consolidation of peace on earth.

65. The fifth special session of the United Nations General Assembly has been convened to discuss important questions bearing on the elimination of colonialism and racism and the need to ensure world peace and security. These questions cannot, in our opinion, be examined successfully and decided correctly if we disregard the general international situation and shut our eyes to all that is happening outside these precincts.

66. The present situation with regard to South West Africa and the attempts to force through decisions on the question of peace-keeping operations which are contrary to the United Nations Charter are but a reflection of the bitter and unceasing battle between those who champion the ideals of peace and the freedom and independence of peoples and the transforming of the United Nations into an effective organ of international co-operation, and those others who pursue a policy of intervention and aggression, a policy of preserving colonial and racist institutions, and who are trying to undermine the very foundations of the United Nations.

67. This battle is not pitched along geographical lines, since the very same Powers which represent the main obstacle to the liberation of the people of

South West Africa are engaging in armed intervention in the domestic affairs of countries of Southeast Asia, continuing to keep many of the peoples of Africa and the Arab East under the yoke of colonialism or semi-colonialism, promoting a rebirth of militarism, revanchism and nazism in central Europe and counter-acting in every way such lessening of tension as there has been in the European continent.

68. The aggressive war waged by the United States against the heroic people of Viet-Nam constitutes a particular threat to the cause of freedom and independence of peoples and to the preservation of world peace. The events in Viet-Nam cast a sinister shadow over all international questions and cause legitimate concern to the nations of the world.

69. While losing no opportunity to repeat its hypocritical assertion that it desires a "peaceful settlement", the United States Government in fact continues cynically to flout elementary rules of international law and the 1954 Geneva Agreements, and escalates its military activities from day to day. During this very session, the world learned of new hair-raising atrocities on the part of the United States military, who bombed Hanoi, capital of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam, and Haiphong, the second largest city in the country. Civilian and industrial buildings and residential areas are being destroyed by these barbarous bombings, and once again the victims are peaceful inhabitants—children, women and old men.

70. Nevertheless, whatever fresh crimes they may commit against the people of Viet-Nam, the aggressors will not succeed in breaking their valiant spirit, their resolve to defend their freedom and independence. The people of Viet-Nam enjoy the support of all decent men throughout the world; they have many staunch friends who have given and will continue to give them the assistance they need to counter aggression. The imperialist policy of armed intervention and rash military ventures is doomed to shameful failure.

71. The USSR Government fully supports the position taken by the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam and the National Liberation Front of South Viet-Nam in declaring that the solution to the Viet-Nameese problem can be found only if the United States stops its aggression and recognizes the right of the Viet-Nameese people to manage its own domestic affairs without foreign interference.

72. In examining the question of South West Africa, we cannot but note that here again we come face to face with imperialist policy, in the shape of support for the racist régime which for many years has been mercilessly oppressing the people of the Territory and which has long since been condemned by the United Nations.

73. At its last session the General Assembly, in its resolution 2145 (XXI), summed up, as it were, the discussions of this problem carried on within the United Nations over more than twenty years, and decided to terminate the Mandate which the South African racists had used as an excuse for instituting a colonial régime and arbitrary rule in South West Africa. Thus one more step was taken towards

carrying out the requirements of the historic Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

74. Since the adoption of that Declaration, many peoples have liberated themselves from colonial dependence and created their own national States. Over vast stretches of the great African continent, major social and economic changes are taking place and a genuine national renaissance is in progress.

75. The criminal policy of the colonialists and racists, who are being supported by the international forces of imperialism and reaction, and their stubborn refusal to comply with the requirements of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples alone stand in the way of mankind's being wholly freed from the shame of colonialism. These same forces still keep the peoples of Angola and Mozambique, of so-called "Portuguese" Guinea and Aden, in the shackles of colonial slavery and pursue the inhuman policy of apartheid and racial discrimination towards the indigenous population of the Republic of South Africa and Rhodesia.

76. The fate of the people of South West Africa, too, is tragic in the extreme. The champions of freedom and independence have been waging an unremitting struggle for that people's liberation. They have repeatedly voiced their protest against the South African racists within the United Nations as well. Faced with a united front of socialist, African and Asian States and the progressive forces of the entire world, which resolutely condemned the racists' continuing dominion over South West Africa, the colonial Powers, with the single exception of Portugal, did not dare to oppose openly, at the twenty-first session of the General Assembly, the withdrawal of the Mandate for the Territory from the Republic of South Africa. However, as the facts testify, this was merely a temporary manoeuvre on the part of the colonialists, a change in tactics necessitated by the circumstances, and nothing more. In essence, their policy remains the same.

77. On the face of it, after the annulment of the Mandate everything should have fallen into place: the South African racists should have cleared out at once, the people of South West Africa should have become independent and South West Africa should have been declared to be a sovereign national State. Yet although half a year has elapsed since the adoption of the United Nations resolution, the South African racists have not shown the least intention of complying with it or of surrendering their dominant position and their privileges, while their protectors will not raise a finger to make them comply with it.

78. At the Cape Congress of the Nationalist Party, the Prime Minister of the Republic of South Africa said, with reference to the resolution adopted at the twenty-first session of the General Assembly: "We shall continue to govern South West Africa as we have done heretofore," while the South African Minister of Defence added in a speech he made at Port Elizabeth on 3 November 1966 that South Africa "would never permit this region to be wrested away from it".

79. It is only because of the comprehensive political, economic, military and other support they receive from the major imperialist Powers, which are intent

on transforming southern Africa into a colonialist-racist bastion for opposing the national liberation movement and exerting continuous pressure on the independent African States, that the South African authorities are able to make such declarations and, indeed, to proceed from words to intensive military preparations.

80. Take a look at so important an indicator of financial and economic relations as capital investment, and you will see that the capital investment of none other than United Kingdom and United States monopolies takes pride of place in the South African economy. Moreover, the capital investments of foreign monopolies in the Republic of South Africa have been increasing from year to year. From the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (which is controlled by United States capital) alone, the Republic of South Africa obtained a dozen loans in the total amount of \$242 million. Even after the adoption by the General Assembly at its twentieth session of a resolution condemning all aid to the South African racists, the Bank allotted another \$20 million to South Africa. The United Kingdom, the United States, the Federal Republic of Germany and Japan account for 64 per cent of South Africa's imports and 55 per cent of its exports. The United States firms Caltex and Mobil supply the Republic of South Africa with nearly half the petroleum it imports.

81. The United States and United Kingdom monopolies rapaciously exploit the natural wealth of the people of South West Africa and take copper, lead, zinc, manganese and beryllium out of the country. They are wholly concerned with preserving the present order in the Territory, which furnishes over 15 per cent of the world's diamonds, comes third in vanadium mining, and is among the first in the mining of germanium.

82. Can an international monopoly such as the Consolidated Diamond Mines of South West Africa, which has taken over diamond extraction in the Territory and whose annual income is greater than the Territory's entire budget, be said to be interested in South West Africa's independent development? Can it fail to support the South African racists, who have granted it concessions in South West Africa until the year 2010? Or take the Tsumeb Corporation, a subsidiary of the well-known Morgan firm, Newmont Mining Corporation, which, with a share capital valued at \$3 million, obtained net profits of over \$120 million in the period from 1948 to 1961 alone.

83. The ruinous consequences of the uncontrolled operations of the foreign monopolies in South West Africa are known to all. In this connexion, I would only refer to document A/5840 of 5 January 1965 issued by the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. It contains the following passage:

"The Territory's mineral resources are being rapidly exploited by foreign companies. The two mining operations which are at present yielding the most fruitful results . . . will probably be worked out within twenty-five years. Thus the country runs the risk of finding itself, in the not too distant

future, without the raw materials which now provide the main support for the money economy." 2/

84. This, then, is the picture that is revealed if we take a close look at the problem and lay bare the motivations of certain Western Powers. These are the very Powers which, by supporting the South African régime, oppose the liberation of South West Africa and prevent implementation of the resolution of the General Assembly's twenty-first session and of many other United Nations resolutions directed against the anti-human régime of the South African racists.

85. Now that, in accordance with the resolution of the twenty-first session, the continued presence of the South African administration in the Territory of South West Africa has become illegal, those States which lend support to the South African régime bear their full share of responsibility for that régime's criminal acts against the people of South West Africa.

86. Undisguised attempts to lend support to the racist régime of the Republic of South Africa were also made by representatives of the NATO countries in the Committee of Fourteen, which had been asked to recommend practical means by which the people of South West Africa could be ensured independence.

87. What, in fact, would have been the result of the adoption and implementation of the proposals made in the Committee of Fourteen by the representatives of Canada, Italy and the United States [A/6640, para. 84]? Their solution of the entire problem before the United Nations is merely to appoint a Special Representative for South West Africa and to give him a mandate, without any time limit whatsoever, to make a comprehensive study of the situation in the Territory "with particular reference to its human and material resources". The whole purpose of the operation would seem to be to discover whether there are any people living in the Territory at all, and what sort of people they might be. We have to find out, it would seem, whether the Territory has any material resources, and if so, what they are, as if the enormous profits of the foreign monopolies did not fully answer those questions. This predilection for anthropology and geography is far from disinterested. Behind it lurks a very definite political purpose: to show that, supposedly, South West Africa does not yet have the necessary material resources or trained persons among the indigenous population for the creation of a sovereign independent State.

88. The sponsors further propose that the Special Representative, who must, of course, be a person acceptable to them, should "ascertain what elements may be considered as representative of all peoples living in the Territory".

89. This proposal cannot but be regarded as a direct encroachment on the inalienable rights of the people of South West Africa, who alone can say who their true representatives are.

90. The people of South West Africa have their own vanguard—the national patriotic forces which, despite the ruthless police régime in the country, despite mass repression and terror, are waging a heroic

struggle for independence. We salute these true patriots of South West Africa and wish them every success in their just cause.

91. The sponsors of the Western proposals really let the cat out of the bag, so to say, when they instruct the Special Representative to "determine the necessary conditions that will enable South West Africa to achieve self-determination and independence". They thereby proclaim for the n-th time that the fate of the people of South West Africa shall not be decided by that people itself, but by a Special Representative, an outsider, who may, if he so wishes, arrive at the conclusion that the necessary conditions for transforming South West Africa into an independent State are absent and that the people of the Territory should be denied independence.

92. It will readily be seen that these proposals are clearly motivated by the desire to force through, at all costs, the long-since-refuted colonialist doctrine that the colonial peoples are "incapable" of self-government and "unprepared" for independence. As we all know, the premise that the African peoples are "inferior" has always served the colonialists as their main argument in their efforts to prevent these peoples from setting their feet on the path of free and independent development.

93. History has totally refuted this reactionary concept. Dozens of young States, which achieved independence despite and in opposition to the colonial Powers, are successfully overcoming the painful after-effects of colonialism; their peoples are actively engaged in the construction of a new society and have produced eminent statesmen, and many of them have prepared and are carrying out progressive programmes of social and economic development.

94. As has rightly been pointed out by the representatives of Ethiopia and Pakistan, it is precisely in order to put an end once and for all to the myth that the oppressed peoples are not ready for freedom and sovereignty that the United Nations Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples [General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV), operative paragraph 3] states in so many words that: "Inadequacy of political, economic, social or educational preparedness should never serve as a pretext for delaying independence."

95. We are convinced that the people of South West Africa, too, once it has shaken off the yoke of the South African racists and the predominance of the foreign monopolies, will find the strength to ensure the country's social and economic progress, overcome poverty, hunger and disease and, together with the other free peoples of Africa, make its contribution to the cause of peace in the African continent.

96. Thus, no matter from what angle we examine them, we can see in the proposals of the three NATO countries their desire to bring the United Nations back to the situation which existed before the termination of the Mandate and to prevent a liquidation of the colonial racist régime in South West Africa. The Canadian representative's statement has added nothing new to the picture I have painted.

2/ Official Records of the General Assembly, Nineteenth Session, Annexes, annex No. 15, document A/5840, para. 162.

97. The collaboration or, to be more precise, the collusion of the South African racists with their patrons is continuing. That is attested to, *inter alia*, by a report published in The New York Times on the opening day of the session to the effect that the Governments of the United States and the Republic of South Africa have agreed to begin a "dialogue" with a view to working out measures that would enable the Western Powers to oppose more effectively the demands of the African and Asian States which are pressing for the liberation of South West Africa at the earliest possible date.

98. The Ad Hoc Committee's report also contains the proposals introduced by Chile and Mexico [A/6640, paras. 93 and 95]. We know that the Latin American peoples, like all freedom-loving peoples, understand and appreciate the problem of wiping out colonialism and racism. But the above-mentioned proposals are, in our opinion, so worded that they fail to provide any clear answer to the questions of the immediate liquidation of the racist colonialist rule of South Africa over South West Africa and of the demand that the States which are co-operating with the South African racists should sever all ties with the Pretoria authorities until the latter renounce their racist and annexationist policy.

99. It will be seen that the draft lays great stress on negotiations with the South African racists for the transfer of the Territory "with the least possible upheaval". But surely the protracted debate on the question of South West Africa demonstrates that any attempt to make the liberation of the people of South West Africa contingent on negotiations, given the present position of the Republic of South Africa and its patrons, is bound to lead only to further delays.

100. The sponsors of the proposals in question think that prior to any proclamation of independence of South West Africa there should be an interim, transitional period, during which the Territory's affairs would not be administered by its people. We are told that this transitional period is necessary so that the people of South West Africa can be assisted in setting up administrative machinery, its welfare can be promoted, attention can be given to the problem of education, etc., etc. But, as may be seen from the rich store of experience gained by the peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America in their fight against colonialism and for freedom and independence, all these problems, whose importance is undeniable, can be resolved far more successfully if South West Africa is allowed to develop independently, without outside interference, and having the benefit of the by now traditional and tested methods of assistance to young newly-independent States.

101. It should be stated firmly that there can be no valid argument against the immediate termination of the power wielded by the South African racists over South West Africa. The people of that country, like the other African peoples, is entitled to create its own sovereign national State and it has no need of guardians to "prepare" it for independence.

102. The USSR delegation is in complete agreement with the African States which urge full and unqualified support of the legitimate demands of the South West

African people for the abolition of the colonialist racist régime that has been foisted upon it. For fifty years now, the Soviet State has steadfastly pursued Lenin's policy of giving strong support to peoples fighting for their freedom and independence and the policy of strengthening its fraternal union with the liberated countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America. Together with these countries, the Soviet Union opposes imperialism and colonialism and defends the right of all peoples freely to determine their own destiny. There is and can be no compromising with the enemies of freedom and independence.

103. The disinterested moral, political, economic and other support given by the Soviet Union has played a not inconsiderable part in helping many peoples which had been groaning under the colonial yoke to win independence. Our country will continue to give its aid to those who raise the banner of freedom. This remark applies fully to the people of South West Africa.

104. We have no reason to doubt the good intentions of the representatives of Nigeria, the United Arab Republic, Senegal, Ethiopia and Pakistan, who introduced certain proposals in the Ad Hoc Committee for South West Africa [*ibid.*, paras. 45 and 82]. We also listened carefully to the statements made by the representatives of Ethiopia and Ghana and today by the representative of Pakistan, statements explaining the Afro-Asian position on the question under discussion.

105. While we share the ardent desire of the African and Asian countries to advance the hour of liberation of the South West African people, we nevertheless feel that proposals for the creation of special machinery to administer the Territory should be evaluated with great care. There are serious reasons to fear that those who oppose the Territory's independence would not fail to make use of such machinery for purposes entirely divorced from the earliest possible expulsion of the South African racists, although that expulsion is the crux of the matter. I am sure everyone will remember the sad example of the action of the United Nations Administration and forces in the Congo; and we cannot disregard the lessons of the past.

106. I should like to issue a special warning against the creation of any new United Nations police force, not provided for in the Charter, which would be placed at the disposal of the Administration. Those same United Nations operations in the Congo to which I have just referred are proof that operations of foreign armed forces in any country, unless they are carried out in strict compliance with the United Nations Charter, are most dangerous and undesirable. And at the present time, when certain States are openly advocating wrecking the United Nations Charter, using armed forces in contravention of the Charter, the proposal to create a police force for South West Africa is very disquieting.

107. The USSR Government has repeatedly stated what measures, in its view, would lead to a genuine solution of the problem of South West Africa. In so doing, it has always taken into account the special features of the situation with regard to South West Africa. We have urged in the past, and we are urging now, that the people of that country should be granted



independence without delay. The primary prerequisite is the expulsion of the South African racists, the withdrawal of South African troops and police, and the termination of the racist administration in South West Africa.

108. Before these measures can be implemented, there must be complete, unqualified and unconditional cessation of the political, economic, military and other aid which the United States of America and the United Kingdom, as well as certain other Western Powers, continue to give to the South African authorities. The General Assembly, at the present session, must vigorously condemn such support and demand immediate cessation of collaboration with the South African régime.

109. With regard to the part to be played by the Organization of African Unity, I should like to emphasize that, in our opinion, the United Nations, with the co-operation of the Organization of African Unity, could take appropriate measures for the preparation and conduct of general elections. We agree that this step takes priority, since these elections should result in the transfer of power to, and achievement of genuine independence by, the population of South West Africa. It goes without saying that these elections must be universal and democratic. All those political leaders who represent the indigenous population of South West Africa and who have been imprisoned or forced to emigrate must be given the right to take part in the elections. The political parties and organizations of the country's indigenous population, especially those among them which are the most active in fighting the domination of the South African racists and have been recognized by the Organization of African Unity, must be allowed freedom of action.

110. There is no question in my mind of relieving the United Nations of its responsibility under resolution 2145 (XXI), but rather of recognizing that the Organization of African Unity, in collaboration with the United Nations, can for its part make a useful contribution to the preparation and conduct of elections which would ensure the transfer of power to the people of South West Africa. The States which have banded together in the Organization of African Unity—one of the most representative regional organizations in the world—have amassed a wealth of experience in setting up new State machinery to replace the old colonial régime, and that will be the very first task the people of South West Africa will have to tackle as soon as the South African racists have been expelled from the country.

111. To carry out the measures designed to give independence to the people of South West Africa will, no doubt, require some funds. We believe it would be just if the entire cost of setting up administrative organs in South West Africa were to be paid for out of the past and present profits obtained in the Territory. It would be only normal if these profits, derived from the exploitation of its natural resources and created by the labour of its people, should, instead of going into the pockets of foreign monopolists, be used to establish and develop the young national State and to meet its immediate requirements.

112. I should like to emphasize that the resolution on South West Africa adopted by the General Assembly at its twenty-first session calls on all Member States to extend their whole-hearted co-operation so that the people of that country may without delay exercise their right to self-determination and independence in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations and the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. Those are documents no one has the right to disregard.

113. I am convinced that this special session of the General Assembly will do everything in its power in order, as quickly as possible, to overcome the resistance of the partisans of colonialism and racism, and force the enemies of the freedom and independence of the South West African people to comply with the decisions of the United Nations.

114. Mr. PIÑERA (Chile) (translated from Spanish): First of all, on behalf of my delegation I should like to congratulate Mr. Pazhwak on his election by acclamation as President of this special session of the General Assembly. The abilities he displayed last year, as President of the twenty-first session of the Assembly, assure us that we can again look forward to the calm and effective leadership we enjoyed then.

115. At its previous regular session, the General Assembly engaged in a historic debate during which the Organization had to face the crisis caused by the efforts of more than twenty years to ensure that South Africa would fulfil the "sacred trust of civilization" placed in it by the League of Nations. The International Court of Justice judgement of 18 July 1966<sup>3/</sup> actually hindered the legal solution towards which the African countries had been working with patience and self-sacrifice, making it inevitable for the United Nations to have to face, finally and decisively, the need for a political solution. The natural and sweeping conclusion was that it was indispensable to terminate the Mandate and to let the United Nations assume direct responsibility for the Territory, with a view to enabling the population to exercise its right to self-determination and independence.

116. We had the honour and the responsibility of taking an active part in the negotiations which preceded the adoption of General Assembly resolution 2145 (XXI). They were inspired by a desire to find a formula which would meet with the more or less unanimous support of the Member States and thus reflect in no uncertain terms the feelings of the international community on the problem of South West Africa and create a better chance of bringing about a real change in the situation. We felt then, as we do now, that if United Nations action is to be effective it must be given the greatest possible support.

117. The Ad Hoc Committee for South West Africa has a more difficult task than the one which faced the General Assembly in its twenty-first session, as Secretary-General U Thant pointed out with his customary clarity at the Committee's opening meeting [A/AC.129/SR.1]. Indeed, the General Assembly regarded the termination of the Mandate as the only

<sup>3/</sup> See South West Africa, Second Phase, Judgement, I.C.J. Reports 1966, p. 6.

possible solution to a situation that was no longer tolerable. The United Nations also assumed direct responsibility for bringing the inhabitants of the Territory to self-determination and independence. But how could that responsibility be exercised so as to achieve the desired aim? On 26 September 1966, fifty-four Afro-Asian countries submitted a proposal<sup>4/</sup> requesting direct administration by the United Nations. Other countries were reluctant to accept this solution and asked for a more thorough investigation of the matter. Hence the compromise solution found in resolution 2145 (XXI) set up an Ad Hoc Committee for South West Africa and instructed it to study and recommend to the General Assembly at a special session "practical means by which South West Africa should be administered, so as to enable the people of the Territory to exercise the right of self-determination and to achieve independence".

118. Although the Committee was not able to arrive at a unanimous recommendation, my delegation feels called upon to put on record that the fourteen members of the Committee spared no effort to be constructive and to bring some real benefit to the inhabitants of South West Africa. The Chilean delegation considers it a privilege to have worked with that select group of delegations, and it is an especially pleasant duty to pay a tribute to the Chairman of the Committee, Mr. Jakobson of Finland, who presided so ably, impartially and assiduously over the Committee's work. We should also like to thank our Rapporteur, Mr. Wodajo of Ethiopia, for his valuable contribution to our work.

119. It is well known that there were differences of opinion in the Committee on the practical means to be adopted. It proved impossible to reconcile these differences among the fourteen delegations, but we believe that they can and should be reconciled here in the Assembly. In the Committee, my delegation maintained that it was perfectly natural and understandable that there should be differences of opinion as to the scope and nature of the practical means by which the United Nations would bring South West Africa to self-determination and independence. The differences reflected the divergent views on the manner and timing of this process. They stemmed from the inevitable differences of policy of the Governments concerned, the greater or lesser degree to which the problem and its consequences affected them, and other similar factors.

120. On the other hand, it would be impossible, in our opinion, to sympathize with or to countenance any attempt to go back on the basic and irrevocable decisions taken by the Assembly in resolution 2145 (XXI). In other words, legitimate differences of opinion on methods are understandable, but certainly not on the ultimate aims. The General Assembly's basic declarations—that the Mandate is terminated, that the United Nations assumes direct responsibility for the Territory, and that the aim is to bring it to self-determination and independence—are immutable. We therefore maintain that the common denominator from which no proposal may depart continues to be the strict interpretation of resolution 2145 (XXI).

<sup>4/</sup> See Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-first Session, Annexes, Agenda item 65, (A/L.483 and Add.1 and 3).

121. There is indeed a very wide range of possible measures in the three proposals outlined in the Committee's report [A/6640] and the ideas put forward by the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia. Much could be said for and against each of these proposals and suggestions, since the problem is an extremely complex one. It means reconciling, on the one hand, the unshakable aims of United Nations policy on South West Africa and the natural desire to achieve these aims as soon as possible, and on the other hand, the enormous political difficulties entailed in the practical fulfilment of these aims. The clash between the two extremes has given rise to the conflicting points of view concerning the so-called "practical measures" that the Committee was asked to recommend to the Assembly. The proposal of Mexico and Chile [*ibid.*, para. 93], which immediately received the valuable support of Japan, is the same as that of the four African countries—Ethiopia, Nigeria, Senegal and the United Arab Republic—and Pakistan [*ibid.*, paras. 45 and 82] on the matter of direct administration of the Territory by the United Nations; but the proposals differ in the emphasis and timing of the process.

122. On the other hand, the question of direct administration of the Territory by the United Nations was not raised in the proposal submitted by Canada, Italy and the United States [*ibid.*, para. 84], since the sponsors see in it the possibility of direct conflict with South Africa. They preferred what is certainly a subtler and more flexible method whereby the responsibility of the United Nations is considerably diluted and much depends upon a desire for co-operation on the part of the former Mandatory Power, which unfortunately is not borne out by the facts.

123. The attitude of the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia is even more sharply opposed to direct administration by the United Nations, for political reasons and reasons of principle which we respect but cannot share. Furthermore, we know that the alternative offered us—referral of the problem forthwith to the Security Council with a view to applying the measures laid down in Chapter VII—is not practicable in this case for well-known political reasons which would almost certainly paralyse the Security Council.

124. Here again we find one of the differences between the Latin American proposal by Mexico and Chile and the African proposal, also supported by Pakistan, namely the reference at this stage to sanctions to be applied against South Africa if it does not comply with the decisions of the General Assembly. This reference to sanctions appears to us to be somewhat precipitate and unnecessary; at the present stage it does not help us to carry out our task successfully and only adds difficulties to a process that is by its nature extremely complex.

125. We are well aware that no one could accuse the United Nations of undue impatience in the long-drawn-out business of South West Africa, and if at the end of it all sanctions do prove essential, the responsibility for bringing them about will fall not on us but on those who stubbornly refuse to pay heed to the sense of justice of the international community.



126. We do not wish it to be said that the General Assembly itself has closed the door to a possible change of attitude on the part of the South African Government. We know full well that there is very little foundation for hope of such a change. Any real, genuine change—let us be quite clear on this point—would entail recognition of resolution 2145 (XXI) and co-operation with the United Nations in its fulfilment. A few weeks ago, at the 15th meeting of the Committee, we had occasion to protest against the setting up of a Bantustan in Ovamboland based on the Odendaal Plan, involving a form of self-determination which is not genuine but a fraud, and in open contravention of the resolutions of the United Nations.

127. The Latin American proposal [*ibid.*, para. 937] does not envisage negotiations with South Africa on an unknown and undefined goal, as the Ethiopian representative appeared to imply at the 1503rd plenary meeting during his very full statement. He said that the Latin American proposal did not provide for negotiations; on the contrary, paragraph 8 clearly states

"The Council shall enter immediately into contact with the authorities of the Republic of South Africa in order to lay down procedures, in accordance with resolution 2145 (XXI), for the transfer of the Territory with the least possible upheaval, a time-limit for its completion being prescribed." [A/AC.129/L.7, para. 8.]

The point is therefore strict compliance with the terms of resolution 2145 (XXI). Contact with the de facto administration must be solely and exclusively within this context. The purpose of any such contact is to ensure that the process be carried out successfully, and if possible peacefully and harmoniously.

128. The paragraph I have just quoted, like the later paragraphs in the implementation section of our proposal, is designed to ensure that administration of the Territory by the United Nations will become an effective and working reality and not a merely theoretical creation which exists on paper but has no practical application. The General Assembly will retain direct control of the situation during this process of implementation and will be able to evaluate the progress achieved or the lack of progress and decide on whatever new measures may be called for. This may happen as early as September 1967, during the twenty-second session of the General Assembly. Why, then, should we prejudge the outcome of this new stage by taking decisions on sanctions now?

129. I do not believe it would be helpful to go into a more detailed examination of the different proposals. They were carefully examined here yesterday and today and will continue to be considered by the Assembly during the coming weeks. I make bold to say that it would not be surprising if this sovereign body decided, in its wisdom, not to accept any of the proposals, but rather to adopt a different formula which might prove more practicable or might meet with general support, to which we attach the utmost importance.

130. Indeed, the purpose of the delegations of Mexico and Chile in submitting their proposal was precisely to try to find a point where a compromise or consensus might be arrived at by the Member States.

131. We believe that the responsibility of the Latin American delegations in connexion with the agreement reached at the last session of the General Assembly imposed upon us a moral and political duty to ensure to the best of our ability that the process begun with resolution 2145 (XXI) should be carried through successfully. We are well aware of the great difficulties which the United Nations will have to face in this task, but we believe that the world Organization would be seriously weakened if it were to appear hesitant or incapable of discharging its responsibilities.

132. We understand the concern of those delegations which regard with some apprehension the process by which the United Nations would administer the Territory directly with a view to bringing the inhabitants to self-determination and independence. We also share the view that every effort should be made to ensure that this process can be carried out peacefully and harmoniously.

133. Nevertheless, in our view it is extremely difficult to fulfil the purposes outlined in resolution 2145 (XXI) without considering some form of direct administration of South West Africa by the United Nations. It is for this reason that we have made the resolution the essential basis of our proposal. At the same time we have taken great care to include in it measures intended as far as possible to ease the way for a peaceful and harmonious takeover.

134. The Latin American countries are not directly affected by this problem. They have nevertheless taken an active interest in finding a solution mainly out of a concern for the fortunes of the inhabitants of South West Africa who have been subjected to foreign domination for so long. Our next concern is that the United Nations should not find itself in an impasse where its ability to achieve world peace and justice would be reduced. On the contrary, we would like to see the Organization emerge from this crisis strengthened and with its prestige increased by having coped with this difficult task successfully.

135. With great humility, therefore, we make a fervent, heartfelt plea to every delegation to spare no effort of goodwill and understanding so that we may be able to repeat, by way of a compromise solution, the overwhelming majority by which resolution 2145 (XXI) was adopted at the twenty-first session. We are convinced that only a resolution enjoying this powerful support could give real and effective strength to the United Nations aim of bringing the people of South West Africa to self-determination and independence.

136. Lord CARADON (United Kingdom): Mr. President, first may I join with all my fellow representatives in congratulating ourselves on your unanimous re-election as President of the General Assembly. We are fortunate indeed to be able to continue under your wise and firm guidance, and we must all endeavour to rise to the call which you made to us for a forthright and patient and realistic approach to the problems of justice and peace with which we deal.

137. I would also say that as I listened just now to the speech of the Deputy Foreign Minister of the Soviet Union I was very much tempted to reply; and

indeed the temptation was strong, to reply, at least, to those parts of the speech which were relevant to the subject of our debate. But it may be best not to do so now. Today I would wish only to express to him, on behalf of my Government and my country, our sense of shock and sorrow when we heard the news yesterday, the news that a brave Russian had given his life in the high adventure of the exploration of outer space. Such heroism and such sacrifice bring us all close together, close together in sympathy and in humility and in sorrow and in admiration. We feel close together in a grief which transcends all frontiers and all differences and a pride in human courage in the face of known and unknown dangers which uplifts us all.

138. Six months ago in this Assembly I stated the considered views of my Government on the question now again before us. I stated then the attitude and the arguments of my Government which led us to a conclusion of first importance, the conclusion that the South African Government had forfeited the right to administer the Mandate over South West Africa. Let no one underestimate the significance of that statement by my Government. It recorded a fundamental conclusion of far-reaching consequence.

139. When I spoke last October [1448th meeting] I fully set out the reasons for that conclusion and I stated too our strong views on how the United Nations should proceed. I also stated in the General Assembly [1454th meeting] the considerations which weighed with us in deciding that we could not support resolution 2145 (XXI) which was adopted on 27 October.

140. Subsequent events and further reflection have not diminished the force of the arguments which then weighed with us or the strength of the convictions which we then formed. Indeed, we are now more certain than ever of the soundness of those arguments and those convictions. I wish, therefore, to go back to first principles. I wish to restate our conclusions and the reasons for them, and I also wish to reaffirm what we believe is the right course to follow.

141. First of all, let me state again plainly that our motive, our aim, our determination must be to set the people of South West Africa free, free to advance to the destiny of their own choice in full self-determination. Secondly, we share and strongly support the views of this Assembly on the policies of apartheid. We deplore and condemn and oppose the domination of one people or one race over another. We cannot accept the South African Government's defence of its racial policies; and, even more strongly still, we reject the application of those policies to a country which is an international responsibility. We are convinced that a political and economic and social system built on the domination of one race by another by force cannot survive.

142. Thirdly, we do not accept the legal arguments advanced by the South African Government. We reject the contention that the judgement of the International Court given on 18 July 1966 and<sup>5/</sup> was a justification of the policies of the South African Government. On the contrary, we maintain that it is beyond doubt that

the 1950<sup>6/</sup> advisory opinion of the Court, which was accepted by an overwhelming vote of the General Assembly, stands unaffected and unimpaired. We maintain that nothing in the 1955<sup>7/</sup> and 1956<sup>8/</sup> advisory opinions casts any doubt whatever on the correctness of the basic propositions of the 1950 advisory opinion.

143. Consequently we maintained that it was clear and established that South West Africa was a Territory under international mandate and that the South African Government had the international obligations stated in Article 22 of the Covenant of the League of Nations and in the Mandate for South West Africa. The obligation to transmit petitions from the inhabitants of the Territory remained. Moreover, it was for the United Nations to exercise the supervisory functions, and it was to the United Nations that the annual reports and petitions should have been submitted. But the South African Government repeatedly and openly contested that the Mandate remained in force and that the United Nations had succeeded to the supervisory functions formerly exercised by the Council of the League of Nations.

144. It is those fundamental provisions for international accountability which are at the heart of the mandate system but which the South African Government has so far persistently refused to accept.

145. By word and by action, the South African Government demonstrated that it was not ready to accept the essential obligations incumbent upon it under the Mandate. By repudiating those obligations, so clearly affirmed by the International Court and by this Assembly, it forfeited its title to the Mandate. It no longer had the right to carry the sacred trust conferred upon it.

146. It is well that we should restate these principles and these conclusions and these convictions. We have no reason whatever to retreat or retract from them. They are the basis on which all future action must be justified.

147. Before I leave these legal considerations, I repeat that there are still legal questions undecided. No one will deny that the legal issues arising in connexion with the status of South West Africa and with the powers and competence of the United Nations are very complex. We still believe that the judgement of July 1966 should not be left as the last word from the principal judicial organ of the United Nations on these great issues. We still believe that it is highly desirable that it should be demonstrated to the world and to the South African Government in particular that the judgement given by the Court last July was in no way a victory or vindication for the South African Government as representatives of that Government were so eager to suggest.

148. Now that I have restated the principles which I believe were fully accepted by nearly all of us and the purposes on which we are agreed, now that I have

<sup>6/</sup> International status of South West Africa, Advisory Opinion: L.C.J. Reports 1950, p. 128.

<sup>7/</sup> South West Africa—Voting procedure, Advisory Opinion of June 7th, 1955: L.C.J. Reports 1955, p. 67.

<sup>8/</sup> Admissibility of hearings of petitioners by the Committee on South West Africa, Advisory Opinion of June 1st, 1956: L.C.J. Reports 1956, p. 23.

<sup>5/</sup> South West Africa, Second Phase, Judgement, L.C.J. Reports 1966, p. 6.

restated our joint motives, let me turn to the equally important but more difficult question of the action which the international community should take.

149. When I spoke last October I said that, in pursuing the aim of enabling all the people of South West Africa to proceed to free and full self-determination and independence, we should first thoroughly study all questions relevant to the advance we wish to achieve, and then act not by words alone but by considered and deliberate action within our clear capacity. I said then quite bluntly that such were the difficulties that I would far rather see a slow success than a quick failure.

150. I said that we had an obligation not only to the people of South West Africa but to the United Nations itself. We had, and we still have, an obligation not to raise false hopes by hasty or ineffective methods, not to deceive ourselves or anyone else by shutting our eyes to practical barriers, not to imagine that those barriers can be overcome by words alone, not to believe that an inoperative and ineffective resolution could be a substitute for deliberate and practical action.

151. I urged then that we should consult together about methods and means, to see what was possible and what was not, to consider tactics and strategy, to consider timing in particular. We had, and still have, a duty not to advance until the ground has been thoroughly explored, until all the legal and other aspects of the whole problem have been examined and assessed. Moreover, my Government pledged itself, if such a course were accepted, to play a full and constructive part in pursuing it.

152. My Government made its position absolutely clear on the principles and purposes which commanded overwhelming support, and we pointed the way to concerted action which could have enabled us all to go forward together. It was a matter of the greatest regret to us that nevertheless a resolution was adopted which seemed to us open to objection and misconception and which we consequently could not honestly support.

153. We were unable to vote for that resolution, for a number of reasons. We had, and still have, doubts on several legal issues. We stated them at the time. Moreover, we were convinced that the terms of reference of the Ad Hoc Committee should not have been confined and restricted as they were but should have been widened to allow and require the Committee to consider all aspects of the future course to be followed by the United Nations, with the agreed object of self-determination and independence for all the people of the Territory.

154. What were the differences between us? As the representative of Chile has rightly and wisely reminded us, they were differences of method and means and timing. In short, what we said was that we must look before we leap; and I am bold enough to say that many delegations have recognized that the course we advocated, far from being negative, held out the best prospect of practical advance on sure ground.

155. It is still true now, as it was true last October, that we must act within our capacity. It is still true, as it was in October, that if at all possible we should

act in agreement together, and consequently I welcome the comment just made by the representative of Chile. It is still true now, as it was last October, that if we do otherwise we shall give comfort and encouragement not to those whom we wish to help but only to those whose policies we reject.

156. Therefore we still apply the same tests. Let the declared destination be clear and agreed, but let the road to be followed also be agreed. Let every step be on firm ground; and let us not forget that the Charter requires us first of all to seek a solution of any dispute by the processes of peaceful settlement.

157. It is with those tests that we have studied the report of the Ad Hoc Committee, and we see in the proposals put forward by Canada, Italy and the United States [A/6640, para. 84] the possibility that this Assembly could make effective progress in general agreement. We have listened today to an able and persuasive speech by the representative of Canada explaining those proposals. We consider that those proposals represent a practical and sensible course on which we greatly hope that we can all agree.

158. The opportunity for full agreement again presents itself to us all. On the other hand, we see nothing but dissension and deadlock if those constructive proposals are not accepted and if we endeavour instead to jump to conclusions which we have no available means and no present prospect of putting into effect. Again we say that if we do that we shall be raising hopes and expectations which we cannot now satisfy. We shall, moreover, be damaging the reputation and the effectiveness of the United Nations.

159. We suggest that every delegation should review the present position yet again with these factors in mind, and we would respectfully suggest that we should all ask ourselves the question: cannot these proposals show the way to practical progress and at the same time command the greatest measure of general support?

160. The general background in the whole of southern Africa is in all our minds, and the developments in a complex of interrelated problems in southern Africa rightly cause concern here in the United Nations and elsewhere. We respect the intense feelings which they rightly arouse. But we sincerely trust that strength of feeling will not lead to precipitate and divisive action.

161. The seriousness of the dangers, the interests of the people concerned, the necessity to strengthen and sustain the authority of the United Nations, all require us, so we earnestly suggest to this Assembly, to adopt the practical course which we believe offers the best hope of discharging our international obligations to all the people of South West Africa.

162. Mr. MUDENDA (Zambia): Mr. President, permit me to express my delegation's profound and sincere congratulations upon your unanimous re-election to the high office of President of the Assembly at its fifth special session. My delegation is not unaware of the deep sense of justice, impartiality, and ability with which you have guided the complex deliberations of this Assembly. My delegation is convinced that, under your enlightened and wise leader-

ship, this crucial fifth special session of the General Assembly will fulfil its sacred obligations to the people of South West Africa.

163. Few events in the history of the United Nations have the significance and the force to alter the course of world history as the question of South West Africa. My delegation is of the view that the future of this Organization will depend to a large degree on whether or not this world body is prepared to face up to its responsibilities.

164. The importance of the question of South West Africa cannot be over-stressed. Most Members are no doubt familiar with the grave and serious situation which has been the subject of seventy-six resolutions since 1945, and four references to the International Court of Justice. The mass of information accumulated over the past years is more than sufficient to bring out the grave implications of the decision to be made by this Assembly. Success or failure in implementing resolution 2145 (XXI) will demonstrate the effectiveness or the impotence of the United Nations in the discharge of its responsibilities in the preservation of peace and security. Failure on the part of this Organization to act positively will aggravate racial tension in international relations. If we allow race considerations to colour our deliberations in this world body, we shall be acting contrary to the Charter of the United Nations.

165. Furthermore, failure to make any positive decision on the future administration of South West Africa amounts to the consolidation and the perpetuation of apartheid by the tyrannical and racist minority régime. The consequent dangers of racial explosion and war would be obvious. It is in the interest of this Organization to eliminate the seeds of such a conflict. It is the inescapable duty of this Assembly to implement its own resolutions, and, in fact, the United Nations is capable of resolving the question of South West Africa. In regard to the resolution terminating the Mandate of South Africa over South West Africa, Member States are irrevocably committed to implementing that decision. Permit me to repeat: Member States are committed to implementing that decision. It may be difficult but we are all, however, committed to implementing the resolution, whether it is convenient or not.

166. Racialist minority régimes have been conducting false propaganda in an attempt to justify their iniquitous policies. It is regrettable that some countries have fallen victims to this cheap propaganda. The President of the Republic of Zambia has, on many occasions, sounded caution and a note of warning to Western leaders on the activities and malicious propaganda campaigns in their capitals by minority régimes in southern Africa which are making last-ditch efforts in the struggle against liberation and independence. The propaganda agents of these tyrannical minority régimes have penetrated business, banking and political circles to act as pressure groups against the cause of liberty and peace.

167. We should not offer opportunity to racialists to tarnish the minds of peace-loving people. Those who understand the evils of apartheid will appreciate our desire for swift action. Any further delay in imple-

menting resolution 1514 (XV) of 14 December 1960 will benefit only the South African régime. The President of the Republic of Zambia described the adoption last year of resolution 2154 (XXI) by the General Assembly terminating South Africa's Mandate over South West Africa as "welcome and heartening". In his speech to the twenty-first session of the General Assembly, he stated among other things:

"The adoption of the resolution on South West Africa [2145 (XXI)] is so far the highest demonstration in the international community of the universal condemnation, not only of apartheid but of the tyranny exercised by a few human beings over the majority; of our concern for peace, justice and the principles of the Charter of the United Nations. We should, therefore, not only give nominal support to this resolution, but we must all now prepare for its early implementation." [1464th meeting, para. 40.]

168. Zambia regards this resolution as vital to the future of South West Africa in particular and the future of southern Africa as a whole.

169. It is in this same spirit that we now call upon the Members of the United Nations to implement the resolution passed by the General Assembly at its twenty-first session. My delegation has closely studied the various proposals of the Ad Hoc Committee for South West Africa. I wish to state that it cannot accept the proposals by the United States, Italy and Canada [A/6640, para. 84] as they imply the continuation of apartheid and illegality. The continuation of an illegal régime in South West Africa, like the one in Rhodesia, implies bringing about a halt to the process of decolonization. Zambia cannot be a party to this. We further reject any proposals which will involve this Organization in fruitless investigations on this topic on which a decision in principle has already been taken on the basis of adequate available information. We have studied the proposals submitted to the Ad Hoc Committee for South West Africa by the delegations of Chile and Mexico [ibid., para. 93] and commend their efforts in trying to find a genuine solution to this problem. There is, however, a gap between their proposals and those submitted by the African-Pakistan group [ibid., paras. 45 and 82]. It is, however, encouraging to note that both the African-Pakistan proposals and those of the delegations of Chile and Mexico call for the effective and immediate establishment of a United Nations presence in South West Africa leading to the granting of independence to the indigenous people. However, aware of South Africa's defiant attitude to all previous United Nations resolutions, it is imperative that this Assembly should take the necessary steps to deal with any situation which may arise from South Africa's refusal to comply with the decision of this Assembly. We are confident that, during our consultations and discussions, this narrow gap and difference between the proposals by the delegations of Chile and Mexico, on the one hand, and the African-Pakistan proposals, on the other hand, will be eliminated.

170. We cannot accept any proposals aimed at opening negotiations with the Pretoria authorities whose intransigence on this question is very well known.

Instead we support proposals that will lead to immediate and effective implementation of the resolution. My delegation believes that the proposals submitted by the African-Pakistan group are in keeping with the terms of resolution 2145 (XXI) and therefore support them very strongly.

171. The South African authorities have, in flagrant violation of that resolution, not only reassured the white people of South Africa that nothing has changed, but also declared unequivocally and with impunity that South West Africa is an integral part of their Republic, and have confirmed that policy by declaring their intention of establishing a "Bantustan" called Ovamboland.

172. Because South Africa has lost its Mandate over South West Africa, my delegation proposes that the following steps should be taken: first, a date should be fixed for the withdrawal of South Africa from that country; secondly, all political detainees should be released and exiles allowed to return to their country; thirdly, the United Nations should establish a transitional machinery for the administration of that country till formal independence is declared, on the basis of resolution 1415 (XIV); fourthly, Members of this Organization should play their role within the framework of the Charter of the United Nations; and here Zambia would gladly co-operate in the fulfilment of the objectives enshrined in the Charter.

173. In conclusion, my delegation wishes to restate its stand on this matter on the following points: we do not support any proposals aimed at gathering more information on this subject because that information is already available in the United Nations today; we cannot accept the suggestion that the United Nations should engage in fruitless negotiations with South Africa on the question of South West Africa; we reject the creation of Ovamboland as a substitute for the independence of South West Africa.

174. Zambia will give its unstinting support to any measure by the United Nations aimed at the liberation of South West Africa. To this effect the President of the Republic of Zambia, Dr. Kenneth Kaunda, stated:

"Zambia will continue to give its unqualified support to any measures or proposals aimed at bringing about an early end to the current unhappy state of affairs in South Africa and South West Africa, to the conflict among races and men of colour. We pledge our support for measures calculated to bring about a situation in which ... there will be a permanent, lasting and just settlement in the interest of peace and harmony among races and progress and happiness for all." [1464th meeting, para. 39.]

175. The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of Malawi in exercise of his right of reply.

176. Mr. KATENGA (Malawi): Mr. President, as this is the first time I have spoken during this fifth special session, permit me to congratulate you upon your re-election.

177. It was not my delegation's desire to take the floor during this session. However, I have been prompted to do so in order to exercise my right of reply because the representative of Guinea alluded to my country's trade relations with the Republic

of South Africa. In doing so, I should like to sketch out a brief history of the circumstances which led my Government to the formalization of the trade agreement between Malawi and South Africa.

178. When Malawi attained independence in 1964, as a country, and as a Government, it became successor to the old Government of Nyasaland and the Government of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, and again, through them, a successor to the Government of the United Kingdom. The old Government of Nyasaland or that of the Federation or that of the United Kingdom before we came on the scene or before Malawi became independent had entered into a variety of treaties with a variety of countries. Among those countries was the Republic of South Africa with which we had, *inter alia*, a trade treaty—just as we have inherited treaties with Portugal relating to transport and communications giving us transit rights through Mozambique.

179. When we became independent we either had to repudiate those treaties or formalize or affirm them. The realities of our geographical situation and the precarious dictates of our economy left us with no alternative but to affirm them.

180. One might ask: but why not abrogate the treaty and still trade privately or informally? Such a question would lend itself to the same explanation as the Permanent Representative of Saudi Arabia put to us yesterday: what's in a name? Whether you call it a committee or a council, it is still the same thing. In the same way, whether one trades with South Africa formally or informally, it is, all the same, trading with South Africa. I need hardly emphasize the fact that historically, our trade, communications, etc., are oriented southward. It is needless to mention that Malawi is a landlocked country.

181. Now, on the question of South West Africa, I would like to reiterate what the leader of my delegation said during the twenty-first session:

"...our belief in a non-racial democracy is completely at variance with the principles of apartheid, and it is our earnest hope that one day the Government of South Africa will be moved to abandon its present policies in that respect, not so much as a result of threats and disapproval voiced by other nations as by the example which Africa herself has set.

"The philosophy of apartheid is a philosophy of fear—the non-African's fear of the African—and it is only by example that such fears can be proved groundless and eradicated.

"Country after country in Africa has proved beyond any shadow of doubt that it is possible for both African and non-African peoples to live in harmony and peace together and to pool their knowledge and abilities for the common good of the countries to which they belong and to which they owe their allegiance ...

"We look forward to the day when the authorities in South Africa may be persuaded that the non-African has nothing to fear from the African and thereby be persuaded, through the examples set in other countries where harmony between the races

is so amply demonstrated, that the time has come to abandon their concept of apartheid." [1436th meeting, paras. 25-28.]

182. In that speech to the twenty-first session we made it abundantly clear that we held no brief for the manner in which the Mandate over South West Africa was administered by South Africa. We recognized that a change was necessary. But my delegation abstained on the resolution strictly on the basis that it was not capable of being implemented. Although it is a sad story from which we should not derive any gratification, it can be argued that subsequent events as manifested by the division in the Ad Hoc Committee seem to confirm this viewpoint.

183. I might further mention that my country is prepared to support any practical proposal. In this regard, I would like to stress the fact that we supported the litigation between Ethiopia and Liberia, on the one hand, and racist South Africa on the other. We did so because we were convinced that it was a practical and peaceful course of action for terminating the Mandate of South Africa over South West Africa.

184. It may be pertinent and relevant to mention at this moment that, in the financing of the South West Africa case, the Organization of African Unity adopted a resolution to the effect that member States should contribute towards the expenses incurred by Ethiopia and Liberia in prosecuting the case. In accordance with that resolution, Malawi and Guinea, along with others, were assessed to pay such contributions. According to document No. 280, issued on 28 December 1966 by the office of the Organization of African Unity at the United Nations, Malawi paid, in United States dollars, \$10,606, and is still owing \$2,771, whereas the Republic of Guinea paid \$6,606 and is still owing \$6,677. These figures speak for themselves, indicating that Malawi has fulfilled its obligation to a substantially greater extent than Guinea. The same document shows that six other member States of the OAU have not yet paid anything at all and that several others are still owing substantial sums. The difference between what Malawi has subscribed and what Guinea has subscribed in financing the South West Africa case is approximately \$4,000.

185. What I have said should serve as sufficient testimony of Malawi's sincerity of purpose. It should be construed that when we support a resolution we do so with the understanding that we shall go along with all the responsibility it entails, and if we feel we cannot do so, we shall not vote for it, without fear or favour. We are not going to indulge in any complicity in deluding others by adopting a resolution which we know we cannot execute, thereby leaving the burden to be borne by other States.

186. In conclusion, I should like to submit that this is not the time for petty differences of opinion. We should all recognize how significant is the mere fact that this special session has been summoned primarily to discuss the question of South West Africa, and the great import of that fact. Consequently, we would do well to address ourselves to that problem. The object of this session is to seek an equitable solution. We are all deeply concerned. We are all agreed that the situation in South West Africa merits

a radical change. We are equally agreed that South Africa erred in applying apartheid to the Mandated Territory of South West Africa. We are further agreed that South Africa has failed to advance South West Africa to full nationhood. But where we are not agreed is on the course of action which this Assembly should take to ensure self-determination for the people of South West Africa. This is in recognition of the fact that South Africa is in effective control of the Territory. Therefore we are assembled here to deliberate, in our search for a workable and equitable solution, which, I pray, we should endeavour to find.

187. The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of Guinea in exercise of his right of reply.

188. Mr. ACHKAR (Guinea) (translated from French): I do not propose to keep the Assembly long. I was tempted just now not to reply to the representative of Malawi because I thought at the beginning of his statement that he would simply try to justify his Government's policy, as every ambassador must. However, towards the end of his statement, he saw fit to state that those who do not do as Malawi does, that is, those who vote in favour of resolutions benefiting the peoples of southern Africa, are—to quote his President—irresponsible. Those African States which believe that the problem posed by the development of southern Africa should be tackled with courage and even self-sacrifice are branded by Malawi as irresponsible.

189. I would say that the present leaders of Malawi ought not to have such short memories. When Malawi was struggling to free itself from the yoke of British colonialism, many African States—I will not mention any names, but I am sure the leaders of Malawi know perfectly well which they are—gave them assistance although the means they had for carrying on their struggle successfully were limited. The States in question did not then say that their support of Malawi would cost them such and such a sum; furthermore, nor did they treat those who supported Malawi in its struggle for freedom as "irresponsible"; nor again did they threaten to come to the United Nations and denounce those African States which were behaving "irresponsibly", in other words to support the South African oppressors and the Portuguese fascists.

190. This is precisely our quarrel with the present leaders in Malawi. We may regret that Malawi should have its capital built by South Africa; though as long as the people of Malawi allow Dr. Banda to behave in this fashion, that is their business. But the Assembly has taken decisions concerning South West Africa; also concerning Rhodesia, and South Africa on the question of apartheid. It is quite inconceivable, indeed inadmissible, that an African country should stand up as a violator of all these decisions of the General Assembly and be proud of it.

191. We should therefore like to see Malawi, like any other country, undertake to abide by the decisions of the Assembly; and in a spirit of African brotherliness I should like to say that we should be very grateful to Dr. Banda if he would desist from scoffing at the struggle for freedom of his African brothers not yet fortunate enough to be sitting here among us. If the Malawian leaders consider that this entails



extreme hardships, may I be allowed to point out that Malawi was preceded by Zambia, which belonged to the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland under the name of Northern Rhodesia. Everyone is familiar with the hardships suffered by Zambia in the cause of the liberation of southern Africa; everyone is familiar with the courage displayed by the Zambian leaders in the face of the difficult problems posed by South Africa. We do not even expect the leaders of Malawi to do a quarter or indeed a tenth of what is being done by the leaders of Zambia; but if we cannot count on them, we do expect them at least to have the decency to remain silent.

192. The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of Malawi in exercise of the right of reply.

193. Mr. KATENGA (Malawi): I have asked to speak in order to correct some misconceptions presented to the Assembly by the representative of Guinea.

194. The representative of Guinea referred to the assistance that Malawi had received from other countries in its struggle for liberation. If he knew well the history of southern Africa, he would not, I think, be able to say what he has said. For, in addition to what Malawi did in its own struggle for its own independence, it contributed considerably to the liberation of many other countries in southern Africa. I need not draw the Assembly's attention to the part of Africa to which I am referring. I am sure that members are familiar with the revolutionary history of southern Africa and know how much Malawi has contributed in that respect.

195. Secondly, the representative of Guinea said that my President, Dr. Banda, had scoffed at other African leaders. I should like to refute that statement outright. Whatever Dr. Banda has said in respect of Malawi he has said as leader of his country and on the clear understanding that he has the support of his people and is the mouthpiece of his people.

196. Thirdly, the representative of Guinea referred to what has been done by our neighbour, Zambia. Again I would say that I do not wish to draw Zambia into the controversy. Zambia is our neighbour; it is doing its best. I would only say to my friend from Guinea that in this discussion we would do better not to draw in the intentions and actions of others. If there is need for this discussion, let it be directly between Malawi and Guinea.

197. The PRESIDENT: The meeting is adjourned until 10.30 tomorrow morning.

198. I must apologize to members of the Assembly. I was not informed that two other representatives had asked to speak. That is why I adjourned the meeting. I would ask members to bear with me and to listen to those two representatives. It is my hope that the Secretariat will be very careful to ensure that such a situation never arises again.

199. I call on the representative of the United States in exercise of the right of reply.

200. Mr. GOLDBERG (United States of America): First, I wish to register a vigorous protest. This is not directed to you, Mr. President, but to whoever failed to give to you a proper list of representatives

seeking to speak to this Assembly in exercise of their right of reply. This type of procedure defeats the orderly operation of the Assembly. It is a basic principle of a democratic body—and this Assembly is such a body—that everyone concerned should have the right to participate in the debates. Any representative who follows the traditional procedures of this Assembly and in due time hands to the Secretariat his request to speak should be assured that his name will be given to the President so that he will be called on to speak. That applies to me and to the representative of the Soviet Union, who was on the list to speak after me. It applies to every representative here, whether he is a member of a large delegation or of a small delegation. I do not think it is good procedure for an incident like this to occur, and I again register my vigorous protest.

201. I have asked to exercise my right of reply to certain comments made by the Deputy Foreign Minister of the Soviet Union, Mr. Kuznetsov. There are three items properly before this Assembly: South West Africa, peace-keeping operations, and postponement of the outer-space conference. Viet-Nam is not on the agenda. Gratuitous comments by the Soviet representative cannot place it on the agenda. However, at the explicit request of the United States and over Soviet opposition, Viet-Nam is inscribed on the agenda of the Security Council. Let the Soviet Union withdraw its objection—supported by an implicit veto threat—and we can proceed tomorrow to a full consideration by the Security Council of this grave matter. The United States would welcome consideration by the Security Council of the conflict in Viet-Nam, which we conceive to be the proper concern of all Members and organs of the United Nations. Although we do not agree with the Soviet position that the United Nations lacks competence to deal with Viet-Nam and that the Security Council and other United Nations organs have no proper role in bringing about a peaceful settlement of the conflict, we would welcome the immediate reconvening of the Geneva Conference for the purpose of reaffirming and applying the Geneva Agreements, which, according to the Soviet Union—and to this extent we agree with it—would be a proper basis for settlement.

202. What is clear is that this debate at this limited session is the wrong place and the wrong time for mere propaganda exercises—and, with all due respect to our distinguished visitor from the Soviet Union, that is all we can see in the part of his remarks relating to Viet-Nam.

203. We have important business to transact at this special session, and I am sure we are all anxious to get on with it.

204. The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of the Soviet Union in right of reply.

205. Mr. KUZNETSOV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (translated from Russian): I should like from this rostrum to express our deep gratitude to Lord Caradon, the United Kingdom representative, for his condolences and kind remarks in connexion with the death of the Soviet cosmonaut Komarov.

206. As to the comments of the United States representative, I would only say that, as he himself has

pointed out, the forum of the United Nations is open to all, and it is not for the United States representative to instruct us what we may say here and how we are to say it. Ours is a truly independent democratic Organization, and not some United States organization.

207. Where consideration of the Viet-Nam question in the United Nations is concerned, the USSR Government firmly supports the position taken by the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam. In 1954, the Viet-Nam question was examined at the Geneva Conference, outside the framework of the United Nations, for reasons of which everyone is aware. The United States is responsible for the fact that the United Nations is not a universal organization and that the rights of nearly one quarter of the world's population in the United Nations have not been restored; and the United States made it impossible for the matter to be considered in the United Nations. But that certainly does not mean that States Members of the United Nations must not condemn the aggres-

sion of which Viet-Nam is the victim. It will be remembered that the Viet-Nam question was not on the agenda of the twenty-first session of the General Assembly, and yet a large number of representatives in their statements expressed concern over the situation in Viet-Nam, and called for an end to intervention in the affairs of the Viet-Nameese people and aggressive acts against the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam, for these things concern not only the situation in Southeast Asia or in the Viet-Nam area—they also concern the peoples of the entire world.

208. The PRESIDENT: I wish to thank the members of the Assembly most sincerely for co-operating with me. I wish to thank them also for agreeing with me that the right of a representative to speak, if he asks for the floor at the proper time, should be respected in all cases and should be considered more important than any other consideration.

*The meeting rose at 6.15 p.m.*



United Nations  
**GENERAL  
ASSEMBLY**

Official Records



**1505th  
PLENARY MEETING**

Wednesday, 26 April 1967,  
at 10.30 a.m.

FIFTH SPECIAL SESSION

**NEW YORK**

**CONTENTS**

	Page
<i>Agenda item 7:</i>	
<u>Question of South West Africa (continued) . . .</u>	1

**President: Mr. Abdul Rahman PAZHWAQ**  
**(Afghanistan).**

**AGENDA ITEM 7**

**Question of South West Africa (continued)**

1. Mr. GOLDBERG (United States of America): The General Assembly is now convened in special session to give further consideration to the question of South West Africa. We meet in accordance with the terms of resolution 2145 (XXI), adopted with virtual unanimity on 27 October 1966. It is my delegation's hope that, despite the difficulty of this matter and the known differences of view concerning it, we can again display the same unity of decision that we achieved last October; for it is from such a united stand, as well as from the intrinsic soundness of our decisions, that our Assembly resolutions derive their true force.

2. Since resolution 2145 (XXI) contains the basic agreed position of the United Nations on this question, it may be well to recall the essential steps we took in adopting that resolution.

3. We decided that, since South Africa had failed to fulfil its obligations in respect of the Mandated Territory of South West Africa, and had, in fact, disavowed the Mandate, the Mandate was terminated; that, apart from the Mandate, South Africa had no other right to administer the Territory; and that South West Africa now came under the direct responsibility of the United Nations.

4. We reaffirmed the right of the people of South West Africa to self-determination, freedom and independence in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations.

5. We reaffirmed that South West Africa, until it attained independence, had an international status, and called upon the South African Government to refrain and desist from any action which would tend to alter that status. In this regard, as the United States has already said, implementation of the recent statement by the South African Government concerning Ovamboland would fall into this category.

6. We created the Ad Hoc Committee for South West Africa to recommend practical means by which the responsibility of the United Nations in this matter was to be discharged. And we agreed to meet in special session no later than April to receive the Committee's report, and we are meeting here today for that purpose.

7. The United States today categorically reaffirms its support of this resolution and all that we have said in this Assembly in support of it.

8. The Ad Hoc Committee contained, among its fourteen members, a fair and representative cross section of the entire membership of the United Nations. The United States served as a member. I should like to express our appreciation to those who participated in its work—particularly to Ambassador Jakobson of Finland, its wise and impartial Chairman; its Vice-Chairman, Ambassador Piñera Carvallo of Chile; its Rapporteur, Mr. Wodajo of Ethiopia; and indeed to all of its members who, by their serious approach and by their willingness to consider all suggestions, helped the Committee in its difficult assignment. I also wish to acknowledge the indispensable support of the Secretariat, which performed with its customary efficiency.

9. The Committee's report [A/6640] is now before us. There have been expressions of regret that the Committee was not able to unite on a single recommendation concerning the "practical means" to be adopted. Such unanimity would indeed have been most desirable. Nevertheless, the Committee has performed a most useful and necessary function in presenting to the General Assembly the various alternative proposals which its report contains.

10. I agree entirely with our Chairman, Ambassador Jakobson, that it would serve no good purpose to gloss over the differences among these proposals. It will be a test of our statesmanship in this Assembly to find ways to maintain the vital unity of action that we achieved in our original resolution.

11. The United States, which joined in one of these three proposals in the Committee, fully understands and respects the motives of the sponsors of the other proposals. But I wish to state the reasons which impelled my country to join Italy and Canada in the proposal which we submitted together [*ibid.*, para. 84].

12. It is important that all of us—whatever our differences as revealed in these various proposals—should remember what it is that unites us. We are united in our common purpose to bring self-determination, freedom and independence to the people of South West Africa in accordance with the Charter, and in our common dedication to the terms of resolution 2145 (XXI). That resolution is our anchor. The greatest disservice to that resolution, and to its effective implementation, would be for us to create an impression in South Africa and in the world that the United Nations is fundamentally divided on how these principles are to be achieved. The issue is not among ourselves—I repeat, the issue is not among ourselves—but between us and South Africa. Our objective in this debate should not be to score

debating points against each other; rather it should be to work together in the spirit of resolution 2145 (XXI), in order to find, in the words of that resolution,

"practical means by which South West Africa should be administered, so as to enable the people of the Territory to exercise the right of self-determination and to achieve independence".

13. Now, some may question whether it is possible for the Assembly to unite on an effective course of action. I see no reason to doubt that we can do so. Indeed, we must do so, for unless we are substantially united, our action cannot be effective. In our debate last October I said—and this can be said with equal relevance now—that to be effective on this issue we need more than world opinion voiced by words in a resolution; we need the co-operation of all, manifested in concrete action.

14. Last October we achieved such concrete action. Let no one underestimate the historic consequence of what we decided. After twenty years of wrestling with this problem of South West Africa, after many years of proceedings before the International Court of Justice, the United Nations, through resolution 2145 (XXI), took the decisive action of declaring South Africa's Mandate over the Territory terminated by its own default. We further decided that South West Africa now comes under the direct responsibility of the United Nations. These actions were unprecedented in the history of this Organization, just as the problem which gave rise to them was unprecedented.

15. When the General Assembly took that action, the United States strongly supported it, and we still do. We do not in any way retreat from that support. On the contrary, we are prepared to move forward in keeping with the commitment which I made in my statement of 12 October 1966, proposing

"...steps which can be immediately and practically implemented and which lie within the capacity of this Organization ... to provide the community of nations promptly with a considered blueprint for united and peaceful action for the benefit of the people of South West Africa". [1439th meeting, para. 77.]

16. Indeed, it is precisely such steps that the United States has sought to develop by joining with Canada and Italy in the three-Power proposal. Let me briefly sum up the terms of that proposal.

17. First, it reaffirms the decisions of resolution 2145 (XXI). Second, it recommends that the General Assembly, in this special session, appoint a special representative for South West Africa, on the nomination of the Secretary-General. Third, it recommends that the special session also appoint a United Nations council for South West Africa, made up of three or more members to be designated by yourself, Mr. President, with which the special representative will co-operate and to which he will report. Fourth, it sets out a concrete mandate for the special representative. He is to survey the situation; to establish all necessary contacts; and to consult with all representative elements in the territory, looking toward the establishment, as soon as possible, of a nucleus

of self-government in South West Africa. He is also to recommend the nature and amount of external assistance for the administration of the territory, and to determine the necessary conditions that will enable the people of that territory to achieve self-determination and independence. Fifth, and finally, it calls for a report by the special representative, to the twenty-second regular session of the General Assembly, in September 1967 on the progress made and on his recommendations for the further implementation of the Assembly's decisions.

18. These steps which we proposed together with the co-sponsors are practical and complete. In offering them, we propose not to delay nor to reconsider our commitment, but to carry it forward. We propose not to step backward from resolution 2145 (XXI), but to find ways within the capacity of the United Nations to put it into practical effect. Indeed, certain provisions of these joint proposals of Italy, Canada and the United States parallel, to a major degree, provisions of the other two proposals tabled in the Committee. It is, of course, also a fact not to be ignored that the other two proposals contemplate additional steps not embraced in ours. It is these additional steps that involve a real difference of view which must be frankly faced. Its essence, in our view, is simply this. We are convinced that the United Nations should, in present circumstances, continue to seek peaceful means to resolve this important problem which has been a source of international tension for decades. The other proposals, however, explicitly or implicitly and in varying degrees, look toward an immediate or early confrontation with South Africa.

19. Now let me state briefly why we believe our approach is to be preferred.

20. First, as I have already suggested, in all realism—and we must deal realistically with this subject—it would be too much to hope that this problem, which has been developing for nearly half a century and with which the United Nations itself has wrestled for twenty years, could be resolved in the few months since the General Assembly first took decisive action with respect to it.

21. Second, although the General Assembly has adopted a far-reaching policy, we have not yet—either individually or collectively—entered into any dialogue with South Africa in an effort to implement that policy. Although we have declared—and, in my view, properly declared—South Africa's rights under the Mandate in the territory to be terminated, it is still a fact, of which our distinguished Chairman, Ambassador Jakobson, correctly reminded us in his statement, that South Africa has possession of the territory.

22. In these circumstances, the Members of the United Nations would clearly be remiss if they did not seek through diplomatic dialogue a peaceful solution. I shall frankly add that I do not know—nobody can know until we engage in the exercise—whether such a dialogue would be fruitful. But I do know that public opinion in my country, and indeed in many parts of the world, would not understand a policy which seems ready to resort to immediate coercion rather than explore the possibilities of peaceful progress.

23. Third, the world is already suffering from too many confrontations. It would be a strange irony if the United Nations—whose highest aim is to resolve disputes and achieve justice by peaceful means, and to harmonize the actions of nations—should itself fail to pursue such means and, instead, add still another confrontation to a list already too long. What is needed now is not confrontation but consultation. We have no cause to imitate the conqueror Alexander, who, when challenged to solve the puzzle of the Gordian knot, took a sword and cut it through. In this day and age the United Nations should not be in a hurry to use the sword; rather, we must apply ourselves to the task of untying the knot.

24. There is no reason whatever to think that the proposed dialogue or consultation would go against the purposes of the United Nations. On the contrary, the aim of any such dialogue would be to achieve genuine self-determination—freedom and independence for the people of South West Africa, in accordance with the Charter—and their rapid advancement. To consult for this purpose is not to capitulate: it is to explore the ground over which we must move. And in this, as in every situation of conflict, I always bear in mind the famous admonition of President Kennedy in his great inaugural address. He said—and this is applicable to the present case and, I believe, to every conflict in international affairs: "Let us never negotiate out of fear; but let us never fear to negotiate".

25. Fourth, when we urge that progress be made with all reasonable speed, we do not thereby suggest or in any way condone indefinite delay. What we do suggest is that the next step we must take is one which employs the art of diplomacy—the "peaceful means" enjoined upon us by the Charter. One of our reservations about the other proposals is, in all frankness, that they appear either to shun a dialogue or to suggest in advance that any dialogue would end in failure. Our proposal does not assume either success or failure. We do maintain, however, that no one can know until it has been tried. We have a responsibility to history to try this next step, and to try it with all reasonable means at our disposal.

26. Fifth, we do not agree with the view expressed in this debate that would simply have the United Nations arbitrarily declare the Territory of South West Africa to be independent here and now, with no regard for the means by which that pretended independence is to be achieved, or for the welfare of the people involved. Such a course would be incompatible with, and indeed an irresponsible step backward from, our commitment under resolution 2145 (XXI). We have in that resolution declared South West Africa to be a responsibility of the United Nations, and that responsibility cannot and should not, in fidelity to the resolution, be disowned. To retreat from that commitment would be a betrayal of the interests of the people of South West Africa and would bring the United Nations into disrepute before the world.

27. For all those reasons, the United States believes that the proposal which we have joined with Italy and Canada in supporting is a sound approach. We do not suggest that in putting forward this pro-

posal we and our Italian and Canadian colleagues have spoken the last word on the subject; nor that the General Assembly, if it adopts this proposal, as we hope and trust it will, will have spoken the last word. But now is not a time for the last word to be spoken. Rather let the United Nations speak the next word—and let it speak with a united voice. It is of the utmost importance, in my view, that we continue to manifest our common determination to proceed with all the unanimity and effectiveness we can muster to achieve the objectives of resolution 2145 (XXI).

28. In this effort, speaking for the United States, I wish to assure this Assembly that we shall not for a moment forget the basic human issue involved. We continue to be guided by the view expressed by President Johnson last May that "domination of one race by another leads to waste and injustice. A nation in the twentieth century cannot expect to achieve order and sustain growth unless it moves—not just steadily but rapidly—in the direction of full political rights for all its peoples".

29. If this human principle is to be realized against the obstacles that confront us, we cannot always hope for immediate success. We must know how to persist and to tackle resolutely the problems that face us, every step of the way.

30. A celebrated philosopher, Salvador de Madariaga, once uttered a wise saying about the most effective form of human action, and I should like to conclude with his words:

"Our eyes must be idealistic and our feet realistic. We must walk in the right direction but we must walk step by step. Our tasks are to define what is desirable; to define what is possible at any time within the scope of what is desirable; and to carry out what is possible in the spirit of what is desirable."

31. Let the United Nations proceed to discharge its duty to South West Africa in that spirit—expeditiously, faithfully, peacefully, in the greatest unanimity, and step by step—until our humane, our sound, our rightful goal is attained.

32. Mr. BOUATTOURA (Algeria) (translated from French): Mr. President, may I first of all convey my delegation's sincere congratulations and great pleasure at your overwhelming and unanimous reelection to the presidency of this Assembly.

33. After a lengthy monologue spanning two decades and the disappointment at the decision of the International Court of Justice of 18 July 1966<sup>1/</sup> the United Nations concentrated its attention on South West Africa and undertook a thorough re-examination of the problem. It is once again pressing forward. This problem was given priority at the twenty-first session, which culminated in a historic decision: the revocation of the Mandate and the assumption by the United Nations of direct responsibility for South West Africa in order to guide the Territory towards independence.

34. Although self-evident, the formulation and definition of that responsibility gave rise to controversy

<sup>1/</sup> South West Africa, Second Phase, Judgement, I.C.J. Reports 1966, p. 6.

during the debates of the twenty-first session. That discussion led to the inclusion of paragraph 6 in the resolution finally adopted [resolution 2145 (XXI)]. The Algerian delegation abstained from voting on that paragraph because it was convinced that the difficulties raised had no connexion with the problem itself but related to other questions of particular concern to certain States. It was plain that the contradictions inherent in certain attitudes would not be eliminated by the creation of a committee. Today, alas, the report submitted by that committee to the General Assembly [A/6640] confirms that view. Despite the good intentions of the great majority of delegations on the Committee, those contradictions prevented a solution from being reached.

35. What, then, is our task? It is to recommend practical—and not, as some would wish, expedient—arrangements for the administration of South West Africa such as would enable the people of the Territory to exercise their right of self-determination and achieve independence.

36. The transfer of the Mandate to the United Nations carries with it the responsibility of ensuring that South West Africa passes from international trusteeship to international sovereignty. This is the principal aim of resolution 2145 (XXI). To achieve it, the United Nations must take over the administration of the Territory—there is no other way. There can be no question of the United Nations simply replacing South Africa in exercising an anachronistic trusteeship.

37. My delegation wishes to reaffirm that it considers the administration of South West Africa by the United Nations as a transitional phase preceding independence. The same is true of every colonial territory. It is not a matter of replacing the trusteeship of South Africa by that of the United Nations, since the very idea of trusteeship is a vestige of the past and reflects the philosophy of the Berlin Congress rather than one based on the principles of equality and freedom, those corner-stones of the United Nations Charter. It is reminiscent of outrageous notion of mature and immature races, and so we reject it as obsolete and contrary to the aims and aspirations of the United Nations.

38. Although it was originally under mandate and its administration had been entrusted to authorities which built up racial segregation into a political system, the Territory was and is still exploited by a minority imposed on it by Pretoria. By trying out their policy of racial segregation, robbing the Territory of its resources and exploiting its people, the South African authorities have prided themselves on administering it in accordance with the principles of the Mandate. It is well known, however, that Pretoria's sole aim was to annex the Territory. This ambition, which dates back to the time of the Boer Republics, was expressed in their slogan: "Then it shall be from Simonberg to the Zambesi, Africa for the Afrikaners". The realization of that ambition means the continuation of colonialist domination in South Africa. Unless the Territory is annexed and its people subjugated, the South African stronghold would be threatened and the exploitation of southern Africa jeopardized. Whence the need for the South African authorities to dominate

South West Africa and to make of it a rampart and a shield against popular demands. These designs, coupled with the strategic position of South West Africa, determined its true status. From being internationally administered, South West Africa has moved towards a classic colonial status. There can be no doubt of that. The true situation in South West Africa must be viewed in the context of decolonization.

39. We feel that the legal context in which this problem is presented should not blind us to its true nature. The people of South West Africa have the right to accede to full sovereignty. Our action should not stop short of that end, although some steps must be taken to meet the exigencies of the moment.

40. First, South Africa's hold over this Territory is such that the people of South West Africa cannot regain their freedom without risking a conflict which would have serious consequences. Our first aim should be to eliminate any possibility of confrontation. We must therefore endeavour to restore their political rights to the people of South West Africa. This will require the withdrawal of South African forces and the provisional assumption of the administration of the Territory until such time as the danger is past. Being aware of the intransigence of the South African authorities, we must not ignore the threat of annexation. All the necessary conditions are there for carrying out that plan and presenting us with a fait accompli: a large police force, military bases, the policy of apartheid and the exploitation of the Territory's resources. We must safeguard the integrity of the Territory. Hence we reject the "nucleus of self-government" in Ovamboland. That experiment is aimed at the partition of South West Africa. It is nothing new; South Africa has made a number of similar attempts in the past.

41. Secondly, we are in duty bound to scrutinize the political context of southern Africa and its possible effects on the future of South West Africa. This region has become one of the trouble spots of the world. The threat of conflict between the independent African States and the Pretoria, Salisbury and Lisbon régimes grows daily.

42. These facts demonstrate the need for a transitional period before independence. Consequently, we must examine closely what that responsibility implies and how it is to be discharged. We must, to begin with, accept the principle of the administration of a territory by the United Nations. Regarding the principle itself there can no longer be any doubt. First, Article 81 of the Charter recognizes the competence of the United Nations in that respect; secondly, the majority of Member States confirmed that prerogative of the Organization at the first session particularly during the work of the Fourth Committee, at the third session, mainly in the First Committee.

43. Having accepted this principle, we must assess its scope of application. To do that, we need but recall certain precedents. Moreover, the experience of the League of Nations with regard to the Saar, for example, could give us useful guidance. It is worth recalling that the League directly—and successfully—administered the Saar over a number of years.

44. The machinery set up by the League of Nations consisted of an administrative council called the "Saar Basin Governing Commission". It was composed of five members of whom one, the Chairman, acted in an executive capacity. The Commission had administrative and legislative powers and reported directly to the League of Nations Council. Its task was to bring about conditions which would enable the population to decide on its future. After several years of administration, that task was successfully accomplished. The point illustrated by this example is that an international organization, the League of Nations, directly administered a territory and with good results. Acting through one of its organs, it enabled the population of the Saar to decide its own future.

45. If we examine the machinery proposed by the African and Asian States, we shall see that in many respects it is identical with that set up for the Saar. What was achieved by the League of Nations would seem, *a fortiori*, attainable for the United Nations. The latter, in contrast to the League of Nations and despite its various failures and crises, enjoys great moral and material authority both because it is quasi-universal and because its Members, in the words of the preamble of the Charter, are determined to "establish conditions under which justice ... can be maintained".

46. Therefore we are justified in looking into the reasons of those who question whether the machinery envisaged by the representatives of the Third World would work. Indeed the workability of any machinery of this kind cannot be judged until it is set in motion. Moreover, some of us seem to be admitting *a priori* that the United Nations' will to achieve justice can be seriously shaken; that, on the other hand, South Africa's desire for domination can be strengthened and that, finally, it would be better for the United Nations to avoid putting itself to the test.

47. Thus, a debate on the practical worth of certain specific proposals would appear to disguise a desire to prevent the Organization from committing itself unreservedly and fully assuming its obligations under resolution 2145 (XXI).

48. This is a legitimate concern on the part of some Members. They hope to prevent a situation which would reveal the glaring contradiction between their relations with South Africa and their commitments to the United Nations.

49. This concern is shown in a proposal which seems to run counter to paragraph 6 of resolution 2145 (XXI), although the sponsors of that proposal accepted it. Paragraph 6, I need scarcely recall, states explicitly that the members of the Committee shall recommend practical means by which South West Africa should be administered.

50. The delegations of Canada, Italy and the United States have proposed a provision [A/6640, paragraph 84] calling for the appointment of a Special Representative of the United Nations and of a United Nations Council for South West Africa. Their mandate would be to survey the human and material resources of the Territory and to establish the necessary contacts to determine under what conditions South West Africa can accede to independence.

51. One comment is called for here: paragraph 6 of resolution 2145 (XXI), under which the *Ad Hoc* Committee was established, laid down the latter's precise terms of reference, which were to recommend practical means for the administration of the Territory. I should like to stress the fact that the recommendations must deal with the administration of the Territory. The formula proposed by the three western delegations, however, departing from the spirit and letter of paragraph 6, suggests certain measures which, in our opinion, have nothing to do with the administration of the Territory in either the immediate or the distant future. In fact, those measures allow South Africa not only to continue its domination, but even to reinforce it. This proposal is not in accordance with the spirit of paragraph 6 because it is a delaying tactic; if not in principle, at least in effect. There is no need to repeat here that none of the Powers having economic or other relations with South Africa wish to endanger their economic interests by United Nations action.

52. The Algerian delegation wishes to pay a tribute to the delegations of Chile and Mexico, representing the Latin American countries, which have adopted a constructive and consistent attitude and abided by the mandate of the *Ad Hoc* Committee. The Latin American States, which sponsored the amendments now appearing as paragraph 6 of resolution 2145 (XXI), have suggested a method for the administration of South West Africa [*ibid.*, para. 93]. Their view largely coincides with that of the African and Asian States [*ibid.*, paras. 45 and 82]: they propose an administrative council with specific powers. It is true that there are some divergencies with regard to measures for implementation. The Latin American delegations while advocating a dialogue, exclude the possibility of recourse to coercive measures if South Africa should refuse to abide by the decisions of the General Assembly.

53. In the case that is before us, can it be said that the Pretoria authorities have shown any proof of goodwill? Is it considered that they share the hopes of the international community and are working to make them come true? We do not think so. How then can we conceive of a dialogue with Pretoria? For the last twenty years the United Nations has been urging it to abide by universally accepted standards, and seeking to initiate a dialogue and to bring about understanding.

54. In reply, Pretoria has pursued its policy of oppression and has scorned the resolutions of the United Nations. Faced with this situation, we have no right to hesitate any longer. Like others, this conflict is such that it cannot be peacefully resolved.

55. The African and Asian States have proposed a solution which, we believe, answers the main requirements of the problem. Bearing in mind the situation in the Territory of South West Africa and in southern Africa, these States, avoiding precipitate action, have proposed a transitional period between the revocation of the Mandate over South West Africa and independence. However, they feel that this period should be used to prepare the groundwork for genuine independence. This explains the proposal regarding administrative machinery, with which the Latin Ameri-

can States concur. It is the reason why the African and Asian States seek to guarantee the normal functioning of this administrative machinery by taking preventative measures against South African designs. It is the duty not only of some States, but of all States, to set in motion the process whereby South West Africa will attain independence and to guarantee its sovereignty and territorial integrity. This is a joint responsibility in which we must all share. It is the price we must pay in order to continue the work of decolonization to which the United Nations has made such a substantial contribution.

56. If we do not take a clear stand we shall be casting doubt upon the aims of our Organization. The United Nations, as we know, is already suffering from a lack of confidence, which may become even more pronounced. It must help the people of South West Africa to achieve freedom and sovereignty.

57. By adopting the proposals of the African and Asian States, the United Nations will make a rational and effective contribution towards the realization of the wishes of the South West African people and of the international community.

58. The solution to this problem lies within the reach of the United Nations, provided that all its Members work hand in hand in discharging their responsibility. This is a test which the international community has already undergone and from which it has emerged victorious in other regions of the world. International public opinion cannot but be concerned that the world Organization should find itself in a vulnerable position whenever it is called upon to deal out justice to a people of the Third World.

59. Mr. WALCOTT (Barbados): Mr. President, I should like, first of all, to associate the delegation of Barbados with the congratulations which previous speakers have showered upon you on your election as President of the General Assembly at its fifth special session. I myself was fortunate enough to be present at meetings of the twenty-first session and to see in action the tact, wisdom and authority which you brought to your high office. It is a matter of deep gratification to my delegation that you should again be seated in the Presidential chair for this profoundly important special session.

60. During the twenty-first session, the General Assembly adopted, by an overwhelming majority, its now historic resolution 2145 (XXI). At that time, Barbados had not yet acceded to independence and so was not represented in this Assembly. Let me, therefore, go on record here as stating that my delegation would most certainly have voted in favour of that resolution. That is not merely a formal statement. It is meant to emphasize and underline the fundamental position of my delegation and of the Government I represent. For what was an issue when the plenipotentiaries of 121 nations were called upon to register their vote on 27 October 1966 is a matter that goes to the root of the very existence of the United Nations and thus to the root of the whole concept of sovereignty and nationhood.

61. Stripped of the gratuitous and ambivalent legal niceties with which certain interested parties have

attempted to surround it, the question of South West Africa reduces itself to this: the United Nations must decide whether this Organization is going to stand idly by and permit half a million Africans to be swallowed by the vicious and corrupt monster of apartheid. As we understand it, the General Assembly, in its October resolution said "no". That, too, is what the Government and people of Barbados say.

62. When we turn to the report of the Ad Hoc Committee for South West Africa [A/6640], I must confess to some disappointment at the evasive and dilatory approach which has been taken by one group in the Committee. The General Assembly, in overwhelming majority, asked the Committee to bring to this special session recommendations on practical means by which South West Africa should be administered; this group offers us recommendations for surveys, for consultations.

63. I think that, since 1945, we have had time enough to study, consult and survey. These nations are nations which voted with the majority on 27 October 1966 in support of the decision that South West Africa should come henceforth "under the direct responsibility of the United Nations". But nowhere in their proposals can we find any indication that they envisage the practical means of administering the territory which the Committee was called upon to recommend. We are offered a special representative and a council which, as far as we can see, will go nowhere near South West Africa, and will do nothing to discharge the direct responsibility of the United Nations, of which resolution 2145 (XXI) speaks so unambiguously.

64. The proposals of the Latin American and African representatives come closer to fulfilling the Mandate which the Committee received from the General Assembly. There are, admittedly, differences between the two proposals; but what they have in common is fundamental. Both proposals envisage the installation of a United Nations presence in South West Africa to administer the Territory in the interval before full independence. Both proposals not only recognize the right of the people of South West Africa to self-determination and independence but recommend practical means by which they may in fact accede to that self-determination and independence.

65. The Barbados delegation has no illusions about what all this implies. We know that the South African régime has pledged itself to defy the decisions of the United Nations. We know, too, why some nations are hesitant, evasive and tentative in their proposals. They claim to be afraid of "confrontation" with South Africa. We hear about the need for what is called "proper timing". We hear about the danger that the reputation and effectiveness of the United Nations may be damaged. It is not support for the freedom and self-determination of dependent peoples that can damage the reputation and effectiveness of this Organization. We cannot damage the reputation and effectiveness of this Organization by liberating the defenceless people of South West Africa from the shadow of apartheid. But we shall damage this Organization irreparably if we show to the peoples of the world that it offers them no protection against injustice, that it dances only when certain nations call the tune and cringes when certain nations crack the whip.



66. We cannot go on evading our responsibility. For once, on a major issue involving the fate of the oppressed and exploited, we have had a consensus of the vast majority of the independent nations of the world. That consensus declares that South Africa has forfeited its right to carry out the Mandate over South West Africa which it received from the League of Nations. That consensus declares that the United Nations is the proper body to exercise the "sacred trust" of leading the people of South West Africa to independence. The nations of Latin America do not falter before this responsibility. The nations of Africa do not falter before this responsibility. The nations of Asia do not falter before this responsibility. What is holding us back, then? It is the proclaimed reluctance of certain nations to "intervene"; it is their fear of what they call confrontation. These nations were not afraid of intervention at the time of the Suez Canal crisis; they were not afraid of intervention in Viet-Nam; they were not afraid of intervention in the Dominican Republic. They did not wait then for a United Nations resolution; they did not fear then that the effectiveness and reputation of the Organization might be impaired.

67. The overwhelming majority of the Members of this Organization are calling for the liberation of the people of South West Africa. If the Organization cannot take action when it has the nearly unanimous support of its membership, then its effectiveness is no more than a myth and it deserves to have no reputation at all.

68. Mr. P. V. J. SOLOMON (Trinidad and Tobago): There can be no doubt in anyone's mind about what is required to be done by this special session of the General Assembly. Equally there can be no doubt as to what we are not required to do. The Assembly has passed by an overwhelming majority a resolution concerning the future of South West Africa and I agree entirely with the representative of Ethiopia that we are not here to reopen discussion on the merits or demerits of South Africa's case in relation to the South West African Mandate. Neither is it arguable that the United Nations is solely and entirely responsible for the administration of South West Africa. What we are here to discuss is the procedure to be adopted in implementing the decision of the General Assembly at its twenty-first session.

69. The report of the Special Committee indicates that three draft resolutions are under consideration and while they agree on several material points there are important differences of detail. My delegation extends sincere congratulations to the sponsors of the African-Pakistan proposal [A/6640, paras. 45 and 82] on the clear and unambiguous terms in which they have set forth the needs of the situation. As a member of the Latin American group my delegation also notes with pleasure the substantial agreement between the proposal of Chile and Mexico [*ibid.*, para. 93] and that of the African-Pakistan group. I am extremely hopeful that the statesmanlike and co-operative attitudes already displayed by members of both groups will soon result in bridging the very narrow gap which now exists between the two proposals. This is vital if effective action is to be taken to solve this problem.

70. The Assembly is convened in special session for the purpose, *inter alia*, of discussing South West Africa. We must, therefore, assume that all Members are aware of the urgency of this problem and are determined once and for all to take some concrete action and not to fritter away our time in idle debate which arrives at no conclusion. Unless we are prepared to take action now, then we might just as well discontinue this debate, for we shall be doing nothing more than wasting our time and sorely trying the patience and the forbearance of the people who look to us for assistance in their hour of need. If we fail once again in this issue we shall have given one more blow—and quite possibly the fatal blow—to the principles which underlie our Charter, a blow which might very well result in the dissolution of this Organization which has lasted through twenty-one years of groping and fumbling and of insult and frustration.

71. In the view of my delegation, the issues are clear and unambiguous. The Assembly has decided that South Africa's Mandate has been terminated and from there on full responsibility for the future of South West Africa rests with the United Nations. In order that we shall be able to discharge this obligation it is imperative that we take immediate steps to establish a United Nations presence in South West Africa. Whether you call it a committee or a council is, as my friend from Saudi Arabia mentioned [1503rd meeting], unimportant. What is necessary is an administering authority created by this body to control the affairs of South West Africa and to give the people of that country an opportunity to exercise their inalienable right of self-determination. It is possible to discuss the administrative details, but there is no room for discussion of whether or not a United Nations presence is necessary. The General Assembly resolution made it the unavoidable responsibility of the General Assembly to set up machinery and make provision for the transfer of authority from South Africa to the people of South West Africa themselves. There can be no argument on this point. The South African presence must immediately be eliminated from the administration of South West Africa and the power it now exercises must, as soon as possible, be transferred to the people of South West Africa.

72. Even at this stage I would be reluctant to accept that those who desire to continue a dialogue with South Africa are altogether wasting their time. Let it never be said that it was we who closed the door to peaceful negotiation. But while we continue the dialogue it must be made abundantly clear that we are discussing only the time-table for the transfer, and that there must be a time-limit—and a very short one at that—for the termination of the dialogue. If no agreement has been reached within the specified time-limit, then the United Nations administering body must take action. Moreover, let it be clearly understood that the right of the United Nations administering authority to enter South West Africa is not to be the subject of discussion with the Government of South Africa. The admission of this body, the United Nations presence, into South West Africa, without let or hindrance, should be a condition precedent to the engagement of any dialogue. We cannot accept any smaller token that the South African Government does

not intend to use this dialogue as a further opportunity for dishonest procrastination.

73. If a decision is taken by this Assembly and steps are taken to implement that decision, then clearly any State or group of States which is deliberately obstructing or physically opposing the implementation of that decision is committing an act of aggression, not against South West Africa, but against the United Nations itself, and therefore I must agree again with the realistic approach of the representative of Ethiopia who maintains [1503rd meeting], that provision must be made for such an eventuality.

74. There are some who feel that this is not the stage to talk about enforcement action; that in fact we should wait and see; but the twenty-year history of the relationship between this body and the racist Government of South Africa is all the evidence we need that goodwill is lacking on the part of South Africa; and while we may merely hope that, at long last, a spirit of sweet reasonableness will prevail, too great optimism on this point can be almost criminal folly, and consequently we must prepare now for the possibility, indeed the likelihood, that South Africa will refuse to co-operate and prepare the machinery necessary to enforce the decisions of the General Assembly.

75. Unlike my friend from Ethiopia, I do not believe that this is an occasion for the use of economic sanctions. Even a complete economic boycott of South Africa—and this we know is well-nigh impossible—will take a long time to bring those brutal and arrogant people to their knees. The people of South West Africa cannot wait that long. What is necessary now is a firm decision to make forcible entry into South West Africa if the South African Government should repeat its defiant tactics of 1960 and have armed patrols on the border with a view to forbidding the entry of United Nations personnel.

76. Once a United Nations presence has been firmly established in South West Africa, urgent steps will be needed to repair the ravages of the South African administration. Again, I agree whole-heartedly with the representative of Ethiopia, who maintains that every people is entitled immediately to independence if they so desire; and if it should be ascertained by the proper means that that is the desire of the people of South West Africa, it would be our duty and pleasure

to make the necessary arrangements towards that end. But we must face the fact, nonetheless, that the system of apartheid is a hindrance rather than a help to any people desiring to exercise their right of self-determination. During the oppressive years of the South African administration the native peoples of South West Africa have been forcibly deprived of any opportunity to share in the administration of their country and have been afforded little opportunity to acquire the skills, the technology and the professional education so valuable in the modern world to any independent State. And so, whatever may be the decision of the people of South West Africa regarding the date of their independence, it should be made clear that the United Nations has a great and urgent responsibility to provide them with technical assistance on a massive and unprecedented scale to make up in some small part for the years that have been lost.

77. There is one further responsibility which we have and cannot shirk, and it is the responsibility to maintain and protect by every available means the sovereignty and the territorial integrity of South West Africa once that country has gained its freedom.

78. This is the challenge that faces us; this is the obligation that we must accept if we are to discharge our duties to humanity. This is the action that we must take if we are to regain, in the eyes of the world, a little of the self-respect which we have been steadily losing as a result of our failure to discipline an impertinent and recalcitrant Member. There are some who say what we propose, what we seek, is impracticable. I pour scorn on such a defeatist attitude. If what we seek is just and if it is necessary, then we must make it practicable. We have found strength and resources for lesser causes. There is no single issue before the world today more important either for the preservation of peace or for the dignity of mankind.

79. The PRESIDENT: Before adjourning the meeting I wish to suggest that the list of speakers be closed at 3 o'clock on Friday afternoon, 28 April.

*It was so decided.*

80. I would inform the Members of the General Assembly that, with their co-operation, we may be able to conclude the general debate on this item with the afternoon meeting on Wednesday, 3 May.

*The meeting rose at 12.5 p.m.*





CONTENTS

	Page
<i>Agenda item 7:</i>	
<i>Question of South West Africa (continued) . . .</i>	1

*President:* Mr. Abdul Rahman PAZHWAQ  
(Afghanistan).

AGENDA ITEM 7

*Question of South West Africa (continued)*

1. Mr. ADEBO (Nigeria): Mr. President, permit me to associate Nigeria whole-heartedly with the warm tribute that has been paid by previous speakers to your great qualities of leadership which were so patently demonstrated during the course of the last regular session and which, we have no doubt, are going to make quite a difference to the outcome of our efforts during the present special session. With equal pleasure we applaud the re-election of the other members of the General Committee, who have the very responsible task of helping you to pilot this session to success.

2. I also wish to take this opportunity to place on record here my delegation's appreciation of the impartial and devoted manner in which Ambassador Jakobson of Finland performed his task as Chairman of the Ad Hoc Committee for South West Africa, whose report we are now considering.

3. Two days ago, speaking for his great country of Ethiopia and at the same time for the co-sponsors in the Ad Hoc Committee of the proposal now commonly referred to as the Afro-Pakistan proposal [A/6640, paras. 45 and 82], my friend and colleague, the representative of Ethiopia gave a masterly account of the task and the problems that faced that Committee, and, in particular, an analysis of the proposals recommended to the Committee by his delegation and the four other advocates of the Afro-Pakistan proposal. Nigeria was one of those other delegations and we wish to take this opportunity to reaffirm, with all due respect to the authors of the other proposals, our conviction that the Afro-Pakistan proposal, of all the proposals included in the report of the Ad Hoc Committee, comprises the most logical and the most balanced set of recommendations, having regard to the mandate given to the Committee under General Assembly resolution 2145 (XXI).

4. The Afro-Pakistan proposal received the endorsement of the Council of Ministers of the Organization of African Unity at their recent meeting in Addis Ababa. It also enjoys the general support of the Afro-Asian group as a whole. The generality of that support is confirmed by the number of countries

which, along with our non-African esteemed friends, have already put their names down as co-sponsors of the draft resolution which will shortly be circulated to the Assembly.<sup>1/</sup> Those co-sponsors have done me the honour of asking me to be their spokesman in commending the draft resolution to this Assembly for adoption. I do so with pleasure.

5. The basis of this draft resolution is the Afro-Pakistan proposal as contained in the report of the Ad Hoc Committee. In the preparation of the draft we have, as faithfully as we can, reproduced the recommendations embodied in that proposal. Nevertheless, on a number of points, as a result of discussion at meetings of the Afro-Asian group, we have adopted alternative language which, in the opinion of the group, constitutes an improvement to the original text of those recommendations. We are convinced that what we are now recommending to the Assembly will be conducive to the achievement of the objective which the United Nations set itself in resolution 2145 (XXI), namely, the exercise of self-determination and the achievement of independence without any avoidable delay by the people of South West Africa.

6. I shall now say a few words on the different paragraphs of the draft resolution.

7. In the first paragraph of the preamble we record the fact that the General Assembly has considered the report of the Ad Hoc Committee. In the second, we call upon it to reaffirm resolution 1514 (XV)—that historic resolution containing the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. In the third, we recommend reaffirmation of resolution 2145 (XXI), referring particularly to the fact that that resolution terminated the Mandate in respect of South West Africa which had previously been exercised by South Africa. We proceed in the fourth preambular paragraph to record that the General Assembly has, in consequence of that resolution, assumed direct responsibility for the Territory of South West Africa. In the final paragraph of the preamble we ask the General Assembly to recognize its consequential responsibility for giving effect to its obligations by taking practical steps to transfer power to the people of South West Africa. We cannot think of any Member State of this Organization taking exception to any of these paragraphs and we trust that they will be supported unanimously.

8. I now come to the operative paragraphs. These, as representatives will observe, are set out in five separate sections, which I shall now take seriatim.

9. In the only paragraph of Section I we ask the General Assembly to reaffirm two things: first, the

<sup>1/</sup> Subsequently distributed as document A/L.516.

territorial integrity of South West Africa. This is important from our point of view, having regard to the declaration recently made by the Government of South Africa in which it says that it is offering a so-called right of self-government to the Ovamboland section of South West Africa—a ruse aimed at dividing the people of that territory, but one which deceived nobody and one which the Ad Hoc Committee unanimously declared to be illegal and a violation of General Assembly resolution 2145 (XXI) [A/6640, para. 127]. We trust that those who joined with us in the Committee in that reaffirmation will not shy away from it now that it has been embodied in a draft resolution before the General Assembly. One feels impelled to say that, because such tergiversations have been known to occur in the past.

10. Section II of the operative part sets out our recommendations on the nature and the terms of reference of the administrative machinery that we recommend to replace the present de facto illegal South African administration in South West Africa.

11. First, we recommend the establishment of a United Nations council for South West Africa comprising a number of Member States of the United Nations to be elected during this special session. We have not specified the actual number because we consider this to be a point for negotiation with our colleagues in other groups, and we consider that that negotiation would best be conducted after the acceptance in principle of the basic idea of a United Nations council.

12. The powers and functions of the council are clearly set out in sub-paragraphs (a) to (f) of paragraph 1 of this part of our draft resolution. We hope that we have succeeded in making three things abundantly clear, namely; first, that the council for South West Africa and its chief executive are intended to constitute in South West Africa during this transitional period a "United Nations presence" aimed to bridge the gap between the disappearance of the South African illegal administration and the assumption by the people of South West Africa of the control of their own destiny; second, that the council will not be its own master, but will be accountable to the General Assembly of the United Nations; and third, that, in everything that it does in the territory, the council will take the fullest account of popular opinion in South West Africa.

13. We expect the United Nations council for South West Africa to keep firmly in its hands the making of policy and the promulgation of legislation during the period in which, on behalf of the General Assembly, it administers South West Africa. We expect it, on the other hand, to entrust such executive and administrative tasks as it deems necessary to a chief executive whom we have styled "United Nations Commissioner for South West Africa". It is a measure of the importance that we attach to this functionary that we have recommended that he should be appointed by the General Assembly itself on the nomination of our Secretary-General, in whose judgement we all have the greatest confidence. The commissioner will be responsible to the council in all he does.

14. In Section III of the operative paragraphs we make recommendations for financing the administra-

tion of South West Africa during the period of this special United Nations presence. In accordance with precedent set by previous cases in which the United Nations has provided an interim administration for a territory, we recommend that expenses directly related to the operation of the Council for South West Africa and the office of the commissioner should be met from the regular budget of the United Nations. Such expenses would include the travelling and subsistence expenses of members of the council, the remuneration of the commissioner and his staff and what in customary parlance is called "cost of ancillary facilities".

15. With regard to the cost of administration, minus the transitional and extraordinary overhead resulting from the United Nations presence, we recommend that that should be found from the revenues collected in the territory. South West Africa is not a rich country, but we are convinced from our studies of the documentary material that was made available to the Ad Hoc Committee that the territory has enough revenues to be able to pay the cost of its administration, once a stop is put to the draining away of those revenues by the present illegal administrators of the Territory.

16. In the third paragraph of this section, we recommend the establishment of a co-ordinated emergency aid programme for South West Africa, to be financed and operated in customary co-operation between the specialized agencies and the appropriate organs of the United Nations. We consider that to be necessary because South West Africa, as a result of its involuntary association with South Africa, has hitherto been unable to take advantage of this international aid source which has been available to others of our developing countries.

17. In Section IV of the operative part of our draft resolution, we make recommendations regarding implementation by the council for South West Africa of the tasks with which it will be entrusted if this draft resolution is adopted. We consider this particular exercise to be a crucial necessity. We do not see the point of creating a council, entrusting it with a task and refraining from putting it in a position to undertake the responsibility. Therefore we clearly indicate in this section that, in our view, the council should be based in South West Africa and that it should proceed there without delay for the purpose of taking over the administration of the Territory and taking steps to replace with personnel of its own choosing and under its own control the South African personnel who, since the adoption of General Assembly resolution 2145 (XXI), have continued illegally to administer the territory, whether in the field of pure administration or in the field of the maintenance of law and order.

18. In paragraph 4 of this section we have called attention to what we believe is a transparently logical consequence of General Assembly resolution 2145 (XXI), namely, that South Africa's continued presence in South West Africa subsequent to the passing of that resolution is illegal. We also submit that any action by South Africa which frustrates or obstructs the discharge by the United Nations of its now direct responsibility for South West Africa constitutes a

violation of the resolution. Therefore we recommend that the General Assembly, as a warning to South Africa, declare that its continued presence in South West Africa and any action by it which frustrates or obstructs the new administration for South West Africa are acts of aggression against the people and the territorial integrity of South West Africa and a flagrant defiance of the authority of the United Nations. May we hope that at least those who joined us in adopting resolution 2145 (XXI) will have the courage to join us in adopting this consequential declaration?

19. In paragraphs 3 and 5 of Section IV, we seek to invoke the assistance of the Security Council for the implementation of the administrative scheme that we propose for South West Africa. In paragraph 5, we request the Council to take appropriate measures under the Charter of the United Nations against South Africa for acts perpetrated in violation of resolution 2145 (XXI), to which I referred a moment ago, and to do the same against any other State which obstructs or frustrates the task of the United Nations Council for South West Africa. Secondly, we suggest that the General Assembly should request the Security Council to take all necessary measures to enable the Council for South West Africa to discharge its functions and responsibilities. In our view, these are reasonable provisions to make, if one really wishes to make a transfer of administrative responsibilities in South West Africa an effective operation. Finally, in the last paragraph of Section IV we address a request to all States to extend their whole-hearted co-operation and to render assistance to the Council for South West Africa in the implementation of its task.

20. Section V contains one and one one provision, but it is a provision which is of the most crucial significance from our point of view. We cannot emphasize too often that the aim of this whole exercise, as the representative of Ethiopia pointed out a few days ago [1503rd meeting], is not to substitute for the people of South West Africa one set of masters for another. The purpose is to establish in the territory an effective United Nations presence in replacement of the oppressive illegal South African régime, during a period when the people of South West Africa are being organized to take over the control of their own destiny. Consequently that transitional period should be as short as possible. We respectfully submit to this Assembly that the deadline should be fixed at June 1968, and that is the recommendation we put forward in the only paragraph of this section of our draft resolution.

21. A number of speakers, either in the course of our proceedings in the Ad Hoc Committee or from this rostrum in the course of this special session, have called attention to the need for us to try to agree on a decision that will attract the overwhelming support of Members. It has been said that General Assembly resolution 2145 (XXI) was historic because of the almost unanimous backing it received from Members. We are told that it would, therefore, be unfortunate if we were unable this time to record a decision with the same kind of support. I wish, on behalf of the sponsors of this draft resolution, to give the assurance that that advice is not lost upon us. I wish to assure those Members that we are as anxious

as they that by co-operative effort we should at this session reach a decision which will receive the greatest amount of support. However, with great respect, I wish also to point out on behalf of the sponsors of this draft resolution that the number of votes cast in support of a decision is not all that matters. It matters more that the decision itself should be a useful one. A decision that enables the illegal administration by South Africa of South West Africa to continue in spite of, and in defiance of, General Assembly resolution 2145 (XXI) surely cannot be called a thing of value, however numerous its supporters may be.

22. The highly respected President of this Assembly, in his characteristically wise opening remarks at the beginning of this session, counselled us all to practise, in his own words, "realism, patience, a sense of diplomacy and a spirit of co-operation in the interest only of justice and peace" [1502nd meeting, para. 23]. Those of us who are sponsoring this draft resolution have taken note of that wise counsel. But have we not already demonstrated a lot of patience? The final text of General Assembly resolution 2145 (XXI) was not exactly in the form that most of us had originally advocated; nevertheless, we supported it. Again we hope that the restrained language that we are adopting in our private and public discussions over an issue of brutal significance for our kith and kin in South West Africa is clear evidence of our sense of diplomacy. In regard to realism, we have done our best to avoid forcing the case recklessly.

23. But is it a demonstration of realism for some people to pretend that, in spite of open declarations of defiance by the accredited spokesmen of the Government of South Africa, there is not clear evidence that South Africa is unwilling to hand over the administration of South West Africa in the gentlest and most pacific fashion? We of the Afro-Asian group and our friends are not spoiling for a fight. We are not anxious to provoke what has been called a confrontation with South Africa for the sake of it. If the Government of South Africa can change its attitude and agree to withdraw peacefully from a territory that does not belong to it, nobody would be happier than the sponsors of this draft resolution. It is because we do not feel it to be realistic to ignore facts, to ignore official declarations by official spokesmen, that we seek to provide for all eventualities in this draft resolution.

24. Finally, Mr. President, I wish to assure you and our colleagues in the Assembly that the sponsors of this draft resolution welcomed your appeal for "a spirit of co-operation in the interest only of justice and peace". We want justice and peace for the people of South West Africa, a great many of whom have been deprived of their political rights and are held down in economic servitude. We are anxious, in this session as in the earlier regular session, to work with our colleagues in the spirit that you have recommended, Mr. President, so as to produce a decision that will serve the best interests of the people of South West Africa. For that purpose, the Afro-Asian group has set up a strong steering committee, of which I have the honour—though rather an uncom-

portable honour—to be Chairman. We are aware that our Latin American friends have taken similar action. Other groups in this Assembly have also indicated to us their anxiety for informal consultations. It can therefore be said that the stage is now set for action of the kind that you, Mr. President, advocated.

25. But may I end by restating that that action can produce worthwhile results only if it is taken honestly and firmly and courageously within the context of resolution 2145 (XXI), and that the results can be worthwhile only if they constitute true implementation of operative paragraph 6 of that resolution, namely, a replacement by United Nations presence of the continuing illegal presence of South Africa in South West Africa.

26. Mr. NABWERA (Kenya): Mr. President, let me, on behalf of Kenya, congratulate you on your re-election to high office. It gave the Kenya delegation great pleasure and satisfaction when we worked under your wise guidance during the twenty-first session. We are therefore gratified that you were, at the beginning of the present session, unanimously asked to take charge once again. May I also extend our congratulations to all the other members of the General Committee who were re-elected at the beginning of the present session.

*Mr. Waldheim (Austria), Vice-President, took the Chair.*

27. We are back debating the question of South West Africa again. It is appropriate to review briefly the circumstances under which we agreed to postpone until the present session the decision of the implementation of the resolution on South West Africa, which was adopted by an overwhelming majority. At its twenty-first session, the Assembly decided to terminate the Mandate of South Africa over South West Africa. We all agreed that South Africa had abused its rights under that Mandate. When it came to what should be done next, there were two schools of thought. Many of us believed that an administering authority for South West Africa should be established at once. Others insisted that it was necessary to set up a committee that would examine the practical means of implementing the resolution and then report to the present special session. That was the view of most Western delegations. We reluctantly accepted the idea of creating a committee. The Ad Hoc Committee for South West Africa was thus established.

28. What has that Committee achieved? Instead of reaching a definite and practical decision, we now have three or four different proposals. If one were to pass judgement, the Committee, on its own record, failed in tackling the problem that was assigned to it.

29. I should now like in particular to comment on the positions taken by the two socialist and three Western representatives of the Ad Hoc Committee. Since we have not so far heard the views of many delegations from both Eastern Europe and Western countries, I do not see why we should assume that the socialist group of countries subscribes fully to the position taken by two members of the Committee, Czechoslovakia and the USSR, and that all Western countries support in toto the proposals of Canada, Italy and the United States [A/6640, para. 84].

We in the Kenya delegation will be anxious to hear the views of individual socialist and Western countries on this very important and crucial matter.

30. Taking the views of the two socialist countries first, let me echo what my African colleagues who have spoken before me have said about the relations between African and socialist countries. The record of the socialist States in the United Nations on the question of the struggle against colonialism and racialism in Africa has been exemplary. I can add without fear of contradiction that the help which we have received from the socialist delegations in this Organization has been generously extended to us without expecting similar help from us.

31. It is as a result of the assessment of this record of the Socialist countries in the United Nations that my delegation finds it difficult to understand the arguments put forward and consistently held by the representatives of Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union during the meetings of the Ad Hoc Committee. Their arguments bring out three points: (a) that South West Africa should be declared independent forthwith; (b) that is an outside body is needed to give help to South West Africa, it should be the Organization of African Unity; and (c) that the United Nations enforcement measures should not be used lest what happened during "the Congo operation" may be repeated. On paper those are persuasive arguments, but in practical terms the situation in South West Africa would not alter one iota if the General Assembly were to accept and adopt the arguments propounded by those two socialist countries. What would be gained by declaring South West Africa independent forthwith unless such a declaration were to be backed by some force which could be used in throwing out the South African racists if they refused to leave voluntarily which on their record they are bound to do? On the question of the Organization of African Unity, I do not wish to repeat the arguments which were so eloquently made by the representative of Ethiopia when he took part in this debate. I should like only to add this. Limited in resources and trained man-power, and faced by a world which is not always friendly to our aspirations, the Organization of African Unity is doing as much as it can for the liberation of southern Africa. Those efforts will continue despite obstacles often very deliberately placed in the way of the Organization of African Unity. The point, surely, is for the United Nations to make up its mind on whether or not it has a role to play in solving the problems of that part of our continent. Has this world Organization, a successor to the League of Nations, not got some responsibility in South West Africa where human rights are violated daily by the South African racists?

32. The fear expressed by the two socialist delegations about the misuse of the United Nations enforcement machinery by major Western Powers overlooks the fact that the situation has changed. The position of both the General Assembly and the Security Council has changed in such a manner that the Western Powers will not find it easy to manipulate the United Nations machinery as they might have done in the past. The fact that the Soviet Union has a veto is an added safeguard for ensuring that, should United

Nations enforcement be required in South West Africa, the manoeuvres of the past will be difficult to repeat. My delegation's fear is this: that if the Czechoslovak-Soviet Union arguments are pressed to their logical conclusion, the result will be to freeze the situation in South West Africa. We are certain that Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union, and indeed the entire socialist group, does not intend such a result.

33. The plan put forward by the three Western delegations of Canada, Italy and the United States is incredible in the light of the decision which was taken at the twenty-first session terminating the Mandate, and the positions taken then by those three delegations. Their proposals have most serious and grave implications for the people of South West Africa in particular and the United Nations as a whole. The proposals fall into three categories. First, there is a theoretical philosophical expression of support for the idea of establishing a unified government in South West Africa which is supposed to lead to self-determination. Secondly, the special session is asked to appoint a representative and a United Nations council for South West Africa. Those two appointments are advocated under (a) and (b) of the three-Power plan. And what are the functions of the representative and the council? Those functions are spelt out in the following paragraphs, and with the permission of the President I should like to quote the proposals as they stand so that I can make my observations clear:

"(c) To give a mandate to the Special Representative for South West Africa as follows:

"(1) To make a comprehensive survey of the situation in the Territory with particular reference to its human and material resources;

"(2) To ascertain what elements may be considered as representative of all peoples living in the Territory;"

In parentheses, one might say that this was perhaps drafted by lawyers.

"(3) To establish all contacts that he may deem necessary;

"(4) To consult with all representative elements in order that, with their accord, a nucleus of self-government may be established in South West Africa as soon as possible;

"(5) To recommend the nature and amount of the assistance which might be rendered by the United Nations, by Member States, and by the specialized agencies to the self-government authorities of South West Africa so as to allow them to meet the basic administrative requirements of the Territory;

"(6) To determine the necessary conditions that will enable South West Africa to achieve self-determination and independence;

"(7) To report to the General Assembly at its twenty-second regular session on the progress made in discharging his mandate and to recommend further measures for the implementation of the decisions of the fifth special session."

It would be interesting to compare what we are being asked to do here with what the same representatives said at the last session when they took part in the debate.

34. From those three-Power proposals, four conclusions can be drawn. First, the three Powers want the United Nations once again to postpone the decision on how the resolution that terminated the Mandate will be implemented. That is a pure delaying tactic as far as my delegation is concerned. Secondly, those proposals are an attempt to divert, or may be even to subvert, the United Nations from the right course into the unproductive examination of this or that aspect of the South West African problem. That kind of search can at best be of theoretical value only. It is interesting to note in passing that the three-Power plan asks for the information which is already in the possession of the Ad Hoc Committee. That information, regarding some of the things that the representatives will be expected to examine, was provided to the Ad Hoc Committee by the United Nations Secretariat as a working paper. One wonders what else the three Powers will want to know before making a decision. Thirdly, the three Western delegations may be looking for a way out of a difficult situation. This could be because they might have had second thoughts after voting for the resolution that we adopted almost unanimously at the twenty-first session. Lastly, if the three-Power proposals were to be adopted, then the present session would be unnecessary. We would be wasting our time. This is interesting in view of the fact that it is these same Western delegations that wanted and asked for the convening of the special session. Now they want the decision to be left until the twenty-second session; and who knows how many more postponements they will ask for. These delegations have had this problem of South West Africa for over twenty years and have done nothing about it. Is it perhaps that they want to put it into cold-storage once again?

35. One can now see that Western economic interests have, since we last discussed this matter in this body, reasserted themselves. At the last session we thought, for example, that the United States policy on Africa was beginning to assume some independence and some degree of realism. This, however, is being shown not to be so. Ex-colonial West European Powers and Western business groups seem to have taken over again. To them, so long as they can make fortunes from their investments in Africa, based on the exploitation of cheap African labour, what does it matter? Human dignity, democracy, the equality of man—these have no relevance where it is a case of Africans versus whites. This is the tragedy of the situation in Southern Africa. Whether it be in Rhodesia, the Portuguese colonies, South Africa, or now South West Africa, Western economic interests and what are euphemistically termed strategic considerations are always supreme. This session will demonstrate to the world whether the United Nations believes in human rights and can be relied upon to safeguard them.

36. Kenya stands resolutely and firmly by resolution 2145 (XXI) of 27 October 1966, the African-Pakistan

proposals put before the Ad Hoc Committee [A/6640, paras. 45 and 82]. We know that the objectives of the Latin American delegations and those of the Afro-Asian group are identical. We have always worked together at the United Nations because we share a common history of oppression and exploitation. My delegation therefore hopes that the Latin American delegations will find it possible to make a common stand with us on this crucial issue. It is also our hope that delegations from different geographical and ideological groups will support the Afro-Asian proposals which put teeth into resolution 2145 (XXI).

37. In conclusion, I should like to reaffirm that Kenya believes in the establishment of non-racial societies in Africa. So do all African States with plural societies. But this position will become increasingly difficult and untenable if to the south of us Africans continue to be oppressed and persecuted for no reason other than that the pigmentation of their skin is not white.

38. Mr. FARAH (Somalia): Mr. President, on behalf of my delegation, I should like to extend to you our congratulations on your election as President of the General Assembly at this special session. Your election is a mark of the confidence you enjoy with Members of this Assembly and a tribute to your efficient and impartial leadership.

39. I also wish to congratulate the Chairman and the members of the Ad Hoc Committee for South West Africa for the thoroughness and sense of responsibility with which they deliberated on the practical means by which that territory should be administered.

40. It is unfortunate that those deliberations did not lead to one agreed recommendation reflecting the continued resolve of all members to transform resolution 2145 (XXI) into immediate and fruitful action. But before commenting briefly on the different approaches to the solution of this problem, it is well that we consider first those matters on which there is general agreement. The most important of these is the fact that all members recognized that there is no going-back on the provisions of General Assembly resolution 2145 (XXI), which terminated the right of South Africa to administer South West Africa and which placed the Territory under the direct responsibility of the United Nations. Secondly, there is a large body of agreement on the need for establishing immediately a United Nations machinery for administering the territory until it becomes independent. Lastly, it is unanimously agreed that the people of the territory must be enabled to achieve their independence as speedily as possible.

41. The General Assembly now has before it various proposals which emerged from the Committee's deliberations, and, in the view of my delegation, these provide sufficient material to enable this special session to formulate a resolution that will fulfil the accepted objectives of the United Nations with regard to South West Africa. The Afro-Asian proposals, which my delegation firmly supports, fully reflect the Committee's mandate to recommend practical means by which South West Africa should be administered so as to enable the people of the

Territory to exercise the right of self-determination and to achieve independence. The proposals of our Latin American friends are very similar in form and in intent, and since the differences between these two sets of proposals are mainly ones of emphasis and of priorities, it seems reasonable to hope that there can be accommodation between them.

42. But it is on the issues over which Members are most divided that the fullest discussion should take place, so I should like to turn now to the question over which there is perhaps the largest measure of disagreement. This is the question of how the South African administration of South West Africa is to be replaced by that of the United Nations. The solution of the whole problem of South West Africa hinges on this question.

43. We may arrive at unanimity about councils and commissioners, about plans for constitutional or economic progress and timetables for independence. But none of these will be of any avail if the United Nations is not able to assert its authority over the territory. It would be a matter of great satisfaction for my delegation if it could assume that the Government of South Africa would co-operate with the United Nations in the peaceful and speedy transfer of its administration of South West Africa to a United Nations body. However, in the light of past and present experience, it would be naïve to assume that such will be the case. As has already been pointed out by several speakers in the course of this debate, since resolution 2145 (XXI) was adopted just six months ago, the South Africans have brazenly flouted its provisions by embarking on a policy which is aimed at fragmenting the territory and changing its political character. I refer to the South African proposal to give the province of Ovamboland a so-called nucleus of self-government. In reality, this proposal is an extension of South Africa's apartheid policy.

44. This action by South Africa is no more evidence of willingness to co-operate than the systematic flouting of United Nations resolutions which the South African Government has engaged in over the past twenty years. It is for this reason that my delegation considers the proposals put forward by Canada, Italy and the United States [A/6640, para. 84] to be totally inadequate. These proposals, as they now stand, would limit action in essence to starting negotiations with that Government. It would put the United Nations in the position of a pleader with the very Government which, by General Assembly resolution 2074 (XX) of 17 December 1965 and resolution 2145 (XXI) of 27 October 1966, it has found guilty of practising policies constituting a crime against the inhabitants under its jurisdiction. Furthermore, what evidence is there to justify further pleading and arguing when, as resolution 2145 (XXI) again correctly states, pleading and arguing have been tried in vain for twenty years?

45. It is a matter of satisfaction to my delegation to see the close similarity between the proposals put forward by the Afro-Asian Members [A/L.516] and those of Chile and Mexico [A/6640, para. 93]. These is an identity of views on the kind of administrative machinery which should be set up and the



steps which should be taken for bringing about independence. The difference lies in the fact that the Latin American proposals do not contain any provision for the distinct possibility that South Africa will refuse to co-operate with the United Nations. Such a realistic provision, however, is contained in the Afro-Asian proposals, which envisage the possibility that the Security Council will have to take enforcement action under Chapter VII of the Charter if South Africa attempts to obstruct the task of the United Nations in South West Africa. That, indeed, is the most important aspect of these proposals, for without such a provision there is every possibility that the authority of the United Nations will be defied. Its authority would certainly be weakened if the United Nations should itself be unprepared to discharge or incapable of discharging its clear responsibilities in the matter.

46. When my Foreign Minister addressed the General Assembly on this subject last October, he looked ahead to the distinct possibility that the Government of South Africa would meet resolution 2145 (XXI) with the intransigence that the United Nations has come to expect from that country. He said:

"The possible outcome of this resolution is a nettle which must be firmly grasped.

"The United Nations must be prepared to take all the steps necessary to enforce its decisions in this matter, including the possible application by the Security Council of the measures provided for in Chapter VII of the Charter. If this aspect of the question is not accepted, then we may have to add South West Africa to the list of those issues which turn up each year, haunt us briefly, and are then relegated once again to the limbo of unsolved problems." [1427th meeting, paras. 15-16.]

47. Our Foreign Minister also said on the same occasion that in the long run the real issue was whether or not "injustice would be allowed to triumph because of selfish interests" [*ibid.*, para. 15]. He was referring to the part played by South Africa's trading partners, which, by their actions, give support to the whole inhuman apparatus of apartheid. That issue remains as pertinent to the present stage of the deliberations over South West Africa as it was to the discussions of the last session of the General Assembly. For we all know, however much we may wish it were not so, that South Africa will not co-operate with the United Nations. We all know that if the United Nations is not to appear impotent in the eyes of the world, the Security Council will have to be requested to take enforcement action under Chapter VII of the Charter. Finally, we all know that three of South Africa's main trading partners are permanent members of the Security Council. Again it is pertinent to ask: will "injustice be allowed to triumph because of selfish interests"?

48. The three proposals now before the General Assembly all deal with political, social and economic measures which the proposed council for South West Africa should carry out through a special representative. But there are differences in approach which my delegation would like to see resolved.

The Afro-Asian proposals, which my delegation supports, are deeply concerned to do two things: one is to establish the machinery necessary to promote political advancement and economic and social well-being, rather than to spell out at this stage the details of that advancement; the other is to ensure that the road to independence will be as smooth and as short as possible. This emphasis on first things first is, in the view of my delegation, the correct one. The Afro-Asian proposals are broad enough to give a free hand to an experienced and enthusiastic administration—as one hopes it will be—and specific enough to ensure that all the important matters will be dealt with. My delegation does not consider that there is any need at this stage to carry out the surveys and studies suggested by the three-Power proposal. In our view, there is already sufficient information and statistical material available to enable the proposed United Nations administrative machinery to start work immediately. The important thing is to get the machinery established and operating. In exercising its functions the council will be able to collect any additional information it deems necessary for its purposes.

49. With regard to the question of preparing the people of South West Africa for independence, my delegation feels strongly that such preparations should be carried out under the aegis of the United Nations. We understand and share the deep concern of the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia that all peoples should be able to exercise unconditionally and freely their right to self-determination and independence. However, we feel that, in the particular circumstances of South West Africa, a temporary United Nations presence will be necessary to bridge the gap between an extreme form of colonial servitude and the responsibilities of nationhood. The effects of the years of oppression under South African rule have to be countered, and this calls for the best talents available to the United Nations and its related agencies.

50. While the situation in South West Africa is not completely analogous to that which existed in my country at the time when our future was being debated by the United Nations General Assembly, I feel it is pertinent to say here that the valuable work of the United Nations in helping, within a pre-determined period, to lead a part of my country to independence forms one of the finest chapters in the records of this Organization. The fact that the Afro-Asian proposal has set a date for the independence of South West Africa not later than next year should remove any doubts about the genuineness of the objective that the people of the territory should gain their independence within the shortest time possible.

51. My delegation, as one of the co-sponsors of the draft resolution contained in document A/L.516, earnestly hopes that all Members of this Assembly will give the draft resolution their full support. By doing so they will bring to a speedy conclusion a chapter in the history of our Organization which has troubled the conscience of all of us and which has brought misery and injustice to the people of South West Africa, for whose welfare we are collectively responsible.

*The meeting rose at 4.20 p.m.*





United Nations  
GENERAL  
ASSEMBLY

Official Records



1507th  
PLENARY MEETING

Thursday, 27 April 1967,  
at 10.30 a.m.

FIFTH SPECIAL SESSION

NEW YORK

CONTENTS

	Page
<i>Agenda item 7:</i>	
<i>Question of South West Africa (continued) . . .</i>	1

*President:* Mr. Abdul Rahman PAZHWAQ  
(Afghanistan).

AGENDA ITEM 7

Question of South West Africa (*continued*)

1. Mr. ASTROM (Sweden): First of all, Mr. President, allow me to congratulate you sincerely on your unanimous election. Your skilful and wise stewardship during the twenty-first session is a guarantee that the affairs of this special session will also be handled in the manner best designed to assure its success.

2. The Swedish Government approaches the issue now on our agenda with the utmost seriousness. Much is at stake. The United Nations has firmly committed itself to assist the people of South West Africa to exercise self-determination and to achieve independence. It has terminated the Mandate and declared that South Africa has no right to administer the Territory. It has assumed direct responsibility for South West Africa. These momentous and irrevocable decisions have engaged our Organization in an undertaking which has to be carried on to its logical conclusion, both in the interest of the people concerned and in the interest of the United Nations. As has been said by the representative of Ethiopia in his important opening statement [1503rd meeting], this is a test case for the United Nations.

3. The Swedish delegation will be guided during this stage of the United Nations effort by two main considerations. The first is that a step forward has to be taken in relation to last year's resolution. We must not stand still and be content with a mere confirmation of that resolution. We have to show determination and to advance the position of the United Nations in practical terms. The second consideration is that the decision that we take should be concrete and constructive, to use the words of the Secretary-General in his message to the *Ad hoc* Committee for South West Africa. Unless our decision is such that it can be made into a reality in terms of factual developments and unless it commands overwhelming support by Member States, it may be counterproductive and in fact postpone the day when the basic objective—that is, to allow the people of South West Africa to reach independence—is achieved. It is in the light of those two criteria that the Swedish Government has closely studied the debates in the Committee of Fourteen.

4. Working under the eminent chairmanship of Ambassador Jakobson, the Committee has prepared a report which, although it does not contain any recommendation, provides a useful basis for further consideration of the South West African issue by the General Assembly. We have been presented with some alternative lines of action that the United Nations could adopt in order to carry forward the great task that it undertook last autumn. Those lines of action differ in many important ways. However, it should be noted, and not least by the Government of South Africa, that all the proposals, irrespective of the differences as to methods and timing, are inspired by the declared intention and purpose of advancing along the course set by last year's resolution.

5. Just like the debate in the Committee, the work during the special session will clearly have to proceed within the context of that resolution. It is the responsibility of all Member States to give the United Nations every assistance in the accomplishment of the task it has undertaken. This responsibility rests heavily on all of us. The resolution that we adopt at this session will have to reflect the determination of the United Nations to see the matter through.

6. What we have set out to achieve is freedom for the people of South West Africa and equal rights and opportunities for all its inhabitants, irrespective of their origin or colour. That means, of course, the replacement of the present *de facto* administration by a new administration which draws its legitimacy from the decisions of the United Nations and from the demonstrated support of the people of the territory. The transition from one to the other might be direct or might be achieved through some intermediary machinery instituted by the United Nations. The first step might be to bring about an efficacious United Nations presence in the territory. Whatever course is taken, broad consultations will have to be undertaken with representative elements of the people, inside and outside South West Africa, ultimately aiming at the convocation of a constituent assembly to draw up a constitution for an independent, unitary South West Africa, on the basis of which constitution democratically held elections would be organized for the establishment of a legislative assembly and a responsible government. The Organization of African Unity might also have a useful role to play in this process.

7. In the view of the Swedish Government, some concrete steps should be taken during the special session in order to prepare for this transition and to help achieve a climate of peace, thereby hastening the day of liberation and preventing a dangerous drift towards racial war. It seems obvious to us that a special United Nations body will have to be created for that purpose. To define the exact task of that

body will not be easy. It would seem that there are elements in all the proposals presented in the Ad Hoc Committee which could usefully be combined in order to give practical expression to the direct responsibility undertaken by the United Nations. One feature of the work to be undertaken would be to prepare as soon as possible, perhaps through some special group of experts, a comprehensive programme for economic, social, educational and administrative assistance to South West Africa. The concern of the world community for the future of the people of South West Africa does not end with independence. We must also seek to help them to make the status of independence stable and durable. The Swedish Government attaches great importance to this problem, and is willing to support all efforts aimed at its solution.

8. There is general agreement that at some stage contact has to be established with the de facto administrator. This contact would have to proceed on the clear understanding that the terms of last year's resolution are not negotiable. The Swedish delegation here again finds itself in agreement with the representative of Ethiopia.

9. It is, of course, not possible to be optimistic about the result of an attempted contact. But the attempt has to be made in order to explore fully the chances of a peaceful solution and to prepare for further United Nations action in the matter. The period immediately ahead should be a period of trial and not of procrastination.

10. Without any assessment as to their significance, certain official statements made recently by the Government of South Africa may be noted here, statements to the effect that South West Africa has a separate international identity and character and that the Government of South Africa has no intention of annexing the territory.

11. When the Government of South Africa alleges adherence to the principle of self-determination, the outside world has reason to inquire whether that term is used as only another word for the policies of apartheid and Bantustanis, of racial discrimination and territorial fragmentation. These policies have to be firmly rejected by the United Nations. The Committee of Fourteen was fully justified in declaring [A/6640, para. 126] the South African proposals with regard to Ovamboland contrary to last year's resolution, and therefore illegal.

12. The Swedish delegation wished at this stage of the proceedings of the General Assembly to limit itself to some considerations of a general nature. It is our sincere hope that, through a co-operative effort, it will prove possible during this special session to achieve what the Secretary-General has called "concrete and constructive decisions for a just and peaceful solution of this problem".

13. The forceful and wise statement made yesterday [1506th meeting] by the representative of Nigeria indicates that such a co-operative effort should and will be attempted, with the earnestness that the situation demands.

14. Mr. MESTIRI (Tunisia) (translated from French): Mr. President, the Tunisian delegation is certainly

one of the delegations most happy to see a man of your calibre conducting the work of this special session. We are delighted, and we congratulate you on this honour which is also conferred on your country, the great continent of Asia and the Afro-Asian group of delegations to the United Nations.

15. Unfortunately this is not the first time the Tunisian delegation has spoken on the subject of South West Africa. The permanent presence of this item on the General Assembly's agenda has become, in the eyes of this Organization's critics, virtually a symbol of United Nations impotence. That is why, in the eyes of world public opinion and particularly of African opinion, the solution of the South West African problem will be a symbol of our Organization's renewed vitality and will certainly restore some of its prestige.

16. I believe it is important that our Assembly should understand to what extent the South West African question, which was once the province of a handful of specialists, has today become a test of the vitality and effectiveness of our Organization.

17. While listening to the eloquent, moving and profound statement made a few days ago by our colleague of Ethiopia [1503rd meeting], I could not but remember another international organization which unwittingly signed its own death warrant by choosing to deal off-handedly with a problem it deemed to be of no importance because only a small African State was involved. However, my delegation will not give way to pessimism. We are convinced that this Assembly will measure up to the hopes placed in it by the African peoples. We have a right to expect that a sense of human kinship will turn the scale in favour of this small African people which is being subjected to a particularly harsh and unjust form of colonization.

18. We want that people to take the fact that our Organization is devoting a special session to the South West African problem as a sign of the international community's very real interest in it. But for the people of South West Africa and for all the peoples in that region of the great African continent still under colonial domination, this indication of interest, however encouraging it may be, cannot possibly suffice.

19. Today the South West African problem is ripe for solution, fully ripe, perhaps even a little over-ripe; indeed, it is to be feared that it may have begun to rot. It is a problem in which the United Nations has a direct responsibility to assume. It is a problem in which the four great Powers have a decisive role to play, and depending on whether they choose to vacillate, to take refuge in abstentions and to content themselves with forceful speeches, or whether, on the other hand, they show the necessary firmness and determination to assume special responsibility under the Charter, the question of South West Africa will or will not be solved.

20. The President has appealed to the Members of this Assembly to face the facts. This is one of the facts which we must face. Others will emerge from a reading of the report of the Ad Hoc Committee on South West Africa [A/6640].

21. Speaking of that report, we should like to convey our delegation's congratulations to the members of the Committee for the solid and efficient piece of work which they have produced in record time. I do not think we were in a position to expect much more; still less could we have expected that the Committee members would have agreed unanimously upon some miraculous solution. It was because the Committee was truly representative of the Assembly that it so clearly reflected the currents of opinion which divide it. I do not believe, as has been said, that because they numbered only fourteen, the members of the Committee have encountered fewer difficulties than the Assembly. I could almost say that the contrary was the case.

22. Rather than searching for a compromise where none was possible, the Committee chose to submit three sets of practical measures proposed by the three different groups of countries represented on it.

23. The terms of reference given to the Committee by the General Assembly were such that it could not have done otherwise. Resolution 2145 (XXI) asked that the recommendations should have a bearing on "practical means"; that did not leave much room for compromise. We cannot therefore reproach the Committee because it failed to arrive at a general agreement. Rather we should pay it a tribute for having approached its task pragmatically and for not having bogged down in the intricacies of this complex problem. We must say that to a large extent the credit for that goes to the memorandum [*ibid.*, annex I] submitted by the African delegations at the Committee's second meeting.

24. Be that as it may, we are faced with three alternatives which have been rigorously and fairly analysed by preceding speakers. I do not wish to return to them but I must explain why the Tunisian delegation inclines towards the Afro-Pakistani proposal, which has now become the Afro-Asian proposal [A/L.516 and Add.1].

25. The Western proposal [A/6640, para. 84], which represents a certain effort on the part of the submitting countries, cannot provide a solution to the South West African situation at the present stage. To embark upon a detailed study of that situation today is surely very remote from what this Assembly seeks to accomplish. This would not, however, even be the main task of the Special Representative for South West Africa; his main task would rather be that which is set out in paragraph 3, in terms as discreet as they are obscure:

"To establish all contacts that he may deem necessary".

26. This is not the first time that the possibility of negotiation in this matter of South West Africa is being hinted at. At least twice before, the General Assembly has allowed itself to be lured in this way. All in vain. If South Africa is willing to negotiate the transfer of the Territory with the United Nations, let the South African delegation present here say so, or let another delegation say so on its behalf. That would introduce a new element which could certainly change the premises from which the Assembly is now proceeding. I believe that this is the principal idea of

the Western proposal, and I am not disparaging it when I say that it is not realistic.

27. The second proposal, submitted by Mexico and Chile [*ibid.*, para. 93], is much more in touch with reality and represents a first-rate contribution to the work of this Assembly. If in paragraph 9 it expressly provided for the intervention of the Security Council under Chapter VII of the Charter, then, in the opinion of my delegation, that proposal would help to reconcile the different points of view and perhaps achieve that near-unanimity which we all desire.

28. I now come to the African proposals contained in a draft resolution [A/L.516 and Add.1] submitted by fifty-six African and Asian countries, including my own. It cannot be claimed that these proposals, which are already to be found in the report, are a cure-all. They are the result of a long and patient search for a solution which would be at the same time just and practical, bold and realistic, prudent and decisive. Indeed, the ideal would have been to abide both by the letter and by the spirit of resolution 1514 (XV) by proclaiming the independence of the Territory and then concentrating all our efforts on making that independence a reality. Such a course, which is advocated by the socialist countries, has the great merit of being logical. But the course chosen by the Afro-Asian group is more subtle, in that it provides for transitional periods and one or two brief stages which, at the end of one year, are to culminate in the emancipation of the Territory. This draft naturally has its faults: to some it will appear too daring and extreme, while to others it will seem to fall short of the exigencies of a serious situation. In fact, it is the inevitable result of a chain of events which began more than twenty years ago. The action we propose may seem serious, and it is. But it might be even more dangerous for the United Nations to procrastinate any further. For this reason, we hope that the Afro-Asian proposal will command the maximum number of votes. Indeed, it is both useful and necessary that the resolution on South West Africa adopted in these circumstances should have the support of all the countries of the Third World and the anti-colonialist countries, and also that of the great majority of other countries, especially those which have assumed special responsibilities under the Charter for the maintenance of international peace and security. My delegation is fully prepared to co-operate with others to that end. We have no doubt that this applies also to the other sponsors of the draft resolution in question, since they are all motivated solely by the desire to see the United Nations succeed in solving the South West African problem, thereby proving itself equal to its task, and to solve it in the only right and reasonable way, by bringing the Territory freedom and independence.

29. Mr. OULD DADDAH (Mauritania) (translated from French): First of all, on behalf of the delegation of the Islamic Republic of Mauritania, I wish to congratulate you most warmly and sincerely on your overwhelming re-election to the presidency of the fifth special session of the General Assembly.

30. Like all the other delegations, my delegation greatly appreciated the firmness, intelligence, sense

of responsibility and tact with which you directed the work of the twenty-first session. We are sure that under your wise guidance the work of this special session of the General Assembly will proceed in the atmosphere of courtesy and efficiency which prevailed at the General Assembly's last regular session.

31. For twenty years, during which more than seventy-two of its resolutions have been systematically flouted and ignored by the exponents of South African apartheid, the United Nations has continued to express its deep concern at the activities of the Pretoria racists in the international territory of South West Africa. For twenty years, the South West African people have been hopefully waiting for the day when our Organization would at last decide to shoulder its responsibilities and fulfil its sacred duty towards a territory under international mandate in which the mandatary country is acting in a way totally contrary to the Charter and to all the principles governing our Organization.

32. My delegation sees no need to paint here once again the horrible picture of apartheid, that disgrace of our century, that thorn in the side of the United Nations. It wishes only to emphasize the historic significance of resolution 2145 (XXI) of 27 October 1966. This resolution marks a turning point. It raised new hopes, bringing a ray of light into the shadows of the dismal and dreadful night of slavery in which the South West African people are still bowed down under the pitiless yoke of the exponents of apartheid. In adopting this important resolution by an overwhelming majority, the General Assembly recognized that the serious problem of South West Africa could not be solved by a legal procedure. Resolution 2145 (XXI), which terminated in clear, forceful and irrevocable terms the Mandate exercised by the South African Republic on behalf of His Britannic Majesty, was the only possible answer, the only response that could be given to the recent decision of the International Court of Justice by an indignant international opinion and the outraged conscience of peoples. Resolution 2145 (XXI) must not suffer the same fate at the hands of the Pretoria régime as did all the previous recommendations and resolutions of the United Nations. Such an attitude on the part of the Pretoria régime has not, we might add, prevented its representatives from coming here to flaunt their arrogance and unconcern within the walls of our Organization.

33. It goes without saying that failure to apply, or to apply correctly, resolution 2145 (XXI) would be a serious blow to the prestige, the authority and the very meaning of the United Nations. Every one of its Members is in duty bound to assist the United Nations to discharge with dignity and justice its heavy responsibilities towards the people of South West Africa who are groaning under the South African colonialist yoke. Theirs is a particularly inhuman form of colonialism, based as it is on the exploitation of man by his fellow man and on the contemptible philosophy of apartheid.

34. In order that the United Nations may conserve its full meaning and its prestige and be able to see to the maintenance of peace and understanding among

peoples, the delegation of the Islamic Republic of Mauritania would request every State Member of the United Nations to do everything in its power to ensure loyal and unprejudiced compliance with the decisions of the General Assembly, especially when those decisions are as just and far-reaching as resolution 2145 (XXI) of 27 October 1966. Those States which keep the United Nations in a state of impotence, thus deliberately altering the noble image that the freedom fighters have of our Organization, are laying themselves open to being condemned by posterity.

35. My delegation is convinced that at least one of the two permanent members of the Security Council which abstained in the vote when resolution 2145 (XXI) was adopted by an overwhelming majority of the General Assembly, will not shirk its responsibilities. Indeed, it would be a great pity if the immense prestige and glory which the French nation and its leaders have acquired in the eyes of the Third World by their courageous policy of de-colonization based on respect for the fundamental and inalienable right of peoples to self-determination, were to be tarnished by silence or by an equivocal attitude with regard to the serious problem of South West Africa.

36. The delegation of the Islamic Republic of Mauritania wishes once again to express its gratitude to those delegations which, throughout the twenty-first session of the General Assembly, supported and voted in favour of the Afro-Asian draft which later became resolution 2145 (XXI). That resolution, which was adopted by an overwhelming majority of States Members of the United Nations, has had widespread repercussions among peoples which cherish freedom and respect human dignity. Above all, it gave rise to great hopes in Africa, especially in the southern part of that continent, where colonialism in its most cruel and revolting form is being maintained thanks to the multifarious connivance, born of greed, on the part of the big trusts and great financiers.

37. The apparent self-assurance of South Africa, of the racist minority in Rhodesia and of the Portuguese colonialists should not deceive anyone. These illegal and unnatural régimes know that they are doomed and that they are daily being corroded from within. The greatly heightened awareness of most of our brothers who are still kept in slavery, arrested by the thousand and thrown without a trial into South African and Rhodesian prisons or subjected to the contemptible régime of apartheid, will eventually triumph over the oppressor. We wish our brothers in Rhodesia, South Africa, Angola and Mozambique to know that, however many difficulties are heaped by expert hands on their road to freedom, their African and Asian brothers cannot and will not forget them.

38. While there is still time, my delegation would appeal to all other delegations to assist the United Nations in enabling the South West African people to enjoy in peace and dignity their inalienable right to self-determination and independence.

39. My delegation is firmly convinced that the harmonious and effective application of resolution 2145 (XXI) of 27 October 1966 requires the active and loyal co-operation of States Members of the United Nations, and that only through such co-operation can its aims be achieved.

<sup>1/</sup> South West Africa, second phase, Judgement, I.C.J. reports 1966, p. 6.

40. We were disappointed and pained to note that the members of the Committee of Fourteen—to whom we address our most sincere thanks for the work they have done—were unable to reach agreement. My delegation does not wish to try the patience of the Assembly by embarking on a detailed analysis of the Ad Hoc Committee's report [A/6640]. African leaders have already made clear and eloquent statements from this rostrum about that report and the different proposals it contains. In that connexion, my delegation wishes to offer its warmest congratulations to Mr. Makonnen for the lucidity of the very full statement on South West Africa he made on behalf of the Ethiopian delegation before the General Assembly at its fifth special session [1503rd meeting]. It was a brilliant and restrained speech, the main themes of which are in accord with the views of the Government and delegation of the Islamic Republic of Mauritania, both as regards the analysis of the situation created in South West Africa and the appropriate ways and means of facing that situation.

41. My delegation has examined with great interest the proposal of the Japanese and Latin American delegations [A/6640, para. 93]. This proposal seems very close to that of the African group. My delegation has never doubted the sympathy and the active support of the Latin American delegations for the liberation of oppressed peoples. We therefore wish to convey our very real gratitude towards these Latin American countries and their representatives, who have steadfastly fought for the freedom and independence of countries under the colonialist yoke. However, my delegation must express some reservations with regard to the proposal of these friendly countries since, in our opinion, it does not make sufficient allowance for the obstinacy of the Pretoria régime or, more particularly, for the customary attitude of its leaders towards the resolutions and recommendations of the United Nations. My delegation is firmly convinced that the time has come for the Organization to apply definite sanctions against the Pretoria Government.

42. It goes without saying that my delegation fully shares the concern of the African members of the Ad Hoc Committee. The matter should be brought immediately before the Security Council under Chapter VII of the Charter, so that it could take action against South Africa if the South African Government should oppose the implementation of the resolutions adopted by the Assembly during this session.

43. My delegation is convinced that in the present circumstances the United Nations cannot afford to display any weakness or hesitation with regard to the problem before us. If it does so, its prestige, its meaning and its authority will certainly be seriously jeopardized.

44. We all know that throughout the history of the United Nations the delegations of the socialist countries have always fought against colonialism and for the liberation of peoples. Hence, during the work of the Ad Hoc Committee, the representatives of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and Czechoslovakia advocated that South West Africa should immediately be declared independent and should be administered by the Organization of African Unity. The countries

of the socialist group have earned our gratitude for the full and active support they have always given to the oppressed peoples. However, my delegation believes that the question of South West Africa is not, or is no longer, a problem of concern only to Africans or even Asians.

45. In all its aspects and in its smallest details, the question of South West Africa comes within the competence of the United Nations, and no Member of the Organization can or should shirk its responsibility in that respect.

46. My delegation fully shares the views of the African group which contemplates, *inter alia*, coercive measures by the United Nations against South Africa in the event that the South African Government should once again refuse to bow to its decisions.

47. As my country and my delegation see it, the United Nations, in assuming direct responsibility for South West Africa, has embarked upon a definite course, and in deciding to discharge its responsibilities it has committed itself. Consequently, common cause and elementary logic require the United Nations to establish its own machinery in order to be able to carry out its commitment.

48. The administration of South West Africa is a sacred trust, which should be held by the United Nations alone. I repeat, it is a sacred trust, and no one can be unaware of its historic significance.

49. In addition, we place our faith in the wisdom of nations, in the intelligence of peoples, and in a certain sense of justice that all men of good will possess. We are sure that the law and the legitimate desire of peoples to free themselves from the colonial yoke will finally prevail.

50. Mr. KLUSAK (Czechoslovakia): Mr. President, may I be permitted, first, to congratulate you on your election once more to the significant post of President of the General Assembly, this time at its fifth special session. The manner in which you fulfilled the tasks of President at the twenty-first session of the General Assembly has entitled you fully to the presidency at this session, and, at the same time, it has imbued us with hope that, under your experienced guidance, we shall attain optimum results in our deliberations.

51. Already at the twenty-first session of the General Assembly, the Czechoslovak delegation emphasized that:

"... the problem of South West Africa is in fact the problem of the immediate and urgent implementation of the Declaration on the elimination of colonialism." [1454th meeting, para. 340.]

This fact cannot be changed either by some specific features that are undoubtedly inherent in the set of problems concerning South West Africa. This standpoint has finally been confirmed also, in our opinion, by the whole content of resolution 2145 (XXI). The task of the fifth special session of the United Nations General Assembly is to consider and adopt measures by which the provisions of resolution 2145 (XXI) would be brought to life.

52. This resolution, adopted at the twenty-first session of the General Assembly, has been charac-

terized in United Nations organs—and has been described also by highly qualified sources—as an historic document. We are in agreement with that opinion in so far as the resolution concluded, undoubtedly in a very concrete and valuable manner, a long phase in the consideration of this question in the forum of the United Nations. The fact that this resolution has terminated the Mandate of the Republic of South Africa over South West Africa, that it has proclaimed direct responsibility of the United Nations for the further development of the territory, and that it has laid down a very concrete objective of the implementation of the right of the people of South West Africa to independence and self-determination constitutes beyond any doubt a milestone in the development of the question under discussion. Yet, however valuable these results may be, we have to see realistically that, at the same time, resolution 2145 (XXI) has placed us at the beginning of a new, final and decisive phase in the whole drama of South West Africa, a phase that puts new and highly serious and demanding tasks before our entire Organization.

53. The Czechoslovak Socialist Republic took an active part in the consideration of the aforementioned resolution and also supported its adoption. Czechoslovakia also expressed its interest in this question and in its effective and speedy solution by its acceptance of membership in the Ad Hoc Committee for South West Africa. During the deliberations of the Committee, we openly expressed our views on the solution of the question of South West Africa, in pursuance of resolution 2145 (XXI), as stated in the Ad Hoc Committee's report [A/6640].

54. At the last session of the General Assembly, as well as in the Ad Hoc Committee, we put forth the opinion that the interest of a constructive solution of the matter urgently requires, firstly, that the Republic of South Africa immediately withdraw, with its entire power machinery, from the Territory of South West Africa; secondly, that the independence of South West Africa be proclaimed without delay and that the people of South West Africa be fully granted its right to self-determination; and thirdly, that the people of South West Africa be given necessary assistance in solving the tasks of the administration of the territory and establishing its independence, and assurance of the development of the country.

55. We have also pointed in detail to the direct connexion between the first two questions, namely, that of the withdrawal of the Republic of South Africa from the territory, and that of the proclamation of independence of South West Africa.

56. The immediate and unconditional withdrawal of the Republic of South Africa from the territory of South West Africa constitutes logically an indispensable and most fundamental prerequisite for the solution of the whole question. The presence of the Republic of South Africa in the territory is the main obstacle standing in the way of the realization of resolution 2145 (XXI). The régime of Pretoria, in contradiction to this resolution, not only continues illegally in the administration of the Territory of South West Africa, but it even strives to strengthen its economic and political positions. In this connexion, I merely recall the escalated acts of repression against the freedom

fighters, as mentioned here by the representative of Guinea [1503rd meeting], as well as actions such as the so-called "initiative" of the Pretoria régime in March of this year in the question of the so-called self-administration in the part of the Territory of South West Africa called Ovamboland. I do not consider it necessary to dwell at length on the position of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic on this step, as it was explained very clearly in the Committee of Fourteen. In this place, I should like only to state unequivocally once again that the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic associates itself fully with the position of the Afro-Asian countries as formulated in the statement of 23 March 1967 to the Afro-Asian group by the Afro-Asian members of the Committee.

57. The aggressive and racist policy of the Government of South Africa and its provocative behaviour also towards the United Nations and its resolutions have been made possible and have been directly supported by certain Western Powers, in particular by the United States, the United Kingdom, the Federal Republic of Germany and other members of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. On the one hand, we have to listen often here to declaratory statements of representatives of the Western countries in which they denounce the policy of apartheid; on the other hand, the facts speak quite a different language. Permit me to recall in this connexion the words of the resolution adopted at the eighth ordinary session of the Council of Ministers of the Organization of African Unity, held at Addis Ababa in February-March of this year. In this resolution the Ministers of the African countries strongly condemn

"the activities of foreign financial and industrial interests whose continued commercial relations and investments in South Africa enable the Government of South Africa to persist in its policy of apartheid and racial discrimination."

58. It is a matter of common knowledge to whom those "interests" belong and a number of previous speakers have documented this by concrete figures. The role of the monopolies of the United States—or those in which United States capital takes a decisive part—in the economy of southern Africa as a whole has been steadily increasing. The very publicity in the United States concerning the question of South West Africa has made it obvious that it is precisely those interests and their representatives which influence public opinion, as well as the very position and actions of the United States towards the Republic of South Africa and all questions related thereto.

59. It is not possible, on the one hand, to condemn the policy of apartheid, only by words and with impunity, and even to proclaim support for the requirements of the liberation of the people of South West Africa from the colonial and racist yoke and, on the other hand, to persist in co-operation and active economic and political support of the racist colonialists from Pretoria, without which the Government of the Republic of South Africa could not carry out its policy of apartheid in South Africa or the policy of apartheid and annexation in relation to South West Africa. The representative of Ethiopia used an absolutely fitting expression on this rostrum when he



called this policy "a game of double standards" [1503rd meeting, para. 69].

60. The present legal and political facts are such that, following the adoption of resolution 2145 (XXI), the presence of the Republic of South Africa in the Territory of South West Africa is absolutely illegal and is being maintained only by force. That quite clearly constitutes a manifestation of an aggressive policy of annexation directed not only against the people of South West Africa, but also against the authority of the United Nations. And it is in that very direction that the Western Powers today—and in the first place the United States—through their whole policy towards the Republic of South Africa, are assisting the colonialists from Pretoria. Therefore, it is precisely the form of the United Nations and the deliberations on this question which provide the right time and place to show unequivocally that such actions by the United States do not by any means constitute an isolated phenomenon, but, on the contrary, are a mere component of its imperialist policy founded on colonialism, intervention, aggression and force. Only that country is siding with the racists and colonialists who are suppressing the freedom of the people of South West Africa. It is that country which yesterday attempted to break down by force of arms the will of the Dominican people; which intervened in the affairs of the people of Panama; which has attacked the people of Cuba; which tried by all means, including the abuse of this Organization, to settle in the Congo; and which today wages an aggressive, dirty, colonialist war against the people of Viet-Nam. The explosion of the bombs that United States bombers are dropping every day on the towns and villages of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam, the shooting of patriotic men, women and children in South Viet-Nam resound in these rooms also. That sound cannot be subdued by the loudest orations of United States representatives on the so-called peace efforts and proposals of Washington. It cannot be subdued because those orations are not the expression of a genuine wish for peace, but constitute merely an attempt to conceal the further escalation of military operations, as we are repeatedly witnessing at present.

61. We have pilloried United States aggression and intervention in Viet-Nam from the very outset, and we shall continue to do so until the United States brings them to an end, until it stops bombing the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam, until it stops trampling by force and violating the will of the people of South Viet-Nam and until it withdraws from that country, which only then will be able to breathe freely and settle its affairs according to its own will.

62. The policy of the Western Powers which I have mentioned, and particularly that of the United States, has also found its expression in their approach towards the proposals for the solution of the question of South West Africa which were the subject of deliberations in the Ad Hoc Committee. Characteristically, the proposals of the Western countries leave aside everything that would touch the present factual position of the Republic of South Africa in the Territory of South West Africa, and they even try to create a situation for the future in which the exploitation of the human and material resources of the Territory might continue.

63. The urgent necessity to attain positive results in our efforts, in accordance with the provisions of resolution 2145 (XXI), requires that the Western Powers should refrain from their insincere game in questions concerning the liquidation of colonialism. It is precisely this session which should make a contribution to that effect. We are of the opinion that one of the substantial results produced by this session should be an energetic condemnation of collaboration with the Republic of South Africa, a condemnation of the policy which directly or by its consequences supports the Pretoria régime and its policy of apartheid, as well as the continued conduct of the policy of annexation of the Territory of South West Africa. All partners of the Republic of South Africa should be called upon with due emphasis to sever all their relations with South Africa without any delay and to apply consistently the policy of the complete boycott and isolation of the South African economy.

64. There can be no doubt about the fact that those requirements constitute a substantial part of the policy which has set as its aim the liberation of the people of South West Africa from colonial supremacy, that they are closely related to the realization of United Nations responsibility towards South West Africa and its people.

65. As we have already stated, the first and main prerequisite of the implementation by the United Nations of its responsibility under resolution 2145 (XXI), lies in the attainment of the withdrawal of the Republic of South Africa from the Territory of South West Africa. Much has been said, particularly by the Western delegations, about how necessary it is that the United Nations should not neglect the factual presence of the Republic of South Africa in the Territory of South West Africa and that it should not fail to turn to it. To neglect such a self-evident fact would be quite difficult indeed. Actually, the United Nations should turn to the Republic of South Africa from this session with but one resolute appeal: withdraw without delay and without any conditions, with all your military forces and all your police machinery, from the Territory of South West Africa and set free immediately all political prisoners.

66. In our opinion, the fulfilment of that requirement constitutes the first and principal task to be solved if the responsibility of the United Nations for South West Africa is to be carried out. The attitude to this task has been and will continue to be the main proof of the position on the solution of the whole problem.

67. The standpoint of our delegation during the course of deliberations on the question of South West Africa up to the present has never permitted, and never could permit, any doubts regarding our attitude towards the tasks and responsibility of the United Nations in relation to South West Africa. At the twenty-first session of the General Assembly, as well as in the Ad Hoc Committee, we emphasized repeatedly that it was necessary, and is necessary, in order that the objectives set down in resolution 2145 (XXI)—specifically, the attainment of the withdrawal of the Republic of South Africa from South West Africa—be realized, to use all necessary measures and means envisaged by the United Nations Charter.

68. The other aspect of United Nations responsibility towards South West Africa is linked with the question of bringing to life the independence of the territory after South Africa leaves or is expelled. In this connexion, I should like to note that we should deal very carefully with the terms "direct responsibility of the United Nations" and "the administration of the United Nations over South West Africa", and not put them on the same footing. The Czechoslovak delegation has already stated, at the twenty-first session of the General Assembly, its objections to the proposals that would conduce, by their consequences, to the replacement of the Mandate of the Republic of South Africa by a kind of new trust régime of the United Nations. It has not been our intention to assist in the creation of such a régime in South West Africa. It is, however, our intention to help implement the responsibility of the United Nations towards the territory, responsibility to see that the independence of the territory is proclaimed as soon as possible and that the people of South West Africa are enabled to take their affairs into their own hands. This position is in full compliance with the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

69. In this connexion, the question of ensuring the independence of the territory is linked with another problem, namely, assistance to the people of South West Africa in the organization of the administration of their territory and the establishing of its statehood.

70. The Czechoslovak delegation shares the conviction of the African States that this assistance is necessary because of the conditions of deepest colonial oppression in which the Republic of South Africa has for decades kept the people of South West Africa. Of course, this view has nothing in common with the argument we hear from time to time concerning the so-called unpreparedness for independence of the people of South West Africa. We have repeatedly emphasized that it is solely the people of South West Africa who are entitled to decide their own fate; that it is they, and only they, who are entitled to implement their inalienable right to self-determination, independence and free development. Consequently, the establishment of administrative organs for South West Africa also is, and must be, a matter for the people of South West Africa to decide.

71. Assuming that the people of South West Africa will be granted assistance on the establishment of their statehood—and such is the assumption of the Czechoslovak delegation—then there can be no doubt about the fact that the most dependable counsel and political assistance can be granted by the other African nations, since they know better than anyone else the needs of the people of that Territory and have had direct experience in the establishment of statehood under the conditions prevailing in the African countries which liberated themselves from the colonial yoke.

72. During the twenty-first session of the United Nations General Assembly we expressed the opinion that our Organization could, in this matter, request the Organization of African Unity to assume these tasks for South West Africa. Among these tasks we have in mind, above all, assistance to the representatives of the National Liberation Movement of

the people of South West Africa in the establishment of provisional organs of administration in the territory, in the preparation of universal and democratic elections, in the creation of organs of state power, and in the taking-over of the administration of the country by those organs. We do not believe that this kind of arrangement should mean the end of United Nations responsibility towards South West Africa. On the contrary, we assume that the whole process of the solution of this question will be governed by close co-operation and co-ordination between the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity.

73. Such is our view of the role which the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity might play in assuring the future of South West Africa. We have welcomed the willingness of our African friends, expressed here by the representative of Ethiopia, to give further consideration to these possibilities, and we are ready, on our part, to co-operate fully in this respect.

74. The effective assistance of the United Nations in relation to South West Africa is indispensable and must be further developed during the building up of the independent state in the various fields that require qualified personnel, experts and technicians. We give our active support to the view that South West Africa, following the proclamation of its independence, must be granted necessary economic and technical assistance within the framework of the programmes of the United Nations and of the specialized agencies. Our position proceeds from the fact that the people of South West Africa have, up to the present, not only been deprived of any possibility of receiving technical and other assistance, but have also been subjected to the most brutal colonial exploitation.

75. The material resources of the Territory of South West Africa, which so far have served only as a basis for extracting enormous profits for foreign monopolies, can and must become, in the conditions of the country's independence, a source and basis for a broad development of the living standards and the material and spiritual cultures of its inhabitants. The information which is available on the present economic life of South West Africa attests to the fact that the economic and financial resources of the Territory are sufficient even for guaranteeing the costs connected with building up the new administration of the independent state, as the representatives of the African countries have mentioned in their proposals.

76. In conclusion, I wish to say that we have given a statement of our attitude towards the solution of the question of South West Africa under present conditions, as well as our attitude on the main principles that should guide our Organization in the steps it should take for the enforcement of its decisions adopted at the twenty-first session of the General Assembly.

77. We are prepared, as I have already recalled, to continue our co-operation towards implementation of the basic objective: that the racist supremacy of the Republic of South Africa over the people of South West Africa be brought to an end without delay, and that the people of that country be ensured freedom and independence in accordance with their inalienable rights and vital interests.



78. Mr. ZINSOU (Dahomey) (translated from French): Mr. President, my delegation is happy to join in the congratulations which have been addressed to you on the repeated expression of confidence in you made when it elected you President of this special session.

79. When, on 27 October 1966, during its twenty-first session, the General Assembly adopted by an almost unanimous vote resolution 2145 (XXI) on South West Africa, what game did those States which voted for it think they were playing? What did they hope to achieve? What result and what outcome did they expect?

80. If we ask that question today—and how should we not ask it?—we are forced to draw a painful conclusion: for some, and not the least, of those States, it was no more than a gratuitous gesture, made all the more easily because they knew it to be a sham and were convinced from the outset that hypocrisy would soon turn into farce.

81. For, after all, a State is granted a mandate by the community of nations; that same community of nations revokes the mandate, and deservedly so. It does so for reasons which are so obviously well founded that the decision is taken almost unanimously. But when the same Organization is asked to endow itself with the means of enforcing that decision, some of those who supported and voted for it take refuge in make-believe and diversionary tactics. It is as though our Assembly consisted of war mongers on the one hand, who only dream of fire, blood, wounds and bruises, and gentle angels of peace on the other, staunchly supporting peaceful settlement and friendly solutions. What an oddly cynical world we live in!

82. For years, there has been intervention in various parts of the world, often without any concern for the existence of the United Nations and still less for its approval. Intervention still continues, and in what a form! At this very moment while we are meeting here dubious battles are being fought for reasons that this Assembly would most certainly condemn. But when it comes to enforcing respect for undeniably legal and morally incontestable decisions adopted unanimously by our Assembly, when it comes to applying the principles which form the very basis of the United Nations, we are told, "Take care, for our Organization must not itself light the fires it was created to extinguish". What generosity of motive!

83. The matter is really perfectly clear. I asked earlier what game was being played. I will now tell you. The game is to whisper into the ear of South Africa: "We are going to pretend to frighten you. But do not be afraid; there is honour among thieves, and we have a great many interests in common. We are on your side, as you well know." At the same time, from this rostrum are made professions of faith in human rights, in the rights of peoples, in justice, liberty, and democracy, and resolutions are even voted for. By carrying it in a sling or by shutting it in the refrigerator, one can learn to live with a bad conscience.

84. Please understand that we have not the least desire to pose as moralists and preach to others. But how can we not grieve to see that there is no longer any indignation? If we have once again made the long journey to the banks of the East River, it is

because we wish to tell the whole truth, without impertinence, but also without pretence. Admittedly, we have come here without any illusions, but not without determination, since we know that it is possible to undertake a task without hope and to persevere without expectation of success if the cause is just and right.

85. On the face of it, we are dealing with South West Africa; but in fact the problem we are facing has been with us for a long time and has reared its head at every crossroads in the life of our Organization. That problem concerns the very nature, the competence and the effectiveness of the United Nations. We should like to apologize for quoting our own words said here last October:

"... until it has been solved," (the problem of the means which our Organization should have at its disposal to enforce the decisions taken here) "our main task will remain undone. ... States which subscribe to the Charter and are present here will continue daily to flout with cynicism and impunity the principles that form the very foundation of our Organization; the United Nations will merely be the shield behind which the great Powers can do whatever they like."

And we added:

"We must ... provide the Organization with the means to force compliance with the decisions reached, if necessary. Otherwise, despite the fine resolutions we adopt here, South Africa and Portugal will continue to exchange knowing, contented smiles, 200,000 Rhodesian whites will continue to defy and hold 119 nations in check,"—there are now 122 of us—"and peoples of goodwill will continue to doubt ..." [1432nd meeting, paras. 111 and 112].

86. Of the three alternatives before the Assembly, it is obvious to us that the proposal of the African and Asian States [A/L.516 and Add.1] is the only one which combines logic, law and the moral principles to which we so frequently refer and which we should endeavour to put more often into practice. The objections which have been raised to it cannot all be lightly dismissed. Let us deal with a few of the apparently more serious ones.

87. Among other things, we have been told that the success of this proposal would depend on its acceptance by South Africa, indeed, upon South Africa's collaboration, and that if South Africa should not be co-operative, the coercive measures which would be called for would be practically inapplicable. Hence our proposal is deemed to be so unrealistic as to be useless. To this we would reply that if the Assembly had had to be sure that every proposal or resolution which it wished to adopt would be fully implemented, it would have had very little work to do. I do not want this remark to be interpreted as meaning that this Assembly is nothing but a factory which turns out documents containing pious hopes. We are among those who think that by adopting ill-considered resolutions on every possible occasion we help to weaken and discredit the Organization, an attitude which has earned us the label of "moderates" in some quarters. But where we are concerned with the basic principles upon which the United Nations is founded and the

inalienable rights of peoples and individuals, without respect, for which our presence here would be meaningless, can we really afford guile, trickery or silence? And is it possible to be moderately opposed to apartheid, the most contemptible form of racism ever to be made into a State law which with cynical insolence daily violates the principles of our Charter? In fact, what we are being asked to do in the name of moderation and realism is to disown ourselves, to betray not only the law but our own blood as well, to become, willingly or out of fear, the accomplices of those who insult us to the point of denying our humanity.

88. We do not want war at any price, not even against Rhodesia or South Africa. However strong our feeling of revulsion for those States, we should be able to control our legitimate resentment if they would only consent to apply the rules of the game in which they freely joined and to put into practice the only principles that give meaning to our lives as human beings, since they distinguish us from wild beasts and are acknowledged by all mankind.

89. But what is to be done with these provocateurs, who draw their strength from the baseness and the connivance of so many? Are we to apply sanctions? Everyone knows what happens when we do that. It is useless to talk of international law when certain powerful and active interests are involved. It is not fortuitous that Ian Smith's tiny minority dares to defy the entire world. As to South Africa, contrary to what one might believe, its strength does not lie in the fact that its ministers have recently been visiting European capitals in search of weapons to buy. No one can resist us all if we are all of one mind. The world would be a sorry place if the big guns always had the last word. The fact is that the United Nations is moving towards a singular destiny. It is the result of a misunderstanding, or rather, to put it bluntly, of a lie. For which nations were meant, and, basically, which nations were to be grouped together? It is evident that there are many seated around this table whose presence was neither foreseen nor desired and, whether this is admitted or not, their presence interferes with the game of intrigue.

90. Let us be on our guard. Are we going to set up, on a world scale and under cover of high-sounding principles, a last refuge for racism? Have you not observed that when it comes to dealing with the black or yellow races everything becomes possible and permissible, whereas in other cases, although they have been unanimously condemned, there is hesitancy and evasion?

91. Even though something may be said for it, we are not going to become racists in our turn. But we must sound the alarm at once.

92. We are not unaware of certain reasons which, whether or not they are openly stated, are nothing but poor excuses. "What are you doing with your freedom?" as some who dare to speak frankly. And indeed, sometimes we do not present a very edifying spectacle. We are not afraid to look at ourselves. But has it been any different for other peoples, other nations? And are not our fiercest critics among those who are doing what has to be done to ensure that the situation will remain unchanged? Who is

pulling the strings, and to what purpose? On the one hand, we are being denied human status, while on the other we are asked to achieve perfection immediately and to accomplish miracles which have never been performed before. What a surfeit of honour after so much humiliation!

93. Basically, we could forgo this debate because, with or without the United Nations, the South West African people and the true peoples of South Africa and Rhodesia, the peoples of Angola and others, will eventually achieve their destiny. It would be better for our honour and more in keeping with our wishes if this were to happen with the help of the United Nations. For here we can help patiently, and doubtless laboriously, to make the world more brotherly and nations more humane. We could also give up and submit. Whatever happens, we are profoundly convinced that the disinherited of this earth will have their word to say, and one that will count. From this rostrum we say to all the waiting peoples, our brothers: patience and hope; the night is long and will last yet a while, but eventually, inexorably, for you too the dawn will come.

94. The PRESIDENT: The representative of Saudi Arabia, who has made his contribution to the general debate, has asked to speak in order to introduce his draft resolution [A/L.517].

95. Mr. BAROODY (Saudi Arabia): Mr. President, you were right when you mentioned that I have made my remarks in the general debate on this thorny question.

96. I want to assure my brothers from Africa and Asia that, although my name does not appear as a co-sponsor of their draft resolution [A/L.516 and Add.1], I fully endorse its objective, and I hope that after certain amendments or alterations are made, I will be able to vote for it. One does not need to be a co-sponsor of a draft resolution to subscribe to its objectives. I fully endorse those objectives. The Afro-Asian group of fifty or more States, in co-operation with Yugoslavia, is not lightly submitting that draft resolution. And the inclusion of the name of Yugoslavia heartens me by showing that there is a spot in Europe that feels with the African and Asian States and identifies their interests with its own on questions that are of really universal importance.

97. But the question arises, does that draft resolution provide the means or the machinery for delivering the goods stipulated in its well-worded provisions? I do not wish to resort to rhetoric or to mellifluous phrases in making my points clear. I am afraid that the stark reality of the question of South West Africa does not lend itself to glossing over the facts with well-ordered and sweet words. Such a style would be appropriate in the realm of poetry and *belles lettres*, but not in exposing the brutal facts of which we are seized.

98. I hope, therefore, that my brothers in this hall—and for that matter, my sisters, too, although I do not see too many ladies today—will not misinterpret my straightforward manner in placing before them the facts as clearly as I can see them after I have been seized myself of this problem for twenty years. Should the truth wound, it is still the best antiseptic against the infection of neglect which is bound to end in regrets.

99. I cannot present my draft resolution without touching on the Afro-Asian draft resolution, which I studied over and over again. Unfortunately, it reminds me of the Arab proverb: "Read and thou shalt be elated; try and thou shalt be saddened." I am not using any mellifluous phrases or raising any false hopes, I would not be what I am were I to resort to such a style.

100. Nevertheless I am in full agreement with the objectives of the Afro-Asian draft resolution and would gladly have co-sponsored it if there were even a semblance of assurance that its provisions could be successfully implemented. But let no one entertain any doubt. I am going to vote for it, although I would still prefer to see the three draft resolutions of the Committee of Fourteen merged into a workable text; none would be happier than I to co-sponsor such a realistic draft resolution if it would be worked out.

101. Again I find myself under the spell of my own language. I want to quote another Arabic proverb because, after all, proverbs are the quintessence of the long experience of people, and the Arabs have had a long history and a rich culture. Paraphrased into English, the proverb reads: "If you cannot get all that you want, settle for what you can get and henceforth endeavour to achieve the possible." If I today, from this rostrum, proclaim myself the Emperor of China, I am sure that neither the Russians nor the Americans will take that proclamation seriously by even objecting to it or challenging me, simply because I could not bolster my words with action. Let those who have ears listen. Likewise, in so many words, we can establish a United Nations council for South West Africa and formulate plans even to levy taxes from inside the territory to finance our operations for liberating the indigenous people from foreign rule—but, unfortunately, we are not in a position to back our words with effective measures for the attainment of our noble goal.

102. If we are not merely seeking repetitive publicity for our cause—and it is my cause as well as that of every one of you in this Hall, with the exception, of course, of our South African and, possibly, our Portuguese colleagues—we should not beguile ourselves with fervent hopes or high expectations unless we are able to persuade South Africa to yield peacefully—and I implore it to yield peacefully before it is too late—or unless we adopt the alternative of compelling South Africa to accept the terms of the draft resolution in question. Unless our South African friends are suffering from a psychosis, they should be amenable to persuasion, if not by ourselves, perhaps through our friends in this Assembly who, time and again, have cogently decried the stand of the South African Government from this very rostrum. But the trouble is that they have economic and financial interests with the South Africans. "They give us sweet words from the tips of their tongues," says the Arabic proverb, "but they are foxy in their designs". This is the truth. It should be said from the rostrum of the United Nations.

103. Let us for a moment explore the possibility of using force as a means of achieving our end. It was frankly and honestly declared a couple of days ago that the Organization of African Unity is not in a position at the present time to use force against

South Africa unless, of course, it receives adequate assistance. From what quarter, can anyone tell me? From what quarter could such assistance come? From the United Kingdom? I do not see my good friend Lord Caradon here. By no stretch of the imagination can we expect the United Kingdom to participate in any armed campaign against South Africa. It is a known fact that, having lost its empire, the United Kingdom must expand its exports or perish as an industrial nation. Its balance of payments does not allow it to antagonize South Africa by more vehement declarations than have been made by Lord Caradon in this Assembly. Those are the facts.

104. I scanned very carefully the speeches of both Mr. Goldberg and Mr. Kuznetsov. Of course, they speak on behalf of their mighty Governments. I could not gather from either of those speeches that the United States or the Soviet Union is willing to undertake any military action against South Africa. In fact, Mr. Goldberg stated—and I am paraphrasing his words—that consultation and not coercion should be the method of approach at this stage. On the other hand, Mr. Kuznetsov made it clear in his speech that the Organization of African Unity has the right to intervene. But I do not know whether we are supposed to read between the lines of that speech and to deduce that the Soviet Union would give military assistance to the Organization of African Unity to achieve the objectives in the Afro-Asian draft resolution, or whether the Soviet Union is proffering only moral support.

105. Moral support: if I were hungry and someone spoke to me with cheerful words, my stomach would still be empty. Any one of us is articulate when it comes to moral support. Don't you see how we all rallied round each other with moral support in formulating that draft resolution? Moral support!

106. The United States and the Soviet Union are today the major Powers, not only in the General Assembly but also in the Security Council. If those Powers do not advocate military force as a means for a solution of the question of South West Africa, I take it that those Powers prefer to extend moral support to the Organization of African Unity, unless they state otherwise. The Organization of African Unity does not seem to be able to take things into its hands, militarily speaking, at this stage. Therefore, how can we expect the Afro-Asian draft resolution to have any teeth? Furthermore, we have no assurance that the two major Powers in the Security Council are willing to carry out the requests that are envisaged in the Afro-Asian draft resolution. Incidentally, although, broadly speaking, the General Assembly may make requests, it cannot compel the Security Council to act. All it can do is make recommendations, and I ask my Afro-Asian friends to change the word "requests" to "recommends".

107. Let us read the Charter and know what we are doing. However, what is the use of even recommending a line of action to the Security Council when both the major Powers seem unwilling to resort to military intervention against South Africa? They are both engaged in military action in other parts of the world. I do not want to mention it; everybody knows it. What is the use of mentioning it? Why? Because high stakes

are involved there for both major Powers. But it seems that the stakes are not high enough for the liberation of South West Africa. Let us state the facts as they are.

108. An alternative to military intervention would be economic boycott. Economic sanctions have proved ineffective without military action. Rhodesia is not the only case in point. The two world wars bear witness to what I say. In both wars Germany very successfully resorted to ersatz products and subsisted on such products both times for more than four-and-a-half years. I do not want to be misunderstood or misinterpreted by any one of my Afro-Asian friends here, for, as I said, I am going to vote for the draft resolution because of its objectives and despite its lack of machinery for implementation. We should always have objectives and hammer until we get to those objectives. But, until those objectives are obtained, what shall we do? Shall we stand with arms folded? Our arms have been folded for twenty years. I do not think that would be a wise course to follow, for people outside these halls might say that the Afro-Asian group of nations engages in propaganda and publicity without the means with which to attain the objectives of their draft resolutions. That is what led me at the last session to submit a draft resolution, which I have revamped and tailored in view of the developments during this session, so that it may be a supplement—and I repeat "supplement"—to the Afro-Asian draft resolution. It is not in contravention of the Afro-Asian draft resolution; nor does it detract from any of its terms. I am sorry that I took such a long time in explaining my attitude towards the Afro-Asian draft resolution. I should be misleading myself and my friends were I not to comment on that draft resolution which my good friend, Mr. Adebo, presented yesterday, for after all, as I have mentioned, my own draft resolution is a supplement to it.

109. With your permission, I will now present, as briefly as possible, my draft resolution [A/L.517]. It states:

"The General Assembly,

"Reaffirming the provisions of resolution \_\_\_\_\_ (S-V)".

"S-V" means the fifth special session. There is a foot-note which says: "See A/L.516". That is the Afro-Asian draft resolution. The reason why I have not filled in the number of the resolution is that it has not been voted upon. Once it is voted upon, the blank will be filled in. In other words, I am reaffirming the provisions of the Afro-Asian resolution once it is voted upon. Hence my draft resolution should be voted upon, in consequence, after the vote is taken on the Afro-Asian resolution, which I reaffirm.

110. It goes on:

"the purpose of which is to accelerate the attainment of freedom by the people of South West Africa".

That is a statement of fact. The second paragraph reads:

"Noting that the administering authorities in South West Africa, in arrogating to themselves the sole

responsibility for preparing the people of that territory for independence, have shown clearly that the realization of independence by the people under their control has not progressed at the same pace which has already led other Africans to freedom from foreign rule".

That is also a statement of fact. I have mentioned nothing about the Mandate, because we decided at the last session that South Africa had forfeited its right to the Mandate. That is why I say in this draft resolution:

"the administering authorities in South West Africa, in arrogating to themselves the sole responsibility".

111. The third paragraph of the preamble reads:

"Considering that all States Members of the United Nations, with the exception of South Africa, are unanimous in their firm belief that further delay in providing a practical and just solution to the question of South West Africa may gravely weaken the United Nations as an effective instrument for bringing justice to the people of South West Africa, who no less than any other people have the inherent right to self-determination".

112. I hope that our Portuguese colleagues will join us in voting for that paragraph, because after all there is no racial problem in the Portuguese colonies. I know that they are a multi-racial society, and they should therefore decry the apartheid policy of South Africa in South West Africa and in South Africa itself. I say this in view of the fact that the third paragraph uses the words "with the exception of South Africa". I hope that the Portuguese will not be another exception.

113. The next preambular paragraph reads:

"Taking into account that, if South Africa is to continue its policy of non-co-operation with the United Nations with respect to the people of South West Africa, an explosive situation may develop which will ultimately threaten peace in Africa and elsewhere"—I repeat, "and elsewhere"; this "elsewhere" stands for many geographical areas, including Asia—I shall explain this—"and thereby lead to serious racial conflicts in many parts of the world."

114. The Africans and Asians do not have the means to take matters into their own hands. But who can have the assurance that a few years from now they may not be able to wage war, in their collectivity, on South Africa? Why involve us in bloodshed when we are committed here to find peaceful solutions for our problems? What is the use of this United Nations?

115. That is the warning I give to my friend, Professor Botha, the representative of South Africa. I warned him outside these halls and I am warning him here: Time is against you, not with you. Why involve us all in a bloody conflict? I am addressing Mr. Botha, with your permission, Mr. President.

116. There is already enough racial friction elsewhere, even in certain parts of Western Europe. I do not want to mention them because I do not want to exacerbate matters even further. But Asia is not white, with the exception of a few pockets here and there. All of Asia is looked down upon by our friends

from South Africa. We do not say that we are superior to them, but many of us think that we are superior to them because we have cultures that go back for centuries. I do not know what those people did a few centuries ago before they came to South Africa. Just because they have some skyscrapers and paved streets, and some bathrooms, they think they are civilized. Civilization is not composed only of material progress; civilization is something of the spirit of the soul. Some people do not believe in the soul any more. It is something in the culture, in the attitude, in the humanity of a people. We are doing them a service when we tell them: forfeit this stand of yours on apartheid. I think they would feel better.

117. They do not feel that they are superior; there is no one superior except God, the Creator of us all. Only God is great—the Creator, if you do not want to call him God. Who are men? The cult of personality is getting rife these days. Look at any newspaper and there is the "man in the news". Every Tom, Dick and Harry is creeping in as the man in the news. There is no one great except the Creator.

118. Racial war may erupt, and where will the white people be, with their interests in Asia and in Africa, should the Africans and Asians take things in their hands one day. This is a warning to our friends from South Africa.

119. The next preambular paragraph reads as follows:

"Gratified by the fact that the General Assembly has decided to establish a United Nations Council for South West Africa to administer the territory on behalf of the United Nations, with a view to preparing it for independence".

That is self-explanatory. The last preambular paragraph reads:

"Recognizing that it will take some time"—this is the crux of my draft resolution—"before the United Nations Council for South West Africa sets in motion the machinery necessary to attain the objectives envisaged in [the Afro-Asian] resolution".

120. Do we expect that if we vote on that resolution today, tomorrow the South Africans will open the gates and let the council go in? They have said time and again that they will not do this. All right, if they will not, how can we force them to do it? By war? We are not prepared to wage war and we are committed to peaceful negotiations in the United Nations.

121. Then what shall we do? Frame our Afro-Asian resolution and hang it on the wall? What shall we do? This would in effect be what we would do—perhaps in an abstract manner. It will be shelved until the following session, and then also, in order not to develop ulcers, we will get it off our chests by speeches and rhetoric. And those who do not want to see South West Africa liberated because of their personal interests will laugh up their sleeves and say: it is better; let those Africans and Asians unburden themselves: otherwise they may become dangerous; anyone who develops an ulcer may become restive; let them purge themselves of their emotions by talk.

122. What should we do then? How should we fill the gap between the time when the Afro-Asian draft resolution is adopted—and I am sure it will obtain a majority, because after all there are fifty-six sponsors, and with me that will make fifty-seven—and the time when the council which we envisage in the Afro-Asian draft resolution begins to function? Again, I plead with the South African delegation to try and persuade its Government, in order to manifest its goodwill towards the world community, to accept a co-administrator and set our minds at ease that ultimately it would like to see South West Africa liberated from its rule.

123. Frankly, what I am trying to do in my draft resolution is to put the foot of the United Nations in the door of South West Africa, so that we may know what should be done in order to accelerate the liberation of these people who were formerly under the Mandate but today are under the direct control of South Africa.

124. There are some countries, neutral countries, which may not object to serving with a so-called racist country. After all, at one time the communists, as I remember, in the middle forties would not talk to the capitalists; today they are on good terms. They just throw mud at each other for publicity. Each one of them fights against the other, directly or indirectly, in the Far East, and here they fraternize and make speeches. Never mind if they call each other "imperialists" and "dictators", and so on, they are on speaking terms. I think that we should be able to find a couple of countries which would serve the cause of the United Nations by agreeing to act as administrators, and that, I leave to you, Mr. President, and the Secretary-General as provided in my draft resolution, to carry out consultations with one or more Members with a view to having them

"... act on behalf of the United Nations as Co-Administrators with South Africa for the administration of South West Africa".

125. If I stopped there, then no doubt somebody would suspect that this is an arrangement to replace the Afro-Asian draft resolution. That is why I immediately reaffirmed the Afro-Asian draft resolution and reaffirmed what I expect the co-administrators to do, as mentioned in operative paragraph 2 of my draft resolution which states:

"Reaffirms that the aforementioned Co-Administrators shall be appointed to serve only during the short period required before the United Nations Council for South West Africa takes over the responsibility of preparing the territory for full freedom and independence."

126. That is how my draft resolution becomes a supplement to the Afro-Asian draft resolution; it completes it; it paves the way for its operation eventually. Without such a supplementary resolution as the one I am submitting to the Assembly, there is no guarantee nor any assurance that the Afro-Asian draft resolution, after it is voted upon, will not remain ink on paper. I would be pained to see it ineffective, because once

you vote for a resolution it is as if you were a co-sponsor. Then the whole resolution does not belong to us, it belongs to the House. And if this House adopted the Afro-Asian draft resolution and that resolution became its property, what a travesty of our hopes and expectations it would be to know that the General Assembly voted for a resolution that could not be implemented.

127. This is not an ordinary run-of-the-mill resolution; it is a resolution with which Africa's and Asia's honour are bound—honour for upholding the dignity of the human person. Otherwise all our professions on self-determination and the liberation of peoples will have been in vain.

*The meeting rose at 12.55 p.m.*

United Nations  
GENERAL  
ASSEMBLY

Official Records



1508th  
PLENARY MEETING

Friday, 28 April 1967,  
at 3 p.m.

FIFTH SPECIAL SESSION

NEW YORK

CONTENTS

	Page
<i>Agenda item 7:</i>	
<u>Question of South West Africa (continued) . . .</u>	1

President: Mr. Abdul Rahman PAZHWAQ  
(Afghanistan).

AGENDA ITEM 7

Question of South West Africa (continued)

1. Mr. EL KONY (United Arab Republic): I am happy to express to you, Mr. President, on behalf of my delegation, our sincere congratulations on your election as President of the General Assembly at this special session. This enthusiastic and unanimous support is an affirmation of our trust in your fairness and wise guidance.

2. It should be noted that there was no agreement among the proponents of the different opinions in the Ad Hoc Committee for South West Africa. Our able Chairman, Ambassador Jakobson, put it mildly when he said that "the points of agreement . . . are more apparent than real" [1503rd meeting, para. 13].

3. We should be doing a disservice to the General Assembly and to the world at large if we attempted to minimize the differences that exist so conspicuously between the Western proposals and the Afro-Asian proposals in regard to the problem of South West Africa—differences which appeared at the very beginning of the work of the Ad Hoc Committee and persisted throughout the Committee's work, to its conclusion. I even wonder whether those differences did not already exist in the minds of the authors of the Western proposals when they voted for resolution 2145 (XXI) during the last session of the General Assembly.

4. To put it simply, when the Afro-Asians and their supporters call for the emancipation and freedom of the people of South West Africa, they mean what they say. This has yet to be proved in the case of the authors of the Western proposals.

5. I hate to go deep into the origin and causes of these wide and basic differences—whether they derive solely from certain economic interests, from the solidarity with the colonial and imperialist Powers, or from other strategic considerations. They are certainly not related, I hope, to any suppressed racial outlook that may be attributed erroneously to certain Western Governments. But one is bound to wonder when one beholds the pitiful picture of the world today. Several peoples in the southern part of Africa are being persecuted and massacred, either by the minority

white rule or by European colonial domination. That is condoned—at least in fact—by the great Western Powers. In Asia, other peoples are being destroyed, along with their homes and their livelihood, merely because they are claiming their freedom and territorial integrity. In both cases the cause of the peoples' suffering is the same: the desire to perpetuate the colonial or white minority rule in both continents, either by defending the existing rule or by attempting to replace one by another and even to extend it.

6. By asking the Security Council to apply Chapter VII of the Charter, if South Africa refuses to relinquish the territory, we do not expect to start by using force right away. Economic sanctions could be applied at the beginning. I believe that South Africa need only be convinced that the great Western Powers are really serious and in earnest in their determination to end its domination of the territory. It is to be regretted that some representatives have dropped South Africa from the picture and started an argument from this rostrum with the Afro-Asians. They are counselling patience and realism. No wonder that this problem of South West Africa has been hanging on since the creation of the United Nations. They even advise us to open negotiations with South Africa, to start what some call a dialogue with its Government, and meanwhile to stop thinking of the implementation of resolution 2145 (XXI) until all—I repeat, all—the avenues of negotiation have been exhausted. I wonder how it would be possible for us to negotiate with South Africa when its Government has defiantly affirmed that it will not heed resolution 2145 (XXI) of the General Assembly. The Prime Minister of that Government has stated: "We will continue to rule South West Africa as we have done up to now". A suggestion was even put forward to go back to the International Court of Justice, as if we had forgotten our long and bitter experience in that connexion.

7. It is only fair to ask our colleagues who preach patience and realism and the resort to negotiations as a way out of the present embarrassment to come out and state openly that for certain reasons of their own they cannot see eye to eye with the Afro-Asians in regard to the implementation of that resolution. At least we would then know where we were and might be able to act accordingly. The prestige of the United Nations would not suffer as much as it suffers when we try to circumvent the basic principles of the United Nations. Let us face the truth, however painful. I am confident that, sooner or later, all of us will rise to correct our shortcomings, which reflect on the effectiveness of the United Nations. This is certainly more realistic than to give false hopes to the helpless people of South West Africa or, worse still, pretend that we have achieved something.

8. Having said that, I shall now comment briefly on the different proposals. My able Afro-Asian colleagues, by their lucid statements, have spared me from making a long statement. I am grateful to all of them and particularly to my friends the Ambassadors of Ethiopia and Nigeria who in turn explained our proposals so eloquently and introduced the Afro-Asian draft resolution [A/L.516 and Add.1-2].

9. Any objective examination of the Ad Hoc Committee's report [A/6640] clearly indicates that there are two entirely different approaches to the problem. The first, which is reflected in the Afro-Pakistan proposals, as well as in the Latin American and the socialist views, is more in keeping with General Assembly resolution 2145 (XXI). All three proposals contemplate: (a) the withdrawal of South Africa from the territory; (b) the immediate transfer of power to the people of the territory; and (c) the active and positive role of the United Nations to achieve the above-mentioned objectives. The three proposals differ only in the method and timing of the achievement of those objectives. The second, which is reflected in the Western proposals, is, in our view, contrary to the objectives of resolution 2145 (XXI). It envisages from the start that South Africa will continue to administer the territory. Implicit in the Western proposals is an assumption that the political process in the territory will be under the control, and should be with the consent, of South Africa as the de facto administrator. That defeats the whole purpose of resolution 2145 (XXI), which terminated the Mandate. It is an approach that seems to be, in the final analysis, similar to that of South Africa.

10. To clarify this point further, allow me to quote from a statement addressed by the South African Minister of Bantu administration to the people of Ovamboland. He said:

"It must be realized that our Government's policy of independent development for each people is a live or growing policy."

He continued:

"Mr. Vorster and his Government want to assist you to advance in all spheres of your people's development including self-government, each national unit must manage its own affairs. The form of self-government will naturally differ from one national unit to another."

11. In the Western proposals [ibid., para. 84] it is stated that the special representative of the United Nations will

"consult with all representative elements in order that, with their accord, a nucleus of self-government may be established in South West Africa as soon as possible".

Such consultations will take place, as envisaged in the Western plan, while the territory is under the control of South Africa.

12. If we compare the two statements, we cannot but reach one conclusion: the Western proposals are apparently paving the way for the implementation of the South African Bantustan plan with the blessing of the United Nations.

13. In another place, the Western proposals envisage that the special representative of the United Nations should:

"ascertain what elements may be considered as representative of all peoples living in the territory".

In the same statement of the South African Minister of Bantu administration, we read:

"Perhaps you will deem it essential that your existing traditional chiefs, headmen and councils be duly recognized. As a people, you have come a long way with your system of chiefs, headmen and tribal rule and for this reason you probably will wish to continue the system."

14. The relation between the concepts is so obvious. It is to be noted that both emphasize that the population of South West Africa consists of different peoples. Neither consider the population of South West Africa as one people.

15. In all objectivity, we consider the Western proposals as a step backward, not forward. For it is assumed, according to these proposals, that South Africa will continue to administer the territory, but with a different status—de facto instead of de jure—as the only result of the termination of the Mandate.

16. It seems to me that the authors of these proposals have based them mainly on the first part of paragraph 6 of resolution 2145 (XXI), namely, "to recommend practical means by which South West Africa should be administered", disregarding the main objective of that resolution, "to enable the people of the Territory to exercise the right of self-determination and to achieve independence". The first step in this direction has already been taken by the General Assembly, namely, the termination of the South African Mandate. What should logically follow is how best we can ensure the transfer of power to the people of South West Africa.

17. What we are called upon to do is to follow up resolution 2145 (XXI) and to step forward. Maintaining the status quo or stepping backward is the very course of action which most of us warned against during the discussion of the Afro-Asian draft resolution at the last session of the General Assembly. The warnings have proved to be right.

18. To avoid all these setbacks, we consider that the implementation procedure as contained in the Afro-Asian draft resolution [A/L.516 and Add.1-2] is the most effective method to ensure physically the termination of the South African administration and to enable the people of the territory to exercise their right of self-determination and independence.

19. If we trace the history of decolonization since the establishment of the United Nations we find that the problem of South West Africa has defied, up to this very moment, the effectiveness and thence the prestige of this world Organization. By its nature this problem is one of the worst cases of colonialism, which should have been disposed of at a very early stage. In all candour, one should admit that the successive attempts at dealing with it in the United Nations and its organs have been most unfortunate and have ended in complete failure. It is shameful, but at the same time challenging. It has taxed our patience heavily and



worse still, there is no end to it in sight if we do not resort to more serious and effective action. The Afro-Asian delegations are trying to show the way to a final solution. Their draft resolution, we believe, contains the most reasonable, realistic and practicable means to that end. My delegation trusts that it will enjoy the overwhelming support of the General Assembly.

20. The PRESIDENT: Before I call on the next speaker I should like to make a very brief observation in connexion with one part of the statement just made by the representative of the United Arab Republic.

21. As Members of the General Assembly heard, he referred to patience and realism having been, as he put it, "preached" here. As Members of the General Assembly are aware also, I used the words "patience and realism" for the first time in my opening statement. Certain references were made to this earlier, but against the background with which I am acquainted I think it only appropriate to make this observation.

22. It was not "preaching", because here none of us is in a position to preach to any or all of us. In my position, particularly, I am not allowing myself—because I do not think that I am entitled to allow myself—to interfere with any observation or statement made or any position taken by any delegation. Therefore, it could not be "preaching" at all on my part just as, in my view, it could not be preaching on anybody's part. But I think that, sitting here to fulfil my task objectively as I have pledged myself to do, I have to defend the right of this Chair to appeal—and only to appeal—to you on certain occasions. Therefore, it was not preaching, it was an appeal. And that appeal, as a conviction, I reaffirm and, as an appeal, I repeat.

23. The appeal was not made only to one delegation or to a certain group of delegations, or to a certain group of delegations with a certain pattern of ideas about the questions under discussion by the General Assembly. It was an appeal made, as it should have been made, to the entire membership, and each individual delegation is entitled either to accept it or to reject it. But I should like you to know that I still appeal, not only on this question but on all questions, that the United Nations should deal with all problems with patience and realism. I do this in the interest of the Organization.

24. Mr. BARNETT (Jamaica): Mr. President, the Jamaican delegation joins the others in congratulating you on your unanimous election as President of the General Assembly at its fifth special session.

25. The fifth special session of the General Assembly has been convened to deal with two specific issues, the question of South West Africa and a comprehensive review of the whole question of peace-keeping operations in all their aspects. The calling of a special session means that the matters to be discussed are grave and urgent. At the twenty-first session of the General Assembly there was no doubt in our minds that the question of South West Africa fell into that category. We need neither recount the history of that session nor reiterate the persuasive arguments which attested to the item's importance.

26. Resolution 2145 (XXI), which the last session of the General Assembly adopted by a vote of 114 to 2, with 3 abstentions, did two specific and important things. The first was to decide that the Mandate exercised by the Republic of South Africa over the territory of South West Africa was terminated and that the territory had international status; and the second was to establish an Ad Hoc Committee "to recommend practical means by which South West Africa should be administered, so as to enable the people of the Territory to exercise the right of self-determination and to achieve independence".

27. That Committee was to report to this special session. We now have that report [A/6640]. The Committee has made no recommendations, and the report is a summary of statements and a collection of proposals reflecting disagreement among the Committee's members. None the less, we are pleased to note the very close affinity between the proposals of the Latin American members of the Committee, Chile and Mexico, and those of the four African States and Pakistan. It is for this Assembly to try to do what the Committee failed to do.

28. Our point of departure is the international status of South West Africa, which is now under the direct responsibility of the United Nations. This is a responsibility which this Organization cannot shirk. It was taken on in full awareness of the issues at stake.

29. The practical means by which the territory should be administered include not only devising some sort of administrative body but also, and more importantly, getting it to exercise effectively its authority in the territory. It is, after all, not very difficult to draft some quite elegant administrative structure. It is quite another thing for that structure, which looks so well on paper, to exercise the authority and the responsibility which it says it has or which have been given to it.

30. My Government holds the view that the Trusteeship System suggests the means by which the United Nations can discharge its responsibilities. Indeed, at the twenty-first session of the General Assembly, the then chairman of our delegation and now the Prime Minister of Jamaica, Mr. Shearer, stated:

"On the questions of procedure and timing, my Government believes that the General Assembly, with the support of the Security Council, ought to move now to bring the Territory under the Trusteeship System. That system was devised by the framers of the Charter to perform more effectively what the Mandates System was intended to do. The trusteeship provisions of the United Nations Charter incorporated improvements derived from experience of the working of the Mandates." [1431st meeting, para. 68.]

He went on to say:

"In my Government's view our efforts can be most fruitfully employed at the moment in finding a new administering authority to act as trustee and to bring the territory to independence as rapidly as possible under the guidance of the Trusteeship Council." [*Ibid.*]

The administering authority here envisaged could be one or more States or the United Nations itself. That suggestion appeared to receive little support.

31. My Government unhesitatingly supports a United Nations body for South West Africa, be it called a council or a committee, with or without a special representative or a commissioner, which can, if it wishes, draw on the relevant experiences of the Trusteeship System. That council should help to prepare the territory for independence within the shortest feasible time. But how should it go about this task? I shall leave aside for the time being the very important problem of how it will come to exercise its authority. It is not enough to say that it should conduct comprehensive surveys, establish contacts, make recommendations on the nature or amounts of assistance the United Nations should give and later report to a session of the General Assembly. Merely to do so would be to avoid the issue. The United Nations has taken on a responsibility; the problem is how to discharge it. It should be the council's task to administer the territory on behalf of the international community at the same time as the Council makes economic and political surveys to ascertain how the territory would be made independent and viable. It would also be its task to encourage the growth of indigenous governmental and administrative services and the convening of a constituent assembly which would itself devise a constitution for the independent country.

32. It has all along been known that the implementation of a resolution on South West Africa depends on the major Powers. One suggested way to get around this difficulty is for the General Assembly to proclaim the independence of South West Africa and for the United Nations to accept its requests for assistance. The difficulties and problems inherent in the immediate proclamation of independence of South West Africa are too obvious to enumerate and have already been alluded to by previous speakers. Another suggestion is that the General Assembly should give a group of States or a regional organization authority to give the necessary assistance. But that merely pushes the fundamental issue further away. There is absolutely no assurance that that newly independent government would by itself be able to take control of its territory.

33. Given the continued intransigence of the Government of the Republic of South Africa, we all know that whatever is suggested comes up against the problem of implementation. If the United Nations cannot bring itself to ensure that the terms of its own resolutions are fully implemented by the authority of the Security Council, then the next best thing is for the body established by the General Assembly to discuss, with the full support of the Security Council, the phasing of the withdrawal of the authority of the Government of South Africa. The discussion ought to be about the phasing. It ought not to be about whether or not the Government of South Africa must leave.

34. The full support of the Security Council for this procedure, which ought to be brief, is obviously essential. The South African Government has to be aware that the failure to discuss the stages of the withdrawal of its authority from the Territory of South West

Africa will bring down on it the full weight of whatever action the Security Council may think necessary.

35. It appears to my Government that the Security Council cannot but be in some way involved in this issue, either directly or indirectly. The Republic of South Africa ought not to be able to defy with impunity the unambiguous decision of this international Organization, nor should Member States seek to shrink from the implications of the decision taken in resolution 2145 (XXI).

36. Mr. DIACONESCU (Romania) (translated from French): Mr. President, I am particularly happy to extend to you, on behalf of the Romanian delegation, our warmest congratulations on your unanimous re-election to the high office of President of the General Assembly. The masterly, patient and tactful manner in which you presided over the work of the last session of the General Assembly strengthens my delegation's conviction that the Assembly could not, on this occasion either, have made a wiser choice in the selection of the person to be entrusted with so important a task as that which now falls once again to you at this special session.

37. On 27 October last, in resolution 2145 (XXI), the General Assembly decided to terminate the Mandate of South Africa over the Territory of South West Africa. The United Nations declared clearly and categorically that from that date South Africa had no right whatsoever to administer this Territory, and at the same time it decided to assume direct responsibility for South West Africa so as to enable the people of the Territory to exercise its right to self-determination and independence.

38. By this decision, the forces of anti-colonialism once more reaffirmed their determination and their resolve not to relax their efforts to put an end once and for all to the system of colonial domination, and to create conditions in which every people, regardless of race, colour or level of social and economic development, can enjoy, within the family of nations, its right to independence and sovereignty, and also its sacred right to decide its own destiny.

39. The Socialist Republic of Romania has constantly spoken out against colonial oppression and in favour of the attainment by all subjugated peoples of their inalienable right to freedom and national independence. On the subject of the Romanian people's solidarity with the struggle for national liberation, Nicolas Ceausescu, Secretary-General of the Romanian Communist Party, stated just a week ago:

"The Romanian people has in the past waged lengthy struggles for its national independence, and it therefore views with deep sympathy and complete understanding the struggle of all subjugated peoples to liberate themselves from the domination of imperialism, and also the efforts of the fledgling States to reinforce their economic and social independence and to develop independently along the road towards a prosperous life, opposing all forms of colonialism and neo-colonialism."

40. True to this position of principle, Romania voted for resolution 2145 (XXI). It is determined to make its contribution to the attainment, as soon as possible, of the essential objective of this decision, which is to

put an end to the South African administration of South West Africa, and to bring independence to that Territory.

41. In paragraph 1 of resolution 2145 (XXI), the General Assembly states that the provisions of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples "are fully applicable to the people of the Mandated Territory of South West Africa and that, therefore, the people of South West Africa have the inalienable right to self-determination, freedom and independence, in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations". In that historic Declaration [resolution 1514 (XV)], the General Assembly formally proclaimed the necessity of bringing to a speedy and unconditional end colonialism in all its forms and manifestations, and at the same time it stated in paragraph 3 that "inadequacy of political, economic, social or educational preparedness should never serve as a pretext for delaying independence".

42. The peoples which have won their independence during the past few years, and especially the peoples of Africa, have given us ample evidence of their ability to manage their own affairs of State themselves, and to take effective measures to consolidate their economic and political independence, and ensure their social progress.

43. That is why the Romanian delegation cannot accept proposals which, because of the prolonged studies and research they recommend, on the pretext of avoiding a confrontation with South Africa, would merely help to perpetuate South African domination over the Territory of South West Africa.

44. For the same reason, the delegation of the Socialist Republic of Romania fully shares the concern expressed in the Ad Hoc Committee for South West Africa, and in this Assembly itself, by the friendly countries of Africa, Asia and Latin America which are trying to find the most effective means of achieving as soon as possible the objective of resolution 2145 (XXI)—that is, the exercise by the people of South West Africa of its right to freedom and independence.

45. Although more than six months have passed since South Africa's Mandate over the Territory of South West Africa was revoked, the South African authorities have not given any indication that they might be intending to comply with the wishes of the overwhelming majority of Member States of the United Nations; they have even intensified their defiance of the General Assembly's recommendation. On 21 March last, the very day on which the United Nations and the peoples of the world were demonstrating their solidarity with the struggle against the policy of apartheid and racial discrimination, the South African authorities, ignoring the resolution of the General Assembly, announced their intention of granting so-called "self-government" to part of the Territory of South West Africa—Ovamboland. To us, this kind of "self-government" offered by South Africa represents nothing more than a new way of perpetuating in South West Africa the inhuman racist system which, contrary to the principles universally accepted by present-day civilization, denies coloured people fundamental freedoms and rights and establishes lawlessness as a rule of conduct for a small minority.

46. By measures of this kind, the South African authorities are seeking to divide and annex the Territory of South West Africa in order to strengthen their domination and the policy of apartheid in this part of Africa.

47. In this connexion, I should like to stress that, while all the South African Government's actions in regard to South West Africa are—since the revocation of the Mandate—illegal, there is still a real danger of encroachments upon the unity of the Territory. We feel that the United Nations must firmly defend the integrity of the Territory of South West Africa. The Territory was entrusted to South Africa as a single unit for temporary administration; South Africa must return the Territory as a whole, as one single indivisible entity.

48. For this reason, we are pleased to note that the sponsors of draft resolution A/L.516 and addenda 1 and 2 are proposing that the General Assembly should first reaffirm the territorial integrity of South West Africa and the inalienable right of its people to freedom and independence, in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations.

49. The struggle to bring the process of decolonization to a successful conclusion, and the struggle to consolidate the freedom and independence of all peoples, great or small, whatever their race or colour, as well as their right to develop in accordance with their own wishes, are inseparable.

50. In the South African Government's behaviour towards the people of South West Africa, we see the same anachronistic philosophy of force and racial hatred which underlies all action designed to suppress the struggle for the liberation of the peoples; we see the same doctrine of the reactionary forces which, in their efforts to halt the progressive movement of mankind, are organizing conspiracies and armed interventions, and are threatening the independence and sovereignty of other countries, thus creating grave dangers for international peace and security.

51. The United States aggression against the Vietnamese people, and the cruelty with which that great world Power is destroying a small Asian country merely because the people of that country wish to organize their lives in accordance with their own wishes and national interests, are a most enlightening example of this philosophy.

52. Several speakers who have preceded me at this rostrum have pointed clearly to the source from which the Government of the Republic of South Africa is drawing the courage to defy the decisions of this Organization. The interests of certain Powers and certain foreign monopolies in South Africa and in South West Africa, together with the foreign economic and political support enjoyed by the Government of South Africa, have caused that régime not to feel isolated, and have enabled it to count on the support of certain Western Powers which vote for United Nations resolutions condemning that Government's policy but at the same time, by maintaining relations with South Africa, are encouraging it to ignore United Nations decisions.

53. In the case of South West Africa, as in the case of apartheid and other matters, the United Nations is once again faced with a flagrant inconsistency between

words and deeds, and this policy is having adverse repercussions on its prestige and effectiveness.

54. The higher interests of international justice and peace, which are also the interests of the United Nations, must not depend on the narrow concern of certain Powers to keep intact a rich source of profits for a few foreign companies in the Territory of South West Africa and in Africa generally.

55. In our opinion, one of the basic duties of the General Assembly at the present session is to demand firmly that all States without exception should strictly comply with the provisions of resolution 2145 (XXI).

56. The United Nations must lend its full support to the aspirations of the people of South West Africa for freedom and national independence.

57. The Romanian delegation is deeply convinced that, if the economic, military and political assistance now accorded by certain Western Powers to the South African Government is discontinued, the latter will be obliged—and the United Nations Charter provides the necessary means to this end—to comply with the decision of the General Assembly. Without this international assistance on which they now rely, the South African authorities will have no choice but to comply with the legitimate demands of this Organization: withdrawal from the Territory of South West Africa and the creation thereby of the conditions required to enable the people of the Territory to exercise freely their inalienable right to determine their own destiny, as well as their right to freedom and independence.

58. The Romanian delegation is prepared to support measures which, in accordance with the provisions and principles of the Charter, will enable us to achieve that objective as soon as possible.

59. Mr. KHANACHET (Kuwait): Mr. President, allow me, first of all, to express on behalf of my delegation our sincerest congratulations on the occasion of your election as President of the Assembly at this special session. Your election is, for my delegation, a source of pride, confidence and satisfaction. It is a source of pride because you belong to the same region and to the same culture and civilization to which my country and my people belong. It is a source of confidence and satisfaction because we know that, under your wise guidance, the debates of this session will be crowned with success. We are all the more happy and satisfied because your presence at the head of this international Organization is a tribute to the universal culture and civilization you so eminently represent in your person.

60. This special session is one of outstanding importance, and any conclusion it may reach will have great significance. In fact the task which now faces the General Assembly is unique in the history of the Organization, and any action which may follow will have a profound bearing on the future of the United Nations.

61. That is a test by which we can prove the value of the ideals and principles embodied in the Charter, and can fulfil the historic mission to which we are dedicated.

62. For the first time since the establishment of the United Nations, the General Assembly finds itself face

to face with a rebellious administering Power which continues to defy the international community and challenges the authority of this Organization by refusing to co-operate with it in its endeavour to grant the right of independence and self-determination to the people of South West Africa. It is therefore the responsibility of each and every Member State to lend its full support to the Organization for the implementation of resolution 2145 (XXI), approved by the General Assembly at its twenty-first session, concerning this problem.

63. Indeed, in certain other cases, colonial Powers have continued to follow the same pattern and to take the same attitude towards the liberation of the territories which still come under their rule. But the case of South West Africa stands alone, because, on the one hand, the Territory of South West Africa was an internationally mandated territory which in no way can be compared to any of the other colonial territories, and, on the other hand, because the illegal, *de facto* authorities in Pretoria are attempting the complete annexation of this territory, thus abusing the national sovereignty and altering the very existence of a nation.

64. However, we are not assembled here during this special session to reopen the debate on South West Africa. This question has been pending almost since the United Nations first came into existence. We are meeting to discuss the practical measures to be taken for the implementation of resolution 2145 (XXI) and to examine the report of the *Ad Hoc* Committee.

65. The judgement of the International Court of Justice of 18 July 1966<sup>1/</sup> has aroused deep regret and disappointment, and, because the Court failed to deal with the substance of this case, the need for political action has become urgent and imperative.

66. The problem of South West Africa is basically political and colonial. It has been recognized by this Organization that the Mandate had become a cover for merciless colonial exploitation and racial discrimination against the people of South West Africa. South Africa has shown beyond any doubt that it is not worthy of the sacred trust which was the very essence of the Mandates System. It has become obvious that South Africa could not be entrusted with the Mandate while at the same time it repudiated the obligations arising therefrom. Moreover, South Africa's policy of virtual annexation, colonial exploitation and *apartheid* denies the people of South West Africa the inalienable right to self-determination as embodied in the United Nations Charter and confirmed by the General Assembly in its resolution 1514 (XV). Furthermore, the racist Government of South Africa is attempting to destroy the personality, the unity and the territorial integrity of South West Africa.

67. Resolution 2145 (XXI) is a great, historic event which has terminated the Mandate exercised by South Africa and which has placed South West Africa under the direct responsibility of the United Nations. Operative paragraph 6 of that resolution established an *Ad Hoc* Committee with a clear mandate "to recommend practical means by which South West

<sup>1/</sup> *South West Africa, Second Phase, Judgment, I.C.J. Reports 1966, p. 6.*

Africa should be administered, so as to enable the people of the Territory to exercise the right of self-determination and to achieve independence".

68. The Ad Hoc Committee made a serious and honest attempt to discharge the task entrusted to it within the prescribed period. But because of the lack of agreement among its members, that Committee could not, as it had been requested, recommend to the special session the practical means by which South West Africa should be administered. The Committee, however, included in its report [A/6640] the four points of view expounded in the course of its deliberations.

69. The deliberations of the Ad Hoc Committee have been followed with the greatest interest by my delegation. In our opinion, the African-Pakistani proposals [*ibid.*, paras. 45 and 82] which have served as the basis for the draft resolution submitted by the Afro-Asian group [A/L.516 and Add.1-2] so ably introduced by the representative of Nigeria, have a distinct advantage over all other proposals because they show a clear understanding of the political realities of the situation, based on the assumption that the United Nations administration should be established in the Territory itself and that its main task is to supervise and assist in the self-determination process. The Afro-Asian draft resolution is so carefully set forth that it will, in the opinion of my delegation, enable the United Nations to discharge its responsibilities in a manner fully in harmony with the Charter. If the provisions of this draft resolution were implemented, the United Nations would neither shirk its responsibilities nor exceed its powers. It would not shirk its responsibilities because it would assume the direct administration of the territory rather than indulge in the futile, academic exercise of trying to establish administration by remote control; and it would not exceed its powers because, in accordance with its fundamental duties and its very *raison d'être*, it would simply be launching the people of the Territory on the path of self-determination without influencing their future conduct or acting as an arbiter of their destiny.

70. The provisions of this draft resolution offer clear and obvious advantages, and I shall enumerate a few of them. They provide for establishing a United Nations presence in the territory in the form of a council endowed with responsibility for the administration of the territory, subject to the control of the General Assembly. The council has the powers to promulgate laws and to maintain law and order until a legislative assembly and responsible government are established in the territory on the basis of universal adult suffrage. According to the provisions of the draft resolution, no additional financial burden is imposed on the United Nations, as they provide that the United Nations administration in the territory shall be financed mainly from revenues collected in the territory. The draft resolution has the additional merit of facing squarely the present challenge to the authority of the United Nations posed by the conduct of the Pretoria régime, which still illegally retains its domination over the territory by force of arms. The draft resolution rightly exhorts us to declare the continued presence of South Africa in that territory as an act of aggression that requires enforcement action

under Chapter VII of the Charter. In fact, the conduct of the Pretoria régime, which has frustrated the efforts of the United Nations in the past, should not be allowed any longer to undermine the prestige of this Organization.

71. The permanent members of the Security Council have in their hands the key to the whole question. Action is needed; action is urgent and imperative. The Security Council, which, according to the Charter, is the only organ empowered to take such action, is requested to do so. The permanent members of the Security Council have on more than one occasion made a display of their special rights under the Charter. Rights connote corresponding and equal obligations, and this is one of the occasions on which the permanent members should be reminded of these special obligations—the more so as certain of those permanent members of the Security Council, as well as some other States Members of the Organization, are the main trading partners of South Africa, which could not have persisted in its colonial and racist policy without their active support.

72. We have listened with keen interest to the statements made in this Assembly, and we deprecate the delaying tactics recommended in the guise of advancing on sure ground and seeking a solution through the process of peaceful settlement or diplomatic dialogue. So far as starting a new round of negotiations is concerned, my delegation believes that all avenues of peaceful negotiation have already been exhausted and that it is futile to indulge in wishful thinking or labour under the delusion that the Pretoria régime could by some miracle become overnight a law-abiding Member of the international community. In fact, such a departure by the Pretoria régime from its traditional policies need not be expressed solely through the medium of negotiations. The representative of South Africa in this Assembly is always at liberty to proclaim from this forum that his Government is now willing fully to co-operate in the implementation of resolution 2145 (XXI). Until such an unlikely development takes place, we can safely act on the assumption that more drastic action is needed if the people of South West Africa are to be granted the right to self-determination and independence.

73. Voices have also been heard admonishing against enforcement action, lest it should undermine the prestige of this Organization. My delegation believes that it is rather apathy and procrastination that would produce this negative reaction.

74. What justification can there be for the present state of affairs in a territory which, since 27 October 1966, has been under the direct responsibility of the United Nations? Realism does not mean condoning defiance and tolerating aggression. It rather means taking note of the incontrovertible fact that South Africa, by its conduct, has left the world Organization with no choice but to resort to enforcement action.

75. The sole, the primary consideration is the right of the people of South West Africa to self-determination, freedom and independence. That is still an absolute right but cannot become a concrete reality so long as South Africa has possession of the territory. The essential prerequisite for the discharge by

the United Nations of its responsibility is the removal of the civilian police and military personnel of South Africa from the territory and their replacement by an effective United Nations presence. Only the Afro-Asian draft resolution has so far adverted to that issue and provided a proper remedy.

76. Some other groups have shown a proper understanding of this problem and have manifested their earnest desire to co-operate with the Afro-Asian group in order to find common ground for a solution. We hope that this support will prevail and that these efforts will be crowned with success and will lead the Assembly to the widest measure of agreement.

77. Before concluding, my delegation would like once again to affirm its complete solidarity with the peoples of Africa in their legitimate struggle against colonial rule and racial discrimination, which is contrary to the inherent dignity of man.

78. I should like on behalf of my delegation to take this opportunity of thanking the four original authors and the delegation of Pakistan for the constructive work they have done in presenting their proposals, which will, we earnestly hope, largely influence the future life and welfare of the people of South West Africa. The Afro-Asian draft resolution expresses in concrete form the legitimate aspiration of the people of South West Africa, and my delegation wishes, as a

sponsor of that draft resolution, to confirm here its firm support for it.

79. The PRESIDENT: Since no other representative wishes to speak today in the general debate, I call on the representative of the United Arab Republic, who wishes to make a statement.

80. Mr. EL KONY (United Arab Republic): Mr. President, I take the floor not to exercise my right of reply but to follow up the statement I delivered earlier in the meeting.

81. I referred in my statement to certain expressions which had often been used by some delegations that have different positions from those of the Afro-Asians in the matter of decolonization. To justify their positions they usually adopt the form of giving sincere advice to the Afro-Asians, who have often been accused of impatience and unrealism. I am sure that the Afro-Asians, including my delegation, believe in patience and realism, but we have a different concept, which conforms with our principles of immediate decolonization.

82. Mr. President, I need hardly assure you of my esteem and confidence in your impartiality and wisdom and your dedication to freedom.

*The meeting rose at 4.35 p.m.*

United Nations  
GENERAL  
ASSEMBLY

Official Records



1509th  
PLENARY MEETING

Monday, 1 May 1967,  
at 10.30 a.m.

FIFTH SPECIAL SESSION

NEW YORK

CONTENTS

	Page
<i>Agenda item 7:</i>	
<i>Question of South West Africa (continued) . . .</i>	1

*President: Mr. Abdul Rahman PAZHwak*  
*(Afghanistan).*

AGENDA ITEM 7

Question of South West Africa (continued)

1. Mr. ARKHURST (Ghana): Mr. President, the confidence which this Assembly has reaffirmed in you by re-electing you to preside over this fifth special session flows from those personal qualities which you demonstrated in your conduct of the twenty-first session of the General Assembly. I wish to pledge to you the fullest co-operation of the Ghana delegation and to assure you, in response to your appeal, of our willingness and eagerness to approach the complex problems facing this special session with "foresight, patience and realism". We also wish to place on record our appreciation for the work of the Chairman and members of the Ad Hoc Committee for South West Africa.

2. The Ghana delegation must, however, express its great disappointment with the lack of agreement by the Ad Hoc Committee on a single set of proposals regarding the question of the interim United Nations administration of South West Africa. It was our expectation that, out of the Committee's deliberations, would emerge a set of proposals which could be commended to this Assembly for unanimous approval. That would have happily curtailed the present debate, the trend of which, unfortunately, gives the impression that the General Assembly is being asked to renege on its own resolution 2145 (XXI) and to cast doubt on its own legal authority over the Mandated Territory of South West Africa.

3. On 26 April [1506th meeting], our colleague, the representative of Nigeria, formally submitted a fifty-eight Power draft resolution [A/L.516 and Add.1-3] embodying the constructive proposals of the African and Pakistani members of the Ad Hoc Committee for South West Africa. The eloquent presentation of that draft resolution makes it unnecessary for me, without risk of being repetitious, to adduce further arguments in its favour. However, the misconceptions and misrepresentations evinced during this debate by certain speakers make it necessary for me to take issue with those critics who, in my opinion, fail to appreciate the motives behind the Afro-Asian draft resolution.

4. At the twenty-first session, the Afro-Asian countries submitted a draft resolution<sup>1/</sup> on South West Africa which requested the General Assembly to revoke the Mandate which South Africa exercised over South West Africa, and immediately to assume direct responsibility for the administration of the Territory through a United Nations Administrative Authority. The draft resolution also requested the Security Council to take all necessary measures to enable the Authority to discharge its functions in South West Africa. No sooner had that draft resolution been placed before the Assembly than certain Member States raised their voices asking for time to study the practical means of establishing a United Nations administration in the Territory. They cautioned that we should not—and here I should like to quote the words of the United Kingdom representative at the time: "...raise false hopes by hasty and ineffective methods" [1448th meeting, para. 25]. Against our better judgement we compromised and finally agreed to support what later became resolution 2145 (XXI) which established the Ad Hoc Committee for South West Africa with the specific mandate "to recommend practical means by which South West Africa should be administered, so as to enable the people of the Territory to exercise the right of self-determination and to achieve independence".

5. By operative paragraphs 4 and 5, of the same resolution, the Assembly had decided to divest South Africa of any right to administer the Territory of South West Africa and to place the territory under the direct responsibility of the United Nations, and that the United Nations must therefore discharge those responsibilities.

6. In these circumstances it follows logically that once the Mandate of South Africa had been terminated a United Nations administration had to be set up in place of the South African administration. However, in order to accommodate our critics we decided to consult further and to work through the Ad Hoc Committee, whose mandate was unequivocal. The African members of the Ad Hoc Committee submitted proposals for the administration of the Territory which are embodied in draft resolution A/L.516 and Add.1-3 now before the Assembly. But now what do we hear? The same critics who tried to postpone action last year on the question of South West Africa have again renewed their tedious objections. They have made alternative proposals which, I regret to say, are evasive and have the merit only of delaying indefinitely any meaningful action on the problem of South West Africa. What they propose in effect is tantamount to asking the United Nations not to give con-

<sup>1/</sup> Official Records of the General Assembly Twenty-first Session, Annexes, agenda item 65, document A/L.483 and Add.1-3.



sequence to its resolution 2145 (XXI). We should study the question still further, they counsel; we should "look before we leap"; we should waste more time reflecting on the timing of our action, on tactics and on strategy; we should avoid ineffective and inoperative resolutions. We are warned not to shut our eyes to the difficulties and realities. In short we must, in effect, reverse our decision embodied in resolution 2145 (XXI) and let things take their slow course for the worse. The critics of the Afro-Asian proposals caution that we should achieve "slow success" rather than a "quick failure". Those injunctions are not unfamiliar and are only calculated to avoid action by the United Nations in pursuance of its historic decision of 27 October 1966. We must not, however, in the name of caution and circumspection, permit the firm will of this Organization, as embodied in its resolution 2145 (XXI), to degenerate into weakness, indecision and inaction.

7. It seems to my delegation that the critics of the Afro-Asian position advance three kinds of objections against the fifty-eight-nation draft resolution. Firstly, they allege that the Afro-Asian proposals recommend over-hasty action and tend prematurely "to jump the hurdle". Secondly, the Afro-Asian proposals are alleged to be unrealistic and ignore the fact that South Africa is the *de facto* administering Power in South West Africa. Thirdly, it is maintained, the Afro-Asian proposals call for enforcement measures by the Security Council and thereby precipitate a confrontation between the United Nations and South Africa.

8. In place of the Afro-Asian proposals, Canada, Italy and the United States recommend [A/6640, para. 84] that the General Assembly should appoint a special representative and a United Nations council for South West Africa to study, make comprehensive surveys, consult and make recommendations on aspects of the South West Africa problem which, in our opinion, have been over-studied, over-surveyed and over-considered ad nauseam without getting us any further.

9. The problem of South West Africa is not one of a lack of study, survey or information on the situation in the territory or what has to be done. What further studies or surveys should be undertaken which have not already been undertaken by the United Nations since it first directed its attention to the problem of South West Africa? Have we forgotten all the annual studies and special reports made by the Committee on South West Africa from 1954 to 1961? Are we to ignore the report of the Special Committee for South West Africa and the annual reports and studies made by the Committee of Twenty-four since 1962? The problem which this Organization has to face with regard to South West Africa is not a lack of information but the arrogance of the racist Government of South Africa and its contemptuous defiance of the decisions of the United Nations. If the United Nations has recognized the fact that South Africa has forfeited its right to administer the Territory of South West Africa and has accordingly terminated the South African Mandate over the territory, how long is the United Nations to wait before exercising its legal right of administering the Territory? It is our conviction that, after the almost unanimous adoption by the Assembly of resolution 2145 (XXI), the Assembly delays

action on South West Africa at the peril of discrediting its prestige and its honour.

10. The major contention of the Western nations concerning the Afro-Asian proposals is that they ignore the fact that South Africa is the *de facto* administering Power in South West Africa. They therefore counsel that, in order to ensure a peaceful transfer of power to the United Nations, some intricate machinery should be set up to consult and negotiate with South Africa. Obviously, this view seems to overlook the sad history of the United Nations relations with the arrogant and insensitive racist régime of South Africa. This Organization would be sadly lacking in realism if it were to underestimate the obstinacy of South Africa. With whom, we must ask, is the United Nations being called upon to negotiate? Is the United Nations being asked to negotiate with apartheid South Africa, which has repudiated and abrogated its obligations under the Charter of the United Nations, and which has, since 1946, spurned the appeals of this Organization to change its inhuman policies of apartheid?

11. In view of the incredibly arrogant attitude of South Africa to the world Organization, it is ironical to talk about the United Nations entering into a "dialogue" with South Africa on the Mandate of South West Africa—a Mandate which the United Nations has unquestionably revoked. It is even more surprising that some Member States expect any measure of reasonableness from South Africa, whose deep-seated scorn of the authority of the Organization has been repeatedly demonstrated in its attitude and public statements, past and present.

12. Let me refresh the memory of those who are optimistic about a dialogue between the United Nations and South Africa. The United Nations, true to its peaceful ideals, has at all times sought to settle this question of South West Africa through peaceful negotiations with South Africa. The Organization has had recourse, on several occasions, to the legal machinery available at the International Court of Justice. But South Africa has rejected the basic propositions of the various advisory opinions of the Court and has, in fact, challenged the basis of the jurisprudence of the Mandate for South West Africa.

13. In 1950, by resolution 449 (V), a Committee of five on South West Africa, composed of Denmark, Syria, Thailand, the United States of America and Uruguay was established to confer with South Africa. This Committee on South West Africa negotiated unsuccessfully with South Africa from 1950 to 1954. The responsibility for the failure of these negotiations rested with South Africa.

14. Still fresh in our memory is the work of the Arden-Clarke Good Offices Committee on South West Africa, comprising representatives of the United Kingdom, the United States and Brazil, which was established in accordance with resolution 1143 (XII), of 25 October 1957, with a mandate "to discuss with the Government of the Union of South Africa a basis for an agreement which would continue to accord to the Territory of South West Africa an international status". The report of the Good Offices Committee<sup>2/</sup>

<sup>2/</sup> *Ibid.*, Thirteenth Session, Annexes, agenda item 39, document A/3900.



is on record for all to refer to. Here again, the failure of this mission was due to the uncompromising attitude of South Africa during the negotiations of May and June 1958.

15. By resolution 1568 (XV) of 18 December 1960, the General Assembly invited the Committee on South West Africa to proceed to the territory to investigate the situation prevailing there, and appealed to South Africa to facilitate the work of the Committee. South Africa blatantly refused to co-operate and even refused entry into South Africa to the Committee.<sup>3/</sup>

16. Furthermore, by resolution 1596 (XV) of 7 April 1961, the General Assembly, in exercise of its authority, once again requested the Committee on South Africa to visit the Territory of South West Africa. Again, South Africa refused to co-operate, obstructed the work of the Committee by threat of the use of force, and this time, with the complicity of the British authorities in the then High Commission Territory of Bechuanaland, the Committee was also refused entry into Bechuanaland where it hoped to hear petitions from the Hereros of South West Africa who were residing in Bechuanaland.<sup>4/</sup>

17. What can we infer from the failure of the mission—popularly known as the Carpio mission—to South Africa and South West Africa of the Chairman and Vice-Chairman of the Special Committee for South West Africa in May 1962? That mission, authorized by resolution 1702 (XVI), could have charted a new course for a negotiated settlement with South Africa on the question of South West Africa, had the authorities of South Africa not proved intransigent and arrogant.

18. The conclusions and recommendations contained in the report of that Special Committee should serve as an eye-opener to those who place so much reliance on a "dialogue" with South Africa. I crave the indulgence of this Assembly to quote *in extenso* paragraph 42, sub-sections (b) to (e), and paragraph 43 of the report of the Chairman and Vice-Chairman, which, I think, are pertinent to the present debate:

"...

"(b) That the policies and methods, as well as the objectives followed by the South African Government in its administration of the Mandated Territory has consistently been, and continues to be, in utter contradiction with the principles and purposes of the Mandate, the Charter of the United Nations, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the enlightened conscience of mankind.

"(c) That the South African Government has revealed no plans to institute reforms or relent from its present policies and methods in its administration of the Territory and is not developing the Territory and its people for self-government of independence.

"(d) That because of the foregoing, it is the overwhelming desire of the African population that the United Nations assume direct administration of the Territory and thus take all preparatory steps for

the granting of freedom to the indigenous population as soon as possible.

"(e) That short of the use of force or other compulsive measures within the purview of the Charter, there seems to be no way of implementing General Assembly resolution 1702 (XVI), nor even any hope of finding a solution to this question which would be acceptable to the South African Government other than virtual or outright annexation of the Mandated Territory.

"(43) In these circumstances, the Special Committee for South West Africa may wish to draw the attention of the General Assembly to the imperative need for continued firm action on this question by giving the South African Government a short period of time within which to comply with the Assembly resolutions, or, failing that, by considering the feasibility of revoking the Mandate and of simultaneously assuming the administration of the Territory to prepare its people for independence, if need be by imposing sanctions or employing other means to enforce compliance with its decisions or resolutions."<sup>5/</sup>

19. South Africa has demonstrated by its actions that it has nothing but contempt for our world Organization. It has repudiated its obligations under the Charter and under the Mandate. By its unco-operative and intransigent attitude, by its public declarations and actions, it has reaffirmed its obstinacy in dictating its own terms in negotiations. On each of the occasions when South Africa has been invited to confer with the United Nations on South West Africa it has merely reiterated what it calls "its juridical position": that is to say, South Africa has not recognized and will never recognize the United Nations jurisdiction over its administration of South West Africa. It should by now be clear to everyone that South Africa's position has not changed. That is borne out by the statement of Mr. de Villiers of South Africa at the twenty-first session of the General Assembly on 26 September 1966 [1417th meeting], when he unashamedly asserted that the United Nations could under no circumstances have any legal basis for a decision to terminate South Africa's Mandate over South West Africa. Was it not the South African Foreign Minister, Mr. Muller, who on 12 October 1966, in this Assembly, threatened that South Africa "will resist with all the power at its disposal" [1439th meeting, para. 214] any attempts by the United Nations to establish its legal authority in South West Africa, which to him implied "imposing a dangerous and unwanted system?" Supposing, for the sake of argument, that there could be negotiations with South Africa, what would be the basis of those negotiations? Would the United Nations be expected to repudiate its own resolution 2145 (XXI) as South Africa has—a resolution which, according to the working paper of the twenty-four-nation Special Committee [A/AC.109/L.372] of 24 February 1967, the Government of South Africa has rejected as "illegal, unconstitutional, impossible to implement"?

20. Those who advocate dialogues with South Africa must know that the ultimate aim of South Africa is to annex the Territory of South West Africa in accordance

<sup>3/</sup> Ibid., Fifteenth Session, Annexes, agenda item 43, document A/4705.

<sup>4/</sup> Ibid., Sixteenth Session, Supplement No. 12A (A/4926), sect. I.

<sup>5/</sup> Ibid., Seventeenth Session, Supplement No. 12 (A/5212), para. 19.

with its request of December 1946 to the United Nations for approval to incorporate South West Africa into its territory.<sup>6/</sup> We must not forget that South Africa, in spite of all its spurious assurances to the contrary, is proceeding gradually with a master plan to annex South West Africa. What are the Odendaal Commission recommendations of 27 January 1964<sup>7/</sup> but a scheme for the extension of the odious policy of apartheid to South West Africa; a plan for the destruction of the territorial integrity and international status of South West Africa; and a blueprint for the ultimate annexation of South West Africa?

21. It is against this background that we should see the current moves by South Africa to grant a so-called "self-determination" to Ovamboland. I cannot but agree completely with the permanent representative of Sweden who, in his intervention last week, cautioned:

"When the Government of South Africa alleges adherence to the principle of self-determination, the outside world has reason to inquire whether that term is used as only another word for the policies of apartheid and Bantustanis, of racial discrimination and territorial fragmentation." [1507th meeting, para. 11.]

22. The Ovamboland proposal is in flagrant contravention of paragraph 6 of resolution 1514 (XV), which states:

"Any attempt aimed at the partial or total disruption of the national unity and the territorial integrity of a country is incompatible with the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations."

23. Furthermore, it is a brazen defiance of operative paragraph 7 of resolution 2145 (XXI), which:

"Calls upon the Government of South Africa forthwith to refrain and desist from any action, constitutional, administrative, political or otherwise, which will in any manner whatsoever alter or tend to alter the present international status of South West Africa."

24. Every action by South Africa during these many years has spelt intransigence and defiance. The sad and inescapable conclusion is that any attempt on the part of the United Nations to engage in a meaningful dialogue with South Africa will be turned into a comedy, with the United Nations the laughing stock.

25. In spite of all this, the Afro-Asian Members of this Organization would be the first to welcome a meaningful dialogue with South Africa or anyone else for the purpose of implementing the provisions of resolution 2145 (XXI). There is a representative from the land of apartheid here among us. If his Government is interested in a meaningful dialogue on this basis all he has to do is to take the rostrum and tell us. This Assembly, in that event, will not be found lacking in enthusiasm for a dialogue. But we cannot accept any situation which leads to futile negotiations outside the terms of resolution 2145 (XXI). Nor can we accept the view that the "practical means by which South West Africa should be administered, so

as to enable the people of the Territory to exercise the right of self-determination and to achieve independence", as some representatives would have us believe, is scrupulously to avoid a confrontation with South Africa.

26. Finally, let me say a few words on the other major objection to the Afro-Asian proposals. It is alleged that these proposals, by their request to the Security Council to ensure the implementation of a United Nations administration of South West Africa, precipitate a confrontation between South Africa and the United Nations.

27. What, may I ask, was the point of calling the attention of the Security Council to resolution 2145 (XXI)? It was that we all believed that, in the event that South Africa conformed to its usual intransigent performance, the Security Council must act to enforce the implementation of resolution 2145 (XXI). Draft resolution A/L.516 and Add.1-3 is the logical sequence to resolution 2145 (XXI). It seeks to establish an effective United Nations presence in South West Africa. In order to ensure the peaceful establishment of this presence it requests the Security Council, logically, to take all necessary measures to enable the United Nations council for South West Africa to discharge the functions and responsibilities entrusted to it by the General Assembly.

28. What is the point of adopting a proposal which does not provide for measures of implementation? It is not our aim, by so doing, to threaten international peace and security. Our aim is to vest this Organization with the authority to maintain peace in the world. I would suggest that instead of reading into the provisions of the Afro-Asian draft resolution the possibility of a conflict, we should, in the name of peace, exert all our influence and pressure on the intransigent régime of South Africa, if only to urge it to cooperate with the United Nations and to refrain from doing anything to obstruct or frustrate the work of the United Nations. We know that the great Powers which can influence the situation lack not the means but the will to bring South Africa back to the realm of reason. We have reached a point of no return, a point where there is little hope of fruitful dialogue with South Africa. The danger of an explosive racial conflict in Southern Africa must not be underestimated. The question of South West Africa must be resolved without further delay.

29. The Afro-Asian countries earnestly hope that, as during the twenty-first regular session of the General Assembly, there will be opportunity to harmonize the divergent views now before this special session with regard to the question of South West Africa. Already the Latin Americans and the Afro-Asians approach the problem before us from the same basic standpoint. The gap between their separate proposals is a small one. I think that it can be bridged. It is not impossible that this Assembly can arrive at a meaningful compromise which will lead to the implementation without delay of resolution 2145 (XXI). What we need is meaningful action. Any compromise that we can achieve must move us forward in the implementation of resolution 2145 (XXI), which, in the words of Mr. Goldberg to the twenty-first session of the General Assembly in October 1966, "is an action

<sup>6/</sup> *Ibid.*, Second part of the first session, Fourth Committee, Annex 13A.

<sup>7/</sup> Report of the Commission of Enquiry into South West Africa, 1962-63, Pretoria, Government Printer, 1964.

proposal" [1439th meeting, para. 77]. Let us therefore have some action.

30. Mr. MAKAME (United Republic of Tanzania): Mr. President, I wish first of all to congratulate you upon your unanimous election to lead this Assembly in the consideration of the most difficult problems which confront us at this special session. We have no doubt Mr. President that, as many other delegations have already stated, under your leadership, this Assembly will be able to meet the challenges of the problems that face it.

31. I wish also to express the thanks of the Tanzanian delegation to the members of the Ad Hoc Committee for South West Africa for the efforts they have applied to the study of this question. The fact that that Committee could not agree upon a unified and single recommendation is indeed unfortunate. However, that factor serves only to accentuate the importance attached by members to this problem. It is a reminder of the complexities that can and do arise where the forces of progress and freedom confront the forces of reaction, coercion and exploitation. It is a reminder, in short, of the perpetual menace to a world order of peaceful coexistence and co-operation posed by the evils and inhumanity of colonialism and racism.

32. The question of South West Africa as it stands today, of course, is not purely the continuation of colonialism and apartheid therein; it is, and this is more important, a question of the challenge facing the United Nations, which is committed, in the words of the Charter, "to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women."

33. The challenge, primarily, is to fulfil the objectives of the Charter in eliminating the subjugation of peoples by alien forces, and, in this case, to institute and exercise the instruments and machinery that would guarantee a progressive and peaceful development towards the acquisition of all powers by the indigenous people of South West Africa.

34. The concept of international trusteeship is a noble one. It runs like a golden thread through the precepts of the most enlightened thinkers concerning the responsibility of the metropolitan Powers towards the indigenous inhabitants of their colonies. Incompletely realized in the Mandates System, it received its institutional form in the Trusteeship System established by the United Nations.

35. Had the people who constitute the Government and dominant minority in the Union of South Africa been less out of touch with the liberal and progressive currents which have animated the European civilization they claim to represent there is no reason to doubt that South West Africa would be today a free and sovereign nation. Nothing in the condition or potentialities of the peoples of that territory suggests that, had the Union of South Africa effectively discharged its responsibilities South West Africa would not, today, be as independent as Cameroon, Burundi and Tanzania.

36. That South West Africa is not today independent cannot be blamed on South Africa alone. As early as 1947, it was clear that South Africa was not prepared

to discharge its international obligations regarding South West Africa. Time, patience and a tolerance which eventually bordered on appeasement have brought no change in the former mandatory's attitude. Rather the reverse.

37. As it became clear that, for reasons which are too well-known to recapitulate, a powerful group of United Nations Members would initiate no sanctioning activity to enforce its mild exhortations, South Africa became more and more obstinate, daring and, ultimately, belligerent.

38. That the Members of the United Nations should have turned to its judicial organ for a possible solution to their dilemma was understandable and, in the earlier years, perhaps justifiable. The membership of this Organization was, to a large extent, after the enormous exertions of the Second World War, dominated by the desire to recreate and rehabilitate. The traumatic experiences of the war had weakened, but not dislodged, the hold of certain philosophies and attitudes of chauvinism and racial superiority, which are a spurious justification for colonialism and apartheid.

39. Those whose idealism and vigour had effected the downfall of nazism and fascism were not ready to engage almost immediately in another confrontation with neo-nazism in southern Africa. The liberation of Europe from totalitarianism and vast regions of Asia from an equally abhorrent tyranny may have justified the postponement of precipitate action, which was implicit in a reference to judicial authority.

40. The most recent reference of the question of South West Africa to the International Court of Justice<sup>8/</sup> is a tribute to the faith and respect which African nations have in law and judicial machinery. That faith and that respect have now been tinged with a necessary political realism. Nothing remains any longer but to take the inevitable, the long-postponed measures which alone can maintain the integrity and effectiveness of the United Nations.

41. It is gratifying to recall that this body has already initiated action in that respect by assuming all responsibility for the territory of South West Africa pursuant to the termination of the Mandate in the terms of General Assembly resolution 2145 (XXI). Thus we have now arrived at a crucial historical stage when the defined principles of international trusteeship binding upon this body must be put to practical use—not by an individual Member but by the collective membership of the United Nations. The Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples contained in resolution 1514 (XV) made it plain that this Organization can no longer tolerate the continuation of colonial subjugation in any form, and demanded, in its aims, the immediate granting of independence to all territories still subjected to that kind of humiliation and exploitation.

42. Therefore, having assumed all responsibility for the Territory of South West Africa, it is incumbent upon the General Assembly to exercise its prerogatives and give effect to its obligations to transfer

<sup>8/</sup> I.C.J., South West Africa case (Ethiopia [Liberia] v. Union of South Africa, Application instituting proceedings, 1960, General List, No. 46 [No. 47].

all powers to the people of South West Africa as envisaged in the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples and in resolution 2145 (XXI), passed by the overwhelming majority at the last regular session of the General Assembly.

43. My delegation has studied with interest the report of the *Ad Hoc* Committee for South West Africa, and we have carefully followed the general debate on this subject during this session. I must confess that it has been at times a saddening experience. For some of the proposals contained in the *Ad Hoc* Committee's report [A/6640] and elaborated upon during this debate have tended to confirm one of the most ironical reflections on man as a collective animal, namely, that we learn from history that we do not learn from history.

44. Some of the Members of this Organization—and in particular the United Kingdom—seem to desire yet further recourse to judicial action. It is suggested that the principal judicial organ should be asked once again to pronounce itself on the great issues involved in the question of South West Africa.

45. It is perhaps appropriate that the representative of a nation which has created one of the world's great legal systems should have a predilection for the resolution of difficult and complex issues by judicial process. But, as is well known, justice is a term that embraces a wider concept than legal justice. Frequent references in the Charter—in the Preamble, in Article 1, Article 2 and Article 7—indicate clearly the anxiety of the founders of this Organization for a just world order. However, the detailed provisions of Articles 92 to 96 of the Charter need not suggest that legal norms alone could or should serve to control the actions of United Nations Members.

46. Most jurists themselves agree that "a declaration of their legal rights when States are quarrelling about something other than their rights is not in any true sense a 'settlement' of their dispute".

47. They also agree that resort to a judicial tribunal tends to become increasingly futile when claims are made based upon new situations, requiring different adjustments of the interests involved. In such cases, "settlement is a political task, for it is a matter of constructing for the future rather than rendering judgment on the past".

48. Then we have heard arguments about the desirability of proceeding in a gradual and unprecipitate manner—as if the record of twenty years' deadlock and frustration indicates anything except the futility of this approach. The readiness to equate non-action with statesmanship would be spurious even were the motives behind these proposals not suspect. Those who urge us to follow the "practical and sensible course" of gradually eliminating South Africa's illegal presence in South West Africa deserve to be asked: what is the practical and sensible course for extinguishing a fire? Is not the only possible reply: to use the first instrument at hand and proceed in the most direct manner?

49. Only those who wish to avoid serious action would be convinced by the arguments of those who advocate continued studies and consultations before the implementation of General Assembly resolution 2145 (XXI).

Ample studies have been made and the record is, unfortunately, only too comprehensive and clear.

50. The studies undertaken by the various committees and commissions of this Organization have revealed a condemnable situation. In order to pursue the exploitation of the natural wealth of the territory the South African apartheid régime has been practising without let-up a notorious system of slave labour. Under that system, the South African régime has effected the disintegration of African society and family life through the herding of Africans in bachelor compounds. The African people have been dispossessed of all the arable and rich lands, a factor which, in turn, in this criminal vicious circle, leaves them destitute and victims of forced labour.

51. As far as back as 1957 a report of the South West Africa Committee of this Organization pointed out that

"the industries contributing to the ... relative prosperity of the Territory are essentially 'European' owned and operated enterprises, in which the role of the 'Natives' is generally limited to unskilled labour".<sup>9/</sup>

52. While making such a mild declaration, that Committee observed that

"the primary function of the 'Native' population of the Territory, determined and defined through administrative policy and method, is to supply the labour without which the ... essentially 'European' economy could not exist at all, and under conditions of cost and regulation without which it could not function as profitably as it does in the present forms".<sup>10/</sup>

53. Such a situation, in which all the economic enterprises operating in South West Africa participated, was ensured by the imposition of the notorious racial pass laws, the Vagrancy Proclamation of 1920, the Native (Urban Areas) Proclamation of 1951 and the Native Administration Proclamation of 1962. The existence of such conditions, as I have already stated, ensured the exploitation of the human and natural resources of the territory of South West Africa by the apartheid-mongers of South Africa and the foreign financial monopolies which, as have been shown by earlier studies, originate from certain Western countries.

54. What need do we have of further studies to emphasize the fact that the people of South West Africa have for decades been subjected to all the crimes and brutalities of apartheid and colonialism in order to enrich the capitalist monopolies and satisfy the lust of the racist minority? The massive exploitation of the wealth of South West Africa by those monopolies is a contravention of the provisions of the Declaration contained in resolution 1514 (XV) which, among other things, affirmed that "peoples may, for their own ends, freely dispose of their natural wealth and resources". This exploitation of man by man has been condemned without reserve by freedom and peace-loving peoples the world over. It is, indeed, such an exploitative system

<sup>9/</sup> Official Records of the General Assembly, Twelfth Session, Supplement No. 12 (A/3626), para. 48.

<sup>10/</sup> *Ibid.*, para. 58.

which breeds and thrives on the practices of racism and fascism, and, at the same time, feeds on them.

55. The continued presence and domination of the apparatus of the South African apartheid régime in South West Africa is a criminal transgression of the responsibility of the General Assembly over the territory of South West Africa. Thus, in accordance with the constitutional responsibilities assumed by the General Assembly in its resolution 2145 (XXI), continuation of such acts by South African or any unauthorized forces in the territory of South West Africa must be considered illegal and void.

56. Thus this Organization must unreservedly condemn such actions of the South African régime as implementation of the Odendaal plan, aimed at the disruption of the national unity and territorial integrity of the territory of South West Africa as defiantly announced recently by that régime. While such action is, in itself, illegal in the context of the terms of resolution 2145 (XXI), it is also incompatible with the Charter and the Declaration of resolution 1514 (XV).

57. As I listened to the representative of Ethiopia ably and eloquently expounding the Afro-Pakistan proposals on the opening day of this general debate [1503rd meeting], my mind leaped back some thirty-five years. I recalled the unforgettable experience of His Imperial Majesty Haile Selassie I of Ethiopia, pleading before the Council of the League of Nations that it live up to its international obligations, to its Covenant and its sacred commitments. Then as now, when Ethiopia spoke it spoke for Africa. Then it seemed to some Members of the world Organization that the practical and sensible course was to ignore the commitment of Members of the League. Even in those trying times some Members proceeded to recognize the fruits of aggression and recognized Mussolini's conquest of Ethiopia. Again in 1932, according to some Members of the League, the practical and sensible course had been to ignore aggression in Manchuria. Because of "differences of method and means and timing", inaction and appeasement led inevitably to the tragic holocaust of the Second World War.

58. Historians of the future will marvel at the twenty years of indecision and nervelessness of the United Nations over the question of South West Africa. To some seasoned cynics it may seem that the newer Members of the United Nations are exhibiting a naive simplicity and candour in insisting on taking the United Nations Charter as more than a platitude. The attitudes and reactions of international organizations have become fixed in a tradition which it would seem cannot be altered merely to avert disaster in the southern part of Africa.

59. When, on other occasions and in other contexts, Afro-Asians as a group, or the non-aligned nations as a collectivity, have attempted to rally the world's conscience concerning certain pressing problems, it has sometimes provoked accusations and comments about their holier-than-thou attitudes. When they have attempted to focus the spotlight of world indignation on certain glaring symptoms of illness in the world body politic, they have often been accused of assuming an attitude of moral superiority to disguise their relative material or technological backwardness.

60. My delegation must confess that we find it difficult to believe that there are men with souls so dead that they have not been moved by the great human tragedy that is being daily enacted in South West Africa.

61. Despite the discouragement and pessimism of some statements and proposals to which I have referred, we find it impossible to believe that the world which has repudiated the barbarism of slavery and the disgrace to human dignity of colonialism will hesitate much longer before erasing from the fair face of the earth the unworthy blot which exists in South West Africa.

62. My delegation has studied carefully the proposals presented to the Ad Hoc Committee for South West Africa by Canada, Italy and the United States of America [A/6640, para. 84]. With the greatest respect for the three Members which submitted those proposals, I must say that my delegation has the gravest doubts as to their legality and propriety and none at all as to their utility. The methods some Members would have the United Nations adopt in dealing with South West Africa resemble those proposed by some for discharging the responsibility of the United Kingdom with regard to the problem of Rhodesia.

63. It is proposed to have a dialogue concerning South West Africa with a régime whose responsibility for that territory has been terminated. In order to avoid any "confrontation" with the Union of South Africa, we are urged to use all "peaceful means" to oust the Pretoria régime from their possession of South West Africa and their presence therein which is now, and for the past five months has been, without any legal foundation. For a representative organ of the United Nations to acquiesce in South Africa's continued presence by negotiating terms and conditions for withdrawal would tend to cast such representative or organ in the role of an accessory after the fact of South Africa's villainy.

64. In this connexion, my delegation wishes to express its appreciation to the delegations of the Soviet Union and the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic. They have performed a useful service in bringing to the attention of this Assembly [A/6648 and A/6649] the illegality of South Africa's purporting to accede to the International Telecommunication Convention of 1965 on behalf of South West Africa. The Government of Tanzania has protested to the International Telecommunication Union on the impropriety of South Africa's continued assertion of the right to represent or act on behalf of South West Africa. The Members and organs of the United Nations cannot condone the implicit violation of General Assembly resolution 2145 (XXI) by treating South Africa as if it continued to have any rights in the former Mandated Territory.

65. Those who urge on us the employment of the art of diplomacy in regard to South West Africa would sacrifice justice upon the altar of a false peace. As if every society is not at times required to use the violence which is legally permissible and appropriate for defensive or police action. Whether or not, and when, such violence is to be used depends upon high considerations such as the welfare of the community as a whole or the inadequacy of other procedures in extraordinary situations. The test of when violence

rather than peaceful procedures are required in a particular situation depends, in many instances, upon the character of the participants involved and the record of their attitudes and conduct on previous occasions, rather than upon any subjective view of the interests involved.

66. The question of confrontation was not created by the Afro-Asians and Latin Americans. Confrontation was created by those States which permitted South Africa over the past twenty years to violate the sacred Mandate entrusted to it. After all, our history today is full of confrontations which have neither been discussed nor blessed by this Organization. On the contrary, these have been carried on unilaterally by the very people who now counsel us to avoid confrontation—forgetting that this is a confrontation against evil itself. This confrontation was precipitated by the fact that, although South Africa consistently continues to defy the United Nations, certain Western European States continue to support South Africa in its studied defiance of the United Nations. Let history record that it is not the Afro-Asians and Latin Americans who are to be accused of bringing about a confrontation on South West Africa, but rather the trading partners of South Africa who have encouraged it to defy this Organization. The Afro-Asian group will not stand for the double standards of people who support a resolution such as 2145 (XXI) and at the same time turn to help the very State which goes all out to frustrate the purpose of that resolution, and, as a countermeasure, go on to suggest moves which will definitely be a retrogressive step from resolution 2145 (XXI).

67. It is in this respect that the Afro-Asian proposals [A/L.516 and Add.1-3] diverge from those presented by Chile and Mexico [A/6640, para. 93] to the Ad Hoc Committee on South West Africa. The latter proposals overlook or gloss over the need for practical steps towards ensuring the implementation of United Nations resolution 2145 (XXI). There is no provision in those proposals for the installation of the machinery—the council—devised to carry out the United Nations responsibilities in the territory. That is why, with all the goodwill and fraternal feeling we have for our Latin American brothers, we urge them to support the draft resolution presented by the Afro-Asian group.

68. This draft clearly and comprehensively provides for the accomplishment of the aims and objectives of this Assembly set out in resolution 2145 (XXI). There is no doubt of the practicality of the means envisaged in sections II, III and IV of the operative part of the Afro-Asian draft resolution. Once approved by this Assembly, an end will be put to such anomalous practices as are recorded in the working paper prepared by the Secretariat. Instead of government employment in South West Africa being "based on the principle that a White person may not serve in a capacity subordinate to a non-White" [A/6640, annex II, para. 78], it will be based on the principle set out in paragraph 2 d of section IV of the Afro-Asian draft, that "in the utilization and recruitment of personnel preference be given to the indigenous people".

69. Instead of the territory being divided into magisterial districts and Native Reserves within and outside

a police zone, presided over by a white administrator assisted by a white executive committee, and with an all-white legislative assembly, there will be a United Nations commissioner for the entire integrated territory and, after elections on the basis of universal adult suffrage, a representative and popularly controlled legislative assembly.

70. That those democratic and progressive proposals have not so far gained the whole-hearted support of our socialist friends is a cause of great concern to my delegation. We appreciate their concern. Too often in the past, certain Members of the United Nations, with or without the collusion of the Secretariat, have manipulated General Assembly resolutions in a manner not provided for in, if not inconsistent with, the Charter. And we do not doubt the motives of our socialist friends. They have provided ample proof of their solidarity and of their absolute commitment to the cause of anti-colonialism and anti-apartheidism. Indeed, socialism is inconsistent with colonialism or racism.

71. But the cause of African freedom has now reached the stage where it is confronting its most serious tests in the southern unliberated portion of the continent. It is not only, or even primarily, African freedom that is at stake. It is human freedom, world peace and the cause of this Organization. For if we are not prepared to take forthright and unequivocal measures to defend such a cause as South West Africa's, when and where will this Organization be prepared to act?

72. We therefore appeal to our friends not to allow the fear of "police action" to be an obstacle to their support of our draft resolution. Nowhere in our draft resolution is there any mention of such action being authorized or undertaken by the General Assembly. The law enforcement personnel envisaged in paragraph 2 b of Section IV are the internal security and police personnel required in every State—indeed, in every society. Their absence would mean chaos and the negation of normal life. Their presence would no more violate the Charter than did the presence of the King's African Rifles and the Tanganyika Police in our country when the British administered it as a Trust Territory.

73. According to our draft resolution, it will be for the Security Council to determine, in accordance with the Charter, if and when "police action" of the Korea type is required. This is provided for in operative paragraph IV, sub-paragraphs 3 and 5. According to some of our Western friends, and even some of our Latin American friends, the question of enforcement action under Chapter VII of the Charter may never arise. South Africa may prove reasonable, they argue. According to them, the hardened criminal may go straight.

74. The representative of the Soviet Union paid the Organization of African Unity a most gracious compliment. The Organization of African Unity cannot, however, take on the sole or even the major responsibility for the transfer of power, the withdrawal of South African personnel and the preparation and holding of elections in South West Africa. That responsibility is primarily that of the United Nations. Where the interests of the two Organizations coincide in a dispute in which all of the parties are not members of the



Organization of African Unity, both may share their responsibilities; neither can evade them.

75. Under Article 52 of the Charter, the Organization of African Unity can—and will—make such arrangements as lie within its power to contribute to the independence and progress of the people of South West Africa. Constitutionally and realistically, however, that contribution can only be ancillary to that of the United Nations, whose Charter clearly commits it to maintain international peace and to protect the rights of peoples to equality and self-determination.

76. We wait—and we cannot think we wait in vain—for an upsurge of noble emotion such as inspired the British Magna Carta; for a renaissance of idealism such as inspired the American Declaration of Independence and the American Emancipation Proclamation; for a revulsion against institutionalized evil such as produced the Communist Manifesto and the Declaration against colonialism contained in General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV).

77. It is to the liberal instincts of men of good will everywhere that we appeal for a forthright and honourable solution to the question of South West Africa. We are confident that the liberal heritage of the Western States, the revolutionary tradition of the socialist States, and the undiminished anti-colonialism of the Latin American nations will enable all forces to be joined for a successful and immediate settlement of this problem.

78. Therefore, we exhort all groups and all sections of this Assembly to go along with us, to go along with the Afro-Asian draft resolution. It is along this path that lie courage, truth and self-respect; along this path that lie enlightenment and human progress. What will it profit us for some of us to land on the moon while vast masses languish and suffer here on earth in conditions of intolerable despair? There is no practical barrier to the accomplishment of the United Nations objectives in South West Africa except irresolution.

79. My delegation offers to this Assembly a slogan which the President of Tanzania, Mwalimu Julius Nyerere, coined in introducing our Five-Year Economic Plan in May 1964 and has used repeatedly to inspire and encourage our people: "It can be done. Play your part."

80. Mr. THIAM (Senegal) (translated from French): Mr. President, first of all I should like to convey to you, on behalf of my delegation our warm congratulations on your election as President for this session. We are convinced that your experience will be very valuable to us in the conduct of these debates. You may be sure that I shall be very brief because we believe that this is a time for action rather than speeches.

81. When at its twenty-first regular session the General Assembly adopted resolution 2145 (XXI) of 27 October 1966, it took what was undoubtedly a historic decision—to terminate the Mandate of the Republic of South Africa over the Territory of South West Africa. The General Assembly thereby deprived South Africa of any right to administer South West Africa, which from then on came under the responsibility of the United Nations.

82. To enable the Organization to take on this new responsibility, the General Assembly entrusted an Ad Hoc Committee of fourteen members with the task of studying and recommending practical means by which South West Africa could be administered, so as to enable the people of the Territory to exercise the right of self-determination and to achieve independence. The near unanimity with which resolution 2145 (XXI) was adopted gave grounds for thinking that the Ad Hoc Committee would come to the fifth special session of the General Assembly with unanimous recommendations in keeping with the spirit and letter of that resolution. But what do we find? The Committee has submitted to the Assembly three proposals that are very different from one another, and this shows that there is wide disagreement in the Committee. First there is the plan submitted by the African members of the Ad Hoc Committee, including my country [A/6640, paras. 45 and 82]. This plan is to establish a United Nations Council for South West Africa; which would entrust the executive and administrative tasks to a United Nations Commissioner to be appointed by the General Assembly on the nomination of the Secretary-General. The terms of reference and functions of the Council are clearly defined. They are as follows:

(1) To assume on behalf of the General Assembly all responsibility for the administration of South West Africa and to promote the economic and social well-being of the people until independence;

(2) To promulgate such laws, decrees and administrative regulations as are necessary for the administration of the Territory until a legislative assembly is established on the basis of elections conducted on universal adult suffrage.

(3) To undertake all necessary measures, in consultation with the representatives of the people, to establish a constituent assembly to be entrusted with the task of drawing up an independence constitution on the basis of which elections, based on universal adult suffrage, will be held for the establishment of a legislative assembly and a responsible government;

(4) To transfer all powers of government to the latter institutions once independence has been declared, and no later than June 1968.

83. We should add, though this is obvious, that the administration of South West Africa by the United Nations must be solely in the interests of the people of that Territory. The United Nations Council for South West Africa will not serve the special interests of any group or State or group of States, but only the interests of the people of the Territory which it will help to achieve self-determination and independence. To that end, the United Nations must not hesitate to take any steps enabling the Council fully and effectively to perform its tasks. But it is probable that South Africa will not withdraw from South West Africa without some difficulties. The past provides evidence of this: of the seventy-six resolutions adopted by the General Assembly since 1946, not one has been implemented by South Africa. The General Assembly, in adopting resolution 2145 (XXI), recognized that all the efforts of the United Nations to induce the Government of South Africa to fulfil its obligations in respect

of the administration of the Mandated Territory and to ensure the well-being and security of the indigenous inhabitants have been of no avail.

84. We have no reason to think that South Africa will comply with resolution 2145 (XXI), which terminated its Mandate. And no one in this Assembly can assure us that South Africa is willing to leave the Territory. That is why the delegations of Ethiopia, Nigeria, the United Arab Republic, Pakistan and Senegal—the African members of the Ad Hoc Committee—deemed it necessary for the General Assembly to consider and declare as aggression any action by South Africa designed to maintain its presence in South West Africa or, in short, to frustrate or obstruct the task of the Council.

85. If, as is most likely, South Africa adopts such an attitude, the Security Council will have to take the measures provided for in Chapter VII of the Charter. The Security Council will also have to take all appropriate measures against any other State which obstructs or frustrates the task of the United Nations Council for South West Africa.

86. Such, very briefly, are the proposals submitted by Nigeria, Ethiopia, the United Arab Republic, Pakistan and Senegal to the Ad Hoc Committee with a view to enabling the United Nations to assume its responsibilities in the matter of South West Africa. We agree with the representative of Chile that the United Nations "... would be seriously weakened if it were to appear hesitant or incapable of discharging its responsibilities" in regard to South West Africa. [1504th meeting, para. 131].

87. But let us now consider the other proposals: first, those of Chile and Mexico [A/6640, para. 93] and then, those of Italy, Canada and the United States [*ibid.*, para. 84].

88. Like the African countries and Pakistan, the Latin American members of the Ad Hoc Committee advocate the establishment of a United Nations Council for South West Africa; they also envisage the appointment of a Commissioner charged with the execution of administrative tasks entrusted to him by the Council. However—and herein lies the difference—while the Africans say that the United Nations Council for South West Africa, once appointed, must proceed to and install itself in the Territory, Chile and Mexico propose prior negotiations with the authorities of the Republic of South Africa in order to lay down procedures for the transfer of the Territory with the least possible upheaval, a time-limit for its completion being prescribed. Thus Chile and Mexico seem to prefer a dialogue with South Africa rather than recourse to the Security Council under Chapter VII of the Charter. That is very praiseworthy. We are strongly in favour of a dialogue. But what grounds are there for thinking that South Africa will be willing to engage in a dialogue? One would have to be naïve indeed to believe that that country would agree to any dialogue whatsoever on a colonial issue, furthermore, the South African Minister of Defence has just addressed a bellicose warning to the United Nations against any initiative designed to remove the Territory of South West Africa from the clutches of his country.

89. In these circumstances, it is very difficult for us to share the optimism of Chile and Mexico regarding the success of the negotiations that they recommend.

90. We come now to the third proposal, the one submitted by Italy, Canada and the United States. The objective proposed by those delegations is to establish a nucleus of self-government. To this end the three countries suggest the establishment of a United Nations Council for South West Africa. But what is really envisaged is an advisory organ whose only role would be to undertake surveys and offer opinions and advice to a United Nations Special Representative, who would not himself have any decision-making powers.

91. The sponsors of this proposal have not concealed their intention. In their opinion, according to the term used by the representative of Canada in the Ad Hoc Committee, this third draft is only an "explanatory process".

92. Yet, resolution 2145 (XXI) is categorical; its operative paragraph 4 declares that "South Africa has no other right to administer the Territory and... henceforth South West Africa comes under the direct responsibility of the United Nations".

93. Consequently, any solution which would involve tolerating the presence of South Africa in the Territory of South West Africa would be a dangerous departure from resolution 2145 (XXI), for which, incidentally, Italy, Canada and the United States voted.

94. We must avoid giving Africans the unfortunate impression that the backing of the major Powers will be denied them every time a problem involving their vital interest arises. The resolution on South West Africa adopted during the last session may remain merely the expression of a pious hope, if we are not determined to use coercive measures against South Africa. Furthermore, since the Rhodesia affair, South Africa and all the colonial Powers holding sway in that part of our continent have been aware that they enjoy the tacit complicity of certain major countries.

95. In order to protect the prestige of our Organization and the noble principles it embodies, it is high time that something was done—and as soon as possible—to give practical effect to resolution 2145 (XXI).

96. Senegal, for its part, reaffirms the position it has already taken together with the other African States Members of the Ad Hoc Committee. The Organization must take all necessary steps to enable the United Nations Council for South West Africa to discharge its responsibilities and to set the people of South West Africa on the path towards self-determination and independence.

97. My Government, in deciding after all to participate in this debate, wishes once again to demonstrate its faith in the United Nations. We venture to hope that, this time at least, the Africans will not have spoken in vain.

98. Mr. BUDO (Albania) (translated from French): Mr. President, may I first associate myself with other speakers in extending to you my delegation's congratulations on your unanimous election as Presi-



dent for the current special session of the General Assembly.

99. The delegation of the People's Republic of Albania has followed with special attention the present debate on the question of South West Africa. It is scarcely necessary to stress here the importance we attach to this question, which concerns the inalienable right of a people to freedom and independence and is one of the issues in the great cause of the liberation of peoples still under the odious yoke of colonialism, and of their right to self-determination and to free and independent development. The position of socialist Albania in this regard, the principles which guide our policy, the firmness with which we adhere to these principles, and the sympathy of the Albanian people for all peoples struggling against imperialism and colonialism—all these are well-known.

100. We are bound to say here how greatly we appreciate the sincere efforts made by Member States which are devoted to the cause of freedom and peace—especially the countries of Africa—to contribute effectively to the struggle of the people of South West Africa for the achievement of its lawful aspirations to decide its own destiny freely and to achieve independence. These efforts are particularly important in that they have been undertaken in the face of the countless difficulties and obstacles deliberately created by the imperialists and colonialists and those who support them in that course.

101. At the twenty-first session of the General Assembly [1448th meeting], the Albanian delegation clearly indicated its point of view on the problem we are considering, on all its various aspects and on the tasks incumbent upon Member States which are sincerely interested in the cause of the peoples and wish to make a genuine contribution to the liberation of the Territory of South West Africa. Our attitude and viewpoint remain unchanged.

102. There is no doubt that it is, by virtue of its own struggle, that the people of South West Africa will be able to free itself from the chains of colonial bondage and from the apartheid policies practised by the fascist régime of Pretoria. Moreover, this is something that the freedom fighters of this Territory understand very well. Knowing from their own experience the racists of South Africa and all the age-long enemies of their independence, they have no illusions about the misleading statements and misrepresentations of the imperialists and colonialists; they know what to make of it all and, consequently, have chosen the path of armed struggle, the only path that can lead them unflinchingly to the liberation of their homeland and to the achievement of national sovereignty and independence. This is borne out particularly by the present upsurge of the liberation movement in the Territory and by the spread of the popular struggle to various parts of the country.

103. The Albanian delegation has constantly campaigned here for measures to enable the United Nations, in accordance with the basic purposes and principles of the Charter, to make an effective contribution to the movement of the peoples for national liberation and for the achievement and defence of their sovereignty and independence. We have constantly and at all times added our modest efforts to

those of other peace-loving States in fighting against the various plots and schemes of the imperialists and colonialists, who are clinging desperately to an abhorrent system of oppression and exploitation of foreign peoples and territories. But we are obliged to acknowledge that in spite of all the sincere efforts of the freedom-loving countries, the results of the Organization's activities in the field of decolonization are, to say the least, disappointing. The numerous United Nations resolutions have remained dead letters, and, worse than that, they have aroused among the peoples vain hopes which have harmful effects on their sacred struggle. In the case of South Africa, the many resolutions on its policy of apartheid and on South West Africa have been constantly flouted by the South African Government, and no effective counter-measures have been taken against it.

104. All this is due, as everyone well knows, to the situation that has prevailed in this Organization ever since its creation, a situation characterized by the baneful influence exercised on it by the United States imperialists—a situation which has been further aggravated in recent years by the radical changes that have taken place in the political orientation of another great Power. This deplorable state of affairs as regards the role of the United Nations will remain unchanged as long as the Organization, contrary to the fundamental provisions of the Charter, continues to be subjected to such manipulations and to be used by two great Powers as a place for political bargaining, for sabotaging the sincere efforts of the peace-loving States, and for repressing the struggle of the peoples for the freedom and independence.

105. The present debates on the question of South West Africa, the proposals emanating from United States sources, the plots hatched behind the scenes by certain great Powers, and the various kinds of pressure exerted by them, are highly instructive in this regard. It is obvious to everyone that the efforts of the overwhelming majority of Member States, which want the Organization to make an effective contribution to the liberation of the Territory of South West Africa, are being obstructed by the stubborn opposition of the imperialist and colonialist Powers, assisted by their allies and close collaborators. This is demonstrated particularly by the delaying tactics contained in the western Powers' proposals [A/6640, para. 84] and by certain suggestions made here for the purpose of evading any kind of responsibility and placing the question of South West Africa on a course which would merely play into the hands of the imperialists, who are making every effort to divide the peace-loving nations which oppose their policy of oppression and domination of peoples.

106. Such a state of affairs is bound to give us serious concern and to remind us of the urgent tasks with which we are faced and of the efforts we must make to overcome the difficulties and obstacles that have been systematically created by those responsible for this situation, and also to reject the manipulation of the United Nations by the United States and the influence it exercises on the Organization, and to ensure that the United Nations and fulfil the deep-rooted aspirations of peoples and truly serve the cause of national freedom and independence, peace and international co-operation.

107. In the present circumstances, particularly in view of the relentless manner in which the imperialists and colonialists are trying to bring about the failure of all constructive efforts, and in which they are using every United Nations organ to serve their policies of oppression and aggression, we must be very cautious about the appropriate decisions and measures to be taken in each case and for each problem that we consider.

108. With regard to the question of South West Africa, we consider it our duty, in the light of experience, to be very attentive and very cautious about the ways and means to be used in effectively promoting the liberation and independence of that Territory. In particular we are bound to have some reservations regarding proposals for establishing certain machinery which, instead of serving the purpose we are trying to attain—namely, the liberation and independence of South West Africa—might perhaps become a dangerous instrument in the hands of the enemies of the people of that Territory.

109. At its last session the General Assembly adopted resolution 2145 (XXI), which, in spite of certain shortcomings and certain unfortunate omissions, is nevertheless of particular importance—since it revokes once and for all the South African mandate over South West Africa. Nevertheless, as in the past, Vorster's fascist régime has not paid any heed to that resolution. Not only has it continued, and even redoubled its efforts, to apply its barbarous policy of apartheid and racial segregation, of oppression, repression and extermination of the indigenous people; it has at the same time tried, by giving Ovamboland, so-called autonomy, to implement its plans for the dismemberment and annexation of all or part of the Territory of South West Africa. Naturally, South Africa has, as always, been encouraged in its defiance of General Assembly resolutions and of the United Nations itself by its imperialist protectors, particularly the United States. United States imperialists are providing multilateral aid to the racist authorities of South Africa, whom they have taken under their protection; and they are engaged in intensive activities throughout southern Africa in line with their own economic and strategic interests. The United States, together with the United Kingdom and Portuguese colonialists and the racists of South Africa and Southern Rhodesia, is trying to transform that region into a huge military bastion designed to stifle the national liberation struggle in Africa and to serve the aggressive plans of the United States against the whole continent.

110. The United States is today pursuing a policy of intervention, conquest and aggression in various parts of the world. A typical case which best illustrates this criminal policy of United States imperialism is the extremely barbarous war of aggression it is waging against the gallant people of Viet-Nam, which is fighting heroically to save its country and is thereby making a historic contribution to the struggle for national and social liberation of peoples. The United States imperialists' policy of world hegemony and aggression has brought down upon them the hatred of all the peoples of the world, who are rising in greater and greater numbers against this common enemy.

111. With regard to the South African racist authorities themselves, we are bound to note that their recent actions and their constant disregard for the United Nations and world public opinion have once again shown the impotence of this Organization, which is due to the situation prevailing within it as a result of the position taken by certain Powers and of their collusion at the expense of the inalienable rights of peoples to freedom and independence and even at the expense of the interests of the Organization itself. All this once again highlights the importance of the task confronting Member States and of the efforts they must make to liberate the Organization from an intolerable influence and from this dangerous collusion.

112. As to our present task in regard to the question of South West Africa, we still adhere to the position we indicated at the General Assembly's twenty-first session. At that time, in view of the international situation and the circumstances prevailing in this Organization, we demanded that the General Assembly should immediately revoke South Africa's Mandate over South West Africa and proclaim the independence of that Territory and arrange for the necessary measures to guarantee the implementation of such a decision. In its resolution 2145 (XXI), the General Assembly irrevocably terminated South Africa's Mandate but, owing to the obstructionist position taken by the imperialist and colonialist Powers, it was notable at the same time to proclaim the independence of South West Africa. We consider that our proposal is equally valid today and that the best course for the General Assembly at this time would be to reinforce its decision of 27 October 1966 by proclaiming formally the independence of South West Africa and making appropriate and realistic arrangements to achieve our objective, including, if necessary, the application of sanctions against South Africa or any other State which may support it in one way or another in its negative attitude. By adopting such a resolution, the General Assembly would be acting in accordance with the needs of the moment and would be taking the best possible course to promote the struggle of South West African people for the liberation of its country, and for national sovereignty and independence. Of course the adoption of such a resolution would not mean that the freedom-loving Member States would have fulfilled once and for all their duty towards the people of South West Africa. We would still have to make constant efforts—as I am sure that all States will agree—to help the population of South West Africa in achieving self-determination and independence.

113. The Albanian delegation, for its part, is prepared to support such a resolution. We shall be very happy to make our modest contribution to this end and to co-operate, as in the past, with all countries which are genuinely interested in the sacred cause of the people of South West Africa.

114. Mr. VRATUŠA (Yugoslavia): Mr. President, I should like, first of all, on behalf of the Yugoslav delegation, to join the preceding speakers in congratulating you on your unanimous election to the high post of President of the General Assembly at its fifth special session. Your able and impartial guidance of the work of the General Assembly during its twenty-

first session is the best guarantee that you will lead these deliberations successfully.

115. With the setting up of the Ad Hoc Committee for South West Africa, the General Assembly provided one more opportunity for adopting practical steps necessary to enable the people of South West Africa to exercise their right of self-determination. Thanks to additional efforts undertaken in the performance of its task, the Committee has made considerable progress towards the solution of the question, as is evident from its report to this Assembly.

116. This, however, in no way alters the tragic fate of the people of South West Africa. They are still being deprived of the most elementary human rights. Their natural resources are being exhausted at an accelerated rate and exploited for the enrichment of others. The danger to the integrity of the territory has been increasing. Many speakers who preceded me gave a very lucid description of the tragic situation in South West Africa. However, this drastic picture is only a minute reflection of the ominous dangers that have been accumulating in the southern part of Africa as a whole. They not only loom largely over African inhabitants in South West Africa, but are manifested also through the colonial wars in so-called Portuguese Guinea, Angola, and Mozambique, as well as through the deplorable fate of Africans in Southern Rhodesia and regrettable armed conflicts in Aden and elsewhere.

117. Actually, the policies of apartheid are being transformed into a system extending beyond the borders of individual countries in the south of Africa. Apartheid is increasingly taking on the shape of a dangerous beachhead and a stronghold of colonialism and imperialism in that part of the world, constituting a most immediate danger also to the independence and normal development of those African countries that have freed themselves from colonial oppression.

118. It is obvious that the Government of South Africa would not dare stubbornly to defy the world Organization—being one of its Members—and to challenge the condemnation of South Africa's policies, if it did not find support for such policies also among some Members of this Organization which are objectively continuing to render support to the Government of South Africa, with a view to preserving their own strategic, economic and political interests.

119. Hence, it is obvious wherein lies the source of our inability to reach substantive and constructive decisions for a just and peaceful solution of this problem, as proposed in the message of the Secretary-General to the Ad Hoc Committee at its first meeting. The representative of Ethiopia was correct in saying in his impressive statement that the problem of South West Africa represents a test for our Organization. I should like to add that this problem constitutes a test also for all Member States, and of their loyalty towards their Organization. Consequently, the question of South West Africa in its substance and consequences can—unless it is solved—become a challenge to the very efficiency of the United Nations and its capacity progressively to solve contradictions burdening the contemporary world.

120. The Yugoslav delegation is very much concerned because of the resistance to efforts of the United Nations to find an adequate solution for such an explosive situation in South West Africa. It extends full support to all initiatives and measures having as their aim to enable the people of the Territory to achieve their right to independence without any further postponement. This attitude follows from the consistent position of non-alignment and active coexistence pursued by Yugoslavia. As a matter of fact, non-alignment does not mean a pacifistic rallying of countries not committed or aligned with blocs. This principle is conducive to an active engagement of all progressive forces willing to participate in eliminating policies from positions of strength. It stands for active opposition to every form of hegemony and discrimination including the struggle for the eradication of colonialism.

121. It is for all those reasons that the Yugoslav delegation too, has sponsored the draft resolution of the Afro-Asian countries [A/L.516 and Add.1-3].

122. In dealing with the problem of South West Africa, there are two aspects of specific significance. It is necessary first to identify what forces are working against the peaceful solution of this major issue, and secondly to formulate the most effective ways and means definitely to reach the desired target, within the shortest possible time.

123. In the deliberation so far a number of well-documented arguments have been brought out in respect of the first aspect. It is evident that the countries which, in their own practice, are applying the policy of international relations based on equality and respect of the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of others, have no reason not to be consistent in their demands to cope with this dangerous situation. To these countries the notion of international solidarity is neither an empty phrase nor a pretext for imposing their will upon others.

124. We can say without risk of exaggeration that the forces working towards the set goal are not insignificant. The most evident proof of this is the impressive number of fifty-eight countries—Yugoslavia among them—that have sponsored draft resolution A/L.516 and Add.1-3. This very fact has also been demonstrated by the support given to the principles and aims outlined in the draft resolution by an overwhelming number of delegations which have not formally subscribed to it.

125. In such a situation, no one dares directly to oppose the request for a solution without delay. Other methods are being devised instead. Faint-heartedness, so to speak, is the order of the day. Notions aimed at diminishing the importance of the problem have been voiced. Warnings about the allegedly damaging effects of the requested steps on the unity of action of the United Nations, in particular on the very cause of the people whose freedom is at stake, have been issued.

126. We fully appreciate the fact that a sense of reality is essential in the solution of any problem, and especially of political issues. Consequently, the sense of reality and ability to judge what is and what is not realizable under specific circumstances is the essential guarantee of any success. We should, however,

distinguish between a sense of reality when contemplating imminent action demanded by the situation and an inconsistent compromise that would certainly result in retarding progress or contribute to the conservation of injustice and discrimination.

127. Some of the delegations advise taking recourse to consultations in order to avoid confrontations. Now, no one earnestly devoted to the cause of peace can reject negotiations, provided there exist conditions for them. To enter into negotiations, all over again, with someone who for more than twenty years has been defying the United Nations and whom over seventy resolutions have not convinced, not only would mean wasting time but would entail the risk of sharing the responsibility for actions that have been repeatedly denounced by the United Nations as being incompatible with the Charter. Such an attitude essentially would amount to the same thing as accepting the views suggesting the continuation of the illegal situation created after the termination of the Mandate by the United Nations, or those envisaging the establishment of a kind of co-administration of South West Africa by the United Nations and the Pretoria Government.

128. Therefore, in the opinion of the Yugoslav delegation, only a contact requesting the Government of South Africa to implement the known decisions of the General Assembly unconditionally can have sense.

129. Speaking about confrontation, I should like to ask a simple question: Is not what is happening in South West Africa a confrontation—a confrontation that has been imposed upon Africans by the Government of South Africa and a handful of white settlers? All we desire when calling for action is to put an end to the existing dangerous confrontation in South West Africa and, in doing so, to use language understandable also to those who continue to persist in their refusal to discharge their duty.

130. We must not remain with our hands folded in the face of the existing dangerous confrontations in the world. Everything should be done through concerted effort to eliminate such a state of affairs and to uproot the causes provoking and prolonging such a situation. It is high time for our Organization to intervene more effectively in the confrontation imposed upon half a million inhabitants of South West Africa, which is under the direct responsibility of the United Nations. Furthermore, we should enable our Organization to perform its duty in respect of confrontations throughout the world—including the most dangerous one that has been escalating in the form of the devastating war waged by an army one half a million strong, possessing all the means of modern techniques, against the Viet-Nameese people whose only guilt is that they do not want to permit anyone to interfere in their internal affairs. In this they—I mean the people of Viet-Nam—are simply defending the principle of non-interference which is one of the basic principles of the Charter of the United Nations, to which all Member States have subscribed.

131. I should like now to say a few words about draft resolution A/L.516 and Add.1-3. I do not need to elaborate at length on its motives and aims. That has been done with great competence and convincing efficiency by the authors of the draft resolution, espe-

cially the representative of Nigeria [1506th meeting] in his eloquent introduction of the document. I shall therefore limit myself to only three of its aspects that have, to some extent, been the subject of differing interpretations and views during the debate. These are: first, the provision of the draft, in paragraph 1 a of Section II, requesting the maximum possible participation of the people of the Territory already in the stage of preparation for the independence of South West Africa; secondly, the evaluation of all measures preceding the proclamation of independence from the point of view of to what extent they really contribute to the attainment of independence by the territory within the shortest possible period of time and to the establishment, by democratic means, of a responsible government [sect. II, para. 1 c]; and thirdly, the request to the specialized agencies of the United Nations to render technical and financial assistance to South West Africa through a co-ordinated emergency programme to meet the exigencies of the situation [sect. III, para. 2].

132. The first aspect that I am speaking about reflects the profound experience gained and the ingenuity displayed by the people in their struggle for independence and against oppression and foreign interference. That approach represents an essentially opposite position to the views which stress the so-called immaturity of the people of the territories still under colonial rule. Actually, the action directed against imposed rule and the violation of human rights will be all the more successful the more it relies upon the strength and initiative of the very people whose liberation and independence is at stake. Assistance given and the exchange of experience in the spirit of international solidarity can be truly successful only if co-ordinated with the people and adapted to its traditions, needs and aspirations. That is the way to set free all the inherent forces of the people. By such an approach the authors of the draft resolution have expressed their profound faith in the creative abilities of the people. In this lies the humanism of the document as well as a guarantee for the effective establishment and ensuring of law and order in the country.

133. The second aspect is closely associated with the first one. It answers the question why the people's energies should be set in motion. For the simple reason that it should play its own role in achieving its freedom and creating conditions for its unhampered economic and political development. That is why all activities outlined in the draft resolution have as their aim to accelerate independence. All that is contemplated is directed towards that end. Otherwise, the whole action would be devoid of sense and purpose, namely, nothing essential would change concerning the basic interest of the people of South West Africa if the United Nations were to reduce its action merely to taking over the administration from South Africa.

134. True, the people of the territory would no longer suffer from suppression of their basic rights. None the less, they would not be free. Again, someone else would be administering them. Moreover, even the United Nations administration could be exploited by somebody for egoistic purposes. The recent sad experience of the Congolese people is merely one of the many grave warnings of how United Nations action

can be transformed and used against the interests of those meant to be assisted. For that reason the demand formulated in the draft resolution that the Mandate of the United Nations should not last long is justified. Actually, in the view of my delegation, that period can be justified only as a transitory stage required for evolving a series of measures indispensable to the liquidation of the illegal administration of South Africa as well as to the creation of preconditions and a climate that would facilitate the liberation of the territory and to the rendering of assistance to the people so that they might themselves—united in an independent country and in a democratic manner—elect their parliament and install their own responsible government.

135. Doubtless, the Organization of African Unity, in co-operation with the United Nations, which is directly responsible for South West Africa, can also play a significant role in the realization of this delicate and important undertaking. The experience of African States and that of their Organization—although young—acquired in the struggle against colonialism, in securing independence for the peoples of Africa and in promoting co-operation in Africa and beyond that continent can, to a considerable measure, assist our Organization in accomplishing the task which the United Nations has in respect of South West Africa.

136. The third aspect I wish to point out relates to the specific role which our Organization and every Member State is to play in implementing resolution 2145 (XXI) of 27 October 1966 and the measures we are going to adopt at this session. We are happy to have in the United Nations and its specialized agencies an organized mechanism with accumulated knowledge which can be transmitted to others and shared by everybody in the spirit of international co-operation. It is correct to have the draft resolution demand that this wealth of know-how provide adequate assistance also to the future independent South West Africa so that it can stand on its own feet.

137. Those were some of the general observations that the Yugoslav delegation wished to add to the efforts in the search for a solution that would enable the people of South West Africa to pave the way to their joining the family of independent nations, a solution that would, at the same time, inject into this Organization the necessary vitality and efficiency.

138. It would be an illusion to believe that our task was an easy one and that the responsibility of the United Nations could be discharged without difficulties and overnight. However, the Organization has all the necessary authority and possesses the required instruments to act. In this undertaking, moreover, it will enjoy the support of all freedom-loving and progressive people. The Yugoslav delegation is prepared and willing to continue to exert additional efforts with a view to co-operating in every initiative which contributes towards the accomplishment of the goal that has been set.

139. Mr. OUSSEINI (Niger) (translated from French): Allow me, Mr. President, on behalf of my delegation to associate myself with the other speakers who have preceded me in conveying to you my warmest congratulations on your re-election as President of the General Assembly. Your re-election is proof of the confidence you have enjoyed in this Assembly since

the twenty-first session. My delegation is convinced that under your enlightened guidance the special session which has been convened to reconsider this grave problem will find appropriate solutions.

140. The question of South West Africa has become the touchstone of the principle of international duty and responsibility, and it is at the same time, putting that principle to a severe test. For more than twenty years the United Nations has been trying by negotiation, persuasion and exhortation to achieve a peaceful settlement of this grave problem. It has constantly made earnest, pressing and imperative appeals to the Government of South Africa to abandon its racist policy in the Territory and to co-operate with it in creating the necessary conditions to enable the people of South West Africa to exercise in peace and harmony its rights—as proclaimed in the Charter—to self-determination, freedom and independence. The International Court of Justice, has stated on a number of occasions that for South Africa the obligations deriving from the Mandate have not lapsed, that the United Nations may exercise supervisory power in this respect and that South Africa has no power unilaterally to modify the international status of the Territory.

141. The reaction of the Government of South Africa to those expressions of international concern is so well known that it need not be recounted in detail. Suffice it to say that, by persistently ignoring the resolutions adopted by the United Nations on this question and refusing to accept the advisory opinions of the Court, the South African Government has not only displayed its contempt for the international community but, even worse, it has doomed to failure any attempt to achieve a peaceful settlement of the problem by refusing to participate in systematic arrangements designed to lead the Territory towards independence. Is it surprising, in these circumstances, that world opinion was practically unanimous in calling for immediate intervention by the international community to prevent a deeper erosion of all human values and the degradation of a people totally reduced to a state of bondage? Was it not to be expected that Member States would become increasingly convinced that the solution of the problem could no longer depend on the willingness of the Government of South Africa to implement the resolutions of the General Assembly?

142. This is the context in which, after a historic debate, the General Assembly on 27 October 1966 adopted resolution 2145 (XXI). In this resolution, after reaffirming the inalienable right of the people of South West Africa to self-determination, freedom and independence, the General Assembly decided, first, that the Mandate exercised by the Government of South Africa was terminated; secondly, that South Africa had no right to administer the Territory; thirdly, that henceforth South West Africa would come under the direct responsibility of the United Nations; and finally, that the United Nations must discharge that responsibility. These are important decisions—adopted belatedly, it is true, but more than amply justified by the various elements of the situation and by the deplorable behaviour of the Government of South Africa. These decisions would lose all their meaning—quite apart from the fact that the authority and effectiveness of the United Nations would be

seriously compromised—if it were thought that they were in any way revocable or in any degree open to negotiation.

143. However that may be, the fact that the General Assembly has met in special session to examine the implications of those decisions is an indication not only of the urgency of the problems at issue, but also of their difficulty and complexity. The implications which I have in mind are, to quote the words of paragraph 6 of General Assembly resolution 2145 (XXI), the "practical means by which South West Africa should be administered so as to enable the people of the Territory to exercise the right of self-determination and to achieve independence".

144. In this connexion I should like to congratulate the Ad Hoc Committee on its conscientious work, of which evidence is given in the report submitted to the General Assembly [A/6640]. There were no doubt serious and even fundamental differences of opinion among the various groups of delegations represented in the Committee. But, by deciding not to conceal these differences behind a façade of agreement, the Committee did a service to the Assembly. It is also true that none of the proposals submitted during the Committee's debates received general support. But by minutely examining the various aspects of the problem, the Ad Hoc Committee very aptly defined the issues at stake, and this should facilitate the present debate in the Assembly.

145. The fact that the Ad Hoc Committee, furthermore, was unsuccessful in reaching agreement on a body of detailed recommendations would seem to support the argument of those who at the General Assembly's twenty-first session, rather than calling for additional studies by a committee, advocated direct and immediate action by the United Nations to discharge its responsibilities with respect to South West Africa. It is true nevertheless that the spirit of co-operation which prevailed during the Committee's debates and the keen awareness of the importance of the task to be accomplished led to results which, though not decisive, are none the less constructive.

146. And what are these results? The Ad Hoc Committee was unanimous in recognizing that an organ should be established to enable the United Nations to discharge its responsibilities, and that a single individual should be entrusted with the task of helping that organ to perform its mission. Furthermore, the members of the Committee agreed in general that the United Nations should discharge its responsibilities by helping the people of South West Africa to achieve independence at the earliest possible date. Thirdly, all members of the Committee were in favour of maintaining the integrity and unity of the Territory. Finally, there was a consensus in favour of the early implementation by the United Nations and related organizations of a programme of technical, economic and other assistance designed to meet the particular needs of the Territory.

147. These results, as I have just said, are constructive; but we cannot view them in their proper perspective unless we mention the differences of opinion which arose on a number of fundamental

questions. I should like, first of all to refer to the question of establishing a United Nations machinery for the administration of South West Africa.

148. Under the terms of the proposal submitted by the delegations of Canada, the United States and Italy [A/6640, para. 84], the General Assembly would appoint a United Nations Council for South West Africa which would have no administrative functions. This Council would limit itself to co-operating with a Special Representative appointed by the General Assembly, who would make a survey of the situation, establish contacts, and engage in consultations aimed at establishing a "nucleus of self-government" and determining "the necessary conditions that will enable South West Africa to achieve self-determination and independence". The principal defect of this proposal is obviously that it fails to take into account the wish of the United Nations, as expressed in paragraph 5 of the General Assembly resolution, to discharge its responsibilities with respect to the administration of South West Africa. Contrary to the terms of this resolution, the proposal provides that the Territory would continue to be administered by the Government of South Africa. There is also mention of negotiations with that Government, an idea which, in view of the history of the last twenty years, can hardly be regarded as very promising. The result rather would be a long, drawn-out study of the problem, which might enable the South African Government to consolidate its position in the Territory still further.

149. Under the terms of the proposal submitted jointly by the delegations of Chile, Mexico and Japan [*ibid.*, para. 93], a Council, established by the General Assembly and assisted by a United Nations Commissioner, would immediately enter into contact with the Government of South Africa in order to lay down procedures for the transfer of the Territory. It would not begin to carry out its administrative functions until it had had access to the Territory. The Council would determine subsequently, through consultation with the people's representatives, the instrument and modalities of an independent administration and Government.

150. Tribute should be paid to the manner in which these delegations approached the problem, for they quite correctly recognized in their proposals that a United Nations administrative machinery will have to be installed in the Territory if the United Nations is to discharge the responsibility it has assumed. Nevertheless, the installation would take place only after contacts had been entered into with the Government of South Africa. Even if it were possible to forget the experience of the last twenty years which I just mentioned, it must not be forgotten that, at the very moment when the General Assembly adopted resolution 2145 (XXI), the South African Government had in fact rejected all the principles set forth therein. Is it not clear that the optimism displayed in this proposal is belied by the measures taken by the South African Government immediately after the adoption of that resolution with a view to intensifying its "Bantustan" policy in South West Africa, thereby defying the authority which the United Nations exercises over the Territory?

151. Still referring to the question of United Nations machinery for administering South West Africa, I should like to say a few words now concerning the



suggestions submitted to the Ad Hoc Committee by the delegations of the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia. These suggestions provide for the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of the South African administration from the Territory. Once that had been achieved, the independence of the Territory would be proclaimed and the necessary political and administrative organs would be established. To achieve those objectives, the United Nations would request assistance and co-operation from the Organization of African Unit.

152. These suggestions, coming as they do from delegations whose Governments have always been among the most ardent champions of the struggle waged by the colonial peoples, deserve careful consideration. The special emphasis which they place on the need for the withdrawal of the South African administration and for the immediate granting of independence is altogether in keeping with the principles long defended by the African countries. Further, their desire to give the Organization of African Unity an active part in this process as an interim administering authority bears witness to the confidence these delegations place in that organization.

153. However, this proposal should be examined in the light of the present situation. Is there not a danger that the United Nations may give the impression of trying to evade a task for which it has previously decided to accept direct responsibility? And might not this impression encourage South Africa and its friends to frustrate the very objectives of General Assembly resolution 2145 (XXI)? However much we want to see the Organization of African Unity develop and play its proper role in the context of Chapter VIII of the Charter, is it really able at the present time to carry out on behalf of the United Nations, all the tasks envisaged? Is it able to do this in the face of the colonialist forces which are opposing it in the other camp?

154. I should now like to say a few words about the modalities of setting up the United States administration in the Territory. The proposal submitted by Canada, the United States and Italy gives no indication of what the United Nations should do if, as is to be expected, the Government of South Africa refuses to co-operate and does not withdraw from the Territory. Since the three-Power draft does not provide for this possibility or mention any measures to deal with it, it does not, in my opinion, comply with the requirements of paragraph 6 of General Assembly resolution 2145 (XXI).

155. The proposal submitted by Chile, Mexico and Japan also says nothing about the means to be used for installing a United Nations administration in the

Territory if South Africa refuses to co-operate. The text seems to imply that the means to be used would be negotiation, but no indication is given as to what could be done to ensure implementation if negotiations failed.

156. The suggestions formulated by the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia refer in a general fashion to the measures required under the United Nations Charter. We hope that the necessary clarifications will be provided so that consultations may be held with a view to reconciling the various points of view on this aspect of the question.

157. In conclusion, I should like to say a few words about the proposal submitted by the four African countries, members of the Ad Hoc Committee and Pakistan [A/6640, paras. 45 and 82]. That draft is, in my opinion, correctly based on the logical idea that the decision by the United Nations to assume direct responsibility for the Territory means that a United Nations administration must be installed in the Territory itself. Secondly, it is based on the idea that the establishment of this administration must be designed to enable the people of the Territory to exercise their right to self-determination by elections and by the establishment of representative institutions, and to achieve independence without delay. Thirdly, the sponsors of the draft, recalling that under the Declaration "inadequacy of political economic, social and educational preparedness should never serve as a pretext for delaying independence" [General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV), para. 3], have proposed June 1968 as the date when South West Africa should achieve independence. Finally, anticipating probable defiance by South Africa, the sponsors call upon the General Assembly to declare that the Government concerned would be committing an act of aggression if it obstructed the application of the measures envisaged. Furthermore, the Security Council would be asked to take the required measures—if necessary, those provided for in Chapter VII of the Charter—to enable the United Nations administration to discharge the responsibilities entrusted to it by the General Assembly.

158. My delegation agrees with the basic elements of the draft submitted by the four African countries and Pakistan, and it urges the Assembly to face the crucial problem of South West Africa fairly and squarely and to affirm its authority by taking effective measures to discharge its direct responsibility to lead the people of South West Africa forward to freedom and independence.

*The meeting rose at 1.15 p.m.*







CONTENTS

	Page
Agenda item 7: <i>Question of South West Africa (continued)</i> . . .	1

**President: Mr. Abdul Rahman PAZHWAQ**  
**(Afghanistan).**

AGENDA ITEM 7

*Question of South West Africa (continued)*

1. Mr. VAKIL (Iran): Mr. President, because of brotherly ties between your country and mine and between you and myself, it gives me double pleasure to offer to you, on behalf of the Iranian delegation, our most sincere and warmest congratulations on your re-election as President of the General Assembly. We rejoice in having a statesman of a high calibre to guide us in the discharge of the difficult tasks that lie ahead of this session. Having benefited from your outstanding qualities during the last session, we are now assured that the work of this special session will be conducted with the same fairness and efficiency.

2. At the outset allow me to address a word of appreciation to the members of the Ad Hoc Committee for South West Africa for their laborious efforts which, even though not crowned with success, nevertheless constitute an important contribution. We are all indebted to its Chairman, Mr. Jakobson, for his outstanding leadership in trying to bring together the various conflicting viewpoints. We are disappointed that the Committee was unable to submit unanimous recommendations, but even in having identified the various divergencies among the different groups it has performed useful and necessary functions. It now remains for the Assembly, therefore, to move on to a decisive stage in bringing about a concerted action for building the edifice of a free and united South West Africa.

3. Despite the differences that have emerged with regard to methods of approach, we continue to be united in our resolve to enable the people of South West Africa to exercise its right of self-determination. It was this unity of purpose which gave strength and vigour to the historic resolution 2145 (XXI). In that resolution we declared in virtual unison that "South Africa has failed to fulfil its obligations in respect of the administration of the Mandated Territory". Furthermore, we decided that South Africa had forfeited its right to administer the Territory and that "henceforth South West Africa comes under the direct responsibility of the United Nations". More-

over, we resolved that "in these circumstances the United Nations must discharge these responsibilities with respect to South West Africa".

4. To implement these momentous decisions three different proposals have been made, which are contained in the Ad Hoc Committee's report. I do not intend to tax the patience of the Members by an analysis of those proposals, as this has been done more than once by colleagues speaking before me. What I do wish to examine, however, are what I regard as the three most important elements which have appeared to be blocking concerted action.

5. First, it has been suggested that the United Nations should continue to seek peaceful means to resolve this important problem; secondly, that it should seek a peaceful solution through diplomatic dialogue with South Africa; thirdly, we are asked not to rush for a speedy implementation but to allow diplomatic dialogue to run its natural course.

6. Those three elements are so closely linked to one another that they are in fact part of one basic pattern of thought or approach. Their purport is to assign a higher priority to avoiding confrontation with South Africa than to implementing our own resolution, namely, resolution 2145 (XXI). That indeed is a strange logic. On the one hand, we stress the importance of observance of the rule of law and basic principles of conduct as being indispensable for an enduring peace and harmony among nations, and on the other, when it comes to dealing with a violation of the law, we waver despite our resolve and despite our strength. Freedom, justice and democracy cannot be ensured by mere preaching of law and order. We must also stand ready to act to uphold those principles against any violations.

7. Going back to the suggestion that we should seek peaceful means for the solution of the present problem in South West Africa, I must reiterate what has been said before me, that neither the Afro-Pakistan proposal [A/6640, paras. 45 and 82] nor its offspring, the present Afro-Asian draft resolution [A/L.516 and Add.1-3], necessarily and principally envisages a coercive implementation of resolution 2145 (XXI). In fact, the Afro-Asian draft is based on the most unlikely assumption that South Africa will co-operate with the United Nations. In recommending the establishment of a United Nations council for South West Africa, it does not envisage that an expeditionary force should be sent there first to pave the way before the council can proceed to the Territory. Nor does it propose that such a force should accompany the United Nations council. Therefore it remains for the proposed council to establish contact with the appropriate South African authorities with a view to

obtaining their co-operation for the implementation of the council's mandate. The council could, in fact, undertake negotiations to thrash out the modalities of transfer of power to it in South West Africa. Should the council deem it necessary, it could also resort to other peaceful means such as having recourse to the good offices of a third party or parties to facilitate its negotiations with South Africa.

8. Under these circumstances, it would be up to the South African authorities to honour their obligations under the Charter by co-operating in the implementation of General Assembly resolutions on South West Africa. Yet it is not only possible but most probable that South Africa, acting on the basis of its habitual defiance of the world Organization, might obstruct the work of, rather than co-operate with, the council. Only in such a contingency does the Afro-Asian draft envisage the need for assistance from the Security Council to help in ensuring South Africa's compliance. Moreover, the authors deliberately refrained from spelling out in that draft resolution the specific measures which a large majority of Members would desire the Security Council to take under Chapter VII of the Charter. Accordingly it is even conceivable that the Security Council might not deem it necessary to resort to force.

9. We fully recognize that the efficacy of the United Nations decisions in the final analysis depends upon the willingness of the great Powers to act. Decisions made without their backing would amount to nothing more than pious expressions of hope. By the same token, any decisions of the great Powers lacking the support of a large majority of the Members of the General Assembly would at best be regarded as arbitrary. In resolution 2145 (XXI) we achieved unity. This unity, which is the source of our strength, we must maintain by all means. We have reached a too important juncture in this case to pull back without damaging the fabric of the United Nations.

10. Given the spirit that pervaded the twenty-first session of the General Assembly and the statesman-like co-operation of all concerned, we can and must reach agreement on the next steps. Here, the great Powers bear a special responsibility. It is our earnest hope that they will make a special effort in meeting the views of the Afro-Asian group. By doing so, they will assist the people of South West Africa to regain their freedom and independence. They will also help uphold the principles of justice and democracy but, above all, they will strengthen the pillars of the United Nations to safeguard the basic principles of conduct enshrined in its Charter.

11. Mr. KLETSKOV (Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic) (translated from Russian): Mr. President, allow me to associate myself with the congratulations extended to you on your election as President of this special session of the General Assembly and to express the hope that your activities in this high office will contribute to a successful solution of the questions on our agenda, in the interests of peace, freedom and independence.

12. The question of South West Africa, which is before this special session of the General Assembly,

is of the deepest concern to progressive and public-spirited men everywhere in the world. And no wonder. It is high time to put an end to the imperialist policy of racial and national oppression of the people of South West Africa, a policy which is a glaring violation of the fundamental principles of the United Nations and of all humanitarian principles and which has been repeatedly condemned in the United Nations and in other international forums.

13. At its twenty-first session, the General Assembly adopted an important resolution on the question of South West Africa, which has been annexed by the South African racists. By that resolution (2145 (XXI)) it terminated the Mandate which the South African racists have used as an excuse for instituting a régime of ruthless colonial oppression in South West Africa. In line with Lenin's policy of supporting the struggle of oppressed peoples for liberation and independence, the delegation of the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic voted in favour of resolution 2145 (XXI).

14. Soviet people actively support the struggle of oppressed peoples to free themselves from colonial slavery. Our position and our sympathy with the peoples fighting for their freedom and independence are a reflection of our views and convictions. The Soviet State, whose fiftieth anniversary is being celebrated this year, by its very nature cannot but adhere to the principle of equal rights for nations great and small and to the policy of supporting national liberation movements.

15. Throughout the history of the United Nations, the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic has, together with the other socialist countries, consistently defended the interests of the peoples of countries and territories which were or which still are being subjected to cruel exploitation on the part of imperialist States. There is no need to cite many examples in proof of this statement. Suffice it to mention the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, whose historic significance can hardly be over-estimated. That significance lies in the fact that the Declaration has exercised a positive influence in intensifying the struggle of peoples against colonial oppression and the corresponding activities of the United Nations.

16. It should not be forgotten, however, that there are still a good many spots in the world where the imperialists are trying to maintain their shameful system by force of arms. The most sinister manifestation of this imperialist policy is the aggression of United States imperialism against Viet-Nam. But the aggressors will never conquer the freedom-loving Viet-Nameese people, for its righteous cause is supported by the socialist countries and by progressive elements everywhere.

17. The struggle for the independence of South West Africa is one more manifestation of the intense struggle which has been going on in the African continent between the forces of national and social liberation and the forces of imperialism. In this contest, the African peoples have won major victories. Owing to their efforts, and the active support of the socialist countries and all other peace-loving States, a continent which had been subjected to colonial and

semi-colonial oppression in its most ruthless form has witnessed the birth of many sovereign States and their active participation in international affairs. The African countries are undergoing major social and economic changes, which are to bring about their national renaissance.

18. It must also be borne in mind, however, that it is in Africa that colonialism still survives in a number of territories. It is in Africa that territories with a population of 15 million are still subject to direct colonial rule. Furthermore, over 20 million Africans are being oppressed by racist régimes.

19. Nothing but the policy of the imperialist circles of giving every possible support to colonialists and racists stands in the way of the complete liberation of African peoples, including the people of South West Africa. It is only because they are aided and abetted by the reactionary forces of international imperialism that the South African racists are able with impunity to pursue their policy of naked oppression in South West Africa.

20. The decision taken by the General Assembly at its twenty-first session to withdraw from the racist régime of the Republic of South Africa the Mandate for South West Africa means that the presence of the South African authorities in the Territory is illegal. It would have been logical to expect that with the termination of the Mandate South West Africa would be proclaimed an independent, sovereign State and that the South African racists would leave at once. But, as we all know, none of this occurred. Although half a year has elapsed since the adoption of resolution 2145 (XXI), the situation in South West Africa has not improved.

21. The Government of the Republic of South Africa openly flouts the resolution of the General Assembly's twenty-first session. Statements made by the Prime Minister of South Africa and members of his cabinet bear witness to this. Highly characteristic, for example, is a pronouncement by Mr. Schoeman, Minister for Transport of the Republic of South Africa. As reported by the UPI agency, that racist declared late last year with reference to the General Assembly resolution that the Republic of South Africa would "with all its strength" oppose all attempts to take away from it the Mandate for South West Africa. He outlined his Government's position as follows: "We consider South West Africa to be part of South Africa and, as far as we are concerned, so it will remain."

22. Obviously such declarations, which defy world public opinion, could not have been made without the many-sided support of the major imperialist Powers which are intent on making the Republic of South Africa their bastion in the fight against the national liberation movements in Africa. A sinister part in this scheme is played by the great Western monopolies.

23. In this connexion, I should like to remind representatives of a passage from a document entitled "Implications of the activities of the mining industry and of the other international companies having interests in South West Africa", which was issued by the United Nations back in 1965. The passage reads:

"The course of action which involved the annexation of South West Africa, the unconcealed pillage of

its natural wealth, and the implementation of the criminal practice of apartheid in the Territory was not merely the home-grown product of a few white colonizers from the Republic of South Africa itself, but the creation of imperialist monopolies and a group of Western Powers."<sup>1/</sup>

24. The investments of United Kingdom, United States, West German and other monopolies flow into the Republic of South Africa and South West Africa in a steady stream. According to The New York Times, as of 18 January 1967 foreign capital investments in the Republic of South Africa amounted to \$4,800 million. Of that sum, over \$3,000 million came from the United Kingdom and \$600 million from the United States of America.

25. Disregarding the repeated appeals of the United Nations that they should sever their trade relations with South West Africa, the Western Powers continue to expand them. The major Western powers—the United Kingdom, the United States of America, the Federal Republic of Germany and Japan—account for 64 per cent of the Republic of South Africa's imports and 55 per cent of its exports. According to The New York Times, the United States supplies to the Republic of South Africa construction, highway and transport equipment, electric machinery and equipment, machine tools and other goods. Subsidiaries of the United States car-manufacturing companies Ford, General Motors and Chrysler turn out nearly 60 per cent of the entire output of the automobile industry in the Republic of South Africa.

26. Collaboration between the South African racists and the ruling circles in the Federal Republic of Germany is being intensified. The Republic of South Africa already leads all African countries in West German capital investment, which amounts to 500 million marks. None other than the present Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Federal Republic of Germany, Mr. Paul Lücke, said on returning from a visit to the Republic of South Africa in late March, 1967, in vaunting the "charms" of the local situation, that he had been amazed at "the dynamic life in this country, very like the European", and added that an "economic miracle" was taking place there—a miracle, naturally, where the foreign monopolies are concerned.

27. In his turn, Prime Minister Vorster of the Republic of South Africa, in an interview published in the newspaper Industry Courier in March of this year, expressed satisfaction at the close relations that had developed between Bonn and Pretoria. "There is no reason why we should not develop these very cordial relations still further in the future," he said.

28. The many-sided political, economic and military aid they receive from the imperialist Powers enables the South African racists to feel free to flout General Assembly resolutions.

29. At one time, the United Nations vigorously condemned the notorious "Odendaal plan" which called for resettlement of the indigenous population in "ethnic areas", created in the image of Hitler's concentration camps. But that action did not deter the

<sup>1/</sup> Official Records of the General Assembly, Nineteenth Session, Annexes, annex No. 15, document A/5840, annex, paragraph 490.

racists from rash adventuring. Indeed, they even committed sacrilege. On 21 March—International Day for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination—the Government of the Republic of South Africa announced its intention to grant "partial self-government" to Ovamboland, which is a part of South West Africa, by turning it into the latest "Bantustan".

30. It is common knowledge what these Bantustans are. They are a caricature of self-government, where the power remains in the hands of the white racists, but is exercised through puppets chosen from among the African population.

31. The delegation of the Byelorussian SSR fully shares the sentiments of the African States, whose representatives in the Ad Hoc Committee for South West Africa and here, at the current session of the General Assembly, have stressed that this latest racist plan is "a feature of the universally condemned system of apartheid". The racist régime has transformed both South Africa and South West Africa into one vast military and police camp.

32. The Byelorussian delegation believes that the policy of the South African Government and its patrons, the imperialist Powers, is the main obstacle in the way of an early solution to the problem of South West Africa. The Western Powers refuse to withdraw their support from the South African racists, who underwrite the investments and profits of their monopolies and defend their interests in southern Africa. That is why Members of the United Nations must exert themselves to enable the people of South West Africa to exercise without delay its right to self-determination and independence, in accordance with the provisions of the United Nations Charter and the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

33. This idea has already been voiced by a number of representatives, whose views and convictions we share. My delegation supports the comments made on this question by the delegations of the USSR and Czechoslovakia, both in the Committee of Fourteen and at this special session of the General Assembly.

34. In order that the people of South West Africa may exercise its right to self-determination and independence it is essential for the South African racists to leave South West Africa forthwith, all South African armed forces and police to be withdrawn, and South Africa's administrative machinery in South West Africa to be immediately dismantled. The fifth special session of the General Assembly must resolutely condemn the political, military and economic support given to the South African authorities by the United States of America, the United Kingdom and other Western Powers. We must demand that these countries should comply with the resolutions of the United Nations on South West Africa and should cease their military, economic and political aid to the South African racist régime.

35. In this connexion, I should also like to draw attention to the attitude of certain specialized agencies towards the resolutions of various United Nations organs. Other representatives before me have made it clear that the activities of a few specialized agencies, which in fact are lending support to the South

African racists, are entirely inadmissible. Mention was made, in particular, of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, which has been granting loans to the Republic of South Africa. In addition, I should like to refer to the unlawful activities of the International Telecommunication Union, which has been shutting its eyes to the fact that the Government of the Republic of South Africa, unilaterally and in violation of United Nations resolutions, has extended the application of the 1965 International Telecommunication Convention to the Territory of South West Africa.

36. The proclamation and assurance of the independence of South West Africa will truly guarantee to the people of that country an opportunity to determine its own fate without any interference from imperialists and colonialists.

37. The United Nations, with the co-operation of the Organization of African Unity, could take the appropriate measures for the preparation and conduct of universal and democratic elections in South West Africa, which should result in the transfer of power to the population and the attainment of genuine independence by that population. The right to participate in those elections should be granted to all political leaders who have been defending the interests of the indigenous population of South West Africa. To that end, all political prisoners must be released and all political exiles must be allowed to return to their native land. The political parties and organizations which represent the country's indigenous population must be given full freedom of action.

38. The African States, acting, in particular, through the Organization of African Unity, could also lend assistance to the people of South West Africa in setting up an independent sovereign State.

39. Let us not forget that the independent countries of Africa have amassed great practical experience in fighting colonialism and its after-effects and in promoting social and political progress. The people of South West Africa could make use of that experience in creating and strengthening its national State. At the same time, the people of South West Africa must be guaranteed its inalienable sovereignty over the natural resources in which the Territory abounds and of which the international monopolies are now the absolute masters.

40. The Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, for its part, is prepared to support the implementation of appropriate measures to lend assistance to the people of South West Africa in building its own independent State. At the same time, I must say frankly that great caution should be exercised in the face of any proposals to set up special machinery to administer the Territory of South West Africa. Our apprehensions are based on well-known facts relating to lamentable past aspects of the struggle of peoples against colonial oppression—such as, for example, the manner in which use was made of the United Nations Administration and troops in the Congo, and in whose interests it was done.

41. The delegation of the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic is firmly convinced that the people of South

West Africa, with the help of the African countries and other peace-loving States, is fully able to create its own independent sovereign State. Our duty is to lend assistance to that people, so that it may, at long last, throw off the yoke of its South African oppressors and achieve freedom and independence.

42. Mr. ROUAMBA (Upper Volta) (translated from French): Mr. President, the delegation of Upper Volta would like to join with the delegations which have preceded it in expressing its sincere and warm congratulations to you on your election. We are sure that under your guidance the fifth special session of the General Assembly will succeed in finding realistic solutions to the questions on its agenda, namely those of South West Africa and of peace-keeping operations.

*Mr. Csatorday (Hungary), Vice-President, took the Chair.*

43. We attach very special importance to the problem of South West Africa since, in so far as it concerns the Afro-Asian delegations in general and the African delegations in particular, it is a problem which we believe will to a very large extent determine relations between the great Powers and the Third World.

44. My delegation's reaction to the attitude adopted by certain great Powers in respect of a problem which is of their own making was one of surprise and complete disappointment. There is no need to remind anyone here that it was the great Powers of the past and the present which entrusted the great task of emancipating the inhabitants of South West Africa to Great Britain and hence by proxy to South Africa. But what has become of the principles which the States members of the British Empire voiced with such heartfelt sincerity at the time of the Versailles Treaty to justify the assumption of control by the Union of South Africa over the Territory of South West Africa after it had been torn from the clutches of Nazi Germany? What has become of those Powers which believed that the attitude of the Nazis towards the Africans was shameful? Are we to understand that separate development, as advocated by the Germans, was considered intolerable solely because it was not endorsed by the major Powers?

45. My delegation is very surprised to learn that the Western Powers do not consider that the time is yet ripe for South West Africa to be freed from the yoke which they themselves have to all intents and purposes laid upon it. We are still more amazed to see the Western Powers once again proclaiming that calm and negotiation are the two best means of attaining a solution which, in their view, would be in conformity with the Charter of the United Nations.

46. Are forty-seven long years of slavery, suffering and total disregard for the most elementary rights and freedoms inherent in the person and the dignity of man not enough? Must we wait until southern Africa has become the scene of massacres deplorable in every way before our Organization will take more energetic action?

47. We are surprised to note that the great Powers do not consider the time has yet come to bring justice to the Africans in the south-west of the continent, and above all that they do not feel that the Afro-Asian

countries in general and the African countries in particular have so far shown a great deal of patience. In dealing with problems which concern small- and medium-sized nations, the great Powers ask us to be patient and realistic and to accept half measures and negotiations, whereas in all matters which come directly or indirectly within the purview of what they refer to as their "vital interests", they have no hesitation in taking up arms in their search for perfectionist solutions, mistaking their ideals for reality and hoping to create a real world out of a virtual image.

48. My delegation was disappointed to read the proposal put forward by the delegations of Italy, Canada and the United States (A/6640, para. 84). We are surprised that those Powers have felt it necessary to take a step backward despite the favourable vote during the last session of the General Assembly on resolution 2145 (XXI) which had borne witness to their sincere desire to find a solution to the problem. They suggest in effect that a United Nations Council for South West Africa should be set up in order to carry out a detailed study of the economic, political and social structure of the Territory. In my delegation's opinion such a task should be undertaken only by the future administration of the Territory. The United Nations could at most examine the economic and social situation in the Territory with a view to determining the financial and personnel needs of the provisional administration of South West Africa.

49. We do not wish to shed doubt upon the good faith of those who have proposed the study and are postponing South West Africa's accession to independence until an indeterminate date, but we do believe that the adoption of such a proposal will be a denial of justice to our brothers in South West Africa.

50. My delegation is well aware of the efforts made by the socialist countries and fully understands their concern. We believe, however, that this should not present any major obstacle and that, as in the past, the sponsors of draft resolution A/L.516 and Add.1-3 will have the support of the socialist delegations in helping the United Nations to discharge its responsibility towards our brother people in South West Africa.

51. We also appreciate the efforts made by the Latin American group, though we very much fear that the compromise solution proposed by these countries may reduce draft resolution A/L.516 and Add.1-3 to a resolution similar, at the very least, to resolution 2145 (XXI) which merely presented the problem without offering any solution. We hope that all these countries will understand our chief concerns, the more so as we all have the same colonial past and share the same hopes for the future.

52. The delegation of Upper Volta appeals to all the Afro-Asian delegations and to other friendly delegations to be firm and resolute, to unite in defence of the noble principles of freedom and the search for well-being, for brotherhood, for the safeguarding of human dignity and for the inalienable right of peoples to self-determination. Some will say that we are too idealistic for a modern society in which all human feeling seems to have been sacrificed on the altar of economic interests. That may well be so. But let us be idealistic to the end, let us show the developed countries that we are not afflicted with

the disease of ambivalence which seems to go hand in hand with development. Let us make this contribution to the United Nations, lest it fall victim to the recurrent contradictions between what some Member States appear to profess as their beliefs and what they actually do, with the knowledge of the other Member States.

53. These Powers advocate negotiations with the Pretoria régime. But we may well ask what the purpose of such negotiations would be. In view of the fact that the United Nations, in resolution 2145 (XXI), clearly decided to revoke the Mandate which had been entrusted to South Africa and that the representatives of the Pretoria régime have announced their refusal to leave South West Africa, it is illogical and disturbing that further negotiations should be suggested which would only serve to prolong this talking at cross-purposes.

54. Therefore my delegation unreservedly supports the Afro-Asian resolution (A/L.516 and Add.1-3) of which it is one of the sponsors and which, it believes, offers the most realistic solution. Following upon the withdrawal of the Mandate, the United Nations is under an obligation to set up a body to go to South West Africa and take over the provisional administration of the Territory, a body which must, of course, be given all the assistance it needs in order to perform its functions satisfactorily.

55. We should, however, like to stress a few points which we feel to be important. First, the Special Committee for South West Africa should proceed as soon as it is formed to the Territory in order to prepare the courageous people there for independence by the appointed time of June 1968 at the latest. Second, as soon as the Committee arrives in South West Africa, its first task should be to declare a general amnesty for all political prisoners and for all exiles who have been forced to flee their homeland in order to escape the clutches of the fascist régime in Pretoria. Third, we cannot accept the idea which has been put forward here that the administrative structure of the future independent Territory of South West Africa should be based on the present system imposed by the fascist régime in Pretoria on the recommendations of the notorious Odendaal Commission.<sup>2/</sup> Indeed, to agree to use it as a point of departure would amount to condoning a system which the international community has condemned and which is none other than that of apartheid.

56. The delegation of Upper Volta takes this opportunity to reassert its unflinching support for those in South West Africa who are so courageously fighting to set their country free. We are firmly convinced, moreover, that the United Nations will spare no effort in finding a solution to this problem and that soon, in Africa as well as throughout the world, the white, black and yellow races, united under the banner of brotherly love, will be able to join hands in building a better world.

57. Mr. MOUANZA (Congo (Brazzaville)) (translated from French): The delegation of the Congo (Brazzaville) joins with the other delegations in extending its

<sup>2/</sup> See Report of the Commission of Enquiry into South West African Affairs, 1962-63, Pretoria, Government Printer, 1964.

heartiest congratulations to you, Mr. President, on your election to the Presidency of the fifth special session of the General Assembly. In view of the outstanding qualities you displayed during the twenty-first session, it feels sure that under your wise guidance the work of the present session will proceed equally smoothly.

58. On 27 October 1966, all States Members of the United Nations, with the exception of three—France, the United Kingdom and Malawi—adopted resolution 2145 (XXI) thereby enacting a historic event. This important decision enabled the United Nations to recover its prestige and opened up a happier prospect for the indigenous peoples of South West Africa. The full support given to this resolution by the great Powers, especially the United States and the Soviet Union, aroused great hopes in all the oppressed peoples fighting for self-determination.

59. Although the motives which led the General Assembly almost unanimously to adopt this resolution are well known to everyone, they are nevertheless worth repeating. For twenty years the reactionary attitude of South Africa has been characterized by its systematic refusal to co-operate with the United Nations and its flouting of United Nations decisions. This state of affairs, which I would describe as a challenge to the international community, exhausted the patience of the United Nations and compelled it to act by taking over the Mandate which had been entrusted to the Pretoria racists.

60. The decision taken by the twenty-first session of the General Assembly to hold a special session of the Assembly shows the concern with which Member States regard this problem which has remained unsolved for twenty years. The reason for the convening of this session is clearly set forth in paragraph 6 of resolution 2145 (XXI), namely, to discuss "practical means by which South West Africa should be administered, so as to enable the people of the Territory to exercise the right of self-determination and to achieve independence". To that end, a Special Committee consisting of representatives of fourteen States was set up chiefly in order to submit a report to the present session. An examination of this report (A/6640) reveals some differences of opinion regarding the ways and means by which South West Africa can succeed in freeing itself from the clutches of a State which has raised apartheid to the level of a political system. The report contains three proposals. Preceding speakers have commented extensively upon them, but I should like to turn for a moment to the Afro-Asian draft resolution (A/L.516 and Add.1-3) before going on to examine the others.

61. In my delegation's opinion, the Afro-Asian draft is the only one which conveys the whole spirit of resolution 2145 (XXI) in a logical and realistic fashion. From 27 October, the day on which that resolution was adopted, South Africa has ceased to have any legal authority over South West Africa. The Territory must, therefore, be provided with an administration as speedily as possible. This administration—or rather this committee, as we may call it—should be established on the spot for a predetermined period of time and should speedily prepare the necessary



personnel to whom it will hand over its powers. If the committee does not meet with the necessary understanding on the part of the de facto authority, or if it encounters marked opposition—which it is certain to do if we are to go by the most recent statements of the Pretoria Government—the United Nations must continue to discharge its responsibilities. The decision to withdraw the Mandate from South Africa was an irrevocable act. However, the Pretoria racists have no intention of deferring to the general wish. It is for this reason that the Afro-Asian draft resolution makes provision for coercive measures in accordance with Chapter VII of our Charter.

62. The solution put forward by the Afro-Asians, far from being an additional source of tension in a world which is already in the throes of convulsions brought on by the nefarious activities of the imperialists—I need hardly mention them by name—is the only conceivable solution if we do not wish the United Nations to display its impotence before the whole world. Not to take such a course of action would be tantamount to encouraging South Africa in its apartheid policies and in its reactionary attitude which are shamelessly backed by certain of the great Powers whose only aim is to safeguard their sordid interests in that part of southern Africa.

63. Moreover, we need only recall the numerous visits recently paid by South African ministers to certain Western capitals in order to realize that a number of agreements on armaments have been concluded between those countries and South Africa. There is no doubt that, without the economic and financial support of the Western monopolies, South Africa would not persist in its arrogant attitude towards our Organization.

64. My delegation feels it must appeal to the wisdom of States Members of our Organization and ask them to accept objectively the proposals made in the Afro-Asian draft resolution, for every aspect of the question has been thoroughly examined in that document. In that connexion, as our colleague from Algeria so rightly pointed out (1505th meeting), the example of the administration of the Saar by the League of Nations provides us with most useful information.

65. My delegation is pleased to note the close similarity between the views expressed in the Afro-Asian draft and those put forward in the Latin American proposal (A/6640, para. 93), and it should like to pay a tribute in that connexion to the delegations of Chile and Mexico, which represent the Latin American countries. The Latin American proposal is similar to our own in that it advocates the setting up of an administering council with well-defined responsibilities. It departs somewhat from our proposal in that it makes no provision for remedying the situation which will arise if South Africa refuses to co-operate with the United Nations. Provision for such a situation is made in the Afro-Asian draft.

66. In addition, the idea of negotiating with South Africa does not meet with my delegation's approval. While it is true that the administering council must have contacts with the de facto authority in order to effect the transfer of power, my delegation feels that

negotiations would not be in keeping with the fact of the withdrawal of the Mandate entrusted to South Africa.

67. Finally, as regards the so-called Western proposal (ibid., para. 84), it is distressing to see that the United States, Italy and Canada can be so cynical in their attitude as to ignore both the spirit and the letter of paragraph 6 of resolution 2145 (XXI). What are they in fact proposing? They are suggesting a number of measures which quite obviously have nothing to do with the administration of South West Africa. Their proposal makes no reference to the administration of the Territory, still less does it mention a date for independence. In their eyes, of course, the administration should remain in the hands of the de facto authority and the date for independence should be left to the discretion of South Africa, a point of view which we believe was actually expressed here. They also speak of negotiating with South Africa; as friendly ambassadors for that country they doubtless know better than we do at what happy moment South Africa will be willing to relinquish the Territory of South West Africa.

68. We wish those countries would muster their courage and tell us openly what their thinly-veiled intentions are. Let them tell us that their material and political interests no longer allow them to support the resolution which they had gladly adopted. Let them say that at the time when the resolution was adopted they were merely influenced by the state of euphoria engendered by that historic debate. Let them confess that now, afraid of losing all, they want a space of five or ten years in which carefully to prepare the puppet administration which will safeguard the system of apartheid and their profitable business ventures before they can even think of independence or the well-being of the indigenous populations of South West Africa.

69. Let them confess all this and we shall understand and treat them accordingly. Have we not been told that a part of South West Africa is regarded as being worthy of self-government? Only God can know what yardstick has been applied by the imperialists and racists in determining who is worthy of self-government, especially when the country in question is an African one whose strategic position is of some concern to the advocates of white supremacy.

70. In voting for resolution 2145 (XXI), the United States, Italy and Canada, like all the other Member States, decided to withdraw the Mandate from South Africa and thereby agreed that South West Africa would thereafter be under United Nations jurisdiction. Today we find it very hard to understand how these same States can speak about further negotiations with South Africa. In point of fact, if the Western proposal were embodied in a draft resolution, my delegation would not be at all surprised to find that South Africa was one of the sponsors.

71. Under no circumstances must we destroy what we have taken so much patience and trouble to build up. We must be realistic. South Africa has already taken up the challenge and has announced that it will continue to defy our resolutions. That is a threat directed against the Organization which has firmly resolved to defend South West Africa. The eyes of the whole world

are upon us. If we capitulate it will be a catastrophe, especially as matters now stand. The United Nations cannot allow such a situation to continue without running the risk of damaging its prestige and authority.

72. The decision which we reached on 27 October was not designed merely to put an end to South Africa's arrogant attitude towards the Organization; it was also intended to assist the indigenous peoples of South West Africa as speedily as possible. The South West African people have suffered for too long. They have appealed to world public opinion and to the United Nations for help in their struggle against the most abhorrent of racist régimes which stops at nothing in applying its terrorist methods. At this very moment humiliation, misery and torture are rife in the South West Africa reserves. Yes, the indigenous inhabitants are penned in like animals and have been condemned to spend their life in concentration camps.

73. There are some here who claim that our proposals are hardly realistic because the application of coercive measures would lead to a confrontation which might endanger the peace of the world. But to our critics we would ask whether it is also in the name of peace that the Americans, good Samaritans that they are, are scattering bombs and gas over the peaceful population of Viet-Nam? Is it perhaps in the name of that same peace that a white minority of headstrong racists is torturing the courageous people of Zimbabwe? Is it also in the name of that same peace that the British are killing the nationalists in the Persian Gulf?

74. In no circumstances do we wish to see blood flow in Africa, or for that matter anywhere else in the world. What the peoples of Africa and Asia are calling for is the immediate liberation of the Territory of South West Africa. It would be truly inhuman and criminal to postpone its independence.

75. The policy of the Republic of South Africa is in our view a crime against humanity, and as long as no solution is found peace in that part of Africa cannot but be precarious. That is why my delegation calls upon all Member States to whom peace and justice are dear to support the draft resolution submitted by the Afro-Asian countries.

76. Mr. RWAMARO (Uganda): Mr. President, may I first of all associate my delegation with those who have spoken before me in congratulating you upon your unanimous election to the Presidency of the General Assembly at this special session. My delegation is confident that, with your wisdom and guidance which were so superbly demonstrated during the twenty-first session, our deliberations during this special session will be crowned with success.

77. I also wish to pay tribute to the Chairman and the Rapporteur of the Ad Hoc Committee for South West Africa for the report which we have before us [A/6640]. While I recognize and appreciate the great efforts of and the work done by all the members of the Ad Hoc Committee, I cannot help but regret that no agreement was reached in that Committee, and that no practical means have been recommended by it for the administration of South West Africa. Instead, we are faced with a set of proposals from the various

groups of which the Ad Hoc Committee is composed. This raises many questions, among which is whether we are here to consider and take into account the vested interests of the imperialist and racist countries, or the well-being and fate of an enslaved people which has borne the yoke of colonialism for so long.

78. My delegation comes here today with a genuine hope that this special session of the General Assembly on South West Africa will find a quick and meaningful method to implement General Assembly resolution 2145 (XXI) of 27 October 1966. This is what my delegation understands to be the purpose of this special session. It would be futile if, at this special session, we were to involve ourselves in discussing alternative approaches for appeasing the Pretoria régime and its racist allies. Our mandate here is clear.

79. The independence of South West Africa is long overdue. Therefore my delegation expects this special session of the General Assembly to use the prerogative conferred upon it by virtue of General Assembly resolution 2145 (XXI) of 27 October 1966, which revoked South Africa's Mandate over South West Africa. My delegation recalls that the voting for that resolution was 114 in favour and 2 against, with 3 abstentions, thus making this about the most nearly unanimous vote ever achieved by this Assembly on any issue. We expect, therefore, that this session will come up with a decision that will make independence a reality for the people of South West Africa and remove the scourge of fear, hatred and unrest fostered by the policy of apartheid imposed by the fascist régime in South Africa.

80. There are those who argue that we must avoid confrontation and conflict in this issue because they argue that there is already enough of it. However, they forget that the only way to avoid bloodshed in this case is by implementing what was almost unanimously decided by the General Assembly. The people of South West Africa are convinced that independence is not a favour which either this Assembly or the South African régime can give or hold back as they deem fit. On the contrary, the people of South West Africa know that it is their right to be independent and they are ready to fight for it with force if need be. Therefore, if there is fear on the part of certain delegations that, by implementing General Assembly resolution 2145 (XXI), we should provoke a confrontation with a racist minority régime in South Africa, my delegation would like to stress that that would be abdicating our responsibility to the people of South West Africa, Africa and mankind as a whole. It would be a sad day if we were to encourage the peoples of the world to lose hope and confidence in this Organization or accentuate the impression which is already apparent that this Organization is here to serve the interest of a privileged few and not mankind as a whole.

81. The historic United Nations General Assembly's anti-colonialist Declaration of 1960 marked a turning point for the whole world. Here I am referring to General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) of 14 December 1960, which among other things reaffirms the inalienable right of self-determination, freedom and independence in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations. For Africa, it was received with



special satisfaction. It would be a moral as well as a political failure for this Assembly to deny South West Africa the right to reap the fruit of that resolution. Independence is as much a right for the people of South West Africa as it is for any other colonized people.

82. When the International Court of Justice passed its stunning verdict on this matter on 18 July 1966,<sup>3/</sup> it was left to this body to find a political solution to this problem. The people of South West Africa deserve special commendation for their patience in face of brutal and inhuman oppression. We should no longer delay the independence to which they are entitled by right.

83. The way we can avoid the stalemate of frustrations caused by the Pretoria régime is to adopt measures that will produce results, rather than the dilly-dally method which does nothing but play into the hands of the usurpers of Pretoria. The Afro-Asian draft resolution [A/L.516 and Add.1-3] is, in my delegation's view, a practical and effective approach which will help us to reach our goal. Persuasive means have been used for many years with no positive results. In fact the situation in South West Africa during this period has been worsening. Now time is against us, and to ask for restraint and a step-by-step method of study means going backwards. It almost means reversing our decision contained in resolution 2145 (XXI) of 27 October 1966. My delegation would like to express satisfaction and gratitude for the spirit and solidarity and seriousness of purpose shown by the delegations of Chile and Mexico, reflected in their proposals [A/6640, para. 93], which were supported by Japan. It is our earnest hope that during the next few days the differences which so far divide us will be eliminated in the same spirit that has brought us so close.

84. My delegation has always been extremely gratified by the consistent and serious fight which the socialist countries have waged against colonialism in all its forms. In this connexion, my delegation notes with understanding the position taken by the representatives of Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union in the Ad Hoc Committee. Nevertheless my delegation hopes that any differences that may exist between their approach and the Afro-Asian proposals will be ironed out in the course of this session.

85. In the view of my delegation, it is very important that we should be able to draw a clear distinction between the interests of the people of South West Africa and the interests of those countries that have strong and deep-rooted financial and economic interests in southern Africa. Unless we make that clear distinction, we shall be led to lend support to the interests of those countries.

86. I should like to reiterate that the proposals of Canada, Italy and the United States, as presented in the report of the Ad Hoc Committee [*ibid.*, para. 84], appear to my delegation to be far from what we envisage as a solution to the problem of South West Africa. In the view of my delegation, it is very apparent that the views of those countries

represent their own exclusive interests and those of their well-known allies. To my delegation, it is more than a coincidence that, whenever issues concerned with African interests come up in this Organization, it is always the same group of countries which works tirelessly to undermine those interests. Their interests are motivated by racist and imperialist considerations. Africa has been watching this trend of behaviour, and its patience is wearing thin. The African people will soon take it upon themselves to find practical means to redress the balance. This does not mean that Africa has lost confidence in this Organization; rather it means that we must show that this Organization keeps and upholds the principles and hopes upon which it is based.

87. The representative of the United Kingdom in his statement last week said, in connexion with the Western proposals: "those proposals represent a practical and sensible course on which we greatly hope that we can all agree." [1504th meeting, para. 157.] It appears to my delegation that the so-called practical and sensible course is a disguised attempt to make us ineffective and to accept and live with the status quo. Without going into detail, I would submit that it is the countries which are major trading partners of South Africa and which control southern African finances that want to perpetuate the status quo at the expense of the people of that region. The work of the session would be made so much easier if delegations put the interest of the people of South West Africa first and foremost, rather than the financial losses and gains that may be involved in the solution of this problem. Such countries not only have economic monopolies in this region but also claim to have the monopoly of wisdom to decide what is practical and reasonable. Ironically enough, this always coincides with their financial interests. On behalf of my delegation, I would appeal to those Powers to lend their support to our proposals, which are devoid of any ulterior motives and whose only object is to give the people of South West Africa the independence to which they are entitled by right. In supporting these proposals, we shall fulfil our obligations to the people of South West Africa and the Charter of the United Nations to which we all subscribe.

88. Mr. BA (Mali) (translated from French): Mr. President, it is a real pleasure for my delegation to be able to congratulate you on your election as President of the fifth special session of the General Assembly. There are some who wish to put artificial difficulties in the way of this session, but I have no doubt that with your customary mastery of international problems and your widely-recognized objectivity, you will certainly see to it that this session is a worthy successor to the preceding one, which on 27 October adopted the historic resolution 2145 (XXI), the implementation of which we are discussing today.

89. In my delegation's opinion, this special session of the General Assembly has not been convened for the purpose of discussing the shameful criminal record of the South African racist authorities, or for the purpose of revealing the extent of the economic relations which have been steadily developing and increasing between Pretoria and the major Western Powers, or yet again for the purpose of quoting

<sup>3/</sup> South West Africa, Second Phase, Judgement, I.C.J. Reports 1966, p. 6.

statistics to prove the complicity of certain Powers with the South African racist régime, a fact which has unfortunately been repeatedly established and acknowledged.

90. Nor is it the purpose of this session merely to denounce and condemn South Africa once again or to pass judgement on apartheid, on the oppression and domination of millions of African patriots by South African colonial fascism. The United Nations has been doing nothing else for more than twenty years, and, regrettably, it has all been in vain.

91. The main purpose of this special session of the General Assembly is clearly defined in resolution 2145 (XXI) which states that we are to receive a report from the Ad Hoc Committee for South West Africa which has been instructed to "recommend practical means by which South West Africa should be administered".

92. This was a specific task which the Committee was unable to accomplish because of its unusual membership based on the concept of the balance of power. This concept was quite unacceptable in the case of a question of decolonization on which we were all agreed, and the Committee failed to live up to the hopes it had aroused in some of us. The result was predictable: there was complete deadlock, the disastrous psychological effects of which gave rise to the search for a compromise by means of which we would obtain another unanimous vote in the Assembly. The compromise was a difficult one, between those who categorically refuse to shoulder their international responsibilities and those who are working for the strengthening of the United Nations, between the protectors and accomplices of South Africa and those who defend the inalienable rights of the people of South West Africa, a compromise, in short, between those who would bury the United Nations and show neither confidence in nor respect for the Charter and its principles and those who, in spite of their disappointment and disillusionment, still hope to make the United Nations an instrument for decolonization and peace.

93. What kind of compromise can be achieved in such circumstances? If we had been dealing with only minor concessions having nothing to do with the basic problem, some understanding might have been reached. But the facts are quite different. On the one hand, we have the major Western Powers and those who follow them because their interests coincide. They are not concerned with the independence and freedom of the South West African people because support for them would mean the liquidation of the vital interests of Pretoria. On the other hand, we have the African nations and progressive countries which believe that to liberate South West Africa the cancer of South African colonial fascism must first be eradicated. A compromise between two schools of thought that are so diametrically opposed cannot be achieved without damage to the cause of the South West African people. Such a compromise would prolong the illusion that the imperialist Powers can be induced to recognize the need to ignore their vital economic interests.

94. The facts are, however, clear. South Africa has been relieved of its Mandate for reasons which I

need not enumerate. The Mandate having been terminated, the administration of South West Africa is now the direct responsibility of the United Nations, whose duty it is to lead the people of South West Africa towards self-determination, independence and freedom, according to the requirements of the United Nations Charter. South West Africa now has international status, and the only right which South Africa has is to leave the country. The steps which have been taken in connexion with the setting-up of a "Bantustan" in Ovamboland can be regarded only as an act of aggression, pure and simple.

95. In our view, the Organization should now concern itself only with establishing the most suitable conditions in the Territory for South West Africa's transformation into an independent State with political, administrative, economic and social structures which, with the help of close co-operation at all levels, would produce the most authentic representatives of the country. What, then, is being suggested, in the face of this clear situation?

96. The Western proposal (A/6640, para. 84), supported by Canada, Italy and the United States, while referring to resolution 2145 (XXI), recommends that during the course of this special session the General Assembly should appoint a special representative for South West Africa on the nomination of the Secretary-General. It also recommends the setting up of a United Nations council for South West Africa. Both these recommendations could be accepted if necessary, but it is also proposed that the specific task of the Special Representative should be to make a comprehensive survey of the situation, to establish all contacts that he may deem necessary, and to consult with all representative elements in the Territory in order that a nucleus of self-government may be established in South West Africa as soon as possible, and furthermore that he should be entrusted with the task of determining the nature and amount of foreign assistance required for the administration of the Territory, and the necessary conditions that would enable South West Africa to achieve self-determination and independence. The special representative is to report to the General Assembly at its twenty-second regular session on the progress made in discharging his mandate and to recommend further measures for the implementation of the decisions of the fifth special session.

97. For these countries to support such proposals and to proclaim publicly that they are not trying to open up again the question of the commitments they have entered into and have no intention of going back on, resolution 2145 (XXI) is pure sophism. We regard the mere undertaking of studies ignored for the past twenty years, the establishment of contacts and the holding of consultations as nothing but exploratory measures which will not bring independence to South West Africa until ten, fifteen or twenty years have elapsed.

98. This conflicts with the desire which the majority of us have so frequently expressed that South West Africa should become an independent and sovereign State as quickly as possible. The small beginnings of autonomy which will result from this particularly slow process of decolonization is totally remote from

our conception of what the machinery of true independence should be. Hence, without any Machiavellian duplicity, we who have now had some experience of the problems of decolonization cannot subscribe to methods which might place the question of decolonization of a particularly sensitive part of the African continent on the United Nations shelves, where, as we know only too well, it might remain for a very long time!

99. The Latin American proposal (*ibid.*, para. 93), in which the same basic proposals are made as in the Afro-Asian draft resolution (A/L.516 and Add.1-3), has been formulated with a sense of responsibility and objectivity to which we should like to pay a tribute. It takes into account the basic aims of resolution 2145 (XXI) and provides further proof of the solidarity between the Afro-Asians and the Latin Americans in defence of the joint interests of the Third World and of our common struggle against colonialism and imperialism.

100. Unfortunately, it departs from the Afro-Asian draft on a substantive question which is also a matter of realism resulting from the most enlightened pragmatism. For, after all, we are accustomed to South Africa's attitude, which is one of arrogance and scorn for the United Nations decisions which directly affect it. The statements made by the racist authorities in Pretoria on the day following the almost unanimous adoption of the historic resolution of 27 October 1966 are irrefutable evidence of their deliberate intention to oppose all our decisions. Consequently, it serves no purpose to compose fine phrases or to express the desire for a free and independent South West Africa without supplementing that desire by conditions designed to render a particular project feasible in practice. Each one of us here is convinced that the fascist Government in Pretoria will not only refuse to recognize, even in principle, the right of South West Africa to self-determination, but, as we have every reason to believe, will even oppose access to the Territory of South West Africa by any United Nations authority, be it a Special Representative, a committee or a council. That is the whole problem. If this is not the true state of affairs, let the representative of the racist settlers tell us so or have someone tell us so.

101. Thus it seems more realistic and more in keeping with our aims to append to any desire or initiative designed to free South West Africa its inevitable corollary: recourse to Chapter VII of the Charter, that is, to the use of force to ensure that our decisions are respected and carried out; in other words, the right of more than 120 Member States to oppose their strength to that of South Africa so that right may prevail. I should like to say, in a spirit of comradeship, to our Latin American friends that this attitude is not based on emotional considerations, on warlike instincts or on a spirit of revenge. In Mali we are neither racists nor are we ruled by our emotions. We stand for justice and law for peoples and nations, for the freedom of peoples, for their sacred right to self-determination and independence and for their right to shape their lives in accordance with their deep aspirations. We believe that it is right and just to defend that right, even by means of violence

and wars of national liberation, and particularly when situations have to be remedied which themselves exist only through violence.

102. In view of the great tragedy being enacted in southern Africa which may develop into a widespread and bloody racial conflict—and this is a fear based on objective analysis which has nothing to do with blackmail—we address an urgent appeal to our Latin American brothers to demonstrate once again the unity of anti-colonialist thought and action which exists among the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America by overcoming this long-standing divergence of view which is jeopardizing the Afro-Asian draft resolution that alone has a realistic approach to the problem of the independence of South West Africa.

103. We are convinced that our solidarity in the face of this question of such vital importance to Africa will lead to the triumph of a resolution which will do justice to the legitimate aspirations of the African people of that region who are being subjected to the most degrading kind of colonialism in that Gehenna in which apartheid rules.

104. The socialist countries' proposal seems to be the most fundamentally just method of approaching a solution to the problem of South West Africa by applying resolution 2145 (XXI) which itself represents the practical application of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. If it were possible to provide for the necessary material conditions to put that proposal into effect, a carefully studied process of true decolonization might eventually lead to the setting up in South West Africa of a truly independent national State able, with technical assistance from the United Nations, to build a viable national economy.

105. We could not have expected less from the great country of Lenin and the other socialist countries whose traditions of anti-colonial struggle are well known and of long-standing. Their constant and unconditional support of all liberation movements leaves no room for doubt as to their intentions with respect to the future of South West Africa. Their confidence in the Organization of African Unity does honour to all Africans, but we should like to repeat what we said last year: the Organization of African Unity does not have the means to undertake this action and it would be hard to imagine that the imperialist Powers would agree to the financing through intermediary bodies of an operation directed against their interests, which are considerable in South West Africa. Even if the financial problems could be solved, the Organization of African Unity does not at present have the administrative and technical organization which would enable it to undertake all the work involved in decolonizing the governmental structure of South West Africa. In any case, it should not take the place of the United Nations, the international Organization to which all the States members of the Organization of African Unity belong, and which bears the direct responsibility in this matter in accordance with resolution 2145 (XXI).

106. We do realize, however, that the Organization of African Unity should not be ignored in settling the question of South West Africa which is of primary

concern to it, and we can say that in this, as in any matter pertaining to that continent, the Organization of African Unity will shoulder its responsibilities.

107. We hope that the General Assembly and the Security Council will not try to avoid their responsibility, for everyone should abide by our common commitment to lead South West Africa to independence without any equivocation for delay.

108. Without wishing to give way to pride of sponsorship or co-sponsorship, and without any feelings of chauvinism, the delegation of Mali is convinced that the Afro-Asian draft resolution—which was the result of painstaking and perceptive research and makes allowance for all the elements of the situation in Africa and in the world at large—is the only one which from a realistic and practical point of view can enable our Organization to honour its commitments and to remain what it should never have ceased to be—an instrument of peace and freedom.

109. I should like to broach another aspect of that problem which we feel is both completely unrealistic and dismaying. I am referring to the proposed talks with the South African authorities, a dialogue of the deaf if ever there was one. Those who advocate this idea are pretending to have forgotten that for more than twenty years South Africa has categorically and insolently refused to give an account of its Mandate to administer the Territory of South West Africa. Even today, its extravagant sectarianism has placed it in a splendid isolation which it seems to regard with complacency, believing that it can stem the tide of history with the help of its allies, the Ian Smiths and Salazars. My delegation is convinced that it is useless to try and bring fossils back to life. The racists in Pretoria, like Ian Smith and Salazar, are relics of another age. They refuse to become men of our time, naively believing that their bloodthirsty microcosm and their world of concentration camps will be able to withstand the inexorable march of history.

110. Until the people's democratic revolution overcomes this offensive, obsolete and shameful system, there can be only one solution: the organization of an armada of peace- and freedom-loving peoples in order to stop this madness.

111. In short, we must tell those who advocate talks with South Africa that we must first have talks among ourselves in order to narrow down our differences, eliminate them and to re-establish, for the honour of the Assembly, an identity of ideas and of action to equal the splendid unanimity which led to the adoption of resolution 2145 (XXI).

112. After that, there will be further on-the-spot talks with South Africa which, if it chooses to resist, will have to suffer all the consequences of having set itself up in opposition to the united front which we shall have formed beforehand. Our strength and our triumph lie in our unity and unanimity.

113. But I should like, in conclusion, to say that our disagreements really have another origin. In fact, what is taking place today in South Africa and everywhere else where revolutionary movements exist or are developing, should be analysed in the light of the bloody events in South-East Asia, because it is

basically the struggle of the Viet-Nameese people and the manner in which the peoples of the world as a whole will react to it that will determine to a very large extent the outcome of the struggle for independence and freedom of the African peoples, including the people of South West Africa.

114. That is why these discussions seem somewhat unreal to us. We seem to overlook the international factors which have a direct bearing on everything that will take place in this Assembly in the days to come, and are content to examine proposals which we know to be ineffectual, because the basic problem is one of knowing whether or not the United Nations, and, indeed, the great Powers which are members of the Security Council, are prepared to shoulder their responsibilities with respect to the machinery for transferring the administration of South West Africa to the United Nations.

115. The basic problem is whether the great Powers are prepared to use force to compel South Africa to terminate the illegal Mandate which it exercises over this Territory.

116. It is difficult to be opposed to a war of national liberation in another part of the world and to be in favour of the one which is taking place in South West Africa, just as it is difficult to be both in favour of the use of force in South West Africa, as provided for in the Charter, and opposed to the use of force in order to effect changes in the international political status quo.

117. In circumstances such as these in which the prestige of our Organization is at stake, all we have to do now is to uphold and defend the principles to which we adhere and which we shall defend to the end, to expose those who refuse to accept their responsibilities within our Organization and to indicate the only way of preserving the inalienable right of the people of South West Africa to self-determination and independence.

118. For us, the road ahead is clear: either the Assembly and the Security Council will face up to their responsibilities and South Africa will shortly become an independent and sovereign State, or the fate of our Organization will be sealed once and for all, in which case the Africans and the truly anti-colonialist countries will have no alternative but to unite and organize themselves to provide massive support to the freedom-fighters of South West Africa.

119. It is useless to be a prophet of doom. I should like simply to recall that the father of history, Herodotus, preferred freedom at the risk of anarchy to order gained at the cost of bondage. He approved the use of arms which led to the triumph of the Greek ideal over barbarian organization, and we wonder whether it would not be the very essence of civilization to take periodically the old Hellenic gamble and to prefer freedom to order when the latter means enslavement.

120. Africa, in any case, will know how to unite and fight for its freedom. We are convinced that Africa will succeed because its cause is just.

121. Mr. SEYDOUX (France) (translated from French): The French delegation would like to asso-

ciate itself with the congratulations which have been addressed to the President of the Assembly on the occasion of his recent election. His considerable experience of our Organization and the competence with which he presided over our deliberations during the twenty-first regular session make him eminently qualified to preside over the important and difficult debates of this special session.

122. The delegations which were present at the debates in October 1966 on South West Africa might remember the doubts which we expressed at the time regarding the methods which the great majority of Members of this Assembly wished to adopt, as well as our reservations with respect to resolution 2145 (XXI) of 27 October last.

123. We are forced to admit, if we study attentively the proposals made since then and the views that have been expressed here, that the complexity of the problem and the difficulties encountered in the search for a satisfactory solution that could soon be carried into effect made it impossible to find the bases for a general agreement. This is indeed a regrettable state of affairs and we understand the feelings of disappointment it may cause, especially to our African colleagues.

124. On the other hand, it may be worth recalling that the vast majority of States represented in this Assembly are uncompromisingly opposed to any policy of apartheid. That is the position of France, which regards the racial segregation practised by South Africa in South West Africa as inadmissible. We also reaffirm that the Pretoria Government has failed to meet the obligations laid upon it by the Mandate with respect to ensuring the material and moral well-being as well as the social progress of the inhabitants of South West Africa. In particular, that Government's decision to grant separate internal self-government to Ovamboland is a political decision which alters the status of South West Africa, makes segregation in that area even worse, and is consequently unacceptable.

125. We still consider that the aim of evolution is to make it possible for the people of South West Africa freely to determine their own destiny and therefore to choose independence while preserving their territorial integrity.

126. My delegation is far from under-estimating the size of the problems that stand in the way of our achieving this result. It has reason to fear that it will not be possible to achieve that result in as short a period as it would wish.

127. Shocking as it may be, the present situation cannot be deliberately ignored. We must recognize that a de facto situation exists in this Territory, even though that situation is maintained in violation of principles which we regard as basic and in defiance of an international opinion which is becoming increasingly strong. The problem before the Assembly, therefore, is not so much that of ensuring the administration of the Territory during a transitional period, as that of determining the ways and means by which the population of South West Africa will be able to accede to independence, if that is what it wishes. Of all the solutions put to us, it would, I think, be wise

to discard the most extreme, because their legitimacy is dubious and it is most unlikely that they can be put into practice. The setback to which they might lead would only give rise to further doubts about our Organization's effectiveness, which it is in our own interest to preserve and to strengthen.

128. Thus, the French delegation is convinced that in this matter we must confine ourselves to the limits of the possible and wonders whether a first step towards the final objective should not be the encouragement, by means of contacts and talks, of consultations with the Government which exercises authority over South West Africa, in order to bring to the attention of that Government both the unanimous views of the Assembly and the absolute necessity of settling this problem. We are not unaware of the fact that there are many here to whom the idea of such talk is repugnant. But we also know that there are many who believe that sooner or later discussions will have to be held with that Government, if only for the sake of ascertaining whether, as many maintain, it will refuse to co-operate in any way whatsoever.

129. These then are the views which my delegation wished to set before the Assembly. It will be guided in its voting by the considerations which I have just voiced, by the choice which it will finally be offered, and by its desire to see South West Africa achieve independence, while at the same time bearing in mind the facts of the situation at their true worth.

130. Mr. GAMIL (Yemen): Mr. President, it is gratifying for me and for my delegation, and is indeed a source of pride, to congratulate you on your election to your high office. In electing you by acclamation, the General Assembly has accorded you well-deserved recognition of the great qualities and ability you demonstrated in the manner in which you conducted the twenty-first session of the General Assembly.

131. The General Assembly is now convened in a special session for the purpose, inter alia, of discussing South West Africa. Therefore, it should be borne in everyone's mind that this question constitutes a test case for this Assembly, and a great deal depends on whether it is able to arrive at any practical and concrete decision with regard to the urgent matter before it. If we fail once again in this issue, we shall have dealt one more blow to the principles of the United Nations Charter.

132. It is indeed very painful to my delegation, and perhaps to many other delegations who are concerned about the fate of this United Nations Organization, to know that whenever this Assembly adopts a resolution concerning South West Africa, the Government of South Africa challenges and ridicules whatever action is being taken, and that it has done so ever since the question of South West Africa was first brought to the attention of the United Nations. If the United Nations continues to give birth only to more resolutions and fails to take action, one conclusion is certain: the Government of South Africa will continue to defy this Organization for two more decades.

133. The twenty-first regular session provided this session with a unique opportunity—if we seize it—

when it adopted the historic resolution 2145 (XXI). It paved the way for our deliberations.

134. Resolution 2145 (XXI) speaks for itself. It terminated the Mandate of South Africa over South West Africa. It put the administration of South West Africa directly under the responsibility of the United Nations. It also established an Ad Hoc Committee to recommend practical means by which the responsibility of the United Nations in this matter is to be discharged. It also reaffirmed the right of the people of South West Africa to self-determination, freedom and independence in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations.

135. It is regrettable that, after hard debate and discussion, the Ad Hoc Committee was unable to produce a uniform recommendation concerning the matter. Instead, it came out with a host of proposals, some of them formal and others informal.

136. There is no need for me to repeat what has been said about each proposal, except to say that the proposal submitted by two Latin American States [A/6640, para. 93] and the African-Pakistan proposal [*ibid.*, paras. 45 and 82] both call for immediate and effective establishment of a United Nations presence in South West Africa leading to the granting of independence to the indigenous population of that Territory.

137. Where the Latin American proposal is at variance with the other is in the measure contemplated for its implementation: that is, that the United Nations council is to enter into contact with the South African authorities in order to lay down procedures, in accordance with resolution 2145 (XXI), for the transfer of the Territory with the least possible disturbance. The proposal, however, has not spelled out what will happen if the South African Government maintains its defiant attitude and refuses to enter into contact with the United Nations council.

138. It is most likely that the South African Government will do exactly that to maintain its defiance of the United Nations. The result will be that the question of South West Africa will be brought back again for debate in the halls of the United Nations and probably remain on the agenda of the United Nations until the year 2000.

139. My delegation has whole-heartedly supported the Afro-Pakistan proposal, which was ably presented by the representative of Ethiopia and subsequently became the Afro-Asian draft resolution [A/L.516 and Add.1-3], of which my country is a co-sponsor. We believe that the Afro-Pakistan proposal meets the stand of my Government not only with regard to the question of South West Africa but also with regard to all questions dealing with liberation and independence. My delegation expresses its firmest support as far as concerns implementation.

140. My delegation strongly believes that it is high time for the Assembly to pronounce itself by courageous action and not by countless resolutions. It is high time for the United Nations to emancipate the people of South West Africa and lead them to liberty and independence.

141. With regard to the racist régime in Pretoria, my delegation does not expect a miracle to happen

overnight. And as for those who believe that South Africa will come to them and voluntarily hand over the Territory of South West Africa, they are only harming the people of South West Africa and preventing this Organization from bringing South Africa back to the rule of law and justice.

142. It is ironical to hear many representatives repeatedly admitting that it is true that the South African Government has forfeited its right to its Mandate over South West Africa; that South Africa, as the Mandatory Power over South West Africa, has failed to meet its responsibility as an agent of the United Nations; that the South African Government is practising the most sinister racial system in modern history; that the South African Government, by word and by action, has demonstrated that it is not ready to accept the essential obligation incumbent upon it under the Mandate; and that the South African Government no longer has the right to carry out the sacred trust conferred upon it.

143. And yet, when the same people are asked about the alternative, not only do they remain indifferent, but they also try to prevent others from reaching any positive conclusion. Unfortunately, that is what happened in the Ad Hoc Committee and also what is happening here at the special session.

144. We all know that South Africa has systematically carried out a policy of de facto annexation of the Territory in violation of the General Assembly resolution and the advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice. South Africa has refused to cooperate with the United Nations in ensuring respect for the human rights of the people of the Territory and preparing them for the responsibility of self-determination. South Africa has refused for two decades to submit reports or accept the supervision of the General Assembly over its administration of South West Africa.

145. We can draw only one conclusion from the radical behaviour of the South African Government and its refusal to abide by the international Charter, and that is that it appears very plainly that the Western economic interests have the upper hand in the South African Government and complete domination of South African affairs. It is therefore hardly surprising to read voluminous propaganda and massive publicity defending the policy of South Africa over South West Africa, and Rhodesia, for that matter.

146. It will perhaps be useful to read to the Assembly some quotations from some of the prominent newspapers that defend the racist régime in South West Africa. This is what the World Journal Tribune has to say about this Organization:

"Absurd is not the word for the decrees voted by the United Nations General Assembly directing that South Africa yield South West Africa to the United Nations care until the Territory is fit for independence. Plain wacky fits much better.

"Here we have 114 nations spoken for by as many delegates, some of them supposedly intelligent, agreeing that the solution to the problem is to set up a small council within the United Nations by which South West Africa should be administered."



The newspaper went on to say that:

"had the General Assembly then voted to suspend the law of gravity and turn the Congo River system about so that the water would flow eastward, that would have been a full day's work. But it would also have warranted a suspicion that the world body is a collection of idiots".

147. The Chicago Tribune spoke about resolution 2145 (XXI) as follows:

"The United Nations has now rushed into what may well prove the most disastrous—and yet most pointless—venture of its career. In doing so it lost touch with reality. It voted to challenge the most powerful and prosperous country in Africa."

148. Other economic interests and defenders of South Africa speak very frankly in the Cincinnati Inquirer when they say:

"In a recent report to the United Nations Security Council, the British said their exports to South Africa amount to £200 million a year. Where in the competitive market would they find alternative markets for the motor vehicles, railroad equipment and electrical equipment and electrical instruments that now go to Capetown?

"Could the British forgo the insurance income and the freight charges they now collect from South Africa? Could they give up £60 million in foreign exchange that derives from South African investment?

"Since South Africa is Britain's third best customer, the answers to these questions should be obvious. United Nations economic sanctions against South Africa would drag down the already decreasing British pound. This in turn would involve the United States dollar and the world could very well have another 1929 collapse on its hands."

149. This is how the defenders of the South African régime think—not in terms of human worth, value and dignity, but in terms of pounds and dollars. That is the root of the matter.

150. When we turned to search for supporters of the cause of the African people in South West Africa, we found none. The only friend that must stand behind them and show them the way to peace, liberty and independence is the United Nations. That is the only friend of the people of South West Africa. Now it is up to this Organization either to fulfil the expectation of the people of South West Africa or to betray them and leave them to the racist régime in Pretoria.

151. In conclusion, I should like to reiterate my Government's position that the debate at this session will have to proceed within the sole content of resolution 2145 (XXI) and that there should be no reopening of discussion of the merits and demerits of the South African case in relation to the South West African Mandate.

152. My delegation will, therefore, oppose any proposal intended to detract from or postpone any positive action to liberate the Territory of South West Africa in favour of further studies, findings, or investigation. I need hardly emphasize that South

West Africa is a test case for the United Nations. A failure in this case will have untold consequences for the people of South West Africa and humanity as a whole.

153. Mr. ERALP (Turkey): On behalf of my delegation, I should like to extend to the representative of Afghanistan our sincere congratulations on his unanimous election to the high office of President of the General Assembly at its fifth special session. His election is a source of deep satisfaction to my delegation because of the high esteem and trust which we have for a distinguished person, and also because of the historical, traditional and brotherly ties between his country and mine. I am sure that the deliberations of this special session of the General Assembly will be greatly inspired by his able guidance and vast experience, as was the case during the twenty-first regular session.

154. Since the inception of the United Nations, the question of South West Africa has figured consistently on the agenda of nearly every session of the General Assembly. The efforts of the United Nations on this question have culminated in the epoch-making resolution of the twenty-first session which terminated, once and for all, the Mandate of the Union of South Africa over South West Africa. The resolution brought the Territory under the direct responsibility of the United Nations in order to pave the way for South West Africa's freedom, independence and territorial integrity.

155. Resolution 2145 (XXI) of 27 October 1966 has therefore left its mark in the minds and hearts of all of us as a constructive step forward in the unrelenting efforts towards decolonization and in the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. That Declaration, I need not mention, was co-sponsored by Turkey.

156. For nearly twenty-two years now, the Union of South Africa has persistently refused to implement the resolutions of the United Nations and three advisory opinions of the International Court of Justice. This Organization has adopted seventy-six resolutions urging the Government of South Africa to come to reason. But all these efforts have remained unheeded and the Assembly, in a state of frustration, was led to urgent action last year.

157. Last year my delegation supported the unqualified competence of the United Nations to deal with South West Africa and joined in sponsoring the Afro-Asian draft resolution which, after certain Latin American amendments, received the overwhelming support of the General Assembly. The Ad Hoc Committee which was set up in compliance with this resolution was entrusted with the difficult task of creating a United Nations machinery for the administration of the Territory, with a view to putting into effect the provisions of the resolution.

158. The four-Power proposal of Ethiopia, Nigeria, Senegal and the United Arab Republic, later joined by Pakistan in the Ad Hoc Committee [A/6640, paras. 45 and 82], was approved and supported by the eighth ordinary session of the Council of Ministers

of the Organization of African Unity, which met in Addis Ababa between 27 February and 4 March 1967.

159. Among the proposals put forward in the Ad Hoc Committee for South West Africa, only the African-Pakistan proposal appeared to us to satisfy the existing requirements of the situation with which we are faced. That proposal is not only consistent with the logic and the substance of resolution 2145 (XXI), but constitutes the inevitable step forward which should be taken without hesitation by this Assembly.

160. In our view, the real motives and the ultimate objectives of all the proposals which emerged from the deliberations of the Ad Hoc Committee are one and the same, namely, the achievement of independence and statehood by South West Africa; and the best means to bring this within the realm of possibility is, in our opinion, the one which finds its expression in the original African-Pakistan proposal, which is now the Afro-Asian draft resolution [A/L.516 and Add.1-3]. The machinery envisaged in this draft suits the best interests of the people of South West Africa and meets the requirements of the day.

161. Every speaker who has preceded me has insisted on concrete and constructive action. In our experience with the Organization, I can recall scarcely any instance which elicited such genuine universal demand for action. The General Assembly is indivisibly united on the objective in this issue. What divides us is the nature and, to some extent, the stages of action. The draft resolution supported by my delegation, along with fifty-eight other States, best meets the urgency and effectiveness which the final solution of this problem requires. As the representative of Ethiopia, Mr. Makonnen, wisely expressed it, the question of South West Africa is a test case for the United Nations.

162. The Ad Hoc Committee for South West Africa was given the difficult task of exploring the ways and means of creating a United Nations machinery. We have followed the Ad Hoc Committee's work closely and with great interest. As the Chairman of that Committee wisely acknowledged, the complexity of the task inevitably spurred different approaches.

163. The Latin American proposition advanced by Chile and Mexico [A/6640, para. 93] is no doubt close to the Afro-Asian draft and appears to be generally in keeping with the realities of the case. The similarity of views contained in the Afro-Asian and Latin American proposals may again pave the way, as it did in the course of the last regular session, to a resolution commanding the overwhelming support of this Assembly.

164. Turkey's firm stand on effecting South West Africa's freedom was expressed most authoritatively by the President of the Republic of Turkey during his recent State visit to the United States, when he had the pleasure of addressing the members of the Afro-Asian group of the United Nations. Those who were present at that meeting will recall that President Sunay stressed the vital importance of the question of South West Africa to the United Nations when he said:

"The problem that we are seized with constitutes a challenge not only to the United Nations, but also

to the conscience of mankind. The world waits to see whether an overwhelming majority of nations genuinely united behind an objective can also unite behind the practical means of realizing that objective."

165. To meet this challenge, the General Assembly is in duty bound to act prudently and boldly. The situation brooks of no more delay. It is in this spirit that we have co-sponsored the draft resolution before the Assembly and we commend it for approval.

166. Mr. PANYARACHUN (Thailand): Mr. President, permit me to express to you on behalf of the Thai delegation our most sincere congratulations on your unanimous election to the high office of President for the fifth special session. Your election to preside over one of the most momentous sessions in the annals of United Nations history is clear evidence of the complete confidence that we Member delegations have in you. My delegation recalls with great satisfaction the exemplary manner in which you, with customary objectivity and impartiality, led our deliberations during the twenty-first session of the General Assembly to a speedy and successful ending. Therefore we have every reason to expect that the present session, again under your firm and wise guidance, will proceed smoothly to a positive and fruitful conclusion.

167. It has always been a cardinal principle of the Government of Thailand to give full support to peoples everywhere that are struggling to liberate themselves from all forms of colonial domination. Although our attention in this matter needs, naturally, to be turned in the first place to the struggles within our immediate region of Asia, we have by no means limited our objectives and efforts to our particular area but have, instead, always tried to extend our support to all deserving struggles in whatever part of the globe they may be, and especially in the continent of Africa, where it is recognized that colonialism of the worst kind—based upon an ideology of racial prejudice and domination—is still strongly entrenched and must be combated and overcome.

168. The problem of South West Africa is a case in point exemplifying what I have just said concerning the policy of my Government as regards the worldwide struggles against colonialism. In a statement I made on this subject on 4 October 1966 I stated the opinion of my Government that the case of South West Africa was "indeed one of the poignant cases of human yearnings and aspirations for freedom and independence" [1429th meeting, para. 23]. For that reason, as I also went on to say: "The delegation of Thailand has followed with keen interest the historical and recent developments concerning the international status of South West Africa and the welfare of its native people" [*ibid.*, para. 24].

169. That interest has by no means been limited to words alone but has taken the form of concrete actions and keen participation in activities related to the destiny of South West Africa. Therefore we took an active part in bringing the case of South West Africa to the attention of the twenty-first session of the General Assembly and also in the subsequent discussions and consultations, being among the co-sponsors



from the very beginning of the Afro-Asian draft resolution which finally became, in a slightly modified form, the historic General Assembly resolution 2145 (XXI). That resolution deserves to be called historic because the United Nations was there able to take an almost unanimous decision in favour of an obviously just and deserving cause which, nonetheless, had been openly defied for so long. By thus acting with reason and determination, the United Nations has put an end to the illegal administration of South Africa over the Territory in question and has taken upon itself the momentous task of enabling the people of the Territory to exercise their right of self-determination and to achieve independence in the most orderly and quickest possible manner.

170. Such seems to my delegation to be the basis as well as the limits of the work of the Ad Hoc Committee which was subsequently established for that purpose. Therefore, in our consideration of the Committee's report [A/6640] as well as in the formation of our approach and policy regarding the problem of South West Africa during this special session, my delegation feels it right to be guided by the aforementioned understanding.

171. As we see it, consideration of the question of South West Africa during the present special session of the General Assembly must proceed from reaffirmation of General Assembly resolution 2145 (XXI) to translation of the provisions in that resolution into concrete and practical action. In trying to achieve that objective, we need the co-operation and support of all concerned. However, the absence of the support of a few should not deter us from advancing along the course set by last year's resolution. While we should strive to maintain the vital unity of action, we should not do so at the price of unnecessary delay in the implementation of the already agreed objectives. It would indeed be a disservice to us all if we were to give the impression to the world that some of the Member States that voted for the resolution were attempting to evade the responsibility that they undertook last year.

172. Many delegations which have preceded me have rightly emphasized that the terms of resolution 2145 (XXI) are irrevocable and not subject to further negotiation. The decisions of substance are as follows: first, the Mandate exercised by South Africa over South West Africa is terminated; second, South Africa has no other right to administer the Territory, and, henceforth, South West Africa comes under the direct responsibility of the United Nations; third, the United Nations must, in the circumstances, discharge those responsibilities with respect to South West Africa; fourth, the Government of South Africa is called upon to refrain from any action which would tend to alter the present international status of South West Africa.

173. In the view of my delegation, the Afro-Asian draft resolution [A/L.516 and Add.1-3], sponsored by some fifty-eight delegations, including that of Thailand, provides logical follow-up action on last year's resolution. I should like to pay tribute, in that connexion, to Mr. Adebó of Nigeria for the efforts he has made personally in assisting the Afro-Asian group in the drafting of the draft resolution, as well as for his eloquent and convincing presentation of our

draft resolution to the General Assembly last week [1506th meeting].

174. Several delegations that are not yet in a position to move forward to the extent envisaged in the Afro-Asian draft resolution have, in all sincerity, cautioned us not to take any step which, for all we know, could not be made into a reality. We were correctly reminded that South Africa "has possession of the Territory" and that we should not deceive ourselves or anyone else by shutting our eyes to practical barriers. Hence the only practical and effective means would be to explore the ground and to contact, consult and negotiate with the parties directly concerned, particularly with the de facto administration in South West Africa, namely, the Government of South Africa itself.

175. On that point, the representative of Ethiopia, Mr. Makonnen, has succinctly stated a general principle with which my delegation finds itself in complete agreement. He said:

"In that preparatory work we have not even excluded the possibility of this United Nations body undertaking all the necessary contacts, including contact with the de facto administration of the Territory—it being understood, of course, that any such contact with the latter should at no time be regarded as an opening of negotiation. It is obvious that there cannot be any negotiation because there is nothing to negotiate. Any contact with the de facto administering authority must of necessity be limited to the actual transfer of administrative functions." [1503rd meeting, para. 36.]

176. I find it hard to believe that all those delegations which gave support to last year's resolution could dispute the validity of such a forthright and yet flexible position. But let us examine the position of the administering Power whose participation is a prerequisite to any future contact or consultation.

177. In a memorandum produced in New York as recently as 21 April 1967, the Government of South Africa declared, inter alia, the following:

(1) South Africa regards General Assembly resolution 2145 (XXI) as illegal;

(2) South Africa is still administering the Territory and has no intention whatsoever of abdicating its responsibilities in this regard;

(3) The South African Government is willing to discuss with any other genuinely interested Government the problems of development in South West Africa, provided that Government is prepared in good faith to make a constructive contribution to such discussion and is not solely looking for ways and means of implementing the recent General Assembly resolution.

178. On the basis of the points I have just read out, my delegation does not find a shred of evidence or any declaration of intention that South Africa would be prepared to enter into any dialogue, contact or consultation with others with a view to laying down "procedures, in accordance with resolution 2145 (XXI), for the transfer of the Territory" [A/6640, para. 93].

179. It is true that we, Member States of the United Nations, must explore every avenue for peaceful

progress, but unless and until there is a change of heart, until there is a change of the basic attitude of the South African Government in regard to resolution 2145 (XXI), there can be little prospect for useful and fruitful dialogue with the South African Government on the actual transfer of the Territory.

180. This is the reality of the situation, the reality that South Africa openly defies the United Nations and the conscience of mankind, the reality that South Africa has no intention of giving up the Mandate, the reality that South Africa has every intention of undermining the provisions in resolution 2145 (XXI) as evidenced by its proposal for the so-called government of Ovamboland.

181. In view of the considerations I have just outlined, the Thai delegation fully supports the Afro-Asian draft resolution and commends it to the General Assembly for its overwhelming approval.

182. Mr. KHATRI (Nepal): Mr. President, I should like at the outset to convey to Ambassador Pazhwak the sincere congratulations of my delegation on his election as President of the General Assembly at its fifth special session. My delegation feels happy to work again under his wise and able guidance.

183. After two decades of attempts aimed at finding a peaceful solution to the question of South West Africa, the United Nations has convened this special session of the General Assembly with the specific purpose of adopting practical measures to enable the people of South West Africa to attain freedom and independence. The United Nations has so far shown great patience towards the recalcitrant attitude of the Republic of South Africa. The question of South West Africa has been the subject of seventy-six resolutions of the Assembly, and four references to the International Court of Justice with a view to obtaining advisory opinions and a juridical decision in this regard. But, regrettably, all these efforts have been in vain. My delegation hopes that this special session will be able to adopt ways and means to give final effect to the numerous United Nations resolutions on this question.

184. In those resolutions the United Nations has reaffirmed the inalienable right of the people of South West Africa to self-determination and independence. But we are not assembled here, in this session, to engage in general debate on the matter. We are here to address ourselves to the specific objective for which this session has been called. In the light of General Assembly resolution 2145 (XXI) of 27 October 1966, and of the report of the Ad Hoc Committee concerning practical means by which South West Africa should be administered, the specific action to be determined by this Assembly should be to enable the people of the Territory to exercise the right of self-determination and to achieve independence.

185. As so many previous speakers have underlined, it is very important that we not lose sight of the fact that, so far as the question of principle is concerned, the United Nations has already adopted a decision on certain principles in General Assembly resolution 2145 (XXI). These principles are basic and fundamental. It is the understanding of my delegation

that these principles are: (1) the Mandate conferred on the British King to be exercised on his behalf by the South African Government is terminated; (2) the Government of South Africa has no other right to administer the Territory; and (3) South West Africa comes under the direct responsibility of the United Nations, and this responsibility must be discharged.

186. It is important that we all understand that reopening of the debate on these principles is out of the question.

187. We have before us the report of the Ad Hoc Committee for South West Africa [A/6640]. This Committee was charged, under paragraph 6 of resolution 2145 (XXI), with recommending practical means by which the decision on principles enumerated in paragraphs 4 and 5 of resolution 2145 (XXI) could be implemented.

188. Although it can be seen at a glance that the report of the Ad Hoc Committee does not contain a single integrated practical way by which the Organization's responsibility in respect of South West Africa is to be discharged, my delegation understands that the lack of agreement is not due to lack of an attempt to reach a common understanding on the part of the members of the Committee. The Committee has submitted a report concerning discharge of the Organization's responsibility in respect of South West Africa. That report contains all the proposals made by various groups of States represented in the Committee in regard to the practical means by which South West Africa should be administered. It is now up to the Assembly to take a decision in respect of those practical means, based on one or more proposals contained in the report of the Ad Hoc Committee.

189. My delegation has carefully studied the various proposals contained in the report of the Committee. All members of the Committee have shown a common concern as regards the gravity of the situation, and while there appears to be little difference among the various proposals on the basic issue, the methods of approach to the question and the means suggested in each of these proposals by which our objective has to be attained are far from identical. The ideas contained in the various proposals hinge either on contact or confrontation with the Republic of South Africa.

190. General Assembly resolution 2145 (XXI) is explicit in so far as the termination of the Mandate of South Africa over South West Africa is concerned. The main question now is what methods the United Nations should adopt to help the people of South West Africa attain complete independence and sovereignty.

191. In their proposal submitted to the Committee [A/6640, paras. 45 and 82], four African countries and Pakistan envisage a United Nations machinery to administer South West Africa until independence, the target date for which is also set out. That United Nations machinery is charged with the task of helping the people of South West Africa in the establishment of a legislative assembly and a responsible government based on a constitution drawn up by the people of the Territory through a constituent assembly.

192. This proposal, in the view of my delegation, is the only logical conclusion we can draw from the decision of the General Assembly, as contained in historic resolution 2145 (XXI). The Afro-Asian draft resolution [A/L.516 and Add.1-3], with which my delegation is actively associated, is based on this proposal, and takes into account the decision on principle adopted in resolution 2145 (XXI). The draft resolution suggests the only logical and practical way by which the people of South West Africa are to be enabled to exercise their inalienable right to independence and self-determination. The African-Asian sponsors of that draft resolution have taken particular care to ward off even the most remote suggestion or hint that the people of the Territory are not prepared for independence or that a kind of United Nations tutelage is necessary for some period of time to prepare them for independence. We have affirmed in resolution 1514 (XV) and reaffirm now that, irrespective of their level of economic, social and educational development, all peoples under colonial domination are prepared for immediate independence.

193. That draft resolution also envisages, in the event that South Africa persists in its continued presence in the Territory, enforcement action by the Security Council. My delegation believes that the provision for Security Council action in this resolution will ultimately be agreeable to those delegations which profess misgivings as to the compatibility of such a provision with the Charter of the United Nations. It is the firm belief of my delegation that, since we have declared that South West Africa comes under the direct responsibility of the United Nations, it will be in the interest of the Organization that the Security Council should be called upon to act, as a consequence of its independent finding, if the continued defiance by South Africa of United Nations authority takes place. If the question of Rhodesia, which can also be construed as a question of constitutional law between the United Kingdom and Rhodesia, could be dealt with by the Security Council under Article 41 of the Chapter VII of the Charter, my delegation submits that the question of South West Africa can be more legally, more properly and more constitutionally dealt with by the Security Council under Article 41 of Chapter VII in its wisdom. For the question of South West Africa is a direct concern and responsibility of the United Nations.

194. In submitting their proposal to the Ad Hoc Committee, the delegations of Canada, Italy and the United States maintained that the decision of the General Assembly must be of a practical nature. My delegation considers that no one would deny the practical aspect of the implementation of United Nations decisions. But the Republic of South Africa should not receive protection in the name of practicability, nor should it be allowed to continue with its illegal occupation of South West Africa.

195. The Western proposal [A/6640, para. 84] emanates from a very limited conception of United Nations responsibility in respect of South West Africa. The responsibility is limited to that of undertaking further study of the situation in general and determining the necessary conditions which will enable the Territory to achieve independence.

196. It can be seen, in the light of resolution 2145 (XXI), that this proposal does not meet the requirements of the case. There is no provision for what should be done in the event South Africa continues its defiance of the United Nations authority. There is no call to the Security Council to act, should action become necessary. It seems to my delegation that this proposal is clearly intended to postpone any positive action, so urgently needed for the solution of the problem of South West Africa.

197. The Latin American proposal [*ibid.*, para. 93], in the opinion of my delegation, emanates from a positive conception of the responsibility of the Organization, and is based on the necessity of the establishment of a United Nations machinery for the administration of South West Africa.

198. It is unfortunate that the African-Asian and the Latin American views have not been reconciled. In our view, the Latin American proposal does not adequately meet the requirement of the case, in that the proposal does not contain any provision of an enforcement action, should such action become necessary in consequence of South Africa's continued defiance of the authority of the Organization, and its illegal occupation of the Territory.

199. It is the belief of my delegation that, if we are really keen in our desire to follow up resolution 2145 (XXI), we must admit that the provision for enforcement action by the Security Council should be made an important part of any decision that we adopt. Otherwise, in view of our previous experience with the attitude of South Africa, no proposal, however sincere and well meaning, will be capable of carrying us forward to our goal.

200. My delegation has always viewed the question of South West Africa as a colonial question—a question which is made infinitely worse by the policy of apartheid inflicted upon the people of the Territory. In other colonial territories, the fight for freedom has always been carried on between the colonialists from other continents and the people inhabiting the colonial territory. But in the case of South West Africa, the fight for freedom is taking place between the people of the Territory, supported by the international community, and the usurper from the bordering Territory, which itself is subjected to a most ruthless régime that denies basic human rights and fundamental freedoms to the majority of the inhabitants. And it is common knowledge that this illegal occupier is receiving considerable moral and material support from some of the Powers in the West.

201. The South African Government appears to have realized that, under the impact of international pressure, it would be difficult for it to continue in its illegal occupation of South West Africa and that, therefore, new manoeuvres will be needed to delude the world as to its true intentions. In its deliberate attempt to disregard decisions of the General Assembly, the South African Government has launched a new policy of fragmenting the Territory into different so-called independent territories. The recent grant of so-called self-rule by South Africa to the people of Ovamboland clearly indicates its insincere designs.

This is also an evident attempt on its part to confuse world public opinion. In continuation of its sinister policy, the Government of South Africa has already declared that it would offer self-determination to all other groups of people in South West Africa to enable them to attain what it has called complete independence and to determine their own future freely.

202. This attempt at the fragmentation of South West Africa is nothing but the introduction of the old and crude method practised by other colonial Powers in order to perpetuate foreign domination by sowing the seed of discord and dissension in the territories.

203. Since the Territory of South West Africa has very bright economic prospects, it is clear that the Government of South Africa is not prepared to give up easily its illegal occupation. It is in conformity with its intention to remain entrenched in South West Africa as long as possible that the South African delegation, during the last General Assembly, repeatedly suggested continued dialogue on South West Africa, as if the attempts by the United Nations during the preceding twenty years were not directed towards achieving an understanding on the question.

204. The recent action of South Africa regarding Ovamboland and the utterances by high-placed Government officials clearly indicate that South Africa is neither willing to vacate the Territory of South West Africa nor to co-operate with the United Nations in the smooth and peaceful transfer of power to the people of the Territory.

205. The behaviour and policy of the Government of South Africa have given ample cause for my delegation to believe that the various proposals that are before us for consideration concerning the formation of some sort of United Nations machinery to help the people of South West Africa in the achievement of their independence and sovereignty cannot be implemented unless an enforcement action by the Security Council is provided for.

206. During the discussion of this question in the last session of the General Assembly, and particularly when a vote was taken on what has now become famous as resolution 2145 (XXI), my delegation was encouraged to believe that this special session would have no difficulty in adopting a most effective course of action. The two super-Powers,

namely the Soviet Union and the United States, gave unequivocal support to that resolution, which implied that these Powers were prepared to associate themselves with the United Nations machinery and the enforcement action that are vitally needed to give effect to our decision in respect of this question. My delegation understands that the two other permanent members of the Security Council, although abstaining, also viewed this question with sympathy. It is the hope and belief of my delegation that these permanent members of the Security Council, particularly the two super-Powers, will not now hesitate to go the whole way in their support of this question, as expressed in resolution 2145 (XXI).

207. The African-Asian draft resolution [A/L.516 and Add.1-3] represents, in the view of my delegation, the only logical action that this session must now take. There seems to be no alternative course of action which is as logical, as practical and as capable of meeting the requirements of the situation as has now been envisaged under the draft resolution.

208. As I have already indicated, the co-sponsors have taken particular care to ward off misgivings about the role of the United Nations machinery. My delegation does not think that the people of the Territory are not prepared for independence, or that a United Nations tutelage is needed to prepare them for independence. My delegation's conception of the United Nations machinery is that its role should be limited to the task of assisting the people of the Territory in the establishment of a responsible government, based on a constitution drafted by a constituent assembly elected by the people themselves. In this task, the United Nations machinery must seek and obtain maximum political participation of the people of South West Africa. My delegation has co-sponsored the draft resolution with the clear understanding that the proposed council will go to South West Africa with the sole purpose of helping the people determine their political will.

209. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): I wish to assure representatives that I shall not fail to convey to Mr. Pazhwak the congratulations that have been addressed to him today.

*The meeting rose at 6.25 p.m.*



CONTENTS

	Page
<i>Agenda item 7:</i>	
<i>Question of South West Africa (continued) . . .</i>	1

**President:** Mr. Abdul Rahman PAZHWAQ  
(Afghanistan).

AGENDA ITEM 7

Question of South West Africa (*continued*)

1. Mr. SADI (Jordan): Mr. President, I have searched for words to congratulate you on your election, but I have found none more truly expressive of my personal feelings and those of my delegation than the words of Ambassador Baroody when he reminded us the other day that this is a time when it is we, not you, Mr. President, who should be congratulated.

2. It is also fitting at this time to say words of recognition, appreciation and gratitude to Ambassador Max Jakobson, the Chairman of the *Ad Hoc* Committee for South West Africa, and to the members of that Committee, who endeavoured faithfully and earnestly to carry out the mandate entrusted to them under resolution 2145 (XXI).

3. The significant fact that my delegation is a sponsor of draft resolution A/L.516 and Add.1-3, which was most ably introduced by Chief Adebó the other day [1506th meeting], leaves little to be said. We have chosen a certain road and have joined ranks with nearly sixty other Afro-Asian co-sponsors to tell this General Assembly and the world that the practical means by which South West Africa should be administered, the means with which we associate ourselves, are those that are outlined in that draft resolution. We cherish the privilege of being a party to a liberation struggle in which the Afro-Asian group has once again become the vanguard. Our position and our stand have thus become clear and open. Some might be puzzled by our concern and query our unreluctant and unreserved support. The answer should be simple, for my country and people still feel the burning wounds of expediency and inaction on the part of the United Nations, the justification for which has been similar to that being advanced this very day, namely: be peaceful, negotiate, and be realistic.

4. Thus, we can tell this Assembly from experience that the peaceful, practical and realistic means for salvaging South West Africa and healing the wounds once and for all are those means that are just and equitable, bold and firm and devoid of expediency. Anything else, I respectfully submit, will be impractical, short-lived and therefore unrealistic.

5. The nations of the world which are hesitant to join our ranks must realize by now that genuine self-determination and respect for human rights and dignity are not negotiable principles and that in the recognition of these basic principles lies the policy of reality, practicality and peace. In the long run there is no substitute for truth and equity.

6. Some have cautioned against war and belligerence. But our draft resolution is truly peaceful, for we envisage no troops marching across the borders of any nation, nor do we cherish the sight of blood. This small planet of ours has suffered too much from brutal wars and bloodshed. We want and seek to be intelligent and responsible beings whose sole purpose is the well-being of mankind. Thus, our draft resolution simply and peacefully states that South Africa's continued defiance of General Assembly resolution 2145 (XXI) and the present draft resolution, when it is adopted, will be deemed an act of aggression and, should it continue, the Security Council should assume its rightful responsibility and deal with the situation most effectively. In stating that, we are simply reaffirming the principles of the Charter, and I fail to see where we have become belligerent and hard-headed. If anything, the co-sponsors of the draft resolution in question are very peaceful indeed—not just peaceful.

7. Mr. SHEVCHENKO (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic) (translated from Russian): First of all, Mr. President, allow me to associate my delegation with the remarks of earlier speakers who expressed to you their sincere congratulations and best wishes in connexion with your election to the high office of President of the fifth special session of the General Assembly. Your profound knowledge and experience, your ability and tact make us feel confident that the Assembly has made the right choice.

8. The problem of South West Africa has not been off the agenda of the General Assembly since the first days of existence of the United Nations. As we are all aware, at its twenty-first session the General Assembly took a step in this matter that was different in kind, and it did so because all United Nations attempts to persuade the Government of the Republic of South Africa to discharge its obligations to the people of South West Africa as set forth in the mandate and the United Nations Charter had proved vain.

9. Bearing this in mind, the General Assembly terminated the mandate. That meant that the South African presence, as such, in the Territory became illegal and that the people of South West Africa had to be given freedom and independence without delay.

10. The *Ad Hoc* Committee, whose report [A/6640] is before this special session of the General Assembly, was set up to recommend practical means by which

South West Africa should be administered, so as to enable the people of the Territory to exercise the right of self-determination and to achieve independence.

11. The Ukrainian delegation voted for resolution 2145 (XXI), in line with the principles of its general anti-colonial policy. We have been defending and steadily implementing that policy from the earliest days of the Great October Socialist Revolution, whose fiftieth anniversary is being celebrated this year. We are pleased to note that many African and Asian delegations, even in the course of the present discussion, expressed their gratitude to the socialist countries for the consistent position which, as a matter of principle, the latter have been taking on questions relating to the abolition of colonialism. At the General Assembly's twenty-first session my delegation, like the delegations of other socialist countries, advocated the immediate granting of independence to the people of South West Africa.

12. The time which has elapsed since the adoption of resolution 2145 (XXI) shows that once again the South African racists are boycotting a General Assembly resolution and are persisting in their policy of pillaging the natural wealth and mercilessly exploiting the indigenous population of South West Africa, while bolstering up the shameful system of apartheid in the Territory. The South African Government's declaration of 21 March 1967 concerning so-called self-government in Ovamboland is yet another brazen challenge to the United Nations.

13. The Ukrainian delegation fully agrees with the evaluation of that policy made by the Afro-Asian Group on 23 March 1967. The Group's statement correctly pointed out that: "It is in fact an extension of the Bantustan policy which the Government is pursuing in South Africa itself. It is also aimed at fragmenting the Territory into numerous anomalous and non-viable units, with a view to covering up South African domination." [A/6640, para. 125.]

14. As has been pointed out in the United Nations time and again, the military and other support given to the Republic of South Africa by the major imperialist Powers is the principal obstacle in the way of the application of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples to the Territory of South West Africa.

15. The resolutions of a number of United Nations organs contain appeals to all States to break off their economic and other relations with the Republic of South Africa. In particular, General Assembly resolution 2189 (XXI) condemns the activities of those foreign financial and economic interests in colonial Territories, in particular in South West Africa, Southern Rhodesia and the Territories under Portuguese domination, which support colonial régimes and thus constitute a serious obstacle to the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

16. In that same resolution, the General Assembly called upon "the Governments concerned to take the necessary measures to put an end to those activities." We have heard a great many verbal assurances of their anti-colonialism and their sympathy with the people of

South West Africa from representatives of Western countries in the course of the present session. But it would be futile to look in their statements for any indication of what their Governments have done to comply with this particularly important recommendation of the General Assembly.

17. According to some data, foreign investments in the Republic of South Africa today amount to \$4,760 million, a large share of which falls to the United States of America.

18. As we all know, nearly all the diamond mining in South West Africa is done by the Consolidated Diamond Mines of South West Africa, Ltd., a firm which is closely connected with the Anglo-American Corporation of South Africa, Ltd. The net profits of the Consolidated Diamond Mines rose from 21.3 million rand in 1962 to 39.7 million rand in 1965.

19. Naturally, the United States, United Kingdom, West German and other Western monopolies with sizable investments in the Republic of South Africa from which they reap enormous profits do not for a moment consider an economic boycott of the South African racists. Highly indicative in this connexion is the statement of Harold Bechenstein, a representative of the Owens-Corning Fiberglas Corporation, who accompanied Norstad on a visit to South Africa. Business Week, in its issue of 26 March 1965, reports him as saying:

"The various boycott attempts do not reflect the general opinion of the people and business circles of the United States. We prize South Africa highly as an important ally and a powerful economic force in the free world."

20. The financial interests of the United States give considerable aid to the South African racists. As reported by The New York Times on 18 January 1967, in 1959 alone ten United States banks granted an automatically renewable credit to the Republic of South Africa in the amount of \$40 million. As Mr. A Trowbridge, Secretary of Commerce of the United States, admitted on 2 March 1966, the volume of United States exports to South Africa increased almost four-fold from 1950 to 1965. In 1965, the United States accounted for 35 per cent of South Africa's exports and 25 per cent of its imports. Nor do its West German allies lag behind the United States.

21. The position of the West German monopolies in southern Africa grows stronger every year. The well-known newspaper Süd-Deutsche Zeitung reported on 17 August 1966 that the investments of the Federal Republic of Germany in the Republic of South Africa totalled 1,000 million marks and that in the next decade they should attain the figure of 7,500 million marks. In 1963 alone, the Federal Republic of Germany granted loans to South Africa totalling 120 million marks.

22. I am aware that these and similar facts have been cited here time and again. They are also to be found in many of the official documents of the United Nations. I have decided to mention them nevertheless, for the sole reason that they help us to see more clearly the motivation of certain Western countries which, by supporting the South African régime, obstruct the granting of freedom and independence to the people of South

West Africa. These are real facts, this is how things really are. And now that we are examining the report of the Committee of Fourteen, we must also give some thought to the "practical means by which South West Africa should be administered, so as to enable the people of the Territory to exercise the right of self-determination and to achieve independence", to quote resolution 2145 (XXI).

23. This policy of manifold support of the Republic of South Africa pursued by certain Western countries also manifests itself in the proposals introduced in the Committee of Fourteen by the representatives of Canada, Italy and the United States [A/6640, para. 84]. As has been pointed out by a number of delegations, the basic idea of the proposals is to appoint a Special Representative for South West Africa whose mandate would be to carry out countless surveys, investigations and consultations and to report to the General Assembly at its twenty-second session on the implementation of the decisions of the Assembly's fifth special session. And since certain Western delegations feel that this fifth special session should in fact do no more than take a procedural decision, namely, establish the post of Special Representative, it will readily be seen that all these manoeuvres are designed to perpetuate the domination of the South African racists over the Territory of South West Africa and give them time to consolidate their positions.

24. As has been correctly noted here, the Western proposals provided that the Special Representative shall collect even that information which has already been submitted by the United Nations Secretariat to the Committee of Fourteen.

25. Highly curious, too, is the following task which the Special Representative is entrusted with: "To determine the necessary conditions that will enable South West Africa to achieve self-determination and independence". Obviously, under this provision it is not for the people of South West Africa to determine its own destiny; rather, the task devolves on the Special Representative who, it would appear, may reach the conclusion that the conditions for the self-determination and independence of South West Africa exist, but who is also free to say that they do not exist as yet, that they must still be created, etc. etc. The plan of the Western Powers says not a word about any time limit for the granting of independence to the people of South West Africa. On the other hand, it says a great deal about negotiations, contacts with the Republic of South Africa, methods of persuasion, peaceful solution, etc., as though, over its twenty years of existence, the United Nations had not made every effort to persuade, appeal, and seek a peaceful solution. As the Secretary-General quite rightly pointed out in his statement before the Committee of Fourteen on 17 January 1967, "Had South Africa cooperated with the United Nations, it would not have been necessary to establish the Ad Hoc Committee" [*ibid.*, para. 4].

26. The United States representative, in defending the Western plan from this rostrum, strongly urged negotiation as the method to be used in solving the problem of South West Africa. He said:

"It would be a strange irony if the United Nations—whose highest aim is to resolve disputes and achieve justice by peaceful means, and to harmonize the actions of nations—should itself fail to pursue such means and, instead, add still another confrontation to a list already too long". [1505th meeting, para. 23.]

27. What an irony it is, indeed, that this should have been said by the representative of a country which is pursuing a policy of intervention and aggression, helping to preserve colonial and racist ways, and seeking to undermine the very foundations of the United Nations. Who, if not the United States, cynically flouts the most elementary rules of international law and the 1954 Geneva Agreements, escalating the aggressive war in Viet-Nam from day to day and from hour to hour? Who, if not the United States, even since the beginning of this session, has committed new and gruesome crimes by bombing Hanoi, the capital of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam, and Haiphong, the second largest city in that long-suffering country, wrecking public buildings and residential quarters and killing or wounding many peaceful inhabitants?

28. My delegation is convinced that one of the most important results of this session of the General Assembly must be a vigorous condemnation of the collaboration of the Western Powers with the Republic of South Africa. The Assembly must categorically demand that these Powers stop giving military and economic support to the Pretoria régime. If they do not comply, the United Nations must regard them as direct accomplices of the Republic of South Africa in depriving the people of South West Africa of its freedom and independence.

29. As a primary prerequisite for the implementation of resolution 2145 (XXI), the South African authorities must immediately quit the Territory of South West Africa. In practical terms this should mean the withdrawal of all armed forces, the dismantling of military bases and installations, the removal of the South African administrative and police apparatus, the abolition of racist laws and customs, the immediate liberation of all political prisoners and the return of all political emigrants to the country. These measures are a primary and essential pre-condition for the granting, without further delay, of genuine independence to the people of South West Africa. They are, moreover, in full accord with the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

30. We fully understand and share the African countries' firm belief that the people of South West Africa must be helped to achieve freedom and independence and to create its own State at the earliest possible date. This is all the more necessary when we consider the particularly cruel form of colonial oppression to which the people of South West Africa has been subjected for decades.

31. Our position, however, rests on the principle that the people of South West Africa is alone entitled to determine its future, that it alone must be enabled to exercise its inalienable right to self-determination and independence. For that reason, we are cautious in our approach to the idea of setting up United Nations organs to administer the Territory. We cannot but express our misgiving that those who oppose independ-



ence for South West Africa, in view of the circumstances, might be able to make use of such machinery in their own imperialist and colonialist interests.

32. We view with particular apprehension proposals for endowing such administrative organs for South West Africa with a police force not provided for in the United Nations Charter. The experience of a fairly recent past is there to tell us how dangerous such operations can be both for the countries in which they are carried out and for the United Nations. When our African friends assure us that since the Congo affair a great deal has changed in the Organization and in the distribution of power, we can only reply: Yes, major changes have taken place since then in favour of the anti-imperialist and anti-colonial forces. But are not certain States, even today, urging us to wreck the Charter and to create and utilize United Nations armed forces in circumvention and violation of the Charter?

33. My delegation believes that an important part could be played in carrying out appropriate measures for the preparation and conduct of universal elections in South West Africa by that important regional organization, the Organization of African Unity. As the USSR representative stated on 25 April 1967:

"There is no question in my mind of relieving the United Nations of its responsibility under resolution 2145 (XXI), but rather of recognizing that the Organization of African Unity, in collaboration with the United Nations, can for its part make a useful contribution to the preparation and conduct of elections which would ensure the transfer of power to the people of South West Africa". [1504th meeting, para. 110.]

34. I should like to point out in this connexion that the United Nations has had occasion to collaborate with the Organization of African Unity on a number of other questions, and that the General Assembly, at its last session, adopted a special resolution expressing its satisfaction with that collaboration.

35. As to financing the measures leading to the granting of independence to the people of South West Africa, we believe that the Territory's natural resources, which thus far have served only to bring fabulous profits to the foreign monopolies, can and must be used to cover the costs of setting up the organs of government in South West Africa and to furnish the funds for the economic, social and cultural development of the Territory.

36. Such are the ideas which my delegation wanted to express on the question under discussion. It presented them with the sole aim of helping to achieve the basic task facing all those who cherish freedom and independence: quickly to overcome the resistance of the colonialist forces and to put an end to the racist domination of the Republic of South Africa so that the people of South West Africa may, without further delay, exercise in deeds its inalienable right to freedom and independence.

37. Mr. MATTHEWS (Botswana): Mr. President, my delegation is happy to join those who have extended to you their heartiest congratulations upon your election to the presidency of this historic special session. We have no doubt that your guidance and leadership at this session will be as distinguished as it was

during the twenty-first session of the General Assembly.

38. The South West Africa issue has engaged the attention of the United Nations since its inception. It will be recalled that, at that time, unlike other Mandatory Powers which were willing to bring their mandated territories under the Trusteeship System of the United Nations, South Africa asked for the right to regard South West Africa as an integral part of its own territory, in other words, to annex South West Africa, which it had by then administered for over twenty years. That claim was rejected. The South African delegation accepted that judgement, and the South African representative at that time stated:

"The Union Government will ... regard the dissolution of the League"—that is, the League of Nations—"as in no way diminishing its obligations under the Mandate, which it will continue to discharge with the full and proper appreciation of its responsibilities until such time as other arrangements are agreed upon concerning the future status of the territory." <sup>1/</sup>

39. Since that time the territory has been a bone of contention between the other Member States of the United Nations on the one hand and South Africa on the other. The Secretary-General has pointed out that, since then, the United Nations has passed seventy-six resolutions on the question of South West Africa and that it has been the subject of four references to the International Court of Justice. All these efforts have been directed towards getting South Africa to co-operate with the rest of the world as represented by the United Nations in seeking to enable the people of South West Africa to live a life of full freedom within the land of their birth.

40. This long drawn out struggle culminated in the adoption in October 1966 of General Assembly resolution 2145 (XXI) which, in its main paragraphs, it will be recalled: recognized the inalienable right of the people of South West Africa to self-determination, freedom and independence in accordance with the United Nations Charter; terminated the Mandate conferred upon His Britannic Majesty to be exercised on his behalf by the Government of the Union of South Africa; called upon the United Nations to assume direct responsibility for the Territory of South West Africa; and appointed an ad hoc Committee "to recommend practical means by which South West Africa should be administered, so as to enable the people of the Territory to exercise the right of self-determination and to achieve independence, and to report to the General Assembly at a special session as soon as possible and in any event not later than April 1967".

41. The Ad Hoc Committee has prepared its report [A/6640], which has been tabled at this special session of the Assembly. We are all indebted to the members of the Ad Hoc Committee for the strenuous efforts which they put into a search for a solution of this knotty problem. The Ad Hoc Committee has, however, been unable to present an agreed report and has decided to lay before the General Assembly the

<sup>1/</sup> League of Nations, Official Journal, Special Supplement No. 194, pp. 32-33.

varying viewpoints which have become apparent in its deliberations.

42. The members of the Committee have divided into four groups: the African-Pakistan group, the Latin American group, the so-called Western group, and the so-called Eastern group. Three of these groups have come forward with specific proposals on how the United Nations can discharge the responsibility which it has assumed in terms of resolution 2145 (XXI).

43. The African group has suggested [*ibid.*, paras. 45 and 82] the setting up of a United Nations council for South West Africa with a commissioner appointed by the General Assembly on the nomination of the Secretary-General, which shall assume responsibility for the administration of the Territory, its primary objective being to take all necessary measures, in consultation with all the people of South West Africa, to enable the people to set up a government of its own and to achieve independence, whereupon the functions of the council would fall away, and, to carry out its task, the council would require a United Nations police force. The African proposal is based upon the assumption that the Mandate has been terminated. Therefore, the proposal is merely concerned to suggest a method by which the United Nations can discharge the responsibilities which it assumed under resolution 2145 (XXI). The African proposal stands or falls by the extent to which the termination of the Mandate can be regarded as a fact or be made into a reality by the United Nations.

44. The Western group recommends [*ibid.*, para. 84] that a special representative for South West Africa be appointed to work with a United Nations council for South West Africa to conduct a survey with a view to ascertaining what elements may be considered as representative of all peoples living in the territory in order that a nucleus of government be established to determine the necessary conditions to enable South West Africa to achieve self-determination and independence. It should be noted that this proposal is also based on the assumption, first, that South Africa has lost the right to administer South West Africa; secondly, that the territory has come under the direct responsibility of the United Nations; and thirdly, that the people of South West Africa have the inalienable right to self-determination, freedom and independence. It does not, however, indicate how the special representative and/or the United Nations council will implement the results of their survey or bring into being the proposed nucleus of government.

45. The Latin American proposal [*ibid.*, para. 93] agrees with both the African and the Western proposals in calling for the establishment of a South West Africa council and for the appointment of an executive officer, who would take steps, in consultation with the representatives of the people, to establish a constituent assembly to draw up an independence constitution under which a legislative assembly and a politically responsible government might be established. An interesting provision in the Latin American proposal is for the establishment of immediate contact by the South West Africa council with the authorities of South Africa in terms of resolution 2145 (XXI) for the transfer of the territory with the

least possible upheaval. It also refers to the necessity of a police force organized locally or provided by the United Nations.

46. All these proposals imply that they should be carried out within the next few months, with a report to the twenty-second session of the Assembly in September 1967.

47. Both Czechoslovakia and the USSR doubt the advisability and propriety of establishing United Nations machinery for South West Africa as contemplated by the three proposals referred to above, including the dispatch of United Nations forces. They suggest that the African States, as represented by the Organization of African Unity—rather than the United Nations—should play a major role in giving effect to and protecting the right of self-determination and independence of the peoples of South West Africa.

48. The attitude of my delegation on this issue is governed by certain considerations which are not of an academic or polemic nature. In the first place, my delegation wishes to stress its special interest in the future of South West Africa as a neighbouring territory. In this connexion, we should like to mention the following facts. First, Botswana and South West Africa came under European influence at about the same time during the notorious scramble for Africa in the late eighties of the nineteenth century. But while Botswana has already achieved its independence, South West Africa has not, in spite of the fact that it has had the benefit of international supervision since 1920. The long traditional association between the peoples of Botswana and the peoples of South West Africa has resulted in the fact that people from Botswana are found in South West Africa and people from South West Africa form a significant part of the population of Botswana.

49. South West Africa is our nearest neighbour, sharing with us perhaps the longest border in the West and in the North. In the modern period Botswana has provided asylum and transit for hundreds of South West African refugees who, no longer able to endure the effects of the policy of *apartheid* pursued by the administering Power, or to pursue their struggle for liberation in their own country, have reluctantly decided to seek a better life elsewhere. And in more recent months, Botswana has had to cope with "Freedom Fighters" who, having obtained military training in various countries, desire to return to their country via Botswana in order to participate in the struggle for the liberation of their country.

50. For those reasons the outcome of the South West Africa issue has always been and is a matter of special concern to Botswana. Among the things which Botswana wishes for all the peoples of South West Africa, none is more important than the complete independence of that territory. That territory was under colonial rule from 1884 to 1914 and has been under the Mandates System since 1920. In the view of my delegation, the time is long overdue for the people of South West Africa to be given the right of self-determination and independence. In our view, that right should not be made dependent upon the record of South Africa—good, bad or indifferent—in administering that territory. It is an inalienable right of all the inhabitants of South West Africa. The exercise of that right is not de-

pendent on the wishes of South Africa or indeed on the wishes of the United Nations.

51. The United Nations is simply placing on record here its concurrence with the view of all right-thinking people that the age of the Mandates System has passed and that the age of self-determination and independence for all peoples has arrived. South Africa has claimed that it is administering the territory in the spirit of the Mandate. In our view, the essence of the spirit of the Mandate is the achievement of the objective of self-determination and independence. That is the acid test of the success or failure of the Mandate.

52. The Mandate conferred upon South Africa was not for its benefit but for the benefit of the inhabitants of South West Africa. It was not a "sacred trust" of South Africa but a sacred trust of civilization as represented by the international community. It is obvious that South Africa cannot arrogate to itself the right to determine unilaterally the future status of South West Africa. South West Africa is not and has never been part of South African territory. This is not a matter of the domestic jurisdiction of South Africa. It is an international territory in respect of which South Africa has assumed international obligations, and those obligations cannot be made to eclipse because of legal quibbles. The status of South West Africa must be determined by the international community, including South Africa in the international community. The international community is represented by the United Nations. The idea of a trustee being the sole determinant of the rights present or future of its wards, makes nonsense of the principle of trusteeship.

53. The inhabitants of this territory have waited long and patiently for the achievement of self-determination and independence, which is their inalienable right. It may be argued that a large measure of self-government has already been given to the white inhabitants of the territory of South West Africa and that it is now proposed to grant some kind of self-government to the non-white inhabitants in what are described as their own areas. But what is wanted is self-determination for the people of the territory as a whole, and not for bits and pieces.

54. My delegation is definitely opposed to the extension of the Bantustan concept to the area of South West Africa. The viability of this concept has not yet been established in South West Africa itself in spite of all the supposedly advantageous conditions under which it has been launched there. The delegation of Botswana cannot see why the people of South West Africa should be fobbed off with a kind of second-class citizenship in the land of their birth. Full citizenship rights are the inalienable right for which they have fought and died since the beginning of German occupation.

55. On the other hand, my delegation believes that the co-operation of South Africa must be sought in the effort to find practical means to give effect to the principle of self-determination for all the inhabitants of South West Africa. We do not believe that the emergence of such an independent South West Africa would be inimical to the long-term interests of South Africa. Such an independent South West Africa,

we are convinced, would continue to co-operate with South Africa, economically and otherwise, as a neighbouring State and we can see no reason why South Africa should not reciprocate. The communities in South West Africa both white and non-white can together build a non-racial democratic state without in any way undermining the interests of South Africa.

56. The delegation of Botswana recognizes the fact that South Africa is the present administering Power and has been so for over forty years. For that reason it cannot see how the status of that territory can be changed without the active co-operation of South Africa in any machinery that is designed to set in motion the process of self-determination and independence. In the view of my delegation, none of the resolutions under review deal directly or adequately with this aspect of the matter.

57. It is possible, of course, to argue that, in October 1966, the Mandate over South West Africa was terminated and that South Africa is now in illegal occupation of South West Africa. But the resolution of October 1966 has not removed South African administration from the territory. No resolution, even of the United Nations, can give effect to itself automatically. There are at least two parties to this dispute: the inhabitants of South West Africa and the Government of South Africa, with the United Nations as an impartial third party on behalf of the international community to ensure that justice is done to the inhabitants. The delegation of Botswana therefore believes that the international community should seek a peaceful solution of the South West African question.

58. The delegation of Botswana is convinced that the co-operation of South Africa is essential for a solution of this issue. It may be argued with a considerable measure of justifiable impatience that the co-operation of South Africa on the South West Africa issue has been sought in vain ever since the foundation of the United Nations. But we submit that we are now confronted with an entirely new situation. Previous efforts in connexion with this question, both by the Permanent Mandates Commission of the League of Nations and by this body, have been concerned with a running criticism of the activities of the administering Power within the Mandated Territory. Today, we are not concerned with the condemnation or otherwise of the policy of apartheid as applied in South West Africa or elsewhere, but with giving effect to the right of self-determination of the people of South West Africa as contemplated by resolution 2145 (XXI). It is on this basis and this basis alone that the co-operation of South Africa should be sought. The Government of South Africa has indicated that it is also in favour of self-determination for the peoples of South West Africa.

59. Of course it would not be impossible to bring about this change by the use of force. Even South Africa would not be strong enough to face the might of the whole world if the world were disposed to use its forces, economic or military, for this purpose. But none of the Powers that are in a position to deploy the necessary force for the achievement of this objective is prepared to do so. The onus, however, is on those same Powers to ensure that alternative and effective machinery is set up to achieve the same

objective. The delegation of Botswana, while it can see no hope in the search for a solution by the use of force, equally would deplore any schemes intended to delay or defeat the ends of justice in this matter, namely the exercise of self-determination and the achievement of independence by the people of South West Africa. Those who desire the change but are not in a position to bring to bear upon its solution the necessary force, must content themselves with the idea that military force is not the only way of bringing about change in international affairs.

60. The people of South West Africa are looking to this special session to come forward not with threats or resolutions which cannot be implemented, but with practical means by which they can exercise their right of self-determination and achieve independence. It should not be beyond the collective wisdom of this august body to satisfy the aspirations of people who have for too long been the victims of arid international controversy.

61. Mr. AKE (Ivory Coast) (translated from French): Mr. President, first allow me to express once again my delegation's satisfaction at seeing you preside over this important session of the General Assembly.

62. After twenty years of fruitless endeavours and faced with the utter bankruptcy of the South African Government's policy towards South West Africa, the General Assembly had no other alternative but, by its resolution 2145 (XXI) of 27 October 1966, adopted almost unanimously, to terminate the South African Government's Mandate over the Territory of South West Africa, to decide that it had no other right to administer the Territory and that henceforth South West Africa would come under the direct responsibility of the United Nations.

63. To enable the Organization to fulfil its responsibilities, the General Assembly established the Ad Hoc Committee for South West Africa whose terms of reference under operative paragraph 6 of resolution 2145 (XXI) were:

"... to recommend practical means by which South West Africa should be administered, so as to enable the people of the Territory to exercise the right of self-determination and to achieve independence...."

64. The Ad Hoc Committee has submitted its report (A/6640) and I would like to take this opportunity to convey to the members of that Committee my delegation's gratitude for their commendable efforts to find an acceptable formula commanding the support of the overwhelming majority of States Members of the Organization and one which would have facilitated our task. Unhappily, they did not succeed and this we sincerely regret for we believe that, among the various proposals submitted to the Ad Hoc Committee, there were points of agreement from which a unanimous formula could have been worked out.

65. We are aware of the complexity of the problem and we did not expect that agreement would be easy to reach on all points some of which are of capital importance to the solution of the South West African problem. For that reason, whatever the results achieved by the Ad Hoc Committee, we regard its work as an extremely significant stage in the search for the best way to achieve that solution.

*Mr. Tinoco (Costa Rica), Vice-President, took the Chair.*

66. We hope that this fifth special session, devoted almost exclusively to this problem, will enable the views expressed in the Ad Hoc Committee to be reconciled.

67. We, for our part, believe that the Committee has done valuable work because there were merits in each of the proposals submitted to it, even if we do not agree with certain of them. They demonstrate the readiness on all sides to place at the Organization's disposal the most suitable means for it to face its responsibilities. Yet, the major points of disagreement centred around recourse to the Security Council, the direct administration of the Territory by the United Nations and the negotiations with South Africa.

68. We Africans had hoped—and still do hope—that our Western, Latin American and socialist friends would unreservedly support the African proposals (*ibid.*, paras. 45 and 82). These proposals, which are supported by Pakistan, have the advantage of placing the problem in its true context. They remain the only logical and certain method of attaining the goal which we set ourselves in adopting resolution 2145 (XXI) of 27 October 1966.

69. Although this method is sure, it is nevertheless fraught with difficulties, certain of which appear insurmountable. For many long years, the United Nations has vainly sought the South African Government's co-operation with regard to both the future of South West Africa and South Africa itself.

70. The advocates of apartheid have remained deaf to all appeals addressed to them. There is no doubt that, basing its attitude to and its contempt for the United Nations on the indulgent attitude of certain Powers towards it, South Africa regards resolution 2145 (XXI) as null and void and behaves towards the Territory and the United Nations as if the resolution had never existed.

71. Indeed, in the Fourth Committee yesterday, did we not hear the representative of South Africa challenge the Committee's right to hear petitioners from South West Africa? Unfortunately, this resolution does exist and it is a veritable nightmare for South Africa which no longer has any illusions about the end of its myth. The illegal decisions taken in respect of Ovamboland and the studies and memoranda which South Africa is currently circulating are manifest proof of its confusion and uneasiness, which are clearly evident despite the appearance of resolution and confidence. Those who interpret the adoption of certain attitudes and recent actions by South Africa as proof of readiness to co-operate with the United Nations are mistaken and may make themselves ridiculous if they are not careful, for South Africa still has to realize its error and that it has embarked on a wrong course.

72. It is, in fact, difficult to trust these men at Pretoria or to count on them in the attainment of any results whatever in relation to these two problems exercising the United Nations. What we would like—and this is an appeal addressed to those who allow themselves to be taken in by the manoeuvres of the South African leaders—is an invitation to South Africa to

give more tangible proof of its desire to co-operate by a statement that it agrees to comply with resolution 2145 (XXI) and to transfer the Territory of South West Africa to the United Nations. Only then will it be possible for us to lend some degree of credence to the proposals made to that effect, even though those who made them themselves express doubt as to the results of a possible dialogue.

73. That is the reason why we, already anticipating the attitude which South Africa will adopt, have suggested the most appropriate way for the United Nations to react to that Government's challenge. We ask that, should South Africa refuse to comply with resolution 2145 (XXI) and should it impede the actions of the United Nations Council for South West Africa, the Security Council should contemplate the necessary steps under Chapter VII of the Charter to remove any impediment to action by the United Nations. Recourse to the Security Council and the application of Chapter VII of the Charter present further difficulties.

74. We have been given to understand that the African proposals are unrealistic or inapplicable in the present circumstances in that the Security Council cannot take coercive measures against South Africa. It is true that such a decision would require the fulfilment of numerous conditions, among them the support of the major Powers for such measures and the ability of the United Nations to apply them effectively.

75. On mature reflection, and in view of what we know of the attitude of the major Powers, the problem would appear to be insoluble and we might therefore be tempted to suggest the abandonment of that course on the grounds that we could never succeed in bringing them round to our point of view. In that case, what course remains open to us except to offer up these millions of human beings and leave them at the mercy of the South African racists? Yet that we refuse to do.

76. The debate on the item on South West Africa raises yet again the question of the responsibility of the major Powers in the search for a solution consonant with the legitimate aspirations of not only the people of that Territory but also the peoples of Angola, Mozambique and Southern Rhodesia. We, for our part, believe that they have a very great responsibility. The solution of the problem does not depend on how ready South Africa may be to co-operate with the United Nations but, above all, on the willingness of the major Powers to support the only measures that can overcome South Africa's resistance. The solution of the problem lies in their hands and that is why we believe that we should yet again draw their attention to the extremely grave consequences of their inaction and procrastination which strengthen South Africa's determination to defy the United Nations. Their proposals serve no other purpose than to confirm their aversion to any action or any step which could bring them into direct confrontation with South Africa.

77. The African proposals, described as lacking in realism, are only unrealistic in that they cannot command the support of those Powers because they would involve such a confrontation with South Africa.

78. The Ivory Coast believes in the value of negotiations, of dialogue and persuasion to settle differences between men and States, but, in the case of South

Africa, it has strong reasons to doubt whether such words have any meaning or could in any degree influence that country's behaviour—otherwise we would not be where we are today.

79. We understand the reasons which compel our Western, Latin American and Japanese friends to reject any idea of resorting to the Security Council. On the one hand, the Western States propose to entrust the administration of South West Africa to the people of that Territory who would act through an autonomous Government. On the other hand, they recommend the appointment of a special representative assisted by a Council of three to undertake various studies with a view to bringing about the beginning of autonomy for South West Africa.

80. We would ask them what practical steps they propose to take if South Africa refuses to co-operate with these bodies or opposes the formation of such a Government. A precise, unequivocal answer from them would dispel certain doubts and allow us to judge the sincerity and soundness of their proposals.

81. As to the Latin American proposals, which are supported by Japan (A/6640, para. 93) their merits and their similarity with our own proposals have been pointed out, as have the differences between them. These differences are, above all, differences of degree and timing. The logical development of the Latin American proposals would imply that, unless a miracle occurred, recourse to the Security Council would be unavoidable if the discussions with the *de facto* administering authority failed. To be sure, they refrain from saying so explicitly at the present stage but we do not think that they definitely rule out such a possibility. If that is the only issue, there is no reason why we should not reach an agreement, for we are convinced that South Africa would not be party to such contacts. Yet, do not our Latin American friends consider that it should be categorically affirmed forthwith that if South Africa refuses to transfer the Territory to the United Nations the Security Council should intervene?

82. Contacts with South Africa should not be an essential part of the Council's terms of reference. We believe that the Council should have wide powers and full latitude to make whatever contacts it deems necessary in order to complete its task. Contacts should be established with the *de facto* administering authority in order to determine how the Territory is to be transferred to the United Nations, but there can certainly be no question of negotiating the future of the Territory of South West Africa with South Africa unless we ourselves were to reverse our attitude.

83. For that reason, we would like to appeal once more to our Latin American friends to support us in the debate so that we can present a solidly united front in the face of a stubborn opponent. We go so far as to believe that, faithful to their traditions and desirous of justice and equity, they will give us their valuable support by voting in favour of draft resolution A/L.516 and Add.1-3, of which my country is a sponsor.

84. Like the Western delegations, the socialist delegations are somewhat reluctant to see the United Nations undertake the direct administration of the Territory of South West Africa and hope that the Or-

ganization of African Unity will assume the responsibility of assisting the South West Africans to govern themselves. We do not think this a desirable proposal. It would be a way of absolving the United Nations of the responsibilities which it has assumed since the adoption of resolution 2145 (XXI) of 27 October 1966. Despite the difficulties it has to face, the Organization of African Unity will not fail in the discharge of its role in the total liberation of the African continent. We consider that the question of South West Africa concerns not the Africans alone but all of us—Africans, Asians, Europeans, and Americans. It is above all the concern of the United Nations whose task it is to settle it in the interests of the people of that country. Thus, while respecting the position they have adopted, we have not given up hope that they will support our proposals, since they must know that we do not share their views and that we cannot do without their support in this severe trial.

85. With the adoption of resolution 2145 (XXI), we undertook a solemn commitment which we must honour at all costs. The commitment is binding for the entire Organization—not only for the African and Asian countries.

86. Of the many States placed under the same international status, all have acceded to independence with one exception—that of South West Africa. Any hesitation on our part would be a veritable withdrawal in the face of the open challenge presented to us daily in the form of South Africa's intransigent attitude. In the face of this intransigence, we must renounce our scruples and our strict legal approach and adopt the only possible attitude—one of firmness and determination such as is reflected in the proposals which my delegation, together with fifty-seven others, has the honour to submit for the approval of this Assembly. We are convinced that their adoption by an overwhelming majority will surely allow us to take a further, decisive step towards the liberation of the people of South West Africa and their accession to independence.

87. We shall then be able to join with the President in describing the present session as one of justice and peace, for we shall have brought justice to a people by restoring its rights and, by so doing, we shall have preserved the peace of Africa and, perhaps, of the world.

88. Mr. BANZAR (Mongolia) (translated from Russian): Mr. President, may I, on behalf of the delegation of the Mongolian People's Republic, congratulate you on your unanimous election to the office of President of the fifth special session of the General Assembly.

89. These days, the attention of world opinion is focused on the work of the fifth special session of the General Assembly, where topical questions which are of burning interest to all peoples are being discussed. It is not surprising that this should be so. All the peoples that have languished for centuries under the colonial yoke are anxious to free themselves from this slavery and be able to live and work under peaceful conditions.

90. The mighty development of the national liberation movements brings closer the hour when the last

vestiges of the colonial system of imperialism will be done away with.

91. The Mongolian People's Republic, which has been consistently pursuing a policy of supporting in every way the struggle of peoples for national liberation and for the overthrow of colonialist imperialist domination, deems it its bounden duty, together with the peoples of Africa and Asia and all other peace-loving peoples, to conduct a relentless battle against racial discrimination in all its forms, colonialist looting and imperialist aggression.

92. My delegation has repeatedly, from the rostrum of the United Nations, stated its Government's position on the question of granting independence to the peoples which are still being held in colonial servitude.

93. The peoples of the world insistently call for complete elimination of the colonial system of imperialism in all its forms and manifestations, in systematic application of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. To this day, however, such application has been obstructed by the colonialists, who have ignored resolution after resolution of the United Nations.

94. The imperialist Powers are flagrantly violating the peoples' legitimate right to freedom and independence, and conducting ruthless reprisals in an attempt to suppress the national liberation movement. This policy is most clearly manifested in the bandit war waged by the United States against the people of Viet-Nam. With the approval and direct collaboration of their allies, the United States imperialists are inflicting barbarous bombings on the territory of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam.

95. Trampling underfoot the most elementary rules of international law and the 1954 Geneva Agreements, the United States imperialists have been steadily escalating their military operations against the freedom-loving Viet-Nameese people.

96. My country strongly condemns this aggression and fully supports the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam and the National Liberation Front of South Viet-Nam in their declaration that the only solution to the Viet-Nam problem lies in a cessation of United States aggression and recognition to the people of Viet-Nam of its right to settle its own domestic affairs without foreign interference.

97. The Mongolian people, which understands and sympathizes with the aspirations and strivings of colonial people, is following with the deepest interest their just struggle for freedom and independence. It fully shares the concern of the peoples of Africa, Asia, and the socialist countries over the critical situation in South West Africa and the tragic condition of its indigenous population.

98. For the past fifty years, South West Africa has in fact been a colony of the Republic of South Africa, and is one of the last strongholds of colonialism in southern Africa.

99. Nevertheless, the question of South West Africa, which has appeared on the agenda of every session of the General Assembly, had not yet been satisfactorily solved. During this time, several dozen resolutions were adopted on it. All the efforts of the United Nations



to persuade the Republic of South Africa to co-operate with it and to heed the voice of reason have come to naught. Accordingly, the question of South West Africa—which is as old as our Organization—appears once again on the agenda of this special session of the General Assembly and awaits final settlement.

100. In pursuit of its unalterable policy of seeking to wipe out colonialism and its after-effects, the Mongolian People's Republic continues to urge that the people of South West Africa should be granted independence forthwith. Our delegation, as everyone knows, voted in favour of General Assembly resolution 2145 (XXI) terminating South Africa's mandate to administer South West Africa.

101. The adoption of that resolution was a major victory in the war of peoples against colonialism. Nevertheless, although the colonial Powers did not dare to oppose openly the adoption of that important resolution, time has shown that in essence their policy remains unchanged.

102. The racist régime of the Republic of South Africa quite openly ignores the General Assembly resolution. Numerous statements by the representatives of the South African authorities have made it plain that the Republic of South Africa has no intention of ending its illegal occupation of the Territory of South West Africa.

103. It is altogether obvious that the South African racists would not have been able to oppose the United Nations resolutions and the just demands of world public opinion if they had not had powerful patrons backing them.

104. The reason for South Africa's obdurate refusal to comply with the United Nations resolutions on South West Africa is that there is a community of interests between the racists and the imperialist Powers. Members of the aggressive military NATO bloc, headed by the United Kingdom, the United States and West Germany, are giving political, military, financial and economic assistance to the South African racists and are thereby actively participating in the pillaging of South West Africa's wealth and the exploitation of its people's labour, and reaping enormous profits.

105. Thanks to the persistent efforts of African and other freedom-loving countries, the United Nations has adopted a number of resolutions calling for economic sanctions against the Republic of South Africa.

106. The Western Powers, however, turning a deaf ear to the repeated appeals of the United Nations, continue to trade with the Republic of South Africa and are still its principal trading partners.

107. In full awareness of the serious consequences of these activities of the Western Powers, the United Nations must vigorously condemn the patrons of the South African racists for their close collaboration with the latter in plundering and mercilessly exploiting African peoples.

108. The Mongolian delegation considers that we must insist that the United States of America, the United Kingdom and other Western Powers should respect and rigorously comply with the United Nations resolutions on South West Africa. The Western Powers

support the South African régime because this furthers their imperialist goal, that of establishing, in the southern part of the African continent, a colonialist military outpost, a stronghold in their fight to put down the national liberation movement of African peoples. This policy of the Western Powers serves the interests of the powerful monopolies, the interests of the money-bags. Hence the proponents of that policy do all they can to preserve and perpetuate the present order of things in the Territory of South West Africa. All this has been amply illustrated and confirmed in the reports of the Committee of Twenty-Four and the statements of many representatives at this session.

109. It is the duty of the United Nations to create favourable conditions enabling the people of South West Africa to win its national independence. In this connexion my delegation believes that the present special session of the General Assembly must categorically demand the withdrawal of all armed and police forces from the Territory of South West Africa and the dismantlement of South Africa's administrative machinery in the Territory. In our opinion, the people of South West Africa would then be in an excellent position to determine its own destiny.

110. Once it has become full master of its own country, every people, including the people of South West Africa, is capable of settling its own affairs independently, without outside interference. In so saying, I am not forgetting that former colonial peoples may encounter difficulties in the course of their independent development. It seems to me that the Organization of African Unity, which comprises all the freedom-loving peoples of Africa, can play a constructive part in overcoming such difficulties.

111. As we all know, the Organization of African Unity has amassed considerable experience in cementing the unity of the African peoples and developing co-operation among the African States. It is making its contribution to the cause of liberating Africa from colonialism and is actively opposing imperialism and racism.

112. For these reasons the Mongolian delegation believes that the Organization of African Unity can play a constructive part in marshaling comprehensive assistance to the people of South West Africa in its long struggle for freedom and national independence.

113. While supporting all efforts to free the people of South West Africa from the oppression of the South African racist régime and to set up an independent State in the Territory, my delegation nevertheless feels that caution must be exercised with regard to plans to create special machinery to administer South West Africa. Still fresh in our memory are the events resulting from the activity of similar organs in the past, which, contrary to the United Nations Charter, were used by certain forces in their own interests, interests that had nothing to do with the aims of the peoples fighting against imperialism. I have in mind, in particular, the sad experience of that young African State, the Congo.

114. At the present session, we must frustrate the attempts of the imperialist Powers to make use of the United Nations in order to perpetuate the colonial system in South West Africa.



115. The delegation of the Mongolian People's Republic is firmly convinced that, with the support of African and other peace-loving States, the people of South West Africa will achieve national independence and create its own sovereign State. It is the duty of the United Nations to assist this people in freeing itself from occupation by the South African racists and embarking on a course of independent development.

116. Mr. BRAITHWAITE (Guyana): My delegation identifies itself unreservedly with the sincere congratulations expressed by other delegations to Ambassador Pazhwak on his election as President at the fifth special session and wishes herewith to affirm its full confidence in his distinguished charmanship, as well as our continuing faith in the United Nations and the Charter on which it is founded. We take this opportunity to express our congratulations to all the members of the Committee of Fourteen, which was charged with finding practical ways and means of implementing General Assembly resolution 2145 (XXI). The task assigned to the Committee was one of the severest to which the intelligence and imagination of any group of persons could have been addressed and it is to the great credit of its members that the proposals which have resulted from their efforts do not exhibit a wider degree of difference and incompatibility.

117. My delegation has carefully studied all the proposals so far presented to this Assembly, bearing in mind that the Ad Hoc Committee was specifically charged to "recommend practical means by which South West Africa should be administered so as to enable the people of the Territory to exercise the right of self-determination and to achieve independence.

118. My delegation believes that the Afro-Pakistan proposal which is now before this Assembly as draft resolution A/L.516 and Add.1-3 fully satisfies the terms of that charge. This Afro-Asian draft resolution is designed explicitly to demonstrate that the United Nations has and is determined to exercise the mandate over the Territory of South West Africa. It recognizes without equivocation that the effective exercise of that mandate would be impossible except and until the physical presence of the United Nations is authoritatively established in the Territory of South West Africa.

119. My delegation declares itself whole-heartedly in support of the Afro-Asian draft resolution in all its parts because it is concerned with "practical means by which South West Africa should be administered", and it is primarily upon agreement to this end that the success, postponement or failure of our deliberations will finally depend.

120. A few days ago this Assembly was reminded of words used in 1947 by the then Prime Minister of Canada, who is quoted as having said: "No society of nations can prosper if it does not have the support of those who hold a major share of the world's military and economic power." The implication is inescapable that that quotation was intended to have a definite bearing on the matter now under debate in this Assembly. We see it as containing overtones and nuances which might well command themselves to careful and critical examination and appraisal by this Assembly,

that there might be no misunderstanding of the positions or postures now assumed or likely to be assumed by those Member nations that are, or consider themselves to be, among "those who hold a major share of the world's military and economic power".

121. We of the Guyana delegation believe that the United Nations, this august body of sovereign States, to the membership of which we are proud and honoured to have been admitted, is the highest and noblest society of nations. It accommodates within itself, in terms of equal membership, those nations which "hold a major share of the world's military and economic power", as well as those other nations which, like my own Guyana, must so single-mindedly occupy themselves in the pursuit of urgent improvements in the basic social and economic standards of their peoples that they have no ambitions to become economic Powers, and they are even less ambitious ever to be in a position to claim possession of any share of the world's military might.

122. We think it fitting to remind this Assembly that the most casual examination of past or present historical events discloses the sobering fact that mere possession of the support of "those who hold a major share of the world's military and economic power" is by itself no assurance or guarantee of the prosperity of a society of nations. One of the lessons learnt from a study of the annals of the now defunct League of Nations is that such support might well prove to be irretrievably disastrous.

123. My delegation believes that the prosperity of the United Nations, this society of nations, should be the primary concern of all its Members, irrespective of their strength or weakness, their wealth or poverty; we believe that the prosperity of this society of nations should always be the paramount responsibility of all its Members, regardless of individual, sectional or regional interests; and we are firmly persuaded that this society of nations, this august body of sovereign States, should command the unreserved support of all its Members, especially when the fundamental concepts upon which its Charter is based are threatened and opposed by a despotic and inhuman régime which stands condemned by all men who believe in the dignity of man and his fundamental human rights.

124. The word "confrontation" has been used in this Assembly in ways which invariably conjure up the disturbing possibility of armed conflict with South Africa and, by implication, with such countries as might rally to its support. It is, however, a matter of factual record that a degree of active confrontation has existed for nearly twenty years between the Government of South Africa and the United Nations, on this very question which now occupies our urgent attention. Such a state of confrontation was deliberately initiated and has since been flagrantly sustained by the Government of South Africa. It must be recognized that, should this degree of active confrontation ever deteriorate to the point where it hardens into armed hostility, the responsibility for such a situation must rest solely with the Government of South Africa, because of its persistent refusal to recognize and accept the authority of the United Nations in the just exercise of its mandate over the Territory of South West Africa.

125. There are those who insist that there must be further dialogue with the Government of South Africa on this issue. My delegation believes that any reasonable possibility of dialogue between parties presupposes at least the intention to listen as well as to be heard. The United Nations has already explored a vast number of avenues in attempting to establish the possibility for reasonable dialogue with the Government of South Africa, but that Government has repeatedly demonstrated itself to be adamant in its refusal to listen and in its resolve to remain in control of the territory and lives of the people of South West Africa. It has spared no effort to entrench itself more and more firmly in that territory and to subject the native peoples to the inhuman brutalities and abuses consistent with its vicious policies of apartheid.

126. My Government and my delegation are firmly committed to the concept and pursuit of peaceful settlement of any dispute. If there were the least glimmer of hope that further dialogue with South Africa would expedite its exodus from the Territory of South West Africa and hasten the establishment there of the physical presence of the United Nations in the exercise of its mandate, my delegation would heartily support its exploitation. There has been no such glimmer.

127. In terms of ground miles, my country is as far removed from the geographical location of South West Africa as are most other countries on the continent of Latin America. We believe that that geographical distance in no way reduces our responsibility fully to encourage and support that country's struggles against an incubus which is, at best, a blight upon all human kind. My country and my delegation believe ourselves to be directly involved in and painfully affected by the problems of the people of South West Africa, perhaps because our own bitter experiences along the road towards self-determination, and our own recently achieved independence, together make the taste of freedom so divinely sweet that we wish the same unstinted pleasure for the people of South West Africa who, if we might borrow a term from contemporary historical language, are our own kith and kin.

128. My delegation believes that whatever ennobles and elevates the hearts and minds of people anywhere ennobles and elevates us. We also believe that whoever or whatever seeks or conspires to abuse and debase the spirit and dignity of people anywhere abuses and debases us, despite the geographical distance which might seem to isolate or insulate us from such abuses and debasements. My delegation believes that there is still time for the Members of this Assembly to recognize that, basic to all our arguments, exhortations, protestations and resolutions is the simple fact that the authority of the United Nations is now being challenged and flouted by an adversary which has publicly and unequivocally declared its contempt for and resistance to that authority. This society of nations in its determination to prosper, should express itself equally determined to enforce its authority and exercise its mandate over the Territory of South West Africa, so that the people of that territory might move forward, unimpeded, to self-determination and independence. To that end, this society of nations should have and expect to have the full and loyal support of all its

Members, even those that might have little else to offer but their love of truth, their unflinching respect for freedom, justice and human dignity and their resolute belief in the brotherhood of all mankind.

129. Mr. CSATORDAY (Hungary): After about half a year of great expectations, we have assembled again to explore the best ways and means of assisting the people of South West Africa to achieve freedom and independence. During the twenty-first session of the General Assembly, the first decisive step was taken in that direction the Mandate of South Africa to administer South West Africa was terminated. By this almost unanimous decision, the United Nations creatively contributed to the liquidation of the colonialist racist régime of South Africa in South West Africa. It is still subject to question whether the most appropriate method was to form an Ad Hoc Committee to study and work out the measures for the administration of South West Africa.

130. The report of that Committee is now before us. While expressing my delegation's deep appreciation for the unsparing efforts of Mr. Jakobson, Chairman of the Committee, and all other members who have tried very hard to find a workable solution for this great problem, I must say that the report is a testimony to the complexities of the problem and the circumstances surrounding it, and, in all frankness, I have to admit that the results are far from satisfactory.

131. Many representatives of the continents of Africa, Asia, Latin America and Europe, while united in their determination to fight against colonialism and imperialism, have repeatedly expressed their concern for the constantly deteriorating situation in the Territory of South West Africa. My delegation joins them in urging a swift solution of this problem, which is aggravated by the fact that the heinous policy of apartheid of the Government of South Africa, described by several Assembly resolutions and other international documents as a "crime against humanity", has ruthlessly been extended to South West Africa too.

132. South West Africa is not an isolated problem, but a part of the whole world-wide colonial issue. Therefore, my delegation believes that our Organization cannot in its consideration disregard the general and versatile features of present imperialism and colonialism. It was very obvious that the minority racist régime of South Africa would not be able to keep South West Africa under its domination without the active support of the NATO Powers and their allies who are directly involved, in pursuit of their economic and military interests, in the prolongation of the apartheid system, not only in South Africa, but also in South West Africa. But they try on every occasion to hide the real interests and intentions under bright-sounding rhetoric.

133. At the United Nations we have too often heard too many pious and empty words by leading Western countries about their support for the self-determination and independence of South West Africa. This has been acknowledged even in the United States Congress. Mr. O'Hara, Chairman of the Subcommittee on Africa of the Committee on Foreign Affairs of the House of Representatives, stated at the second session of the 89th Congress in March 1966, that

"many of the African delegates to the United Nations seemed to feel that we were only giving lipservice, in short, that we were doing a lot of talking against the system".<sup>2/</sup>

134. This opinion has gained many affirmative expressions during our present debate as well. The representative of Ethiopia, Mr. Makonnen, in his profound analysis of the situation on 24 April, rightly raised the problem of

"how long the Western Powers can afford to continue to play what can only be described as a game of double standards by which on the one hand they give support to principles and decisions of the United Nations while on the other hand they continue giving strength to the very forces that obstruct and frustrate the efforts of the Organization." [1503rd meeting, para. 69].

135. Against this and many other waves of justified indignation solidly stand the massive common economic interests built on fabulous profits between the racist minority régime of South Africa and the leading Western Powers.

136. As an illustration, may I quote some figures given by Mr. Alexander Trowbridge, Assistant Secretary of Commerce for Domestic and International Business of the United States, who, at the Hearings of the Subcommittee on Africa of the House of Representatives of the United States, said, among other things:

"From 1962 through 1965 United States exports to South Africa have totaled \$1,332 million, while imports from South Africa have amounted to about \$990 million. ... therefore, United States trade with South Africa has resulted in a favourable trade balance to the United States of \$342 million."<sup>3/</sup>

Further, he explained that South Africa's leading supplier has traditionally been the United Kingdom, which in recent years has accounted for about 30 per cent of South Africa's imports. Other leading suppliers to South Africa have been the United States, with 17 to 19 per cent; West Germany, with 10 per cent; Japan, with 6.5 per cent, and other Western countries. But taking only these four countries, they supplied two thirds of the total imports of South Africa, and took about the same proportion of South Africa's exports. But they are going further. They are not only keeping the economy going in South Africa, but are making every effort to expand it by lucrative investments.

137. According to Mr. Trowbridge, total foreign investments in South Africa in 1964, as estimated by the South African Reserve Bank, totalled \$4,300 million, out of which \$2,700 million came from the United Kingdom, and \$600 million from the United States. This latest figure represents about 11 per cent. According to him, South Africa ranks as the seventeenth largest area for United States private foreign investment, from which, on an annual basis, the earnings amounted to \$82 million in 1963 and

\$87 million in 1964. The blood and tears of the black workers in South Africa and South West Africa are enriching only the big United States monopolies and other international corporations.

138. Furthermore, South Africa supplies no less than 70 per cent of the gold production of the Western world, which balances its accounts with the outside world, and also serves as a vital buttress of the American monetary system. Thus, this relationship is considered as a system of mutual stabilization, and the United States and their allies abhor the idea of ending the national, economic and racial oppression, for the people would then eliminate the multiple exploitation and take a just share of all the wealth of their country into their own hands.

139. Mr. Mennen Williams, former Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, speaking before the Subcommittee on Africa of the United States House of Representatives, himself acknowledged that the trade between South Africa and the United States considerably increased over previous years, mainly in strategic goods, since South Africa is a major producer of uranium, and the Western world's largest producer of chrome, manganese and diamonds. He also emphasized the strategic value of South Africa to the United States in another aspect, with the following words:

"The position of southern Africa athwart the sea route around the Cape of Good Hope makes its ports highly useful logistically to the United States Navy, particularly in support of Atlantic Fleet ships en route to and from Vietnam waters. If the Mediterranean route were closed, the importance of the cape route would be enhanced."<sup>4/</sup>

140. Everybody knows what is at stake in South East Asia. In Viet-Nam the United States is intensifying its aggressive war, causing immense material and human destruction to the heroic people of Viet-Nam who are struggling against foreign intervention and for self-determination and independence.

141. In South West Africa the exercise of the inalienable right of the people to independence is hindered by the same forces which are directly involved in the prolongation of racist minority rule in the southern part of Africa. Thus, there is a direct link between an imperialist war and the colonial oppression and racial discrimination practised in many countries—not only in Asia, Africa and Latin America, but even in northern America as well.

142. Mr. Mennen Williams openly admitted this thought to the United States Congress. He said:

"We"—that is, Americans—"cannot neglect either our own values and specific interests in South Africa or those of our major allies whose co-operation is of great importance to our worldwide policy goals."<sup>5/</sup>

143. The destruction of Asian, Latin American, African or other peoples does not count for United States world-wide policy goals or for the global strategy of the United States. For those purposes the violations of basic principles of international law

<sup>2/</sup> United States Congress, House of Representatives, Hearings before the Subcommittee on Africa of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, 89th Congress, Second Session, Part I, p. 13.

<sup>3/</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 45.

<sup>4/</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 7.

<sup>5/</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 13.

do not count. That attitude of the United States has been manifested, *inter alia*, in its aggressive actions against the peace-loving people of Cuba, by its armed intervention in the Dominican Republic and now in South-East Asia, in one of the most barbarous wars of our recent history.

144. In the light of the above facts and the declared policy of the United States that I have just cited, one thing is quite evident: the primary concern of the United States and its main allies is their global strategy, and therefore it is merely an illusion to expect them to extend their help to the anti-colonial forces of this world body in achieving genuine independence for the remaining colonial territories, including South West Africa.

145. My delegation firmly maintains that the people of South West Africa, just like the people of any other colonial territory, have for a long time had every right to immediate independence. As regards the attainment of that goal, my delegation is convinced that this Organization should deal with the main obstacle in the way of the independence of South West Africa. In my intervention I have tried to focus attention on this problem, namely, the close co-operation between the white minority régime in South Africa and the leading Western Powers. The question of South West Africa is basically a political problem which needs a political approach and a political solution. A purely or mainly administrative approach that would leave political considerations in the background, even temporarily, is highly problematic. It would leave questions open and create uncertainties, further complicating the generally difficult and arduous road leading to genuine independence.

146. We should bear in mind that the steps we are considering now will have a serious impact on the future not only of South West Africa, but also of other colonial territories as well, on the one hand, and on the future practice of the United Nations in handling and resolving colonial issues, on the other hand.

147. Based on past experience, I must express my delegation's concern as regards any United Nations administration under present conditions. We cannot forget the unlawful intervention in Korea, and we cannot forget the so-called Congo operation either. We should not repeat past mistakes or errors.

148. The Hungarian delegation has no doubt about the genuine intentions of the co-sponsors of the present draft resolution [A/L.516 and Add.1-3]. The history of our world Organization shows clearly that we have been and are fighting for the same purpose, shoulder to shoulder with those States for the final liquidation of colonialism. Those countries have had the same experience as the people of South West Africa. They also fought for independence; they needed a strong resolve and had to make many sacrifices. They suffered failures, but in the end they succeeded. Those countries are now more powerful; they gained experience and they know from those experiences that that struggle will continue until success is achieved and colonialism disappears completely from our globe. The success of that struggle depends on the united strength of all the anti-colonialist forces within and without this Organization.

149. The Hungarian Government stands for the immediate independence of the people of South West Africa. It stands for the immediate liquidation of the illegal administration of South Africa in the Territory of South West Africa. In the carrying out of those two major tasks, my delegation considers it necessary to co-operate with the Organization of African Unity. The United Nations, in co-operation with the Organization of African Unity, can give useful assistance in the preparation and holding of elections in the territory and in the transfer of power to the people of South West Africa. We do not wish to overlook the financial implications of such an involvement. Instead of having the revenues of the territory benefit the Western monopolies, we consider that part of those revenues should be used for this purpose.

150. In my delegation's view, however, the consideration of those details has only secondary importance. The basic obstacle, as I have tried to explain, is the powerful economic and strategic interests of the United States and its NATO allies, which are more important to them than the future of South West Africa or of any other people, or even the future of our Organization. For those interests they are waging war in South-East Asia and they are assisting the racist and colonial régime of South Africa in subjugating the black people in the southern part of Africa, in spite of the mounting indignation of world public opinion.

151. The struggle against the mutual interests of the white minority régime in South Africa and the NATO Powers is therefore very difficult. It requires the support of all anti-colonial forces in full unanimity. The community of nations has an important task to perform in exposing their manoeuvres and their collusion at the expense of the peoples suffering under the yoke of colonialism. The anti-imperialist forces should concentrate their efforts on exerting the maximum pressure with all available means, coupled with the admirable struggle of the oppressed peoples against the colonialists and their supporters. Only such a determined effort will lead us to success.

152. My delegation pledges its firm support to the cause of the oppressed colonial peoples for full and immediate independence in South West Africa and everywhere in the world.

153. Finally, Mr. President, allow me to convey to the Ambassador of Afghanistan my delegation's profound satisfaction on the occasion of his re-election by acclamation. I am confident that, under his able and experienced guidance, this special session, in spite of the machinations of the colonial Powers, will make a positive contribution to the freedom and independence of the people of South West Africa.

154. Mr. MOHALE (Lesotho): My delegation must confess to a special bias as far as Ambassador Pazhwak's Presidency is concerned, for apart from observing his wise conduct of the twenty-first session of the General Assembly, we had the privilege of being admitted to the United Nations while he was President. Accordingly, we join the representatives who have spoken before us in congratulating him upon his unanimous election as President of the General Assembly at this special session.

155. The important issues before this special session are, as the President himself stated at the opening meeting [1502nd meeting], fundamental because they touch on the basic principles of this Organization, namely, justice and peace. It is this consideration that has moved my delegation to make a statement and to contribute to the debate.

156. The seriousness of the question of South West Africa must not be underestimated, not only because it touches on the basic reasons why we are all here, but above all because it bears, in our opinion, as indeed some representatives have stated before us, on the future and significance of this Organization and also on the lives of the people of South West Africa and on the destiny of all those nations and peoples included in the southern African complex.

157. It is in the light of the overriding seriousness of this question in all its aspects and implications that my delegation wishes to congratulate the Chairman and members of the Ad Hoc Committee of Fourteen for the efforts they have made within their terms of reference to meet the responsibilities assigned to them under resolution 2145 (XXI). We are all aware that, within that Committee, serious efforts were made by the members to address themselves to the central task of recommending practical measures affecting the responsibility which the United Nations has assumed.

158. While congratulating the Committee for its efforts, we must nevertheless express regret that the members failed to reach consensus, for if they had done so the task of this special session of the General Assembly would have been easier than it is now. Having admitted the difficulty of the task it is perhaps to be expected that finding the solution and the means to effect it will not necessarily be easy. Accordingly, my delegation urges the members of the Ad Hoc Committee especially to continue to consult and confer among themselves with a view to reaching some measure of agreement on one proposal, rather than the agreement to disagree, that is reflected in the report of the Committee [A/6640].

159. My delegation holds the view that the solution of the question of South West Africa, as from the date on which the historic resolution 2145 (XXI) was adopted, remains completely and entirely the responsibility of the United Nations. If we all share the common objective that the people of South West Africa must enjoy their fundamental human rights, like free peoples everywhere, there is no reason why, as an Organization, we must try to pass the responsibility for ensuring the attainment of these common objectives to somebody else. This is our responsibility and we must face it now, or admit our failure.

160. Guided by this principle, my delegation would like to examine some of the proposals outlined in the report of the proceedings in the Ad Hoc Committee and in some of the statements that have been made up to now. In doing so, I should like to begin with the proposal put forward by the socialist group represented by Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union in the Ad Hoc Committee, that the Organization of African Unity be responsible for the administration of South West Africa for an interim period until the inhabitants

are prepared to take over. While we have no cause to question the good faith behind this proposal, our main concern is that it removes the Territory from direct United Nations administration, and we are not convinced that such a step would be in the best interests of the people of South West Africa.

161. My delegation, like others, is not unaware of certain difficulties which have arisen on occasions when the United Nations had to establish its presence in the preservation of peace and pursuit of justice. Be that as it may, my delegation is of the view that, in this instance, the United Nations has already assumed responsibility and that both the nature of the situation as well as consistency with the original intention of the resolution demand that the United Nations should continue to exercise direct responsibility in terms of its commitment under the resolution.

162. Even more important, the representative of Ethiopia made a frank statement before this session as to why it would be impossible for the Organization of African Unity to exercise the responsibility which the United Nations assumed at the twenty-first session. My delegation agrees with his brilliant statement on this issue and only wishes to endorse the appeal which has been made that whatever practical measures this session finally agrees upon should be within the framework of the United Nations rather than outside it.

163. My delegation has also noted that the Western group, composed of Canada, Italy and the United States, proposed [A/6640, para. 84] a commissioner and a council to do further study on a broad basis on how best to help all the people of South West Africa.

164. My delegation has experienced considerable difficulty in reconciling these proposals with the expressed commitment of these Western States to resolution 2145 (XXI). The most striking implication of these proposals is that, at this critical stage, they raise doubts about the commitment of their proponents to the actual implementation of the resolution. My delegation urges the Western States that have supported these proposals to reconsider their position on this vital issue, because it is clear that it is only with their co-operation with all the Members of this Organization that the success of the present exercise will be assured.

165. Most of the representatives who have spoken before me stated that the Latin American [ibid., para. 93] and the Afro-Asian [A/L.516 and Add.1-3] proposals have a great deal in common. My delegation agrees with that assessment. In our view, these proposals, taken together and with some amendments, could come close to fulfilling the requirements of the course of action that this session of the General Assembly should agree upon in order to effect the direct responsibility the United Nations has assumed by adopting resolution 2145 (XXI). Already the delegations concerned have made a genuine effort to deal with practicality in the sense of putting forward concrete proposals for the consideration of this session. They have not attempted to shift the implementation of the resolution either in respect of time or in respect of the agent to discharge the responsibilities. As far as these vital considerations are concerned, my delegation wishes to congratulate them.

166. My delegation is convinced that the central task of the debate on the question of South West Africa is to agree on provisions for the transfer of authority from the present de facto administrator to the United Nations administrative machinery which is proposed. The terms of resolution 2145 (XXI) are clear about the termination of the Mandate previously exercised by South Africa over South West Africa. My delegation considers that it is of the utmost importance that the special session state its agreement in equally clear terms on the actual procedure to be followed concerning the assumption of the de facto administration of the territory.

167. The Kingdom of Lesotho is, like many other Member States of this Organization, committed to a peaceful settlement of the question of South West Africa under the auspices of the United Nations Organization and will spare no effort to see that such a solution is reached with justice to the people of South West Africa, whom we know wish for freedom, as do all human beings. It is here that we wish the emphasis to lie, so that if later there is what some representatives have termed a "possible confrontation", it will not be the United Nations Organization which initiated it.

168. In conclusion, my delegation hopes that a genuine attempt will be made by the different groups represented in the Ad Hoc Committee to consult and confer together in order to reach a consensus that will enable the General Assembly to reach a practical solution to this problem.

169. Mr. KAMIL (Indonesia): When my Foreign Minister addressed this Assembly during its twenty-first session last year (1420th year), he stated that Mr. Pazhwak's election to the Presidency of the "Assembly of reason" underlined the confidence and faith of the whole membership of this Organization in his wisdom and ability. Mr. Pazhwak's re-election to preside over the present fifth special session has once again confirmed our complete confidence and trust in him. Guided by his wise counsel and statesmanlike leadership, this special session will no doubt produce results of which all freedom-loving people will be proud.

170. As you are aware, my delegation, together with some sixty others, has sponsored what has now become known as the Afro-Asian draft resolution [A/L.516 and Add.1-3]. Reviewing the other proposals before the Assembly, my delegation believes that the differences in approach to the problem before us are the result of the differing conclusions resulting from our respective evaluations of the willingness of the South African Government to implement resolution 2145 (XXI). While the evaluations of the Afro-Asian and Latin American delegations have led to more or less the same conclusion, that of the delegations of the United States, Canada and Italy has produced a totally different conclusion.

171. The question may be asked: What are the chances of the Pretoria régime's co-operating with the United Nations in implementing resolution 2145 (XXI) and in providing the South West Africans with the means to exercise their right of self-determination? For the answer, let us review for a moment South Africa's position and behaviour since the United Nations, two decades ago, was seized with the problem of South West Africa and its sister problem of apartheid.

172. As has been stated previously, the South African régime has ignored or violated more than seventy resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council. It has deliberately rejected all measures adopted by the United Nations to restore the international status of South West Africa as a Trust Territory. It has likewise flouted the opinion of the judgments of the highest judicial organ in the world. It has cruelly enforced inhuman laws which have made the South West Africans nothing better than slaves to create riches that are enjoyed only by the white settlers coming from alien countries thousands of miles away.

173. Even after the adoption by the General Assembly of resolution 2145 (XXI), this flagrant attitude with respect to the United Nations has continued unabated. Not only have the Pretoria authorities declared that our historic resolution is illegal, unconstitutional and, therefore—according to them—worthless; they have further tightened the screws on the anti-apartheid and freedom fighters in the area. Furthermore, they have established the so-called Ovamboland, claimed to be an area where the people enjoy self-government.

174. It is because of this development of events over the past decades that the sponsors of the Afro-Asian draft resolution cannot see the usefulness of further dialogues with the South African Government regarding the fate of one million people now inhabiting South West Africa. I specifically say "further dialogues", for how many times has the United Nations, in the past, tried to enter into discussion with Pretoria, only to have its effort at reconciliation brushed aside every time.

175. One of the co-authors of the so-called Western proposal [A/6640, para. 84] has suggested the possibility of the United Nations co-operating with South Africa to establish a nucleus of self-government for South West Africa. Is this not a little too much of wishful thinking?—especially since the Ad Hoc Committee has unanimously condemned South Africa for violating resolutions 2145 (XXI) and 1514 (XV) by establishing Ovamboland. My delegation does not see the logic of condemning South Africa for violating the resolutions and of believing, at the same time in South Africa's co-operation in upholding the very same resolutions it has violated.

176. It has also been proposed, among other things, that the United Nations make a comprehensive survey of the situation in South West Africa, ascertain what elements might be considered as representative of the peoples in the territory and determine the necessary conditions for the area to achieve its independence. But, as you know, voluminous documents have already been produced and circulated by the United Nations regarding South West Africa; and furthermore, studies are not the tasks and duties laid down for the United Nations in resolution 2145 (XXI). In very clear and certain language this resolution declares that the task of the United Nations is to establish in South West Africa an administration under the direct responsibility of the United Nations "so as to enable the people... to exercise the right of self-determination and to achieve independence". This is exactly the assignment which the Afro-Asian delegations designate for the United Nations council and the United Nations



commissioner in their draft resolution. The council's terms of reference are very limited. The very moment the council is installed in the territory, it will set in motion the necessary machinery for the formation of an independent State of South West Africa established for and by the people themselves.

177. What would be the status of this interim international administration vis-à-vis the United Nations? My delegation does not claim to know very much of the English language but, to us, "direct responsibility" does not mean and does not signify "indirect responsibility".

178. The delegations of the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia, who have always worked hand in hand in the United Nations with the Afro-Asian delegations in the struggle for the liberation of countries and peoples under the yoke of colonialism have proposed, among other things, that the Organization of African Unity play a major role in co-operation with the United Nations in the implementation of resolution 2145 (XXI). My delegation believes that this proposal should be given very serious consideration. The Organization of African Unity is an organization of our African brother States, and they are proud—justly proud—of the achievements of that organization in its short span of life. However, my delegation cannot be a judge as to the availability, willingness, ability or capacity of the Organization of African Unity with respect to the role envisaged for it by the delegations of the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia.

179. My delegation can point out only, first, that the Afro-Asian draft resolution [A/L.516 and Add.1-3] has been fully endorsed by the Council of Ministers of the Organization of African Unity and, second, that our African friends in this Assembly apparently are reluctant to lend their support to the idea of involvement by the Organization of African Unity, at least at the present stage.

180. My delegation fully agrees with the President's wise counsel that "patience and realism" should guide us in our search for a solution that will bring hope and inspiration to the one million people now living under the yoke of oppression. It is not at all an exaggeration to say that the United Nations has, in the past twenty years, displayed the greatest patience and forbearance in the face of the contemptuous attitude and haughty reactions of the South African Government to United Nations pleading and kotowing. From this rostrum, my delegation wishes to pay a tribute to the delegations of Africa, which, in spite of continuous failures, have insisted on taking peaceful and legal measures in their unstinting effort to bring freedom to South West Africa. If, however, at this stage, the African and Asian delegations are accused of impatience, we can only say that they cannot be blamed if they do show impatience. They have turned their right cheek; they have turned their left cheek. Only their dignity remains, and that is not for sale.

181. As to the President's wise counsel for "realism", my delegation fully agrees that any action we take here which is not based on realism will not be worth the many days of tiring work and effort we have put in. It is exactly "realism" which is the cornerstone of the Afro-Asian draft resolution, the sponsors of which realize that, in solving the problem, the United Nations

has to face a Government which for twenty years has stubbornly ignored and flouted the will of the United Nations. Can one, then, be called realistic if one does not take into account the fact that more than seventy resolutions have gone down the drain, that more than twenty years have been wasted? Thus, the Afro-Asian draft resolution, recalling the countless failures of the past, and using resolution 2145 (XXI) as the basis, calls on the Assembly to march ahead and push forward in the fulfilment of the sacred duty of the United Nations toward the people of South West Africa. My delegation sincerely hopes that this draft resolution will be adopted by this Assembly by an overwhelming majority.

182. Lastly, while the whole world hungers for peace and while we in the United Nations strive in defence or in search of peace, let us not forget that to our one million brothers in South West Africa peace is still something foreign; to them, to the South West Africans, peace has yet to come.

183. Mr. COLE (Sierra Leone): At the start of the twenty-first session of the General Assembly, Ambassador Pazhwak was unanimously elected President. The members of the General Assembly thereby paid a resounding tribute to his statesmanship, to his ability to suggest and arrive at conclusions to seemingly difficult issues. He guided us through that session, and we were able to adopt historic resolution 2145 (XXI) on 27 October 1966 with only South Africa and Portugal voting against and three delegations abstaining. Under operative paragraph 6 of that resolution, the Assembly established an Ad Hoc Committee for South West Africa, composed of fourteen Member States, and requested the convening of a special session of the General Assembly not later than April 1967.

184. It is therefore no accident that we have again recognized the President's great diplomatic and political judgement and have unanimously elected him to preside over this fifth special session. On behalf of my delegation and my country, Sierra Leone, I join with other representatives in offering him our heartiest congratulations. With the General Committee—in effect, the Bureau of the General Assembly—having the same composition as at the twenty-first session, we are certain that we shall make progress on the burning issue before us. I may at this time express my delegation's sincere hope that at this special session the General Assembly will, with the same kind of co-operation as was displayed a few months ago, move unanimously to find the "practical means by which South West Africa should be administered, so as to enable the people of the Territory to exercise the right of self-determination and to achieve independence".

185. The fourteen-member Ad Hoc Committee for South West Africa has submitted its report [A/6640]. My delegation followed the meetings of that Committee closely and was able to observe the differences in approach and the common ground which became apparent in the discussions and which have been crystallized in the three proposals contained in the report, as well as in the ideas put forward by the socialist States of Eastern Europe. My delegation has noted how hard all the members of the Committee worked together in their attempt to find the kind of solution we should have liked. May I take this opportunity to record my delegation's sincere appreciation for the work the Committee did.



186. That the Ad Hoc Committee for South West Africa never arrived at a conclusion is no reason for despair. The report clearly indicates the position of the African and Pakistan members, the position of three Western countries; the position of the Latin Americans and Japan; and the position of the socialist States of Eastern Europe. There is basic agreement on the goal—that, in fact, is stated in operative paragraph 6 of resolution 2145 (XXI). We may recall that at the start of the twenty-first session it appeared for a while that no agreement could be reached. Yet, by the patient perseverance of almost all the Members of this body, we were able to decide, in the words of the resolution, that

"the Mandate conferred upon His Britannic Majesty to be exercised on his behalf by the Government of the Union of South Africa is therefore terminated, that South Africa has no other right to administer the Territory and that henceforth South West Africa comes under the direct responsibility of the United Nations".

187. That was our moment of triumph. It was an expression of our willingness to sacrifice, to co-operate for the sake of justice and freedom. Having made that decision, we must now take the next logical step and ensure that South Africa henceforth will, again in the words of resolution 2145 (XXI)

"refrain and desist from any action, constitutional administrative, political or otherwise, which will in any manner whatsoever alter or tend to alter the present international status of South West Africa".

In that, too, we must not fail.

188. The three proposals before us call for the appointment of a United Nations council for South West Africa, composed of States Members of this Organization. There is agreement that it is necessary to have a United Nations commissioner or special representative to take care of certain matters. However, there is no unanimity on the functions and powers of that commissioner or special representative or on the role of the council. There is division about the relationship between the council and the commissioner.

189. These three proposals envisage varying degrees of action by the United Nations organs. The Western proposals [A/6640, para. 84] are couched in a language which leaves no doubt that the function of the council and special representative is purely exploratory, and they set out the nature of this exploration.

190. One might well ask, what is there left to discover? The pernicious practice of apartheid has been condemned enough by all Members of the United Nations except one; the statements of responsible South African Ministers of Government leave one in no doubt of their intention. On 21 March 1967, the Minister for Bantu Administration and Development and of Bantu Education suggested that South Africa was offering the people of Ovamboland—that is, a part of South West Africa—what it termed "self-government". It was thrown as a bait to the little fishes in the United Nations; it was meant to divert their attention from the violation which had gone on since 1920; it was calculated to win support from South Africa's allies. Thus some delegations have been carried away

by this so-called "change of heart" of South Africa and are willing to negotiate.

191. What those delegations have overlooked is that South Africa's conception of self-government in its application to non-whites is white superiority and domination. This has been repeated from time to time in policy speeches in the South African Parliament. What guarantee have we that the Odendaal plan,<sup>6/</sup> which not so long ago left the drawing board, will not be implemented fully in South West Africa? That plan is a violation of our most recent resolution on South West Africa. I refer to resolution 2145 (XXI). I need not remind Members that it is contrary to paragraph 6 of the Declaration contained in resolution 1514 (XV) which reads:

"Any attempt aimed at the partial or total disruption of the national unity and the territorial integrity of a country is incompatible with the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations,"

and of course, with the whole purport and meaning of Chapter XI of the Charter.

192. Resolution 1514 (XV) states: "Inadequacy of political, economic, social or educational preparedness should never serve as a pretext for delaying independence." Yet we find in the Western proposals that the special representative is to make a comprehensive survey of the situation in the territory with particular reference to its human and material resources.

193. I would hesitate to suggest that the sponsors of the Western proposals are in disagreement with that paragraph of resolution 1514 (XV). When that is taken with the recommendation in the Western proposals—"To determine the necessary conditions that will enable South West Africa to achieve self-determination and independence"—the effect is twofold. In the first place, there is some doubt in people's minds whether South West Africa can achieve independence within a short time. My delegation has always maintained that when a people desires independence, it should have it. In the twenty years' existence of the United Nations we have heard petitioners, not from a single group, nor from a single party. They have a common aim— independence in the shortest possible time. Only yesterday we again heard this clarion call from two petitioners.

194. Secondly, an atmosphere of leisureliness is portrayed. It is argued that, after all, South Africa has been in this territory since 1920; the League did not push very hard, and it took the United Nations another twenty years to make up its mind. It might not hurt, it is suggested, if it took another twenty years to coax South Africa to leave the territory. Meanwhile, let all the diamonds and other minerals in the territory continue to be exploited and the land be left barren. Let us also continue to look the other way when South Africa systematically invites immigrant from specific areas so that in twenty years a referendum might be taken with predetermined results. Let the South West Africans continue to toil in the mines and sweat in the fields and remain illiterate with very little education, poor health, and let them die out.

<sup>6/</sup> See Report of the Commission of Enquiry into South West Africa Affairs, 1962-63, Pretoria, Government Printer, 1964.

195. For too long the General Assembly has waited—waited for something which it knew could never happen. In a spirit of rare courage we voted together and adopted that resolution 2145 (XXI). Let no Member State of this Organization appear to renegade on that decision.

196. As regards the Latin American proposal [A/6640, para. 93], suffice it to say that it allows for discussion and negotiation, but it makes no provision for enforcement.

197. I now come to the Afro-Asian proposals [A/L.516 and Add.1-3]. In my delegation's view, they do not preclude discussion or negotiation. They make provision, however, for the contingency that South Africa refuses to move.

198. One can negotiate only when there are agreed basic principles. The principle enunciated by the twenty-first session of the General Assembly, and which is stated and restated in the Charter, is that the territory was under a Mandate and that South Africa failed to fulfil its obligations towards the territory and has no other right to administer the territory.

199. Six months have passed since that resolution was adopted. Did South Africa show any willingness to surrender this Mandate? Did it support or even abstain from voting on the General Assembly resolution? Have its most recent acts not been in contravention of the Charter and resolution 1514 (XV)? How can it be said that the well-being of the people's is being sought when you divide them, when they are broken into very small groups instead of being forged into a nation as has happened in the Americas and is happening in most parts of Africa where white and black, people of different language and cultures, are together as one, building up developing nations?

200. With due respect to other delegations, it is day-dreaming to be convinced that South Africa will change its very foolish posture. Acceptance by South Africa of the United Nations right and responsibility to administer the territory is the only prerequisite to discussion or negotiation. Our support for the Afro-Asian proposals could be based on this alone. That, however, is not all. These proposals, like the Latin-American proposals, eliminate any conflict between the council and the commissioner. They clearly enunciate the functions of the council to which

the commissioner will be responsible. By these proposals the council is given wide powers, some of which could be delegated by the council to the commissioner. In my delegation's view, here is a tidy, orderly and effective set-up which takes a realistic account of the conditions existing in the territory.

201. One final point. The Ad Hoc Committee was to recommend "practical means" by which South West Africa should become independent. We have witnessed in Southern Rhodesia to what a lack of clear, positive steps by the United Kingdom has led. It has led to frustration. It led to Smith's illegal unilateral declaration of independence and consequent disillusionment, headache and loss of confidence in some of the great Powers.

202. At the moment, individual nations are spending billions of dollars in all parts of the world on some ideology. They defend it; they fight for it. They overthrow Governments not partial to their thinking. Countries continue to increase their trade with nations whose policy they detest in public but condone in private. Yet on an issue like South West Africa, which involves human dignity, it would appear that we are finding it difficult to achieve unanimity in our course of action.

203. We should profit from all these occurrences of our time. We should not allow the same ambivalence to occur twice in two years in the same part of the world, or anywhere else for that matter. South Africa should know in advance what the world community is willing to undertake to ensure that justice and freedom prevail. These are very practical steps, to let your enemy—for that is what South Africa has become to most of us—know what you are prepared to do. That is why my delegation, in conjunction with at least fifty-seven other delegations, has co-sponsored the Afro-Asian draft resolution. My delegation commends that draft resolution to the unanimous approval of this body. It is the only positive means whereby we can make greater achievements on this long-outstanding issue of South West Africa.

204. The PRESIDENT (translated from Spanish): I shall have much pleasure in conveying to the President of the General Assembly, Mr. Pazhwak, the congratulations addressed to him this afternoon.

*The meeting rose at 6 p.m.*





**CONTENTS**

	Page
<i>Agenda item 7:</i>	
<i>Question of South West Africa (continued) . . .</i>	1

**President: Mr. Abdul Rahman PAZHWAQ  
(Afghanistan).**

**AGENDA ITEM 7**

**Question of South West Africa**

1. Mr. TARABANOV (Bulgaria): I should like first of all, Mr. President, to convey to you the sincerest congratulations of the delegation of the People's Republic of Bulgaria on your unanimous election as President of the fifth special session of the General Assembly.

2. The statements of other delegations have shown that, despite certain differences as to the kind of action which should be undertaken, the great majority of States Members are united by the common aims and basic principles of a constant and sincere anti-colonial policy. These delegations are determined to spare no effort to implement the noble ideals of the Charter and of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, and also of resolution 2145 (XXI), in the case of South West Africa.

3. There is hardly any need for me to point out that the General Assembly took stock of more than twenty years' discussions in the main United Nations bodies when it adopted resolution 2145 (XXI), terminating the Mandate by which the South African racists justified the establishment of a colonial régime and racial segregation in South West Africa.

4. If, however, despite the adoption of resolution 2145 (XXI) and the opinions expressed by the vast majority of Member States, the present situation in South West Africa remains unchanged, it can be seen from the present discussion that the blame lies solely with certain Western Powers who have placed obstacles along the path of liberation in these countries. Despite the fact that these Powers have made desperate attempts to cover up their real intentions and basic attitudes, the truth is obvious to everybody.

5. The sound and truly anti-colonial forces in our Organization will have to redouble their efforts to win acceptance for the South West African people's right to independence in the face of these obstacles and of the two-faced policies of the Western Powers. The Bulgarian delegation, like the vast majority of the delegations who have spoken before it, will spare no effort and will work in close co-operation with all

the delegations and, above all, with those from the Afro-Asian countries in order to achieve the objectives and aims of resolution 2145 (XXI).

6. We feel that it is the duty of our Organization, in accordance with resolution 2145 (XXI), to take the steps required to ensure that the principles of the Charter and the historic Declaration on decolonization in order to put an end to the stubborn resistance of the South African racists and their protectors.

7. The position of the People's Republic of Bulgaria with regard to South West Africa is in conformity with its policy of unreserved support for oppressed peoples in their fight for freedom and independence and in opposition to neo-colonial intervention and imperialist aggression. Now whilst we are studying the practical measures to be adopted in order to help the people of South West Africa to exercise their right of self-determination and independence, the delegation of the People's Republic of Bulgaria would like to reaffirm that, as in the past, our country, our people and our Government will, with all their strength, continue to support the struggle of oppressed peoples for their national liberation and independence. We should like to assure the African delegations that, as has been the case hitherto, the delegation of the People's Republic of Bulgaria will always be at their side when effective measures are to be adopted and implemented in order to end the base régime of apartheid in South West Africa and in all other parts of Africa, although our opinions may differ in some respects concerning the nature of the measures and methods to be used.

8. As a socialist country, the People's Republic of Bulgaria and its delegation have particularly appreciated the consideration and understanding which nearly all African delegations have shown during the general debate towards the consistent anti-colonial policy of the socialist countries. If the whole issue depended solely on the attitude and policy of the socialist countries, the régimes of colonial and racial oppression would have long since been swept away from the surface of our planet and the peoples of these countries would be in a position to run their lives freely without outside interference.

9. During the present debate we have seen that there are some partisans of the "possible" who cling to an outdated colonialist policy which they identify with what seems "desirable" in the eyes of the international monopolies established in South West Africa under the auspices of the apartheid régime of South Africa. It is because of the existence of this régime that the monopolists in that Territory are able to make enormous profits which they could not make elsewhere. The importance of the régime and the apartheid policy

for foreign firms can be seen from the sincere admission of a British businessman who, in The New York Times of 21 December 1962, was quoted as saying that without apartheid—and it mattered little whether investors liked that policy or not—they would not even have thought of investing in South Africa.

10. This completely cynical but very true statement explains why certain Western countries adopted the so-called policy of "the possible" towards South Africa, that has set itself up as master of South West Africa, an act which is now a violation of the decisions of the General Assembly. It is true that the delegations of these countries, including the United States, voted for resolution 2145 (XXI) of 27 October 1966, in which the General Assembly decided to terminate the Mandate of South Africa and added that that country had no other right to administer the Territory and that henceforth South West Africa would come under the direct responsibility of the United Nations. They may, however, have been obliged to adopt that attitude by the high-minded enthusiasm of the African countries and their friends during the twenty-first session.

11. Although this resolution clearly expressed the will and determination of the majority of Member States, the United Nations decision on South West Africa, like the resolutions on apartheid and on Southern Rhodesia, did not have any positive results and the Pretoria racists, with their usual arrogance, continued after 27 October 1966 to declare their determination to remain in South West Africa despite resolution 2145 (XXI). That situation was due, rather, to the fierce opposition of the well-known forces and powers of whom the Pretoria racists and their associates in Salisbury are merely the humble servants.

12. That policy of open support practised by certain Western Powers for the desperate attempts of the South African racists to keep South West Africa under the apartheid régime is part of a more general framework of repression, intervention and aggression against the countries and peoples who are struggling for their freedom and national independence. The armed intervention against the Dominican Republic, the mass repression of the struggle by the people of Aden and the Southern Arabian Peninsula and, above all, the war of aggression which the United States is waging against the heroic people of Viet-Nam are just a few striking examples of that general policy.

13. The heroic people of Viet-Nam and the people who are living under the inhuman apartheid régime and under the colonial yoke have, throughout the world, friends who will not fail to come to their side in the decisive fight for their freedom and against foreign aggression. Recently at the Conference of Karlovy-Vary on European security, the first secretary of the Bulgarian Communist Party and the Prime Minister of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, Todor Jivkov, stated:

"Faithful to our international duty, we, the party and the people, will continue to give our moral, economic, technical and other assistance to the Viet-Nameese people in its fight against American aggression to the best of our ability.

"We declare that we are prepared to send volunteers if the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam should so request."

I am quite sure that this statement expresses the state of mind which prevails not only throughout the socialist countries but throughout the world.

14. The background to the question of South West Africa, a victim of foreign aggression and inhuman colonial exploitation, is well known. However, certain important aspects deserve closer attention.

15. The racist régime of Pretoria has followed and continues to follow a policy of plundering the natural resources of the country and pitilessly exploiting the human resources. In that territory, the South African racists have created conditions which are extremely favourable for capitalist monopolies, and above all for the monopolies of Great Britain, the United States and West Germany which continue to operate in that territory and to draw enormous profits from it. It is because foreign capital and foreign monopolies occupy such an important place in the economy of South West Africa, that they constitute the main opposition to the implementation in that Territory of the Declaration on the granting of independence. Thus, the liberation of South West Africa and the abolition of the odious system of apartheid would put an end to colonial exploitation by proxy on the part of these monopolies.

16. But one question immediately arises: are not the activities of those foreign monopolies owned by citizens of the States Members of the United Nations just as illegal as the presence of South Africa in South West Africa? Would it not be proper to ask those monopolies and their owners—citizens of States Members of the United Nations that voted in favour of resolution 2145 (XXI)—to comply with the decisions taken by the General Assembly and to co-operate with the United Nations, since South West Africa now comes directly under the responsibility of the United Nations?

17. We too are convinced that only the support given by the great imperialist Powers in the political, economic, military and other fields to maintain this colonial stronghold in southern Africa allows the South African régime to continue its illegal domination of South West Africa. The States which support the South African racists fully share the responsibility for the criminal acts which the racists commit against the South West African peoples. The General Assembly should, in its present session, strongly condemn that support and demand that an end should be put to the collaboration with the South African régime.

18. The delegation of the People's Republic of Bulgaria supports the legitimate request made by the African countries that the necessary measures should be taken to free South West Africa from the grip of colonialism and apartheid. The continued existence and strengthening of that bastion of colonialist and imperialist forces in southern Africa could prove to be an immediate danger for Africa as well as for the security and freedom of those African countries that have recently recovered their independence.

19. We do, however, share the grave doubts expressed by certain delegations about the technical aspects and the ways and means of implementing the proposals concerning the transfer of power. To instruct the authority set up by the United Nations to administer the Territory would mean limiting to some extent the

independence and sovereignty of the people of South West Africa if it did not actually mean the replacement of one trusteeship system by another.

20. We are certain, on the other hand, that once the people of South West Africa are their own masters, they will be able to find in their own territory the necessary material and human resources to set up a sovereign independent state, supported and assisted, of course, by their African brothers, by the Organization of African Unity and by the United Nations. All the efforts of the United Nations and of the true friends of the South West African people should at present be directed towards one goal which seems to us to be the most important at this time: to find a way to expel South Africa and its illegal administration from the territory of South West Africa.

21. To arrive at a final settlement of the South West African problem which is in conformity with the interests of the population of that Territory, and the South African régime must first be eliminated and the Territory declared independent.

22. The delegation of the People's Republic of Bulgaria believes that certain measures should now be decided and the means found of carrying them out. Firstly, the main decision contained in resolution 2145 (XXI) should be confirmed. Secondly, all the South African armed forces must be immediately withdrawn from the Territory of South West Africa, the administrative and police apparatus for oppression and subjugation must be eliminated, all political prisoners must be released immediately and all political exiles must be returned to their country. Thirdly, those countries which continue to give their economic and political support to South Africa, notwithstanding the flagrant violation by that country of the decisions contained in resolution 2145, must be condemned. Fourthly, an appeal must be addressed to all countries and especially to the United States of America and United Kingdom to sever their relations with the Republic of South Africa if the latter continues to flout the resolutions of the United Nations; fifthly, opportunities must be provided by the Organization of African Unity to develop, in co-operation with the United Nations, large-scale activities to help the South West African people and to assist them to prepare to set up an African administration and a representative Government.

23. It is equally essential that, as stressed in the Afro-Asian draft resolution [A/L.516 and Add.1-3] the United Nations should give real assistance to South West Africa by providing qualified personnel, experts and technicians in the appropriate fields. After the declaration of its independence, all the economic and technical assistance South West Africa will require should be provided to it under the programmes of the United Nations and specialized agencies.

24. The Bulgarian delegation considers that the present discussion has again brought out the fact that the truly anti-colonial forces are united in their belief in the need to terminate the domination by the South African racist régime without delay, to eliminate immediately the police and administrative machinery of the South African Republic in South West Africa and to grant freedom and independence to the people

of that territory, despite certain differences concerning the methods to be employed.

25. The Bulgarian delegation will join in the efforts of the Afro-Asian people and delegations in order to settle the problem of South West Africa as quickly as possible in the interests of its martyred people.

26. Mr. LOPEZ (Philippines): For twenty-one years the United Nations has been playing a Hamlet-like role on the question of South West Africa. Our distinguished Secretary-General, addressing the Ad Hoc Committee for South West Africa at its first meeting on 17 January, recalled that the question of South West Africa has been considered by the General Assembly at every session since 1946, that the Assembly had adopted seventy-six resolutions on the question, and that it had been referred four times to the International Court of Justice. On the basis of a rough calculation, probably not less than 30 million words have been written and spoken in various United Nations organs about South West Africa; and if we multiply this figure by the number of official languages used, we arrive at the astounding total of 100 million words, or approximately the equivalent of a fair-sized library of a thousand volumes.

27. We dwell on these statistics with a certain equanimity only because we know that we are coming to the end of a long, long road. For the General Assembly embarked upon an irreversible course of action when it adopted resolution 2145 (XXI), and it is now precluded from back-tracking, by-passing and any other tactic of evasion. The mighty torrent of words must stop, debate must lead to decision, and verbiage must yield to action at last.

28. It is in this conviction that the Philippines participates in the present debate. All the political, legal, philosophical and moral aspects of the question have been threshed out here and in other forums of the United Nations. We must, therefore, proceed on the assumption that the General Assembly has been called in special session not to modify or reverse the decision it has already taken terminating the Mandate of South Africa over South West Africa, but only to take all necessary measures to give effect to that decision. This is a task so grave in itself and in its possible consequences that we may hope to accomplish it only with a just combination of prudence and resolution. But it must be the sort of prudence which wisely calculates the risks involved without at the same time underestimating the capacity of the United Nations to overcome them; and it must be the type of resoluteness which understands that the strength of the United Nations, when harnessed to beneficent ends, can be as the strength of ten.

29. Two main reasons have been urged for moving slowly, indeed for delaying the implementation of the decision terminating the Mandate and placing the Territory under the direct authority of the United Nations preparatory to independence. It has been urged, first of all, that we must make one last effort to enter into a dialogue with South Africa and to secure its voluntary co-operation in effecting the transfer of the Territory to temporary United Nations Administration. But the Government of South Africa is represented at this session and sits in this Assembly, and it should be possible to ascertain forthwith its

intentions in this matter. Alternatively, since all three proposals endorsed to us by the Ad Hoc Committee have one thing in common in that they provide for the creation of a United Nations council for South West Africa, it should be an easy matter for this council, as soon as it is created, to establish contact with the Government of South Africa in order to ascertain its intentions and to arrange the modalities of the transfer of administration.

30. If there are delegations which nevertheless consider this preliminary contact with the South African authorities to be a necessary act of conscience, we should be quite prepared to afford them the satisfaction they seek. However, it would be a mistake to base our entire plan of action on the forlorn hope that South Africa, of its free will and volition, will hand over the Territory to the United Nations. It should be clearly understood that this would be little more than the intellectual equivalent of crossing all the t's and dotting all the i's in the record, but no more. In the latest official communication we have received from the Permanent Mission of South Africa to the United Nations, dated 20 April 1967, we find the categorical statement that South Africa regards resolution 2145 (XXI) as illegal and contrary to the Charter. Therefore, the hope that South Africa, by some miraculous act of conversion, might after all agree to transfer the Territory to United Nations administration is one that we are unable to share.

31. Next, we are told that it would be necessary in any case to ascertain first the wishes of the inhabitants regarding their future. But it would obviously be impossible to ascertain the true wishes of the inhabitants as long as they stand in the shadow of South African authority. Their genuine aspirations can be determined only under the impartial auspices of the United Nations itself.

32. We have been reminded that since politics is the art of the possible, we should, on this question, attempt only what is possible. But where, on this question, is the outermost limit of the possible? Far beyond anything that we could have hoped, resolution 2145 (XXI) was adopted last October by a nearly unanimous vote of the Assembly. We are now warned that we should not insist on a resolution which anticipates the application of enforcement measures under Chapter VII of the Charter, because the big Powers would never support such a resolution in the Assembly. We are further warned that if such a resolution were nevertheless adopted and enforcement measures were subsequently required to compel compliance therewith on the part of South Africa, one or more of the permanent members of the Security Council would be certain to veto such measures.

33. These things can of course happen. But what is our alternative? Having come so far along the road, having decided and declared the Mandate to be terminated, the right and duty of the United Nations to administer the Territory preparatory to independence ceases to be negotiable. At the same time, this right and duty of the United Nations can be eroded by vacillation and finally nullified by inaction. Our choice, therefore, is quite clear. Let the General Assembly in its wisdom do what it believes it must do to implement its resolution 2145 (XXI) in the light of its obliga-

tions under the Charter; and, in its turn, let the Security Council in its own wisdom do what it will have to do when confronted with an imperative request from the General Assembly to take enforcement measures against a recalcitrant South Africa. Let the Assembly and the Council act within the ambit of their respective duties and powers. We are confident that each of these organs will, in turn, at the moment of truth rise to the measure of its responsibilities. For, in our view, it would be most unseemly for this General Assembly of 122 sovereign Member States to allow itself to be deflected from a just and necessary course of action by the thought that one or two or even three permanent members of the Security Council, however powerful they may be, might veto a subsequent request or proposal to apply enforcement measures against South Africa.

34. Some delegations would prefer to omit any reference to Chapter VII of the Charter. It is like a bad word or an unpleasant subject which no one brings up in decent company. It is a sword brandished in the air. But if reason and persuasion should fail and South Africa should elect to defy the United Nations, a request for enforcement measures would surely be addressed to the Security Council, either by a special emergency session of the General Assembly or by any one of the five Afro-Asian members of the Security Council. In other words, subsequent Security Council action would inevitably follow South African defiance of a General Assembly resolution, whether or not that resolution contained a reference to Chapter VII. Since that would be the case, the inclusion of an explicit reference to Chapter VII in the text of the resolution would serve as a warning to South Africa, whereas the omission of such a reference would equally certainly serve as an encouragement to it.

35. There are perhaps half a dozen countries in this Assembly which, if they were to apply their individual and collective influence and leverage upon South Africa, could get it to move with deliberate speed out of South West Africa. Is it really conceivable that the great former imperial Powers, the United Kingdom, France and the United States, which themselves were compelled by the inexorable force of history and by the decent opinion of mankind to set free their vast colonial territories, thus making possible one of the greatest revolutionary transformations of our time—is it conceivable that, together, they have not the means and the power, if they wish to use them, to persuade South Africa to follow in their own footsteps and move into the twentieth century?

36. As a sponsor of the draft resolution [A/L.516 and Add.1-3], we should like to say candidly that, while it may be possible to modify and perhaps improve our proposal in certain minor details, it cannot be radically altered in its major dispositions without reducing our efforts of the past twenty-one years to an exercise in irrelevance and futility. Having terminated the Mandate, the United Nations now has no choice but to get in there or stay out and for ever hold its peace.

37. We can rethink and reconsider the details of the problem, and we can procrastinate in order to delay an unpleasant or painful decision. But all these hesitations and vacillations, all these dodges and



subterfuges cannot alter the basic elements of the problem. In the end we must accept the categorical imperative of an ultimate decision, as proposed in the Afro-Asian draft resolution—having discovered, with the gloomy Prince of Denmark, that:

"And thus the native hue of resolution  
Is sicklied o'er with the pale cast of thought;  
And enterprises of great pith and moment,  
With this regard, their currents turn awry,  
And lose the name of action."

38. Mr. PARTHASARATHI (India): Mr. President, it gives me great pleasure to associate my delegation with the tributes that have been paid to you by previous speakers on your unanimous election to this high office. It is a matter of gratification to all of us that, in dealing with the important and intricate issues in this special session, we shall have the benefit of your wise guidance and leadership.

39. The United Nations has reached a crucial stage in the course of developments which followed the fateful and unfortunate decision of the International Court of Justice of 18 July 1966.<sup>1/</sup> The world community was rightly indignant at what appeared to be an evasion of responsibility on the part of the world Court in not dealing with the substantial issues before it. Though the verdict of the Court came as a great disappointment to most of us, it nevertheless produced one good result. Resolution 2145 (XXI) would not have been possible but for the atmosphere generated by the decision of the world Court. My delegation, along with almost the entire Afro-Asian group, believes that the problem of South West Africa has to be tackled on an urgent basis. This sense of urgency is shared by a vast majority of the delegations represented here. The General Assembly took a momentous decision at its last session, and it is now imperative for all of us to co-operate to give practical effect to the decision contained in resolution 2145 (XXI).

40. It may be recalled that, at the twenty-first session of the General Assembly, the Afro-Asian Members were not in favour of any action, such as the appointment of the Ad Hoc Committee, which would further delay the achievement of the ultimate objective of ensuring freedom and independence for the people of South West Africa. The Afro-Asian community, however, agreed to the appointment of the Ad Hoc Committee and the convening of a special session in a spirit of co-operation, thus amply demonstrating their goodwill and their willingness to proceed in unity with the other groups. The Ad Hoc Committee convened, and in a surprisingly small number of meetings produced a report which has become the basis of our discussions at this special session. The Ad Hoc Committee, whose specific task was to recommend practical steps for the administration of the Territory, and not to go into any generalities, has not presented the Assembly with a concrete set of recommendations. Instead, the Committee has left it to the General Assembly either to adopt one of the three sets of proposals contained in its report or, if necessary, to prepare a wholly new plan of action. It is now our collective responsibility to decide on a further course of action.

<sup>1/</sup> South West Africa, Second Phase. Judgment, I.C.J. Reports 1966, p. 6.

41. Our friends in the Western group have once again counselled patience to us. Let me make it clear that we in the Afro-Asian group have no patience with such counsels. In fact, we do not accept the charge that we are advocating a hasty or ill-considered course of action, precipitating confrontation between the United Nations and South Africa, without even trying to have a dialogue or negotiations with the South African Government. For more than twenty years we have tried to reason with South Africa, to plead with it and to come to some understanding with it so that the problem might be resolved in a peaceful manner. In the very first resolution on the subject—resolution 65 (I) of 14 December 1946—the General Assembly invited the South African Government to place the Territory under the Trusteeship System. It is needless to enumerate in any detail the failure of the various attempts by the General Assembly to make South Africa comply with its obligations under the Mandate. Those accusing us of not trying to negotiate with South Africa seem to have forgotten that the General Assembly set up an ad hoc committee as early as 1950 for the purpose of entering into negotiations with the racist régime of South Africa. That ad hoc committee was followed by various other advisory and good offices committees, all of which met with the same defiance and arrogance from South Africa. Those familiar with the history of the consideration of the question in the United Nations cannot and should not, therefore, level unsubstantiated charges against us who have been pressing for the restoration of the lawful rights of the people of South West Africa by peaceful means.

42. In this connexion, we should like to ask a question of those who are advocating negotiations with South Africa: have they received any indication at all of a change of heart on the part of South Africa? What is it that leads them to think that one more attempt at negotiations with South Africa would yield fruitful results? If they have received such an indication my delegation, among others, would be happy to be informed of it. Our own belief is that the racists of South Africa have no intention whatever of giving up their attitude of defiance towards the United Nations. On the contrary, we have reason to believe that South Africa is intent on pursuing its aggressive and predatory designs. We have at least two important indications in support of our belief.

43. First, there is the declaration of the South African Minister for Bantu Administration concerning Ovambo-land. The manoeuvres to detach Ovambo-land from the rest of the Territory, in flagrant violation of General Assembly resolution 2074 (XX), provide one more example of the utter contempt which South Africa has for the world Organization. This is positive proof that South Africa regards the Territory as its own and is not willing to accept counsel from any source, however noble and non-partisan. My delegation strongly condemns such manoeuvres of the South African Government.

44. The second indication of the hardening of South Africa's attitude is provided by the recent conference between the defence chiefs of Portugal and South Africa which took place in Lisbon early last month. According to a report in The New York Times of 9 April 1967, the Defence Ministers of Portugal and

South Africa have proclaimed their common objective to pursue resolutely the defence of their positions in Africa. We are all of us, of course, aware of the existence of the unholy alliance between the forces of colonialism and racism in southern Africa. My delegation has referred to it on a number of occasions. The unholy alliance has now become official and public. To refer again to The New York Times of 9 April, it reports in its dispatch from Lisbon:

"During the current visit here of Piet Botha, the South African Defence Minister, emphasis was placed on common aims and close cooperation between the two countries.

"For the first time the two governments publicly alluded to cooperation on defense matters."

45. The Portuguese Defence Minister is reported to have said that the visit of the South African Defence Minister should facilitate the reinforcement of indispensable co-operation in essential and opportune matters between the two countries. Mr. Botha is said to have declared:

"Our task has been greatly facilitated by the strength and resolution of our Portuguese neighbors in Angola and Mozambique."

46. These declarations of intent and purpose should provide enough proof to all, particularly those sceptical of our belief, that South Africa has no intention of giving up its uncompromising attitude.

47. We have been advised to be realistic. We submit that it is not we who are not taking a realistic view of things but those who refuse to face the grave reality of the problem and offer various pretexts for not supporting the Afro-Asian plan for the implementation of resolution 2145 (XXI). The capacity of the United Nations to deal with equally difficult situations has been proved more than once in the past. It is, therefore, not correct to say that the United Nations is not capable of dealing with the problem. What is indeed true is that some Members of the United Nations which happen to be the most powerful and the most influential countries in the world do not wish, for their own different reasons, to face the facts and agree on a firm line. The Charter of the United Nations has placed primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security on the Security Council in general and on the permanent members in particular. It is sad to note that the permanent members, in varying degrees, have shown unwillingness to shoulder their responsibility to deal with the explosive situation in southern Africa.

48. Resolution 2145 (XXI) received near unanimous support of the General Assembly. Not a single delegation, with the usual two exceptions, voted against the historic resolution. Even though resolution 2145 (XXI) did not satisfy us fully, in the sense that it postponed the taking of concrete steps to achieve our objective, we showed patience by accepting it in a spirit of compromise and solidarity. It is essential that all the delegations, at least those which voted in favour of resolution 2145 (XXI), should now accept the consequences and responsibility flowing from that resolution.

49. I should like, in particular, to deal with the point made by several delegations, mostly Western, that

even the remotest possibility of negotiating with South Africa for the peaceful transfer of the administration of South West Africa to the United Nations should not be lost sight of, I would make bold to say that not a single member of the Afro-Asian community is fearful of negotiations with South Africa provided, of course, that they are conducted on the proper basis. Is it fair, however, to propose negotiations when South Africa has proclaimed from the housetops that South West Africa belongs to it and that no one dare dispossess South Africa of South West Africa? Despite the intransigent declarations of South Africa, let us suppose that the Afro-Asian community were still willing to give another opportunity for a peaceful solution of the problem. What would be the basis for such negotiations? Obviously, the basis to which the United Nations is committed is resolution 2145 (XXI), and negotiating on that basis can mean only the fixing of the time and date for the withdrawal of South African authority from South West Africa. Those who are in favour of giving a last opportunity for negotiations, would they, in their turn, in those circumstances, give a formal commitment to this Assembly that, if South Africa refuse to fix the time and date for withdrawal from South West Africa, say by 31 August 1967, they would support to the hilt at the twenty-second regular session of the General Assembly the Afro-Asian plan for the implementation of resolution 2145 (XXI), as contained in document A/L.516 and Add.1-3? Would they give such a guarantee? In the absence of such a guarantee, my delegation believes that there would be no purpose in delaying the concrete action that has been proposed by fifty-eight Members of this Assembly. For negotiations to be realistic they must be backed by the Afro-Asian community. Without such a backing, which can be only in terms of the present draft resolution, South Africa would not treat the negotiations seriously or realistically. That is the crux of the matter.

50. As far as my delegation is concerned, we believe that the Afro-Asian proposals [A/L.516 and Add.1-3] provide the most comprehensive and meaningful approach to the problem. The various other proposals submitted to the Ad Hoc Committee, while individually containing some merit, lack the essential elements which have to be taken into account to deal with the problem. I do not propose to comment at length on the various provisions of the draft resolution since that has been done very ably by my friend and colleague, Mr. Adebo, and other sponsors of the draft resolution. I should merely like to clarify one particular point which seems to be causing concern to some of our colleagues from other groups. I refer to operative paragraph 2 in section IV.

51. Fears have been expressed that the word "ensuring" in paragraph 2 gives rise to the interpretation that the United Nations council for South West Africa would have powers to take all necessary measures, including those of a coercive nature, to ensure the withdrawal of South African police and military personnel. I should like to remove any such misapprehension. What the sponsors have in mind in paragraph 2 is that in the event that South Africa agree to withdraw its law enforcement machinery from South West Africa, the United Nations council for South West Africa should make sure that the

South African police and military forces physically vacated the Territory. Paragraph 2 is not meant to give any enforcement authority to the United Nations council. Such action, if it became necessary, could be taken only by the Security Council. A provision for action by the Security Council, if such a contingency arose, is made in paragraphs 3 and 5 of section IV.

52. My delegation and my Government attach the highest importance to the solution of the problem before us. The people of India have repeatedly expressed their solidarity with their African brethren in the fight for the eradication of the ugly cancer of apartheid and racial discrimination from southern Africa. If I may be permitted to recall, it was the Indian delegation which first raised the matter in the United Nations twenty-one years ago. Ever since then we have lent and shall continue to lend our full support to the noble cause of freedom and independence for which our unfortunate brothers in South West Africa are fighting. We urge all the Members in this Assembly, particularly those on which there is a special responsibility in such matters, to rise to the occasion by supporting the draft resolution without any reservation, thus showing their concern for the cause of justice and humanity.

53. Mr. MATSUI (Japan): May I first of all congratulate you, Sir, on your unanimous election as President of the General Assembly at its fifth special session. We are confident that, with the skill and able leadership which you manifested during the twenty-first session, the Assembly will be able to deal constructively and effectively with the problems on our agenda.

54. We are called upon to consider the question of South West Africa and the report of the Ad Hoc Committee established by the terms of resolution 2145 (XXI), on which Japan had the honour to serve. The Ad Hoc Committee, as we know, was entrusted with the task of recommending practical means by which South West Africa should be administered, so as to enable the people of the Territory to exercise the right of self-determination and to achieve independence.

55. I am sure that all of the members of the Committee would quite naturally have been happier had it been possible to agree upon a unanimous recommendation to the fifth special session. However, a great deal of very hard work was done and a useful exchange of views has taken place in the Committee, under the distinguished leadership of its Chairman, Mr. Jakobson of Finland. The Committee's report, which is before us, speaks for itself; it reveals the immensely difficult and complex nature of the problem and gives evidence of the magnitude of the task which confronts us.

56. The result of the intensive and essential spadework accomplished in the Ad Hoc Committee is a series of very solid proposals which provide abundant grist for the Assembly's mill. I refer, of course, to the proposals made by the four African States—Ethiopia, Nigeria, Senegal and the United Arab Republic—together with Pakistan [A/6640, paras. 45 and 82]; the proposals advanced by Canada, Italy and the United States [*ibid.*, para. 84]; and the proposals put forward by Chile and Mexico [*ibid.*, para. 93], which Japan supported in the Ad Hoc Committee.

57. These proposals are set forth in the Committee's report and have now been explained to the entire Assembly by their proponents; they have also been commented upon by others. Accordingly, I shall not take the time of the Assembly by adding any detailed explanations or comments of my own. For the moment, I should just like to outline some of the basic considerations that underlie the position of my Government with regard to South West Africa.

58. The General Assembly, at its twenty-first session, made a very important step forward by adopting resolution 2145 (XXI). I should like to stress that my delegation stands firmly behind this resolution; in our view there can be no question concerning its validity. As has been pointed out by many previous speakers, the Assembly's decision is irreversible and there must be no retreat from the terms of resolution 2145 (XXI), however much we may appear to differ at present with regard to the most effective means of achieving its objectives. The termination of the Mandate and of the right of the Government of South Africa to continue to administer the Territory of South West Africa or to exercise any control over its inhabitants can no longer possibly be called into question by anyone. Thus, it should be made abundantly clear that the work of this Assembly has to proceed on the basis of that resolution.

59. Now, Mr. President, resolution 2145 (XXI) provides that South West Africa comes under the direct responsibility of the United Nations. This provision admittedly lends itself to different interpretations as regards the concept of direct administration of the Territory. However, regardless of interpretations, the direct and heavy involvement of the United Nations in the advancement of South West Africa to self-determination and independence is obvious, and the United Nations cannot shirk its responsibility. Such being the case, it seems to my delegation that some form of United Nations machinery will have to be set up to fulfil the tasks of the United Nations.

60. The first and most important step which we should take, in our opinion, is to ascertain fully the wishes of the people of the Territory. Indeed, if the responsibilities of the United Nations with regard to South West Africa are abundantly clear, the desires and the wishes of the people concerned must be the paramount consideration and we must always keep this consideration in the forefront of our minds. We must find out their own views as to the best, most practical and speedy means of achieving self-determination and their independence.

61. For this purpose, we consider it necessary to have broad consultations with representative elements of all groups inside or outside the Territory in order to determine, through such consultations, the instruments and modalities of their future government and administration as well as their relations with the United Nations. We may also seek to explore indigenous human and natural resources for the administration of the Territory and to determine the nature and scope of our assistance to the people of South West Africa. My delegation attaches great importance to these points, which, in our view, would be prerequisite to the ultimate steps for the convocation of a constituent assembly to draw up a constitution for an independent

and unified South West Africa, and the establishment of a legislative assembly and a responsible government.

*Mr. Ortiz Sanz (Bolivia), Vice-President, took the Chair.*

62. Another consideration we have to take into account is that we are dealing with a problem of the gravest seriousness, with implications that could profoundly affect for many years to come the peace and stability not only of southern Africa but of the entire continent and, indeed, of the world as a whole. It is essential, therefore, that we proceed in our consideration of this aspect of the problem with the utmost caution, exploring every avenue to achieve our objective by peaceful means.

63. For that reason, my delegation shares the view that contact should be established with the *de facto* administrator. However, resolution 2145 (XXI) is not negotiable, and, therefore any contact with the *de facto* administrator must be carried out strictly within the framework of that resolution. Our main objective is to ask the Republic of South Africa for the transfer of the administration of the Territory in order to ensure that the United Nations may be able to keep direct control over the situation and that a solution to the present problem may be achieved with the least possible upheaval. Indeed, as the representative of Chile stated earlier in this Assembly, the reason for that contact obviously is due to the desire that the process be carried out with the greatest possible success, peacefully and harmoniously. We should put to the test definitively the good faith and the willingness to co-operate of the Government of South Africa so as to enable the United Nations to fulfil its responsibilities.

64. In the meantime, I should also like to stress that, while we are engaged in a search for a peaceful solution of the problem, we should scrupulously avoid any course of action which, on the one hand, might prejudice the result of that effort and, on the other hand, might add insuperable difficulties to the accomplishment of our task.

65. Resolution 2145 (XXI) was adopted by a very large and gratifying majority and the validity and solidarity of the United Nations position in this matter was thereby greatly strengthened. We do not want to see our position weakened to the extent that a decision by this Assembly fails to command the support of a comparable majority. We believe that the active and positive assistance and co-operation of the entire membership of the Organization is absolutely essential in order to carry out whatever measures may eventually be decided upon to accomplish our objective. It is the sincere wish of my delegation that, through our co-operative efforts, this special session may be able to reach concrete and constructive decisions for a just and peaceful solution of this problem.

66. Mr. GHAUS (Afghanistan): More than six months after the adoption by the General Assembly of the historic resolution which irrevocably terminated the Mandate of South Africa over South West Africa, no change for the better has occurred in the attitude of the Government of South Africa towards the United Nations. On the contrary, it seems that the situation

has worsened. The South African Government, in complete defiance of United Nations resolutions, is continuing to promote with vigour and dedication its policy of racial discrimination, apartheid and expansion, thus depriving the indigenous inhabitants of South West Africa of their right to self-determination, social and economic justice and political independence.

67. It is obviously in accordance with that unjust policy that the colonial Power, arbitrarily and in violation of General Assembly resolution 2145 (XXI), has recently announced that the people of a section of South West Africa, Ovamboland, would have the opportunity of gaining self-government. Therefore, the Government of South Africa not only has not given up its attitude of non-compliance with United Nations resolutions but is accelerating its efforts to implement the provisions of the notorious Odendaal plan, aimed at the fragmentation of South West Africa and the extension of the universally condemned policy of apartheid to a territory to which it has no legal right. The introduction and establishment of Bantustans in South West Africa are used as an ingenious device to restrain the political and economic emancipation of the people of that unfortunate land.

68. When the General Assembly decided last year to remove South West Africa from South African control, it recognized that South Africa had failed to fulfil its obligations in respect of the administration of that Mandated Territory and had in fact forfeited its right to that sacred trust.

69. During twenty years of frustrating discussions, it became apparent that the continued presence of South Africa in South West Africa had only one purpose, and that was to serve the interests of the Government of South Africa. The ruling circles in South Africa, without the least regard for world public opinion, are trying to transform that territory into a colony for white settlers, using its people as a source of cheap labour and depriving them of their land, wealth and dignity. South Africa has never made an effort to create at least a proper climate which would have enabled the people of South West Africa to prepare themselves for self-government. During these long and unhappy years of colonial domination, not a single step has been taken by the administering Power with a view to facilitating the exercise of the right of self-determination by the people of South West Africa and its accession to freedom and independence.

70. It has become apparent, from the facts and the information available, that South Africa is exporting with determination its system of apartheid to South West Africa. It is difficult to conceive that the destiny of a whole population could be left in trust to a country whose professed social and political philosophy is based on racial discrimination and which is advocating so relentlessly the strict separation of races inside its own frontiers.

71. Apartheid, which is recognized by the General Assembly in its resolution 2074 (XX) as a crime against humanity, is a hindrance to a people wishing to exercise the right of self-determination. It hampers the harmonious development of the human society and prevents the establishment of a useful and continued co-operation among the peoples of the Territory

whose aspirations aim at the creation of a free and democratic country. Apartheid deprives the people of South West Africa of the access to the sources of knowledge and education and affords them little opportunity to acquire the skills necessary for the future administration of their homeland. In addition to the obstacles that apartheid creates for the social, economic and political advancement of the people of South West Africa, its extension to that territory has a corrosive influence on the relations among the peoples of the southern part of Africa as well as on the prospect for peace and stability on the African continent.

72. Owing to these circumstances, the action taken by the General Assembly last year in terminating the Mandate of South Africa and resolving that henceforth the United Nations must have direct responsibility for the administration of South West Africa was a just and proper decision. The international community could no longer continue to adopt a passive attitude towards the expansionist policies of South Africa and all the dangers inherent in them.

73. It is not necessary to recall that the Afro-Asian States intended, during the twenty-first session, to strengthen the action of the General Assembly by incorporating in the body of last year's resolution [2145 (XXI)] adequate measures which would have enabled the United Nations effectively to discharge its responsibilities regarding South West Africa. It is again needless to state that, in order to allay the apprehensions entertained in some quarters and to demonstrate their willingness to negotiate, the Afro-Asians agreed to accommodate the views of those who were still hoping for a change of heart in South Africa. Thus, the General Assembly, instead of taking immediate steps regarding the administration of the Territory by the United Nations, established an ad hoc committee and charged it with the task of recommending practical means by which South West Africa should be administered.

74. In spite of twenty years of futile negotiations and frustrating disappointments, which clearly demonstrated the unwillingness of South Africa to collaborate with the United Nations in seeking a solution based on justice and equity, the countries of Asia and Africa compromised and again adopted the "careful approach".

75. In our opinion, the work of the Ad Hoc Committee has not been useless. The efforts of its Chairman, the representative of Finland, Mr. Jakobson, and its members—to whom we want to express here our appreciation—contributed in defining further the various positions and have permitted a thorough study of all aspects of the problem. If the Committee was unable to achieve a consensus, it was perhaps due to the complexities of the issue itself. Be that as it may, the Assembly is now confronted, thanks to the endeavours of the Ad Hoc Committee, with four clear-cut positions.

76. It is not necessary to embark on a lengthy analysis of those various positions because they were clearly explained here by their proponents and, furthermore, the report of the Committee [A/6640] gives a faithful description of these views.

77. After studying the proposals my delegation is convinced that the plan of the African States and Pakistan [ibid., paras. 45 and 82] reflects the realities of the situation, does not gloss over the difficulties, and is in full conformity with resolution 2145 (XXI) of the General Assembly. The two Latin American countries members of the Ad Hoc Committee, namely Mexico and Chile, have shown high regard for the position taken by African States in the Ad Hoc Committee. Their proposal [ibid., para. 93] is similar in many respects to that of the four African States and Pakistan: both call for direct United Nations administration. However, they differ in at least two important aspects: the extent to which they envisage the establishment of a procedure, and the timing, for the transfer of the Territory to the United Nations administration. We very much hope that the Latin American countries will find it possible to bridge the gap during the present deliberation of the General Assembly and to move closer to the position which is now shared by an overwhelming majority of Afro-Asian States.

78. South West Africa is a colonial territory to which the provision of resolution 1514 (XV) is fully applicable. My delegation firmly believes that the exercise of the right of self-determination and the accession to independence should never be contingent on the fulfilment or existence of certain prerequisites. In fact, the size or the degree of economic or social advancement of a territory should never stand in the way of freedom. The General Assembly recognized this fundamental principle when it declared in its resolution 1514 (XV) that "inadequacy of political, economic, social or educational preparedness should never serve as a pretext for delaying independence".

79. The United Nations, almost in its entirety, is of the opinion that the people of South West Africa has the right to accede to full sovereignty and independence. The action of the United Nations must be guided, therefore, by that objective and should coincide with it. The circumstances presently prevailing call for appropriate measures to be taken by this world Organization. To that end, the United Nations must bring about the speedy re-establishment of the political rights of the people of South West Africa, which will naturally require the withdrawal of South African administration and the immediate taking over of the administration, on a provisional basis, by the United Nations.

80. This is more than ever necessary because the recent developments indicate that South African authorities are moving steadily towards the realization of their ultimate plan which seems to be the annexation of South West Africa. Furthermore, the continued presence of South Africa in South West Africa not only is illegal but, after the termination of the Mandate, constitutes an act of aggression against the people and the territorial integrity of that country.

81. Our complacency might face us once again with a *fait accompli*, as was unfortunately the case when the illegal régime in Southern Rhodesia unilaterally declared the independence of that territory. In order to enable South West Africa to exercise its inalienable right to self-determination and to achieve full independence, the United Nations must face up to its

responsibilities which were explicitly confirmed in resolution 2145 (XXI). It must overcome the obstacles created by the administering Power which respected neither the provisions of the Mandate, nor the elementary norms of justice.

82. We believe that the United Nations could not effectively discharge its responsibilities in the territory unless it were to administer South West Africa directly. This administration should be directed by a single centralized authority, which should work under the general supervision of a collective body. By virtue of resolution 2145 (XXI), the United Nations not only assumed the supervision of the administration, but reverted to itself the right to administer directly the Territory of South West Africa.

83. In our view, the United Nations cannot administer the Territory without the physical presence in South West Africa of an administrative organ for this purpose. My delegation believes that the United Nations machinery for the administration of South West Africa should be as short-lived as possible. The United Nations administration, which apart from assuming administrative activities will be charged with the promulgation of laws, decrees and administrative regulations, will cease to exist after the achievement of independence and the constitution of a democratic system of government. The involvement of the United Nations after independence will be directed mainly towards an elaborate programme of technical assistance for South West Africa.

84. This is of course quite necessary, because, due to the special circumstances which are known to us all, South West Africa has been deprived, since the inception of the United Nations, of any possibility of receiving aid and assistance from this world Organization or its specialized agencies.

85. It is thus clear that the countries of Asia and Africa are of the opinion that the direct responsibility of the United Nations regarding South West Africa does not mean a perpetuation of the United Nations administration or the replacement of the Mandate of South Africa by some sort of new Trust régime of the United Nations. We are also happy to note that the Afro-Asian proposal envisages that the territory should become independent not later than June 1968.

86. We believe that it would be in the interest of the Territory and peace in general if the United Nations machinery—a council and a United Nations commissioner as its executive and administrative arm—were to be installed without delay in South West Africa.

87. As I mentioned a minute ago, we found ourselves in complete agreement with the views of the African States regarding this matter. Therefore, my delegation has co-sponsored draft resolution A/L.516 and Add.1-3 which is now before the house. It is indeed a great honour for my delegation to be able to associate itself with any move which aims at eliminating a gross injustice.

88. The representative of Nigeria the other day [1506th meeting], with his customary eloquence, presented the draft resolution which now stands in the name of a large number of Afro-Asian countries. Therefore, my delegation will not try to tax the

patience of the Assembly with any lengthy comments regarding the draft presently under discussion. However, I deem it appropriate to state very briefly the views of my delegation in connexion with the provisions of the joint Afro-Asian proposal regarding the possible involvement of the Security Council in the decolonization of South West Africa.

89. The United Nations administration which is to be installed in South West Africa requires the concurrence and the co-operation of all the organs of the United Nations, including the Security Council. If the work of the United Nations council for South West Africa is obstructed by South Africa, or any other country for that matter, it is only normal that the Security Council should be requested to take suitable coercive measures in order to oblige the faulty party or parties to comply with the decision of the international community.

90. We submit that this arrangement is logical and appropriate. South West Africa is—and on this point everybody is in agreement—the responsibility of the United Nations.

91. All the efforts of the General Assembly during a period of twenty years have been directed towards persuading the Government of South Africa to co-operate with the United Nations in taking the necessary measures to enable the people of the Territory to exercise their rights as recognized in the Charter of the United Nations. The General Assembly took a decision last year which, although long overdue, nevertheless terminated once and for all the Mandate of South Africa over South West Africa. The Security Council should now discharge its own responsibilities in connexion with the implementation of that historic decision.

92. South West Africa is the responsibility not only of the General Assembly; it is the responsibility of the Security Council as well. All the organs of the United Nations should play their respective roles in this regard. For two decades the General Assembly has dealt with the problem of South West Africa. Now it is the turn of the Security Council to discharge its duties in this respect within the framework of Chapter VII of the Charter. The countries of Africa and Asia have asked in their draft for no more, no less. We are certain that if a spirit of co-operation prevails in the Security Council, the Council can make, if need be, an effective contribution to the peaceful and just solution of the problem.

93. I am sure that the countries of Asia and Africa will consider favourably any constructive suggestions which will not alter their basic standpoint. Any compromise in this regard should serve a meaningful purpose.

94. We are sure that the majority of this Assembly shares the view that the people of South West Africa is entitled, like all other colonial peoples, to attain its independence and freedom. In order to achieve that end, the action and the sincere co-operation of all Members of the United Nations is needed. The entire membership should extend its whole-hearted collaboration to the United Nations in the implementation of those lofty aims.

95. U SOE TIN (Burma): I should like, first of all, to associate the delegation of Burma with those



expressions of sincere congratulations and best wishes with which Ambassador Pazhwak has been deluged, on the occasion of his election by acclamation to the high office of President of the Assembly at its fifth special session. With memories still fresh of the statesmanlike manner in which he so wisely and ably guided the affairs of the twenty-first session of the General Assembly to a speedy, constructive and successful conclusion, we are confident that this crucial special session of the General Assembly, under his wise counsel and firm guidance, will be able also to take meaningful and significant steps towards the elimination of colonialism and racialism and towards the safeguarding of international peace and security.

96. The issue of South West Africa which we are now discussing has been the subject of consideration at every session of the General Assembly since the inception of the United Nations. From 1946 onwards, for some two decades, this issue has been the subject matter of seventy-six United Nations resolutions and four separate references to the International Court of Justice. All these efforts by the United Nations and of individual Member States to persuade the Government of South Africa to co-operate with the United Nations in fulfilment of its sacred trust towards the people of South West Africa, to enable that people to exercise its inalienable right of self-determination, freedom and independence in conditions of peace and harmony, have fallen on deaf ears. The Government of South Africa has persistently flouted those measures of persuasion and has failed to display even the slightest stirring of a conscience on humanitarian grounds. Colonialism in its worst and most perverted form—coupled with racialism and policies of apartheid—continues to be the order of the day in South West Africa. The Judgement of the International Court of Justice handed down on 18 July 1966 on the case submitted to it by the Governments of Ethiopia and Liberia—and handed down after six long years of delay—brought about a new realization in the United Nations. It generated the long-suppressed feeling that, however justified and righteous a cause might be, redress could not be had through legal measures and attempts at persuasion alone, and that judicial intricacies and legal niceties could only help blur the issue and hamper the ends of justice. Was it not that realization which made the United Nations as a whole decide that a political solution should be found at the highest level of the world forum? Events led to the historic debates in the plenary meetings of the General Assembly, culminating in the adoption on 27 October 1966, by an overwhelming vote of 114 for and 2 against—namely, South Africa and its colonialist colleague, Portugal—of the now famous resolution 2145 (XXI). Even those Member States which, for various reasons, abstained in the voting shared the views of the overwhelming majority that the Government of South Africa had reneged on its obligations under the sacred trust and, having practised the policies of apartheid in the Territory, was no longer worthy of administering and had thus forfeited its title to administer the Mandate. I have dwelt at some length on those circumstances at the risk of being repetitious, for which I crave the indulgence of the Assembly, in order to point up the reality of the situation—on which my comments will be based.

97. In its historic resolution 2145 (XXI), the General Assembly decided in no uncertain terms that South Africa, having failed to fulfil its obligation in respect of the administration of the Territory, had disavowed the Mandate; that the Mandate having been terminated, South Africa had no other right to administer the Territory and that, henceforth, South West Africa would come under the direct responsibility of the United Nations. Further, the General Assembly resolved that the United Nations must discharge its responsibility with respect to the Territory. The United Nations has thus firmly and irrevocably committed itself to assist the people of South West Africa so as to enable it to exercise its inalienable right of self-determination, freedom and independence with the least possible delay. The importance of implementing that resolution and the speed with which that should be done is further stressed in the provisions relating to the establishment of the Ad Hoc Committee, which is required

"to recommend practical means by which South West Africa should be administered, so as to enable the people of the Territory to exercise the right of self-determination and to achieve independence, and to report to the General Assembly at a special session as soon as possible and in any event not later than April 1967".

98. The report of the Ad Hoc Committee for South West Africa [A/6640] is now before us. We are grateful to the members of the Committee who, under the guidance of and in co-operation with its eminent Chairman, Ambassador Max Jakobson of Finland, have spared no effort and have put in laborious work exploring various avenues in search of practical and constructive means with which to administer the Territory of South West Africa, which has now become a United Nations responsibility. Though it is a matter of regret that the Committee could not reach agreement and present a consensus or even a majority recommendation which could easily be adopted by the Assembly, we do not consider the deliberations of the Committee to be a sheer exercise in futility. As a matter of fact, considering the complexities of the problem and the extraordinary difficulties of the task, coupled with the varying degrees of interest of the member nations involved, the divergent approaches to the matter are not totally surprising. It is a matter of satisfaction, however, that the Committee left no stone unturned in its search for an acceptable recommendation before putting forward the various proposals and suggestions now contained in the report. In a way, the Committee has narrowed down the issues involved by submitting the three formal proposals and suggestions to this Assembly for a final decision. The delegation of Burma is happy to note from the statement made by the Chairman of the Committee in this Assembly on 24 April [1503rd meeting] that the declared purpose of all the proposals and suggestions submitted to the Committee was to bring about the independence of the people of South West Africa with as little delay as possible and that the Committee also unanimously upheld the principle that the unity and integrity of the territory and its administration must be maintained.

99. It is with those criteria in mind and taking into consideration the reality of the situation that the



delegation of Burma would now wish to comment on the three formal proposals contained in the report. The three-Power proposal submitted by Canada, Italy and the United States [A/6640, para. 84] and now commonly known as the Western proposal, though it envisages the creation of a United Nations council for South West Africa and the appointment of a special representative, has a very limited conception of the United Nations responsibility in respect of the people of South West Africa. It limits the task of the council and the representative to undertaking studies, establishing contacts and consultations and making comprehensive surveys only with a view to the creation of a nucleus of self-government. In the face of the reality of the situation in which the Government of South Africa has openly declared that it regards United Nations resolution 2145 (XXI) as "illegal" and that it has no intention whatsoever of abdicating its responsibilities with regard to the Territory of South West Africa which it is still administering, and further that it is not prepared to start a dialogue with any country about the implementation of the "illegal" United Nations resolution on South West Africa, we wonder how many more decades will pass in creating that nucleus of self-government. In the meantime, the de facto administration will continue, and continue with the tacit approval, if not the blessing, of the United Nations, to consolidate its position, perpetuate its apartheid system and proceed unfettered with its fragmentation of the Territory, to the point that nothing of the unity and territorial integrity of South West Africa will be left for the United Nations to uphold. With due respect to the sponsors of the proposal and without casting any doubt on their sincerity of purpose, the delegation of Burma feels that the adoption of such a proposal would at best defer the assertion by the United Nations of its authority and responsibility, thereby averting the chance of an early confrontation. The concomitant effect of the proposal would be, however, further to aggravate racial tensions while completely denigrating the authority and immobilizing the machinery of the United Nations as an instrument of international peace and understanding.

100. The next proposal is the one formulated by Chile and Mexico and supported by Japan [ibid., para. 93], which is now known as the Latin American proposal. This proposal seems to the delegation of Burma not so far removed from the proposal advocated by the four African members and Pakistan [ibid., paras. 45 and 82]. Both proposals, in our view, are in conformity with the decisions contained in resolution 2145 (XXI) and emanate from a positive conception of the responsibility of the United Nations. They envisage the creation of a council and the appointment of a commissioner to be charged with the task of administering the Territory of South West Africa until independence. The difference is that the Latin American proposal as at present formulated can be implemented only if the de facto authority in South West Africa agrees to co-operate in the actual transfer of the Territory. The proposal is silent on what will happen should South Africa decide otherwise. The African-Asian proposal fills this gap and provides for such a contingency. While the proposal contains provisions for enforcement action on the

part of the United Nations, it does not preclude contacts with the de facto administration of the Territory for a peaceful transfer of the administrative functions. It is the fervent hope of the delegation of Burma that this and other minor differences between the Latin American and African-Asian proposals can be ironed out to mutual satisfaction in the course of the present debate.

101. The suggestions put forward by the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia provide, among other things, for the immediate elimination of the South African racist authority and the declaration of South West Africa's independence, and then the creation by the people of South West Africa of their own sovereign State with the support of the fraternal African peoples through the Organization of African Unity and the United Nations, which bears responsibility for the Territory. The intentions underlying the suggestions are laudable, but, in the absence of specific and concrete proposals, the delegation of Burma would like to refrain from commenting on those suggestions. We are, however, glad to note that their views on the basic and pivotal point are in accordance with those of the African-Asian countries.

102. The African-Asian draft resolution contained in document A/L.516 and Add.1-3, co-sponsored by some fifty-eight delegations, including the delegation of Burma, was so ably explained and clarified by our colleague from Nigeria, Chief Adebo, at the time of its formal presentation on 26 April [1506th meeting] that I do not think we can add much more to it.

103. In the view of the delegation of Burma, the African-Asian draft resolution is a natural corollary to resolution 2145 (XXI). We consider it to be the only satisfactory solution to the problem capable of securing the widest possible support in the Assembly without sacrificing the United Nations principles and objectives. We sincerely believe that a military confrontation is not necessary to achieve those objectives. What we really need is determination and resolve. Backed by resolve, confidence, determination and the will to achieve the avowed objectives on the part of all Member States that reaffirm their faith in the aims and principles of the United Nations Charter, we are confident that the United Nations will soon be able to vindicate its trust and assist the people of South West Africa to regain its long-lost freedom and independence.

104. Mr. OWONO (Cameroon) (translated from French): By choosing our President to preside over this fifth special session of the General Assembly, the Assembly has confirmed its confidence in him. His personal efforts as President of the twenty-first session were greatly appreciated by all his colleagues and, on behalf of my delegation and on my own behalf, I should like to congratulate him most sincerely on this occasion. It is a comforting thought for us to be able to hope that the wisdom with which he guided the discussions of the last session will enable us, at this special session, to achieve as effective results on the question of South West Africa as the adoption of resolution 2145 (XXI) last October.

105. However, our early discussions seem to have come up against the same difficulties as did the Ad Hoc Committee during its meetings. The fourteen

members of that Committee failed to come to agreement at the end of their labours. Different points of view were reached and successive parts of a report [A/6640] containing more or less divergent proposals were submitted to the fifth special session. The General Assembly is, in fact, being called upon not to take a decision on the report, approve it or reject it, but—regrettably—to resume the work of the Ad Hoc Committee almost from the beginning.

106. However, it cannot be said that there has been a setback. On the contrary, the report shows what the practical difficulties and the viewpoints of the various groups are and may lead the General Assembly to recommend a solution based on the realities of the situation, provided that everyone's viewpoint is animated with a sincere desire to act in accordance with the objectives of resolution 2145 (XXI).

107. Many speakers before me have recalled the task assigned to the Ad Hoc Committee. The delegation of Cameroon feels that the present discussions could be conducted more easily and that results would be achieved more quickly if the debates were confined to that subject.

108. The establishment of an Ad Hoc Committee was justified by three decisions in paragraph 4 of resolution 2145 (XXI) of 27 October. This paragraph states that:

"The Mandate conferred upon His Britannic Majesty to be exercised on his behalf by the Government of the Union of South Africa is therefore terminated, that South Africa has no other right to administer the Territory and that henceforth South West Africa comes under the direct responsibility of the United Nations."

109. As a result of these decisions, it became automatically necessary to provide the Territory with an administrative machinery to replace the administration of the Government of South Africa. It is the opinion of the delegation of Cameroon that the adoption of the resolution in general and of that paragraph in particular left no possible doubt as to the nature and the scope of the task conferred on the Ad Hoc Committee, for, as a result of the theoretical and de facto vacuum resulting from the termination of the Mandate, the General Assembly had to shoulder its responsibilities and make new arrangements to replace the administrative machinery of South Africa.

110. The urgency of these procedures was obvious and that was why it was recommended that this special session should be called, less than six months after the adoption of the resolution. In other words, what had to be done was not to go through the whole development of the South West African problem which had been discussed for the last twenty years, but to give priority to an immediate solution setting up in that Territory administrative machinery established specifically in view of the urgency of the situation.

111. Unfortunately, the members of the Ad Hoc Committee, undoubtedly with the best of intentions, rather lost sight of the three parts of the General Assembly decision in paragraph 4 which I have just quoted. It is interesting to consider their differences, in so far as they affect the discussions of the fifth special

session. The report points out that as a result of these differences four points of view emerged, ranging from immediate independence—advocated by the socialist countries—to further studies—advocated by the Western group—with in between the procedures proposed by the Afro-Asian and Latin American groups. The Assembly has already heard different speakers supporting these various proposals. The delegation of Cameroon naturally supports the Afro-Asian draft (A/L.516 and Add.1-3) which falls within the Committee's terms of reference and the provisions of the General Assembly resolution. However, we do not completely reject the points of view of the other groups a priori. In my delegation's view, the African draft has to a large extent reconciled the different opinions of our other colleagues. As in the case of the Ad Hoc Committee it may be said that the present differences in the General Assembly reflect an untimely extrapolation which may well lead to failure.

112. The delegation of Cameroon is not in the habit of describing the positions expressed by members speaking on behalf of their countries as absurd. However, most of the arguments put forward seemed to be based solely on the anticipated consequences of the application of a deliberate and well-thought-out General Assembly decision that administrative machinery should be set up in South West Africa. In fact, we are being reminded that nothing should be done that might be interpreted as a provocation to the Government of South Africa and might thus involve the United Nations in military activities which nobody would agree to recommending or even less to support.

113. We feel that this argument, especially if it is to be taken as the basis for solving the problem before us, no longer takes into account the provisions of resolution 2145 of 27 October, which was the culmination of twenty years of discussion. The resolution clearly states the motives which led the General Assembly to adopt the decision in its paragraph 4 and consequently to provide for the setting up of the Ad Hoc Committee in paragraph 6. All these motives reply, point by point, to the arguments put forward here, which seem to be designed purely and simply to spare South Africa. Some of the arguments are concerned with co-operation and others with the continuance of South Africa's administration of the territory.

114. Let us first consider co-operation. Some have suggested co-operation with the Government of South Africa in order to make an additional study, so that recommendations could be made for an administrative procedure based on reality. In that connexion, at the meeting of the Ad Hoc Committee on 17 January 1967, the Secretary-General stated that

"Had South Africa co-operated with the United Nations, it would not have been necessary to establish the Ad Hoc Committee". [A/6640, paragraph 4.]

I would add that there would also have been no call for this special session, nor would it have been necessary to adopt seventy-six resolutions over a period of twenty years, nor would it have been necessary to have recourse four times to the International Court of Justice concerning this Territory.

115. Some arguments amount to recommending, if not accepting, even temporarily, the continuation of the South African administration of the Territory. But the General Assembly, before setting out the decisions in paragraph 4 of the resolution of 27 October, had already made the following statements in the preamble:

"... the administration of the Mandated Territory by South Africa has been conducted"—and I emphasize these words—"in a manner contrary to the Mandate, the Charter of the United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights".

"... the General Assembly condemned the policies of apartheid and racial discrimination practised by the Government of South Africa in South West Africa as"—and I emphasize what follows—"constituting a crime against humanity".

"All the efforts"—I emphasize—"all the efforts"—"of the United Nations to induce the Government of South Africa to fulfil its obligations in respect of the administration of the Mandated Territory and to ensure the well-being and security of the indigenous inhabitants" "have been of no avail". (This last statement too should be noted.)

116. Moreover, in paragraph 3, the General Assembly solemnly declared that: "South Africa has failed to fulfil its obligations in respect of the administration of the Mandated Territory and to ensure the moral and material well-being and security of the indigenous inhabitants of South West Africa".

117. This was why the General Assembly terminated the Mandate that had been entrusted to South Africa. In the light of these explicit reasons, these facts and conclusions, how is it possible temporarily to consider the continuation of the administration of this Territory by South Africa? Such a suggestion would involve a dangerous return to the status quo, which existed up to 27 October of last year. In short, my delegation's view is that such an attitude would be an official disavowal of the collective undertakings given to the people of South West Africa.

118. We remember the great concessions made by everybody during the twenty-first session in order to adopt the resolution of 27 October 1966 which should be hailed as a turning-point in the history of the United Nations. We can still hear the echo of the applause which greeted the adoption of that resolution. The General Assembly has well deserved the tribute of mankind in general and of the people of South West Africa in particular. But we cannot fail to notice that certain of the attitudes expressed seem to question once more the whole of that resolution, thereby dimming the hopes which the people of South West Africa had glimpsed. It may be worth recalling that there is no reason at all to expect any possibility of co-operation with South Africa which, since the adoption of the resolution, has continued to defy the whole Organization.

119. In conclusion, however we look at the problem, we cannot fail to take into account the following three guiding principles:

(1) After twenty years of discussion, the United Nations, taking into account all the considerations put forward has decided to terminate the Mandate

entrusted to South Africa for the administration of that Territory;

(2) To fill the vacuum which resulted from that decision, the Ad Hoc Committee was instructed to seek urgently the best formula for the establishment of administrative machinery;

(3) The fifth special session of the General Assembly has been convened to decide upon the establishment of that administrative machinery.

120. We cannot avoid noticing the differences which have arisen in the Ad Hoc Committee and which have again been expressed here. We still believe that no Member of this Assembly wishes our work to fail. We think that it is still possible to confine the consideration of the report to the points reflecting the views expressed in the Mandate and to the General Assembly's decision on the administration of the Territory.

121. The efforts made at the twenty-first session will have been in vain if this special session does not achieve tangible results, namely the establishment of the physical presence of a United Nations authority in the Territory of South West Africa.

122. Any formula, proposal or suggestion that would lead to such a result would obviously have the warm support of my delegation. But the definitive solutions must be based on the following three facts:

(1) For twenty years, the United Nations has not enjoyed the co-operation of South Africa;

(2) Through its policy of apartheid and racial discrimination, South Africa has committed a crime against humanity in South West Africa;

(3) South Africa has failed in its obligations concerning the administration of the Territory and has not complied with its Mandate to ensure the security and well-being of the indigenous inhabitants of the country.

123. We hope that the good sense that prevailed in the debates during the adoption of the resolution of 27 October will lead the Member States constantly to bear in mind the points clearly set forth by the General Assembly. It is in this hope that the delegation of the Federal Republic of Cameroon calls upon all representatives to comply with the provisions of this resolution and with the objectives of operative paragraph 6 defining the mandate of the Ad Hoc Committee.

124. Mr. ABDOUL (Chad) (translated from French): On behalf of the Chad delegation, I should like first of all to join the other representatives in warmly congratulating Mr. Pazhwak on his unanimous election as President of this fifth special session of the Assembly. At the same time, I should like to express our deep conviction that his well-known talent, wisdom and sense of fairness will enable us to bring our work to a successful conclusion.

125. I should also like to take this opportunity to extend our congratulations to the other officers of the General Assembly, who have been elected to share the heavy responsibilities of the President.

126. Before considering the item now being discussed—that is, the implementation of the objectives

laid down in resolution 2145 (XXI) adopted on 27 October last, I should like to reaffirm that the Republic of Chad firmly believes in the United Nations and in the intelligence and common sense of its Members and, therefore, has complete confidence that it will find a just and humane solution to the burning problem of South West Africa which we are now considering, in accordance with the spirit of the Charter.

127. After many long years of debates, of study after study, of appeals to morality and understanding and of denunciation by many delegations of the judgement handed down on 18 July 1966 by the International Court of Justice, a verdict which moreover aroused the indignation of all peace-loving and justice-loving peoples, this very Assembly adopted by an overwhelming majority the historic resolution 2145 (XXI) on the situation prevailing in South West Africa. This resolution clearly states that:

(1) South Africa has failed to fulfil its obligations and therefore its mandate over South West Africa is terminated;

(2) South West Africa has no other right of any kind to administer the Territory;

(3) Because of that fact, South West Africa is directly under the responsibility of the United Nations;

(4) The Organization must discharge its responsibility with respect to South West Africa by leading the people of the Territory to the exercise of its right to self-determination and independence.

128. We can find nothing equivocal in the provisions of that resolution nor are any interests sacrificed. It is simply a just resolution. Hence it goes without saying that the only task for the present Assembly is to find a way to implement that solution and the Assembly should not allow itself to be delayed for a moment by the machinations that the fascist and racist Pretoria régime is trying to introduce here in order to divide and weaken us.

129. Consequently, my delegation was greatly surprised and distressed to note the backward step taken by certain Members of this Assembly who, after having supported resolution 2145 (XXI), are today tending to yield to the bullying threats of the fascist and racist Pretoria régime, merely to preserve their ill-gotten gains which seem more important to them than human beings. All the same, we still cherish the hope that common sense will ultimately overcome their hesitations.

130. We think time is pressing on and that we need not sum up twenty years of thinking on the South West African question. Other better-informed delegations have already spoken eloquently on the matter in this hall. I should therefore like to state immediately and as briefly as possible our opinion on the various proposals submitted and to show at the same time where our choice lies.

131. First of all there are the Western proposals submitted by the United States, Canada and Italy [A/6640, para. 84]. Although the sponsors claim to be in agreement with the terms of resolution 2145 (XXI),

we find their proposals confusing in many ways, since they are based on concepts which definitely conflict with that resolution. For example we do not quite know how to interpret the restrictions placed on the United Nations mission in the form of a field survey, dialogues or consultations with the Government of South Africa, conversations, and a negotiated solution to the problem.

132. We wonder with whom it is necessary to hold a dialogue or discussions in order to reach a negotiated solution? Certainly not with the Government of South Africa, which has on so many occasions set itself up and continues to set itself up as a censor of United Nations decisions. Perhaps the sponsors of these proposals and their friends would wish to discuss with the gentlemen in Pretoria how best to protect their capital; that indeed can only aggravate the situation. We, for our part, do not believe that anybody in Pretoria would be prepared to listen to advice which ran counter to such objectives as those of the famous Odendaal plan<sup>2/</sup> or those in the Declaration on Ovamboland. But our respect and friendship for our Western friends must not prevent us from telling them quite sincerely that we will not allow ourselves to become involved in political scheming and myths. Consequently their proposals cannot win the support of our Government.

133. Other proposals have been submitted by our Latin American colleagues, endorsed also by Japan [*ibid.*, paragraph 93]. There can be no doubt that the peoples of Latin America and Japan—who share our concern in a world where peace and security seem to be yielding to the law of the jungle—are endeavouring, as they always have, to find the best possible solutions for the problems confronting the world. Thus their proposals on the question under consideration demand our immediate attention. However, we would urge them to fill in certain gaps: they have not yet clearly stated what attitude the United Nations should take if the Government of South Africa decides to obstruct their mission to South West Africa.

134. The carefully considered and unambiguous Afro-Asian proposals have been sufficiently commented on by most of the Afro-Asian delegations that have already spoken, and there is no need to dwell on them further. We should merely like to say that we naturally support them because, in our opinion, they offer the most practical solutions to the questions raised here by certain delegations concerning the ways and means to be used in, and the duration of, the administration of South West Africa by the United Nations. We firmly believe that it is in these proposals that we should lay our hopes of finding a reasonable solution to the problem which weighs so heavily on our hearts and our minds.

135. In conclusion, we should also like to inform our colleagues from the socialist countries that we respect their ideas on the freedom and independence of peoples and we understand perfectly their concern and their fear that the errors of the past may be repeated in South West Africa if the Assembly does not act with the greatest circumspection. Their wise advice offered

<sup>2/</sup> See Report of the Commission of Enquiry into South-West Africa Affairs, 1962-63, Pretoria, Government Printer, 1964.

so generously is consequently most valuable and commands our sympathy. We would, therefore, urge them not to adopt too inflexible an attitude which might lead to an impasse and we hope that after they have

heard the many appeals made in this hall, they will give us their co-operation.

*The meeting rose at 1 p.m.*



CONTENTS

	Page
Agenda item 7: <i>Question of South West Africa (continued) . . .</i>	1

**President: Mr. Abdul Rahman PAZHWAQ**  
**(Afghanistan).**

AGENDA ITEM 7

Question of South West Africa (continued)

1. Mr. IDZUMBUIR (Democratic Republic of the Congo) (translated from French): First of all, Mr. President, I should like to congratulate you on behalf of my delegation on your unanimous election to the Presidency of the fifth special session of the General Assembly. The firmness and competence with which you have conducted the work of the twenty-first regular session are a guarantee of a successful completion of our work at this session.

2. The complexity and difficulty of the question of South West Africa are apparent to everyone. I should therefore like to pay a tribute to all the members of the Ad Hoc Committee for South West Africa and to its Chairman for their efforts in exercise of the mandate conferred on them by the General Assembly in paragraph 6 of resolution 2145 (XXI) of 27 October 1966.

3. That mandate was "to recommend practical means by which South West Africa should be administered, so as to enable the people of the Territory to exercise the right of self-determination and to achieve independence".

4. In devising such "practical means", therefore, account had to be taken of the fact that South Africa no longer had any right to administer the Territory, and that the latter was under the direct responsibility of the United Nations; this is laid down in resolution 2145 (XXI), paragraph 4. It follows, firstly, that the right to administer South West Africa has been withdrawn from South Africa and taken over by the United Nations on behalf of the international community; secondly, that the international community will therefore decide on which authority this right of administration should be conferred; thirdly, that South Africa is henceforth prohibited from preventing the authority appointed by the international community to administer the Territory from exercising such administration.

5. Thus, the task before the Ad Hoc Committee was to recommend to the General Assembly the authority which should administer South West Africa on behalf of the international community.

6. Theoretically, there are several possible choices, as indicated in the United States memorandum [A/6640, para. 62], which tries to define exactly the terms of reference of that Committee.

7. I shall refrain from examining the advantages and disadvantages of the various possibilities, but shall limit myself to analysing the only two proposals which are in line with the Ad Hoc Committee's terms of reference. I refer to the Afro-Pakistani proposal [*ibid.*, paras. 45 and 82] and the Latin American proposal [*ibid.*, para. 93]. I shall explain later why my delegation does not consider that the Western proposal [*ibid.*, para. 84] truly falls within the Committee's terms of reference.

8. The first formula proposed in the report of the Ad Hoc Committee is that of the African countries, supported by Pakistan. It recommends that a United Nations organ, comprising a commissioner and a council, should undertake to prepare the people of South West Africa for independence, and should accordingly take over the administration of South West Africa, which has been withdrawn from South Africa. In order to do that, the council and the commissioner must proceed to South West Africa and assume the administration of the Territory by replacing South African administrative personnel with South West Africans, or, failing that, by other officials supplied under appropriate assistance arrangements.

9. Such replacement must be planned in advance and carried out in rapid stages with a view to safeguarding the higher interests of law and order in the Territory.

10. For the African countries, the departure of South African authorities from the Territory is no longer a matter for discussion. That departure was decided upon in resolution 2145 (XXI). South Africa must respect and implement the resolution. But will it do so?

11. For our part, we believe that the conduct of South Africa with respect to more than seventy United Nations resolutions concerning the Territory, as well as the latest statements by South African officials, leaves little hope that the South African authorities will voluntarily comply with their obligations under resolution 2145 (XXI).

12. With these facts in mind, the African countries and a large number of Asian countries now feel that the United Nations must be prepared to meet such a situation with appropriate measures. At this stage, pious statements of intent are not going to change South Africa's attitude. Only practical action, taken with the support of all States, can overcome its stubborn resistance.

13. The gradual process whereby the United Nations, following the United Kingdom and heedless of African

warnings, was led to attempt to resolve the Rhodesian question, is a lesson we have borne in mind.

14. I now come to consider the second proposal, that submitted by the delegations of Chile and Mexico and supported by the delegation of Japan.

15. This proposal also recommends the establishment of a United Nations body composed of a council and a commissioner which would exercise on behalf of the United Nations the right of administration previously held by South Africa under its Mandate, which has since been withdrawn. The Mexican-Chilean proposal thus does not call into question the principle that South Africa must withdraw from the Territory and refrain from opposing the take-over of the Territory's administration by a United Nations body. The sponsors of that proposal seem to be quite impressed, in their desire for a peaceful settlement, with the need for negotiating with South Africa regarding the implementation of resolution 2145 (XXI). They wish to give South Africa time for additional reflection as a last chance.

16. The representative of Chile, after acknowledging that he takes the same view as the Africans on "the matter of direct administration of the Territory by the United Nations", noted that the Chilean-Mexican proposal differed from the African "in the emphasis and timing of the process" [1504th meeting, para. 121].

17. Later on, indicating the basic point of difference, he referred to paragraph 8 of the Chilean-Mexican proposal, which reads:

"The Council shall enter immediately into contact with the authorities of the Republic of South Africa in order to lay down procedures, in accordance with resolution 2145 (XXI), for the transfer of the Territory with the least possible upheaval, a time-limit for its completion being prescribed."

The Chilean representative then said:

"The point is, therefore, strict compliance with the terms of resolution 2145 (XXI). Contact with the de facto administration must be solely and exclusively within this context. The purpose of any such contact is to ensure that the process is carried out successfully and if possible peacefully and harmoniously" [ibid., para. 127].

18. Before making any criticisms, I should like to pay a tribute to the delegations to Mexico, Chile and Japan. Their views, although different from those of my delegation, constitute an approach well within the terms of reference of the Ad Hoc Committee. The Congolese delegation has of course never doubted that the Latin American delegations find the apartheid system and the idea of colonialism repugnant. Having said that, I should now like to explain my delegation's reaction to the Latin American proposal.

19. That proposal recommends negotiations with South Africa with a view to working out practical means of effecting the transfer. My delegation is aware that it is inevitable that such contact should be established. But it must be undertaken by the council once it is set up in South West Africa, as part of its normal administrative duties. We see no need for emphasizing such contact, unless it is to constitute

a pre-condition for the establishment of the council in South West Africa, an idea my delegation cannot accept.

20. My delegation feels that the council should go to South West Africa as soon as possible after it has been set up and, once there, should take such measures as may be necessary to effect the transfer of the Territory within a reasonable time. We shall then see soon enough whether South Africa is prepared to honour its obligations under resolution 2145 (XXI).

21. In his statement, the Chilean representative wondered why we should anticipate sanctions. No African country wishes the United Nations to embark on the course of sanctions as a matter of principle. We all feel, however, that when such a course becomes necessary, it must be considered.

22. Everyone is aware of South Africa's defiance of the United Nations over the past twenty years. Everyone is aware of what South Africa has in mind with regard to resolution 2145 (XXI). It does not intend to leave South West Africa, and, to show that its policy remains unchanged, it has decided, despite the fact that it no longer holds the Mandate, to proceed with the establishment of an autonomous Ovamboland along the lines of a "Bantustan".

23. All the information at our disposal serves only to confirm the very strong probability, the near-certainty, that South Africa will not respect the provisions of resolution 2145 (XXI). That is why we believe that strong measures must be taken, for an ounce of prevention is worth a pound of cure.

24. We should like to take this opportunity to urge all Powers, particularly the Western Powers, to refrain, in the present circumstances, from helping South Africa to increase its military potential.

25. We should be happy to see some proof of goodwill on the part of South Africa. But none of those who have spoken here to deny that there is any need to envisage possible action by the Security Council has been able to furnish an indication of any desire whatever on the part of the Republic of South Africa to comply with the terms of resolution 2145 (XXI).

26. Therefore, we continue to believe that it follows inevitably from resolution 2145 (XXI) that the council and the commissioner must proceed rapidly to South West Africa and make arrangements on the spot to take over the administration of the Territory from South Africa.

27. We hope that South Africa will voluntarily discharge its obligations under resolution 2145 (XXI), but we cannot ignore the fact that its official representatives have announced the South African Government's firm intention not to give effect, to that resolution.

28. It is in the light of these considerations that my delegation has given its full support to the Afro-Asian draft resolution [A/L.516 and Add.1-3], which is now before the Assembly.

29. Finally, I come to what has been referred to as the Western proposal. I said earlier that this proposal does not fall within the Ad Hoc Committee's terms of reference, according to which the Committee



must "recommend practical means by which South West Africa should be administered".

30. The United States representative, as spokesman for the Western Powers, understood these terms of reference so well, as evidenced by his memorandum which contains a theoretical study of the various practical formulas which would fall within the terms of reference, that he gave four possible versions of administrative arrangements and five possible formulas for the exercise by the United Nations of its direct responsibility over the Territory. My delegation wishes to ask only one question. To which of the administrative arrangements described by the United States representative in that document does the Western proposal correspond? The answer is: to none of them.

31. What is the purpose of the Western proposal? Not to ensure the administration of South West Africa by an authority other than South Africa, but to determine "whether the South African Government is prepared to co-operate in the orderly transfer of the administration of the Territory" [1504th meeting, para. 51]. I am quoting what the Canadian representative said in his statement before the General Assembly on 25 April 1967.

32. The Western proposal seeks to establish a nucleus of unified self-government in the Territory as early as possible and to have the Territory administered by its own inhabitants. Here again I use the Canadian representative's words. According to that representative, this proposal represents the "common sense of recognizing that there is a de facto régime in the Territory" [*ibid.*, para. 52] and of co-operating with it in order to establish this nucleus of unified self-government.

33. An analysis of the three elements which enter into the terms of reference of the United Nations organ envisaged in the Western proposal shows a concern that, while maintaining direct although watered-down responsibility for South West Africa, the United Nations should not directly administer the Territory.

34. Before going further into an examination of the Western proposal, I should like at this point to clarify certain concepts which appear to have caused some misunderstanding. I refer to the precise meaning of the terms "direct and indirect administration" and "direct responsibility of the United Nations".

35. In colonial terminology "direct administration" means that the colonial administering Power disrupts the traditional administrative structures and substitutes for them an entirely alien imported structure which ignores the traditional authorities. "Indirect administration", on the other hand, is a system of administration which respects the traditional administrative structures and gives them a measure of authority, while reserving for the administering Power the right to oversee them.

36. We are opposed to providing for South West Africa, which wishes to enter the community of modern States, a supposedly indirect form of administration which is in reality a step backwards, and which looks like a form of self-government when it is actually a form of enslavement.

37. When the Western proposal speaks of administration of the Territory "by the people of South West Africa themselves", if what is meant is that the Council should have first recourse to South West Africans for filling administrative posts falling vacant on the withdrawal of South African officials, we are in agreement. That is precisely what is proposed in section IV, paragraph 2 (d), of the Afro-Asian draft resolution.

38. But we believe that is not what the Western proposal intends. In fact it provides for international responsibility, exercised directly by the United Nations, but shared with a nucleus of representative elements whose selection would be made not by democratic election but following an ethnographic, sociological and economic survey in co-operation with the de facto régime, namely, South Africa.

39. In short, it would involve the selection, with the co-operation of South Africa—and in accordance, of course, with the apartheid system—of officials for the traditional structure in the case of the black community, and for the imported structure in the case of the white community, from which to set up a nucleus of unified self-government. The beginnings of the same process which led to the Rhodesian crisis, through the same so-called unified self-government, can already be observed.

40. Moreover, who will be chosen on the African side under South Africa's auspices? The traditionalist element such as the Bantustan chiefs, who are against any political emancipation since it entails loss of their privileges.

41. Such a disguised attempt at subjugation under the deceptive appearance of decolonization has been made many a time in the history of decolonization.

42. With regard to the process of attaining independence, my delegation considers that only democratic elections, after all political freedom has been restored, can determine who is capable of assuming complete international responsibility for the Territory. Meanwhile, this responsibility in our view should be exercised exclusively and directly by ad hoc United Nations bodies.

43. I should like to say a word about the immediate or impending confrontation with South Africa which the spokesmen for the Western proposal so diligently seek to avoid. In his statement on 26 April, the United States representative told us that the difference between the Western proposal and the other proposals is in short that the latter, unlike the former, "explicitly or implicitly and in varying degrees look toward an immediate or early confrontation with South Africa" [1505th meeting, para. 18]. A little later, the same speaker said:

"... the world is already suffering from too many confrontations. It would be a strange irony if the United Nations—whose highest aim is to resolve disputes and achieve justice by peaceful means, and to harmonize the actions of nations—should itself fail to pursue such means and, instead, add still another confrontation to a list already too long. What is needed now is not confrontation but consultation" [*ibid.*, para. 23].

44. My delegation wishes to ask whether it was the United Nations or South Africa that created the problem of South West Africa. Who is seeking to add to the list of confrontations: the United Nations or South Africa? Who created the confrontation: the United Nations or South Africa? How long has the confrontation existed? Since the adoption of resolution 2145 (XXI)? Certainly not. The confrontation has existed for over twenty years. This confrontation has existed ever since South Africa first defied the United Nations over the question of South West Africa. It was not the Afro-Asian proposals that created the confrontation, nor was it the United Nations that escalated the confrontation. It was South Africa; and if it is desired to avoid a new escalation, it is South Africa that must be approached and not the United Nations.

45. A dialogue has been proposed to us. But for the past twenty years the United Nations has been attempting a dialogue to which South Africa has turned a deaf ear. Today we are told that peaceful means of diplomacy and persuasion must be sought and that the United Nations must not, to use the United States representative's expression, be in a hurry to use the sword.

46. We would have preferred this diplomacy by persuasion at a much earlier stage. We still hope that it may yield results, for it is never too late to make good. But we do not think that the measures we recommend would hamper the diplomacy of persuasion in which the countries with the desire and the means to do so may wish to engage. On the contrary, the measures we recommend are preventive measures, which cannot but give greater persuasive effect to their diplomatic action.

47. Let me cite here President Kennedy's words recalled by Mr. Goldberg: "Let us never negotiate out of fear; but let us never fear to negotiate" [*ibid.*, para. 24].

48. We said at the outset that we recognize the need for contact with the *de facto* authorities to ensure the orderly withdrawal of South African personnel from the Territory, but not to negotiate the principle of such withdrawal. In order that these contacts may not lay the principles open to question, the United Nations must not be in a position of fear engendered by weakness in the face of South African defiance, but in a position of strength capable of withstanding the threats of the Pretoria authorities.

49. My delegation considers that this position is in line with what President Kennedy said. It is for that reason that the African and Asian delegations wanted South Africa to realize henceforth to what it exposes itself by failing to respect the relevant clauses of resolution 2145 (XXI), now that, through force of circumstance, direct contact must be established between it and the United Nations with regard to South West Africa.

50. Finally, I should like to add that the Western proposal recommends studies and consultations which, in my delegation's opinion, are not incompatible with the mandate of a body which shall have taken in hand the administration of South West Africa.

51. We wish these studies not to be a pre-condition to the actual take-over of administration of the Territory but to be part of administrative work that the United Nations organs set up in accordance with the Afro-Asian and Latin American proposals might carry out when they have assumed control of the Territory.

52. Furthermore, what is there to be learned that is not already known through the South African authorities themselves, through refugees or through the Western companies which are exploiting the wealth of South West Africa?

53. I should like to say a word concerning the proposal endorsed by several socialist countries, which calls for proclaiming independence and conferring on the Organization of African Unity the responsibility for helping the young State to consolidate its independence.

54. Had this proposal not come from countries whose anti-colonialist feelings need no further demonstration, it would have given rise to several interpretations very unfavourable to its authors, who would have made themselves suspect in African eyes. But the support which the socialist countries have always given to the fight for popular liberation has fortunately caused us to examine more closely this proposal, whose motivation is essentially honest.

55. We understand the reluctance of the socialist countries to see the United Nations again undertaking the administration of a Territory when, in their view, it was less than fortunate in a previous experience. That is a matter of opinion which is open to discussion, a matter of judgement. One fact is certain. If an undertaking of the kind recommended in the Afro-Asian draft resolution is to succeed, a singleness of view of Member States is essential, and it is of prime importance to maintain it, come what may.

56. But proclamation of independence at this stage would be a mere formality with no practical effect. Not only would it not solve the problem of South Africa's withdrawal from South West Africa, but it would commit a sin of omission in that it would not provide in advance for democratically elected representatives of the people to take up the reins of power and then, in a position of sovereignty, to seek what assistance they chose.

57. The fears regarding direct administration by the United Nations may be allayed inasmuch as the Afro-Asian draft provides that, for the purposes of such administration, priority shall be given to indigenous personnel, foreign personnel being used only as a supplement.

58. Bearing in mind that the system of administration by the United Nations is to cover a short transitional period, we venture to hope that the socialist countries will take this fact into account and reduce their opposition to this part of the Afro-Asian proposal. The unreserved support which they have always given to the cause of anti-colonialism will thus continue uninterrupted.

59. We are also grateful for the confidence which these countries have shown in our young African organization. But we think that the Organization of African Unity can in no way take the place of the

United Nations as the representative of the international community with sole international responsibility for the Territory. After all, its members are also Members of the United Nations, and their action cannot but make itself felt in this body on a question so close to their hearts.

60. I will conclude by saying that, in the question of South West Africa, the United Nations must show firmness with respect to South Africa, now that the time has come to put resolution 2145 (XXI) into effect. At this juncture, I wish to emphasize that the great Powers have a primary responsibility for giving the Organization all the support it needs to defend the democracy and freedom of the people of South West Africa, the violation of which has been unanimously recognized and condemned. We venture to hope that they will not shirk that responsibility, but will show in defence of this cause whose legitimacy is unanimously recognized at least as great a determination as they have shown for causes of dubious worth.

61. We venture to hope that the Members of the United Nations, which have been unanimous in their condemnation of South Africa and in the withdrawal of the Mandate—in short, in the adoption of resolution 2145 (XXI)—will be able to maintain this unity now that action has to be taken to enforce that resolution.

62. Mr. AIKEN (Ireland): Mr. President, permit me at the outset to convey to you the warm congratulations of the Irish delegation on your unanimous election to preside over this special session, and to express the fervent hope that, under your wise guidance, our deliberations will be crowned with success.

63. In intervening in this debate, on behalf of the Irish delegation, I wish first of all to express our great regret that the Government of South Africa has so far shown no signs of admitting that it has no right, legal or moral, to remain in occupation of the Territory of South West Africa. Neither has it shown the slightest sign that it feels it must sooner or later comply with the almost unanimous decision of the last session of the General Assembly [resolution 2145 (XXI)] to terminate South Africa's Mandate and to ensure self-determination and independence for the people of the territory.

64. It is therefore, I submit, the duty of this special session to take such decisions as the situation demands. If, however, the United Nations is successfully to carry out its decision to assume responsibility for bringing the territory to independence, any steps we decide to recommend must pass the twofold test of practicability and effectiveness. As I see it, none of the proposals that have emerged from the Ad Hoc Committee appointed at the last session to consider the matter meets that test.

65. Let me add at once that what I have said in no way reflects on the dedicated efforts of the Committee under its able Chairman and officers. No one should underestimate the difficulties of the task entrusted to the Committee in view of the differences which were well known to exist among Members of our Organization as to how the problem should be tackled. The task of this special session is to resolve these differences in the only manner open to us;

that is, by a vote of the appropriate majority of the Members for the policy they deem most practical and effective.

66. I submit that, if the United Nations should prove unable to secure compliance with its will—formally registered by 95 per cent of its Members—to end the occupation of the Territory of South West Africa by a medium Power such as South Africa, its failure will, in the eyes of all reasonable men, be a crippling if not a fatal blow to any faith in the capacity and will of our Organization to uphold the principles of our Charter and to take effective collective measures to keep the peace and suppress acts of aggression. South West Africa is a test case. It is so regarded by men of goodwill everywhere, who look to the United Nations to organize effective machinery to conciliate differences and to uphold international law.

67. The Government of South Africa has, as we are all too painfully aware, formally repudiated the validity of Assembly resolution 2145 (XXI). It continues to deny the right of the United Nations to terminate its Mandate, and to deny the right of the United Nations to assume direct responsibility for the Territory of South West Africa. It refuses to recognize the right of the people of South West Africa to independence, notwithstanding the fact that the United Nations has reaffirmed that the Territory has international status. It has even declared its intention to partition the country. In view of this obvious determination of the South African Government to remain in forcible occupation of the territory, I submit that the General Assembly, as the authority now legally and morally responsible for the territory, must seek forthwith the assistance of the Security Council in carrying into effect all the Assembly's obligations to the people of South West Africa.

68. In suggesting that the General Assembly should at this stage, and as a first step in carrying out its responsibility, seek the help of the Security Council, I have in mind that, to bring about speedy and peaceful compliance with Assembly resolution 2145 (XXI), it is essential that the Government of South Africa should be approached, and approached directly, by the organ of the United Nations that clearly has the power to take all appropriate and necessary measures to ensure compliance.

69. I have little doubt that the great majority of Members realize that there is no hope that the Government of South Africa, in its present mood, will agree to pourparlers to admit a United Nations presence to the territory if requested merely by a majority, however large, of the smaller and less powerful Member States. On the contrary, an approach by the General Assembly to have a United Nations presence admitted would, I feel, confirm the most recalcitrant elements in South Africa in their belief that the only action the United Nations will ever take to uphold the principles of the Charter in the Territory of South West Africa is to pass condemnatory resolutions in the Assembly.

70. The freedom of South West Africa is a challenge to the United Nations. It is a challenge, in particular, to the wisdom of the great Powers. I believe that in this instance any Power which attempts to shuffle off its responsibilities by specious arguments invoking

high principles, or by impugning the good faith of those willing to co-operate, could not fail to be suspected of doing so for selfish motives or intentions of disruption rather than out of fidelity to the Charter or for the good of the people of South West Africa. Here is a clear case of aggression by a would-be colonial Power against a weak neighbouring people. There is no question that any great Power which has investments in the territory, and which may be willing to co-operate in bringing freedom to its people, can be suspected of doing so to reap financial or other advantage. Conceivably, indeed, such a Power may feel that it stands to lose materially by any change in the control of the territory. Neither is there any question of the independence of the territory making in this nuclear missile age any significant change in the balance of power in the world. Such considerations, therefore, should not deter any great Power from co-operating to bring freedom to the people of South West Africa. Indeed, all the great Powers should co-operate whole-heartedly, for they will thereby help to reduce tension and to make some progress towards eliminating the causes of war and the appalling cost of war preparations.

71. It is considerations such as those which have led the Irish delegation to the conclusion that, rather than passing a resolution in which the General Assembly solemnly decides to appoint a United Nations council to take over the administration of the territory or to appoint a special representative to proceed to the territory and establish a nucleus of self-government, we should face the fact that the Assembly is not in a position to ensure that its decision be respected, and that it must invoke the active co-operation of the Security Council.

72. In these circumstances, I am convinced that progress in freeing the people of the territory can best be ensured if the General Assembly should at this stage confine itself to recording its opinion that the denial by the Government of South Africa of the validity of resolution 2145 (XXI), by which South Africa's Mandate was terminated, and the continuing refusal of that Government to recognize the right of the people of the territory to self-determination and independence, constitute an act of international aggression.

73. The Assembly, as the sole authority now legally responsible for South West Africa, should then, I suggest, go on to request the Security Council to call upon the Government of South Africa to comply with such provisional measures, including the acceptance of a United Nations presence in the territory, as the Council deems necessary or desirable to bring South West Africa to independence in an orderly and peaceful manner; and to request also that, in the event of a refusal by the Government of South Africa to admit to the territory and co-operate with the representative of the United Nations or to comply with the provisional measures I have referred to, the Council should decide what further measures are to be employed and actions to be taken to secure compliance. And in order that the Security Council should be made aware of the urgency which the Assembly attaches to the matter, the Council should be requested to report to the Assembly as soon as may be, but not later than

1 September next, on all matters pertaining to the implementation of the Assembly's requests.

74. I feel, too, that, in order to assure the Security Council that it can rely on the whole-hearted support of the great majority of the United Nations, the Assembly should also decide to call upon all Member States to join in affording mutual assistance to carry out whatever measures the Security Council may decide upon to enable the people of South West Africa to exercise its inalienable right to self-determination and independence.

75. In conclusion, I would appeal to the Government and people of South Africa to remember that we are now living in the last third of the twentieth century. I would appeal to them to realize that the peace and contentment of our peoples in this age of revolutionary social and scientific change preclude our engaging in costly efforts at territorial expansion and require that all our skill and resources be concentrated on developing the art of living together in harmony and co-operation for our common good.

76. Mr. TOMOROWICZ (Poland): Only problems of exceptional importance can justify the convocation of a special session. The decision to convene the present fifth special session of the General Assembly was, as we all know, prompted by the necessity to deal urgently with the question of South West Africa. The wise initiative on the part of the African countries in that respect has thus brought us to the present deliberations.

77. The Polish delegation believes that the present session is of outstanding importance to all of us. And it is precisely because of its main subject now under discussion that we consider it of such significance. For it can be clearly seen now that the problem of securing independence for South West Africa in the nearest possible future is nothing less than a necessity and a duty to all of us and to our Organization. All the manifold aspects of the same problem point consequently to that conclusion.

78. Let us first look upon it from the point of view of international law. There can be no doubt whatsoever that the Mandate exercised by the régime of South Africa over South West Africa is terminated and non-existent. It has also been proved that South Africa has no other rights to administer that territory. The persistent rejection of those facts by South Africa—in continuing to maintain its administration in South West Africa and usurping the right to govern that territory—is a flagrant violation of international law. None of the Members of our Organization can afford to tolerate that state of affairs nor indeed can the United Nations as a whole.

79. Secondly, South Africa has consistently violated the principles of the Charter, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, resolution 1514 (XV) and over seventy resolutions on South West Africa adopted by the United Nations.

80. Throughout all the years during which the question of South West Africa has been on the agenda of the United Nations, the régime of South Africa has consistently engaged in activities aimed at hampering and slowing down the process of development of the people of that territory.

81. In the past, as now, South Africa has stopped at nothing in its administration of the territory: the ruthless exploitation of natural resources and labour, the introduction of a whole scheme to fragment that country, and the efforts to introduce and perpetuate the criminal policy of racial discrimination—these constitute the occupier's policy.

82. We have been confronted with this state of affairs long enough. The United Nations cannot and should not tolerate any longer a situation in which one of its Members keeps on defying all the specific decisions and violating the fundamental premises of the Charter, putting at stake the good name of our Organization.

83. Thirdly, and this is probably the most important aspect of this question, we—all of us here—are responsible before history for seeing to it that everything is done in order that there be no more delay in the granting of full independence to South West Africa.

84. We may safely say that the process of decolonization has already passed the period of its peak. The backbone of the colonial system has been broken. The best testimony to this fact is probably the present composition of our Organization, its changing face and its political life, enriched with important initiatives coming from the delegations of newly emerged countries.

85. But it must be said that the last period of the struggle against colonialism is far from easy; it is in fact its most dangerous and complicated phase. We are witnessing in that period the concentration of efforts on the part of the colonial Powers to maintain their economic, political and military interests in the dependent territories by resorting to all possible methods. The vested interests, where they exist, dictate the same attitude towards the newly independent countries. Where the camouflaged and more subtle methods fail, there is recourse to the brutal use of force. We have, unfortunately, enough examples in that regard.

86. The present session of the General Assembly is being held at the time when the United States is waging a full-fledged war against the Viet-Nameese nation. By means of the most modern military machinery, that Power, day after day, is destroying the towns, the industry, the crops and the lives of the Viet-Nameese people.

87. Hundreds of thousands of tons of high explosives and napalm bombs are being dropped on the sovereign territory of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam. This small, poor country, which won its independence only a few years ago, is confronted today with the might of an army almost half a million strong, together with naval and air force units. And yet, the Viet-Nameese nation, fighting for the right to decide its own future, has not succumbed to the aggressor. We are witnessing today a further insane military escalation. But there can be only one solution: American aggression must stop and Viet-Nam must be left to the Viet-Nameese. If I have made these remarks on the situation in Viet-Nam, it is because my delegation is convinced that that situation is closely related to the problem now under discussion.

88. The timing of the present session and the subject on our agenda have created a situation in which—much as it must be regretted—we are witnessing with extreme clarity a process of polarization of the forces. On the one hand, there is the strong majority of those who observe the principles and lofty ideals of the Charter, who go along with progress and engage themselves actively in the process of liberating colonial and dependent nations, in the struggle for the just rights of the South West African nation to freedom and independence, while, on the other hand, there are those who, for the sake of their own interests and gains, endeavour to delay or to stop that historic process.

89. This fact cannot be blurred or covered by empty declarations or by verbal assurances of deep attachment to the ideals of freedom and independence while actual practice points to the contrary.

90. The Polish delegation is of the opinion that, in order to elaborate the best possible means of solving the problem of the speedy liberation of South West Africa, it is necessary to single out all those elements which seriously hamper the possibility of attaining our goal. On the basis of such an analysis, we should proceed immediately to the actual solution.

91. It was by the decision contained in resolution 2145 (XXI) that the South African Mandate over the Territory of South West Africa was finally revoked in order to ensure the application of the provisions of resolution 1514 (XV), paragraph 5 of which states explicitly:

"Immediate steps shall be taken, in Trust and Non-Self-Governing Territories or all other territories which have not yet attained independence, to transfer all powers to the peoples of those territories, without any conditions or reservations, in accordance with their freely expressed will and desire, without any distinction as to race, creed or colour, in order to enable them to enjoy complete independence and freedom."

92. Hence it is our understanding that the provisions of resolutions 1514 (XV) and 2145 (XXI) are aimed at the immediate liberation of the people of South West Africa, enabling them to take powers into their own hands. We have supported, and will continue to support, the inalienable right of the people of South West Africa to freedom and independence. It is our duty to see that all Member States—and I repeat "all"—comply with the above provisions.

93. Many speakers who have preceded me during the course of our deliberations have eloquently and ably explained the situation prevailing in South West Africa. It has been stressed repeatedly that once the South African régime withdraws its police and administrative apparatus from the territory, the people of South West Africa will be capable of taking their destiny into their own hands. We fully share this point of view. We are also aware of the fact that the long years of colonial yoke brutally imposed upon South West Africa could not fail to leave deep traces, could not fail to make the situation in that territory even more difficult, especially during the first formative period of its independent life.

94. We are therefore ready to agree with the position expressed by many delegations, namely, that the United Nations and its specialized agencies, together with African countries, members of the Organization of African Unity, should pay particular attention to the needs of South West Africa. We are convinced that the African States, which have accumulated considerable experience in the course of their struggle for independent life, will not spare their assistance to the young African State taking its first difficult steps along the path of independence. It is our firm belief that the African States are best qualified for this noble task.

95. It is in all seriousness and with deep interest that we approach the relevant proposals which are being elaborated by the Afro-Asian group. As in the past, we are prepared to co-operate to the best of our ability in attaining the basic objective, which is to enable the people of South West Africa without delay to take the destiny of their country into their own hands. The immediate situation with which we are confronted today, however, springs from the fact that, contrary to the injunctions of resolution 2145 (XXI), South West Africa continues to be occupied illegally by the South African régime. South Africa feels that it can afford to ignore and defy the resolutions of the United Nations.

96. The Polish delegation has stated on many occasions that, were it not for the support and assistance of some Western Powers, South Africa would not be in a position to ignore public opinion and brutally to contravene the resolutions of the General Assembly and the very spirit of the Charter. This fact has been readily admitted on many occasions by South African statesmen themselves. The late Hendrik Verwoerd, for instance, said in a speech after his electoral victory in April 1966 that he was counting on "the common sense and sane judgement of the United States and Britain to guarantee the safety of the whites in this country." "The two nations", he said, "are the only countries whose attitudes or actions can be of importance to South Africa."

97. We have never had any doubt that those Powers which are the main trading partners of South Africa, and which have a significant share in South African economy, can ensure the implementation of the United Nations resolutions. It has already been said that the United Kingdom has more than £1,000 million of investments in South African economy. United States investments amount to \$650 million. The specific semi-slave colonial practice of the South African régime enables American and British monopolies to derive a huge profit calculated at a rate of 26 per cent.

98. The imports of the United States, the United Kingdom and the Federal Republic of Germany from South Africa amount to about 50 per cent of all South African exports, and their exports to South Africa cover nearly 60 per cent of the needs of that country. Those are countries supplying South Africa with modern weaponry, telecommunication apparatus, machinery and transport equipment, etc.

99. The American help and assistance is highly appreciated by South Africa. Mr. Joseph Lelyveld

correspondent of The New York Times in South Africa in 1965 and 1966, wrote in the April edition of The Atlantic as follows:

"Doctor Verwoerd used to like to tell political rallies that the great Western powers differed with his government 'only on the racial issue' ... If the rally was in Pretoria, the audience had only to think of the new \$35 million Chrysler assembly plant being built near there.

"If it was in Port Elizabeth, they would think of Ford and General Motors, which have long dominated the city's economic life, never showing any distress over the low wages that are fixed by law for the [so-called] 'job classifications' in which they employ non whites. South Africans could also think of the three American satellite-tracking stations in their country or of the American assistance that helped them build their first nuclear reactor."

100. The actions of the United Kingdom and the United States, aimed at the preservation of the status quo in South West Africa, are being motivated by their deeply-rooted economic and political interests. Logically enough, the proposals sponsored by the United States do not, in the circumstances, provide any concrete measures aimed at the speedy eviction of the South African régime from the Territory of South West Africa.

101. We are confronted here with a vicious circle: the South African colonial régime in South West Africa enables the foreign monopolies to exploit the population and plunder the natural wealth of that territory. In turn, those countries render to the South African régime moral, political and all-out support in the international arena.

102. The special session, convoked to deal with the question of South West Africa, to bring about immediate independence for the people of that territory, should do its utmost to overcome the obstacles on the way to attaining this goal.

103. We have to impress upon all Member States—and I repeat, all Member States—that the South African régime must be left isolated in its contempt for the United Nations decisions, thus finding itself in no position to ignore and violate them.

104. This is, to our minds, the very crux of the problem, and this problem requires a decisive political solution.

105. The position of my delegation has been repeatedly stated during the discussion of the question of South West Africa in the Special Committee on decolonization, as well as during the course of deliberations at the last session of the General Assembly.

106. By the virtue of its political system, my country is opposed to any kind of subjugation of colonialism in all its forms and manifestations. Guided by these principles, as regards the question of South West Africa, we will continue to support all such steps which will lead us to the speedy freeing of that territory and full independence of its population.

107. Mr. BANDIO (Central African Republic) (translated from French): Mr. President, speaking as I do

for the first time in the general debate, I must begin by associating my delegation with the congratulations extended by earlier speakers on your brilliant election and that of your fellow officers. In selecting you to guide us in our delicate and complex task, the General Assembly has once again seen fit to pay a tribute to a great statesman and a man of vast experience, known for his courtesy and impartiality. My delegation is convinced that, under your direction, our work will be crowned with success.

108. In an area of 7,000 square kilometres, bounded on the east by the Kalahari desert and on the west by the Namib desert, with a long Atlantic coast and a vast hilly plateau in its centre where water shortage is an acute problem, some 85,000 Europeans, of whom a third are Germans, and 488,000 Africans live side by side.

109. South West Africa—the country I have just described—has an economy which is far from negligible. Indeed, the country is very rich in diamonds, £135 million worth of which are said to have been sold in 1964 by De Beers, which controls 80 per cent of the world's production. It is also said that the off-shore deposits are particularly promising and that the fishing industry is developing substantially.

110. Since it was placed under the Mandate of the Union of South Africa following the First World War, South West Africa has lived in the midst of conflict, a conflict which is now continued by the Pretoria Government and the United Nations. Thus the General Assembly of the United Nations, which is the legal successor of the League of Nations, by resolution 2145 (XXI) of 27 October 1966, which was adopted by the overwhelming majority of 114 votes to 2, with 3 abstentions, took an irrevocable political step of enormous historical significance in terminating the Mandate conferred upon His Britannic Majesty to be exercised on his behalf by the Government of the Union of South Africa over South West Africa, a former German colony.

111. Established by the General Assembly and instructed by it to recommend "practical means by which South West Africa should be administered, so as to enable the people of the Territory to exercise the right of self-determination and to achieve independence", the Ad Hoc Committee for South West Africa, a Territory which, by virtue of that resolution, "comes under the direct responsibility of the United Nations", has, in concluding its difficult and demanding work, concurrently submitted three parallel proposals. To these a fourth has now been added which its sponsor believed is essential to round out the so-called Afro-Asian draft resolution [A/L.516 and Add.1-3].

112. My delegation has given due attention to the working papers submitted by the Ad Hoc Committee for South West Africa and also to the proposals which accompanied them. It has listened carefully to all the statements, reflecting many and varied positions, made by the speakers who have preceded me. My delegation has compared the different positions, and accordingly, wishing to make a modest contribution to the already voluminous and, alas, somewhat confused dossier of this case, I should like to offer to

the Assembly a few ideas which I make bold to call the fruit of our meditations on this subject. As might be expected, my comments will bear on two main subjects.

113. First, I should like to say a few words regarding the suggested plans for United Nations action. All the plans which have been submitted to the Assembly, whether they be of Afro-Asian, Western or Latin American origin, are not, a priori, self-defeating because—and I hasten to clarify this idea—although the proposals in question do not all provide for the immediate accession to independence of the people of the Territory of South West Africa, it is nevertheless true that not only do their sponsors admit, sometimes directly and specifically and sometimes indirectly, the possibility of international sovereignty for South West Africa, but they do, above all, reaffirm the essential fact of the Organization's responsibility by virtue of the provisions of resolution 2145 (XXI).

114. My delegation therefore welcomes the fact that, to a considerable extent, the future of South West Africa is safeguarded as regards its territorial integrity and its accession to independence under the favourable conditions which we earnestly desire.

115. It seems that the differences between the three proposals referred to us by the Ad Hoc Committee lie in the methods of approach most likely to help our brothers in South West Africa to exercise their right to self-determination and accede to political independence.

116. Some Member States, fearing some obstruction or hindrance to the decolonization process which is called for in South West Africa, have suggested that our Organization should intervene by force of arms at the discretion of the Security Council, which should here and now make a solemn commitment to that effect. My country, the Central African Republic, which is a co-sponsor of the so-called Third World draft resolution, is one of the countries which do not believe that Pretoria will co-operate in any practical way. In view of the well known obstructionist attitude of South Africa, this is a justified and legitimate mis-giving.

117. On the other hand, a large number of countries have placed their hopes on negotiations, in a commendable endeavour to persuade Pretoria to renounce its Mandate in favour of the United Nations by peaceful means. These are the Latin American countries.

118. Finally, there are many Powers—which unfortunately include some, if not all, of the permanent members of the organ responsible for world peace and security—which maintain that any enforcement measures undertaken against the Pretoria Government would have disastrous consequences. So these partisans of non-violence make urgent recommendations for prior consultations and even negotiations.

119. Indeed, Jean Knecht, the spokesman of those who favour peaceful means, analysing all the possible enforcement measures that the United Nations might consider using against the Pretoria Government, wrote in Le Monde on 22 April 1967, shortly after the opening of this special session:



"Military action? The United Nations does not have the wherewithal to launch an expedition much larger than the one that was sent to the Congo. In fact, South Africa is the greatest military Power on the continent, with a regular army of 20,000 men, a reserve force of 50,000 men, and a 'commando force' which is also estimated at 50,000 ... Its air force, which uses Sabres, Mirages, Buccaneers, Vampires and helicopters, has 4,000 men, and its navy 3,500.

"Political action with economic sanctions? The Western Powers, especially Great Britain, are not at all inclined to sacrifice their vast economic and financial interests and let themselves be dragged into a policy which might finally lead to the use of force.

"Internal subversion? There is no doubt that the policy of apartheid runs counter to the natural development of the continent. Sooner or later, the sheer weight of population will carry the day. But in the absence of active revolutionary movements, it is not to be thought that the Pretoria authorities will consider abandoning their theory of 'separate development'."

120. Ever since South Africa was dispossessed of its Mandate by the unequivocal terms of resolution 2145 (XXI) of 27 October 1966, negotiation in any form has naturally been out of the question. That is why my delegation agrees with those who believe and maintain that the United Nations cannot negotiate with a State which has been "dispossessed", without risking a loss of prestige. But in addition to the legal aspect of the question, which would not have had to be raised if we had been dealing with a State that was competent in the legal sense of the word, there is a political aspect which cannot be overlooked, because so much is at stake; and it seems to my delegation that an intransigent attitude would be highly detrimental to the noble cause that we wish to see triumph at all costs. That is why, despite the fact that we believe our fears to be well-founded and are accordingly submitting an urgent request to the Security Council that it should take action under Chapter VII of the Charter, we feel that in the present circumstances it would be unwise to display excessive indignation, and that there is yet time for cool understanding. This does not mean betraying a cause to which we are all firmly and courageously dedicated. On the contrary.

121. My delegation, for its part, although a co-sponsor of the draft resolution that calls for enforcement measures against South Africa in the case of aggression during the transfer of power to a specifically indigenous government, has attempted to review the situation in the past few days in the hope of reaching a better understanding of it.

122. What is it that we have been trying to understand? I will tell you frankly, without any evasions, because I believe that I owe such plain speaking to you, and also to myself, so that for the reasons I have just given, a constructive and fruitful dialogue may emerge.

123. To begin with, my delegation, as must be obvious, does not believe in the effect of economic or other sanctions. We have all had bitter experience

of such measures. The newspaper Le Monde, incidentally, in its issue of 22 April 1967, refreshes our memory in this respect. In an article entitled "Sanctions without a Future", it says:

"At its very first 'summit' conference in 1963, the Organization of African Unity (OAU) unanimously adopted the principle of economic sanctions against Pretoria. The following year it set up a 'Sanctions Office'. But according to the statistics published in the South African official yearbook, trade between South Africa and the OAU countries has increased steadily. The same holds true for the countries of the East and the West, which have also developed their trade with South Africa. Even the People's Republic of China buys maize from it. While the United States is the only country to apply an embargo on arms to South Africa, it nevertheless enjoys a privileged position in that country's balance of trade. A United Nations report has it that foreign investments at the end of 1962 amounted to \$4,222 million, of which 60 per cent came from Great Britain, 11 per cent from the United States, and between 4 and 6 per cent from France and Switzerland. Since then, the inflow of foreign capital has continued and a glance at the statistics for exports, 40 per cent of which are represented by gold, and at the list of clients, will show how little the South African economy would be affected by economic sanctions."

124. Secondly, my delegation is not convinced that the Security Council would agree to mount an expedition against South Africa; the reasons are obvious.

125. Nor is my delegation convinced that effective and drastic application of economic measures against South Africa is possible. The reasons for this scepticism are equally obvious.

126. From these hypotheses, I draw my first conclusion.

127. First, the interests of South Africa's trading partners compel them to give South Africa their support, while continuing to profess adherence to certain accepted principles: revocation of the Mandate, establishment of a council, internal self-government and even independence. They are guilty of deliberate procrastination. La Rochefoucauld said, "self-interest is the spur to all action".

128. Secondly, day to day experience has shown that one cannot rely on a neighbour to help you take up arms against your enemy if he is allied to that enemy. The neighbour will do all he can to bring about a dialogue between you and your enemy, who is his ally or trading partner. We have been asked to negotiate, but my delegation for its part would prefer a dialogue to negotiation.

129. Thirdly, it has been said that our draft resolution is unrealistic. We are being impatiently urged to talk in realistic terms, for otherwise the situation we are condemning will continue. We are given to understand that the legal aspect of the question has been superseded and that only the political aspect now matters. That is the sad truth.

130. It is a real desire for a dialogue that we are being persuaded to share. It is feared that our in-

flexible attitude may delay the opening of a dialogue which would doubtless be most constructive and fruitful.

131. Three proposals have been put forward in implementation of resolution 2145 (XXI). Thus the Organization faces an important choice: whether to negotiate with the de facto authority, or have recourse to enforcement measures. We are faced with the feelings, ideas and interests of South West Africa and those of the Organization. When a man must act alone, the task is long and arduous, but when an assemblage as large as this one is involved, it is bound to be longer and more arduous still. This can hardly surprise anyone, for our Organization does not lay claim to being composed solely of angels and saints; nevertheless its legitimate ambition is, in the present circumstances, to act like a body of men who are determined to do whatever is necessary and to do it well. There are two interests which must be safeguarded and preserved; the population of South West Africa must be liberated from the clutches of a régime whose unprincipled attitude has no equal save in the law of the jungle, and care must be taken to safeguard the moral value and universal prestige of our Organization, whose interests should not be subordinated to or confused with certain interests which are being ardently pursued but which unfortunately remain hidden.

132. And so our Organization finds itself in a state of unpardonable immobility. It must decide to do something and quickly. Otherwise the world will not understand why the United Nations should be unable to see what it should see or do what it must do. What it should see is reason, and what it must do is what reason dictates. The heart itself must call on reason in its search for what is right; this may be difficult, but it is not impossible. We must persevere. What matters is that the United Nations should use its prestige so that its ideals of peace and justice may triumph, for the Preamble of the Charter solemnly affirms:

"We the peoples of the United Nations

"Determined

"...

"To reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women and of nations large and small, and

"...

"To promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom,

"And for these ends

"...

"Have resolved to combine our efforts to accomplish these aims."

133. Thus my delegation is convinced that we can find a way out of our impasse. One of the three proposals submitted by the Committee allows for such a possibility, as does an amendment in the form of a separate text, put forward in an attempt to start the thaw. The Assembly and the whole world are

waiting impatiently. But the key to the problem is in the hands of the great Powers. That key could allow us to enter South West Africa, with or without the help of the Security Council.

134. Mr. KABANDA (Rwanda) (translated from French): Mr. President, I have great pleasure in adding the congratulations of my delegation to those addressed to you by previous speakers on the occasion of your re-election to the Presidency of this session. I hope that you will have the satisfaction of seeing our work achieve the results that the people of South West Africa expect of this Organization which, by its resolution 2145 (XXI), decided to take their fate into its hands.

*Mr. Idzumbuir (Democratic Republic of the Congo), Vice-President, took the Chair.*

135. Since this is the first time that I have the honour of speaking in this hall, I should like to pay a heartfelt tribute to this Assembly, whose responsibilities at this moment in United Nations history are extremely serious.

136. The two items on this session's agenda represent an acid test for our Organization, for each Member State must decide whether or not it intends "to take effective ... measures for the prevention and removal of threats to the peace, and for the suppression of acts of aggression or other breaches of the peace", as stated in Article 1 of the Charter. Both items certainly concern international peace and security. The unproductive role played by the United Nations thus far in the southern part of the African continent shows that Member States do not, unfortunately, all have the same conception of the ideal that we call international peace and security.

137. Recent history shows that the political and economic interests of the great Powers in the countries of the Third World take precedence over the ideal of international peace and security, that primary objective of the United Nations.

138. The question of South West Africa is puzzling because of its complexity, disquieting in view of its development and crucial in terms of its effect on the future of the United Nations and of the relations between the developing countries and the great political and economic Powers.

139. It is not my intention to analyse the four proposals which are to be found in the report of the Ad Hoc Committee [A/6640] which, by the way, has been presented with great intelligence and clarity, as speakers who have preceded me have done it for me. At this stage in our debate, I would merely draw attention to the futility of attempting to settle the question of South West Africa through negotiation with South Africa. The delegations which advocate this method seem to forget that it has been employed since the problem first arose, and without satisfactory results.

140. I ask the pardon of the Assembly if I tax its patience by going back in the origins of the conflict between South Africa and the United Nations over the Territory of South West Africa.

141. South Africa has defied the authority of the United Nations ever since turning a deaf ear to the

letter and spirit of resolution 65 (I) of 14 December 1946, it refused to conclude with this Organization a Trusteeship Agreement as provided for in Articles 77, 79 and 81 of the Charter and threatened to incorporate the Territory of South West Africa.

142. By resolution 449 (V) of 13 December 1950, the General Assembly established "a Committee of five consisting of the representatives of Denmark, Syria, Thailand, the United States of America and Uruguay, to confer with the Union of South Africa concerning the procedural measures necessary for implementing the advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice [of 11 July 1950]".

143. At the following session—the sixth—the General Assembly, in resolution 570 A (VI) of 19 January 1952, had to deplore the fact that this negotiating Committee had met with a refusal on the part of South Africa "to give adequate expression to its international obligations with respect to South West Africa, and in particular with regard to the supervisory responsibility of the United Nations towards this Territory".

144. At that same session the General Assembly extended the Committee's terms of reference and altered its composition, Denmark being replaced by Norway. Just as before, the Committee failed to produce any result which might have helped to settle the dispute between the United Nations and the Union of South Africa.

145. I could go on quoting similar instances, but I shall stop here, because the Pretoria Government's designs with regard to South West Africa are only too well known.

146. While my delegation has never doubted the good intentions of the delegations which propose settlement of the question through negotiation, it believes that at this stage, and the South African authorities being what they are, diplomatic methods—which have proved ineffective ever since the founding of the United Nations and the beginning of its conflict with South Africa—will not enable us to meet the wishes of the South West African people. Furthermore, history teaches us that the method of consultation and negotiation has often failed in dealing with serious problems of the type that Africa is now facing. Less than two centuries ago the various states composing the great nation of the United States of America, weary of sterile negotiations with the colonizing Power, did not hesitate to throw off the colonial yoke. A few years ago, Western Europe did not hesitate to make use of force in order to wipe out nazism and fascism.

147. But now, by an irony of history, the United Nations must employ "the most peaceful means" to save Africa from colonialism and racism.

148. We have been accused of trying to bring about a direct conflict with South Africa. Yet there is every indication that, in the case of South West Africa, the conflict is not between the African delegations or the Afro-Asian Group and South Africa, but clearly between South Africa and the United Nations. And to be sure, some of the great Powers are faced with a conflict of obligations, a conflict between respecting their commitments to the United Nations and safeguarding their economic and strategic interests, not only in South

Africa and South West Africa, but in the entire southern part of the African continent.

149. Referring to the judgement handed down on 18 July 1966 by the International Court of Justice,<sup>1/</sup> the Minister of International Co-operation of Rwanda said on 4 October 1966, at the twenty-first session of the General Assembly:

"We request, in particular, that at this session the General Assembly should revoke South Africa's mandate over South West Africa, that United Nations machinery should be set up to administer the country, and that free elections should be organized with a view to self-determination and independence for this African territory." [1428th meeting, para. 36.]

The Minister concluded by saying:

"We are counting on the support of friendly countries and firmly hope that our wishes will be granted and our call heeded." <sup>1/</sup>[*ibid.*]

150. Now that the United Nations has withdrawn South Africa's Mandate over South West Africa, some of our friends think that the Territory should be given independence here and now. We fully understand their concern, which is of course legitimate. Independence is the goal we too are seeking. But we believe that independence given to a people which has been divided by usurpers of power, which has been systematically despoiled of its wealth by South African and foreign monopolies, and whose leaders are in prison or in exile, would do that people more harm than good.

151. We believe that this gallant people, which has endured years of injustice under a racist régime such as that of South Africa, will be able to bide for one year under the authority of a United Nations Commissioner and Council which, with the help of its leaders, would set up basic institutions before the accession to independence which would take place in June 1968 at the latest. We ourselves believe that it would be both wise and realistic to adopt the Afro-Asian proposal [A/L.516 and Add.1-3].

152. With regard to the direct intervention of the Organization of African Unity in the question of South West Africa, it is my Government's view that the United Nations cannot lay its own responsibilities onto the shoulders of the Organization of African Unity, despite the fact that the latter always did and always will co-operate honestly with the United Nations, especially on a question which so closely concerns peace and security in Africa.

153. Once again we appeal urgently to our friends to pass from the stage of words and promises to the decisive stage of liberating action. Not only South West Africa, but also the entire southern part of the African continent must be set free from the two great evils which besmirch the twentieth century: colonialism and racism.

154. Ian Smith tells us that he has brought about the present situation in Rhodesia in order to protect and defend the values of Western civilization against the

<sup>1/</sup> South West Africa, Second Phase, Judgement, I.C.J. Reports 1966, p. 6.

barbarism of uncivilized peoples, I think I have quoted him accurately. I rather think that this is also the position of the régimes of Balthazar Vorster and Antonio Salazar. It is an insult to Western civilization, to which, after all, we owe the concepts of liberty, equality and independence—in short, the concepts of human rights. It is an insult to Western civilization which, *mutatis mutandis*, respects man by respecting what he holds most dear: his freedom and his right to betterment and self-fulfilment.

155. I am still convinced that our Western friends will in the end decide to lend active assistance to the liberation of the South West African people and to the elimination of colonialism and racism in Africa. I also hope that the United Nations and all its Members will help to make the southern part of the African continent a land fit for men to live in.

156. Mr. KHALAF (Iraq): It gives me great pleasure to extend to the President our sincere congratulations on his election to this high office. In electing him by acclamation President of the General Assembly at its fifth special session, Member nations have again expressed their confidence in his experience, impartiality and dedication to the United Nations. We hope that, under his wise and dedicated leadership, our deliberations will be fruitful and constructive.

157. Indeed, the issues under consideration by this General Assembly are of great importance and significance not only because of their political, economic and social implications, but also because they affect the future and well-being of the world.

158. The question of South West Africa has been before the United Nations and its different organs for the past twenty years. The United Nations has been concerned with this question since its inception. So many resolutions and decisions have been adopted by the General Assembly and its different organs that my delegation does not deem it necessary or possible at this stage even to enumerate them, let alone dwell on them. One might even wonder if it is not because of the fact that this great number of resolutions has been passed throughout these years without being implemented that the question has not been solved until now. How can we expect South Africa to make any move in the right direction when it has been watching the frustration, with the help of certain quarters and for certain well-known reasons, of the efforts of the great majority of the peoples of the world?

159. After years of frustration and inaction, the General Assembly finally acted in the only constructive and decisive way when, at its twenty-first session, it resolved to revoke the Mandate of South Africa over South West Africa—a move which should have been made long ago. My delegation is one of the many delegations that have been calling for such action, which has been long overdue. Consequently, it is only natural that we should now call for the implementation of resolution 2145 (XXI) with determination and without any further delay. This should now be the concern of the General Assembly at its present special session.

160. The General Assembly is meeting in a special session to consider the report of the Ad Hoc Com-

mittee for South West Africa, which was established under resolution 2145 (XXI)

"to recommend practical means by which South West Africa should be administered, so as to enable the people of the Territory to exercise the right of self-determination and to achieve independence".

161. The Ad Hoc Committee was further asked to report to the General Assembly at a special session as soon as possible and in any case not later than April 1967. Commenting on the responsibilities of the General Assembly at this stage the representative of Ethiopia in his excellent and well-balanced statement said:

"The General Assembly is to consider the question of South West Africa in what will this time obviously be a context different from those within which it had been discussed" [1503rd meeting, para. 20.]

That, of course, means that while always bearing in mind the sad and shocking history of the question of South West Africa as the worst example of colonialism, the General Assembly is duty bound this year to insist on the implementation of resolution 2145 (XXI) without any further delay.

162. The Assembly is called upon now to put aside all the side issues and to concentrate on the one and only issue at hand, and that is, the administration of the territory by the United Nations with a view to preparing the people of South West Africa for self-determination and independence. The Ad Hoc Committee, after lengthy discussions and frequent consultations under the able chairmanship of Ambassador Jakobson, the representative of Finland, did not find it possible to agree on a course of action to be taken by the General Assembly and the United Nations.

163. There were three or even four recommendations or schools of thought on this question as the representative of Ethiopia mentioned. We have very carefully studied and considered all those recommendations and have realized the amount of work and effort which was expended by all delegation concerned, and for which we are most appreciative. Referring to the untiring endeavours by the members of the Ad Hoc Committee, the Chairman of the same Committee said:

"It was therefore not for lack of time or effort that the Committee failed to provide the General Assembly with a ready-made formula for a solution." [*ibid.*, para. 15.]

164. What was it then that was lacking to enable the Ad Hoc Committee to fulfil its tasks as stipulated by resolution 2145 (XXI)? The representative of Ethiopia referred to his statement to what he called a disadvantage against which the Assembly would have to labour. That was, and I quote again from his statement:

"that most of the meaningful and substantive discussions, as well as the views and observations of members of the Committee on each other's proposals were made off the record." [*ibid.*, para. 28.]

We agree with the representative of Ethiopia when he says that this rendered the report of the Ad Hoc Committee incomplete.

165. We would have wished that all considerations had been included in the report of the Ad Hoc Committee which lacked neither the mandate nor the authority as they were clearly set and defined by the General Assembly in its resolution last year. However, for reasons not entirely clear to us it was not deemed necessary to have the record show and expand exactly the different points of view as they should have been for the benefit of the General Assembly and Member States. We hope that this debate will contribute to a large extent to an appreciation by all concerned of the problem at hand and its importance and far-reaching implications.

166. My delegation is one of those which have held all along that after having tried and exhausted all means and measure of persuasion, the United Nations is now duty bound, according to the Charter and in pursuance of its aims and objectives, to resort to the only measure left to it for the solution of the problem. And that should be the full implementation by the United Nations of the Assembly's resolution of last year. While we, too, would not like to exclude the extremely unlikely eventuality of co-operation by the Government of South Africa for the implementation of that resolution, we do believe that time is of the essence now and that any further delay would not only be detrimental to the rights and aspirations of the people of South West Africa but would also be, as has always been the case so far, for the benefit of South Africa and indirect encouragement of its shameful and dangerous policies in the territory. We believe that those who advise a dialogue with the Government of South Africa on the implementation of the resolution would be better advised to look into the record of that Government's continuous contempt and disregard for all previous United Nations resolutions.

167. One does not need to refer again to the recent defiant and belligerent statements by the leaders of South Africa in that respect. Nor do we need to refer to its latest wicked designs in a part of South West Africa for the purpose of sabotaging the efforts of the United Nations. However, if a dialogue between the United Nations and South Africa is to be of any consequence at this stage it should be confined to the technical arrangements to hand over the Territory of South West Africa to the United Nations according to resolution 2145 (XXI) and for the purposes described in that resolution. Any other kind of dialogue would be an exercise in futility and encouragement of South Africa's non co-operation and defiance.

168. My delegation has carefully studied the report of the Ad Hoc Committee for South West Africa [A/6640]. We have also followed very closely its deliberations during the last few weeks. We should like to compliment the members of the Committee on their efforts to reach an agreement. The Chairman, Ambassador Max Jakobson, deserves our esteem and appreciation for his untiring endeavours in that direction. However, we feel very sorry that no agreement has been reached and the Assembly is now called upon to find its own way in following up the matter and taking its own decision on the implementation of resolution 2145 (XXI) adopted last year. After months of hopeful expectations by the people of South West Africa and weeks of continuous deliberations by the

Ad Hoc Committee, the General Assembly meets again to find itself where it started last year.

169. In his comments on the work of the Ad Hoc Committee and its report, the representative of Finland and Chairman of the Ad Hoc Committee, Ambassador Jakobson, referred to what he called "the common elements" which he said could be found in the proposals submitted to the Committee. Those common elements related to the independence of the territory, its unity, its need for technical, educational and economic assistance and finally the necessity for the establishment of a "United Nations Council for South West Africa". That is all very well. But have not those common elements, except perhaps for the Council, been repeatedly agreed upon by the United Nations and its different organs in scores of previous resolutions which were passed over the years and remained without implementation? The representative of Finland referred to that fact indirectly, and agreed with us, when he said:

"... I am bound to point out ... that the points of agreement to some extent are more apparent than real." [1503rd meeting, para. 13.]

170. Three proposals were officially submitted to the Ad Hoc Committee during its deliberations and consultations. As a matter of fact those proposals do not add much to resolution 2145 (XXI) concerning the different principles involved since they are not supposed to do so. That is because the mandate of the Ad Hoc Committee was explicitly set forth in that resolution which dealt in detail with all the political, economic and other elements of the problem. Those proposals are explained in the report of the Ad Hoc Committee, and have been fully commented upon so far by many delegations. One proposal was submitted by the delegations of Chile and Mexico [A/6640, para. 93], another by Canada, Italy and the United States [*ibid.*, para. 84], and the third proposal by the four African delegations which were later joined by the delegation of Pakistan [*ibid.*, paras. 45 and 82]. All those proposals agreed on the so-called common elements—as was stated by the Chairman of the Ad Hoc Committee—and recommended the establishment of the United Nations Council for South West Africa. But when it came to the functions and the responsibilities of the Council and its access to the territory, it was clear that there was no agreement at all.

171. Thus, the most important and crucial point has not been agreed upon, and until and unless an agreement is reached on the immediate and effective administration of the territory by the United Nations, all the work of the General Assembly and the Ad Hoc Committee will not be of any practical significance. Resolution 2145 (XXI) and the decision of the General Assembly to terminate the Mandate of South Africa over South West Africa will have no positive effect or consequence for the people of South West Africa who have suffered so much and waited so long.

172. My delegation does not propose to go into details of the contents and implications of these three proposals. However, we would like to express our support for the straightforward and constructive African-Pakistan proposal which takes into consideration all the important elements of the situation. By requiring the council for South Africa, once it is established,

to proceed to the territory and take over the administration, the African-Pakistan proposal deals with the situation clearly and squarely in order to find a practical and final solution to the problem. Otherwise, how could the council be expected to assume administrative responsibility and be installed in the territory if it were to depend, according to the proposal of Chile and Mexico, on the will and the whim of South Africa.

173. It is difficult for my delegation to understand the optimism expressed by some delegations at this very late hour as to the possible attitude of South Africa on the question. It is even more difficult for us to see how the delegations of Canada, Italy and the United States expect any practical result from their proposal which does not even confer any administrative function on the council, whose responsibility would be only an academic one. According to that proposal, the council would co-operate with a special representative to determine the necessary conditions that would enable South West Africa to achieve self-determination and independence. This in fact is a limitation of the duties of the council.

174. Much as we appreciate and respect the views put forward in these two proposals, we do not believe that they form the "practical means" referred to in resolution 2145 (XXI). If, for different reasons, the Ad Hoc Committee did not find it possible to agree on prompt and practical measures to enable the people of South West Africa to decide their own destiny and gain their independence, the General Assembly has every reason, and indeed the obligation, to take prompt and decisive action. This action should be on the lines of the African-Pakistan proposal.

175. Different considerations and arguments have been introduced here in the General Assembly and in the Ad Hoc Committee to dissuade the United Nations from taking the only course left to it after twenty years of stalemate and inaction. Some of these considerations relate to the positions and policies of some important States whose concern for the well-being and independence of South West Africa should be at the level of their responsibilities and possibilities in the world. Considerations of convenience, selfish interests and power struggles should not be permitted to continue to block the United Nations from taking a forceful and meaningful action.

176. The duties and responsibilities of the Members of the United Nations in this respect are well known to all. The four permanent members of the Security Council have special responsibilities regarding the problem which, in addition to its great humanitarian and moral aspects, has great impact on the peace and security of the region and of the world. Both the General Assembly and the Security Council should be actively and effectively concerned with this colonial problem which has been before the Special Committee on colonialism and other organs of the United Nations.

177. The United Nations, after years of hesitation, has taken an important and decisive step in the right direction by terminating the Mandate and having revert to itself the administration of South West Africa. We should not stop there, as some would want the Assembly to do. We should move forward by taking con-

crete and forceful action for the liberation of the people of South West Africa from colonial domination and racial oppression. We should not by default fail their faith and trust in the United Nations and in us as Members of this Organization.

178. Mr. NSANZE (Burundi) (translated from French): The delegation of Burundi is delighted at the result of the recent election in which Mr. Pazhwak was once again chosen President. His skill in conducting our work, his authoritative knowledge of the complex problems before us, and his impartiality in dealing with various delegations all enter into his faithful accomplishment of the high duties which the General Assembly entrusted to him at the opening of this session.

179. My Government wishes to express its appreciation to U Thant for the constant concern he has shown and for the major influence he has exercised, both in initiating courses of action prompted by his deep belief in the nobility of the human person and his dedication to the cause of human rights, and in carrying out his official duties as Secretary-General. Indeed, in expressing their gratitude, the countries of the Third World cannot hope to do justice to the exceptional qualities of so eloquent an advocate of independence and so indefatigable a champion of world peace. Our gratitude goes also to his assistants, who have been quietly helping him in the discharge of his noble, his heavy and complex responsibilities.

180. A tribute is also due to the efforts that have been made on behalf of the African cause. Different views have been put forward concerning the ways and means by which the Territory of South West Africa may be made fully independent. My delegation would be ungrateful if it failed to make a special and well-deserved mention of the interest shown by the Latin American countries in the African cause.

181. The highly praiseworthy efforts of the Latin American delegation to find a solution to the disquieting situation in South West Africa not only do them honour, but are a practical expression of their loyal solidarity with Africa and call for our heartfelt gratitude. Despite the distance which still divides the Latin American proposals from the Afro-Asian way of thinking, we would venture the hope that both the international scene and circumstances in individual countries may become more flexible so that there may be a successful outcome to the bold undertakings and persistent efforts of those who can only be described as keen supporters of the revocation of the Mandate and the presumptive initiators of the proposed solution.

182. Our gratitude also goes to those who advocate that the Organization of African Unity should be entrusted with the administration of South West Africa and that independence should be granted without delay. We respect this position and we find the proposed course of action interesting because, despite certain disadvantages, it is more likely to fall into line with the course chosen by the Afro-Asian Group.

183. The active and often decisive support given by the socialist countries to the liberation of colonial peoples should not be allowed to flag at this crucial moment when their major contribution is more

necessary than ever before. The views of the socialist delegations are wholly in accord with the fundamental rights of the people of South West Africa and with the self-imposed duty of liberation undertaken by the United Nations.

184. However, the present circumstances in the Territory are such as to require the setting of a target date, as well as joint and concerted action by the Organization as a whole.

185. A fine-sounding theory. At this stage in the work of the session it is hardly necessary to repeat word for word a text quoted by so many previous speakers. Rather, my delegation believes it essential to ascertain the motives behind the proposal that calls for a "slowing down process".

186. A detailed and profound analysis and a careful reading of the proposal and the statements of the advocates of this "sugar-coated" approach reveal certain common characteristics which can be summarized under the following main headings.

187. First, the matter of speed. Those who would temporize maintain that the time is not yet ripe for such a step as a United Nations decision ordering the administering Power to restore the right to political independence and full freedom to the nationals of the Territory.

188. There is no need to be a political genius or an astute diplomat to see what such a position really means. Our argument is supported by precise legal references: mandatories for mandates of categories B and C were appointed on 7 and 17 May 1919. Hence, South Africa has acted as a mandatory for nearly half a century—forty-eight years, to be exact. Acting as an Administering Authority, it has occupied South West Africa ever since the founding of the United Nations—twenty-two years. Since the adoption of resolution 2145 (XXI) which put an end to the mandate entrusted to it, its administration of the Territory has been tantamount to an illegal military occupation. Six months have now elapsed since the passing of that resolution.

189. Accordingly, the delegation of Burundi feels in duty bound to ask this Assembly whether the United Nations deserves to be reproached by the advocates of the "temporizing process" for having acted too precipitately.

190. Can it be argued, without letting logic and good sense go by the board, that South Africa has not had sufficient time for mature consideration and for deciding to bow to reason? We are inclined rather to believe that the patience of the United Nations has been exhausted and that the Organization should have acted more quickly in view of the seriousness of the problem.

191. Secondly, the matter of dialogue with South Africa and the fear of confrontation with it. Ever since it was founded, the United Nations has repeatedly endeavoured to begin a dialogue with the South African Government, which has always repelled its advances. Is it necessary to point out that a dialogue presupposes two parties bound by mutual consent? It must be added that present circumstances do not allow of inter-minable talks between the United Nations and a country

stripped of its rights and powers in a Territory for which the United Nations is directly responsible under General Assembly resolution 2145 (XXI). The Members of our Organization who plead so ardently for negotiations and who are so firmly resolved to obtain the abdication of South Africa by means of negotiations wrapped in cotton wool, are offering concessions the results of which seem to us to be doubtful. By coddling that Government unduly and by pleading on bended knees that it give up the Territory, the United Nations is exposing itself to ridicule while at the same time encouraging South Africa to be even more inflexible. In any event, those who propose a solution through dialogue will have earned the esteem and admiration of the Organization if, by offering a proposal to South Africa on a silver platter, they should succeed in making it unnecessary for the United Nations to have recourse to enforcement measures.

192. On the other hand, we must remember that the United Nations does not take pleasure in using force; force is the last resort, the one alternative left when all other possibilities have been exhausted. The course to which the General Assembly solemnly committed itself by means of a legal act endorsed by nearly all Member States constitutes an irreversible decision, a decision which it cannot withdraw, despite attempts to force it to do so.

193. Moreover, since certain countries take it upon themselves to maintain trade relations with South Africa despite and in defiance of the United Nations and in violation of a host of resolutions adopted by various United Nations organs, why should not these trading partners of Pretoria succeed in persuading it, with the blessings of the General Assembly, to cooperate henceforward with the United Nations by helping those who are entitled to independence to accede to it?

194. How can the idea that the Organization shall humbly supplicate South Africa be reconciled with its entitlement to recover its rights over South West Africa? Is it legitimate to confound the begging of a favour from the South African authorities with the recovery of rights over a Territory which is under the authority of the United Nations?

195. My delegation believes that it is not overstepping its privileges in assuming that it is echoing the views of Members of the United Nations in expressing gratitude in advance to those who, by virtue of their diplomacy or by the clever strategy to which some speakers have referred, should succeed in winning over South Africa to the United Nations cause, thus saving our Organization considerable expenditure of human energy and material resources on the South West African question.

196. Even though we may consider that it is too late for consultations, they may yet be of value in so far as they may be able to facilitate the installation of the United Nations Council in the Territory at the end of this session, and activate and simplify the implementation of the resolution of 27 October 1966. Should that occur, the Members of this Assembly and the whole world will bow to the victory won over South Africa by those who advocate dialogue and consultation as the way to a solution.



197. Before leaving this aspect of the question, I think I am justified in putting a question to those who counsel new talks with South Africa with a view to avoiding a confrontation. Would the representatives expressing those views show the same tireless patience if their own vital interests were at stake? Would they humble themselves before an enemy who responds to any suggestion of negotiations with immeasurable scorn? Can diplomatic realism or political wisdom excuse our bowing to the will and whim of a Government or our sacrificing the United Nations Charter in disregard of the natural law that every people is entitled to political independence? Experience has shown that, on many occasions, direct confrontation, however costly, was not avoided with the same scrupulous care as in the case of South West Africa when the interests of the Governments that are now advocating peaceful procedures were at stake.

198. Thirdly, the matter of specious legal justifications. Among the speakers who have declared themselves in favour of gentle tactics, some have gone so far as to cast doubt on the legality of the revocation of South Africa's Mandate over South West Africa by resolution 2145 (XXI) of 27 October 1966. The answer is twofold: (a) The revocation of a Mandate by the League of Nations or by the United Nations is one of the three causes of the termination of a Mandate, which are: emancipation of the mandated community, resignation of the mandatory Power, and revocation of the Mandate by the League of Nations or the United Nations. (b) The decolonization of peoples under foreign domination is one of the primary objectives of the United Nations, as set forth in General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) of 14 December 1960.

199. Even if certain quasi-legal arguments are advanced to excuse South Africa's failure to discharge its obligations as a mandatory Power, in contradiction of Article 76 (b) of the Charter, how can such legal subtleties be used to circumvent Chapter XI of the Charter, and in particular Article 73, which lay down the principle that the interests of the inhabitants of colonized territories are paramount and the obligation of the colonial Power to develop their capacity to administer themselves and to take due account of their political aspirations?

200. Unless we resolve to impose on the Territory the penalty of perpetual colonial occupation in order to guarantee the benefits of monopoly or of preferential treatment to certain trading partners, or unless we transform South West Africa into a "strategic Trust Territory", a régime which has so far been applied only to the 623 Pacific Islands under the terms of Security Council resolution 21 (1947) of 2 April 1947, it seems to me that there is no justification for our using legal subterfuges in order to clear the name of the South African Government.

201. The ardour with which certain Members curry favour with Pretoria and their anxiety to avoid trading difficulties for South Africa cause them to concentrate on safeguarding their own immediate interests. Thus by pursuing the advantages that are now within reach, they are deliberately turning their backs on the long-term benefits they might rightly expect to reap from the vast young continent of Africa which is today

pursuing activities and exercising influence in the international sphere and which tomorrow, beyond the shadow of a doubt, will exert a power that will weigh heavily in the balance of international affairs and will shape the world's destiny.

202. The logical deduction which must inevitably be drawn from the over-all analysis of the foregoing positions is that the advocates of the soft approach can only perpetuate the problem and prevent an appropriate solution. Indeed, their efforts to exaggerate out of all proportion the Pretoria Government's powers of resistance have, in the end, made it appear invincible. The determination of certain States to prejudge the degree of its obstinacy and to assume that the United Nations will be defeated by South Africa has caused the latter not only to bask in the illusion of its military superiority over a united international force but also to raise higher and higher barriers to any approach on the part of the United Nations. That is why those who favour our coddling South Africa are encouraging it boldly to defy the United Nations.

203. Moreover, Pretoria has good reason to scorn the resolutions adopted in its regard. I am sure this is no secret to those who are so anxious to handle South Africa with kid gloves, while the latter is laughing up its sleeve at a caution and an obsequiousness that are so strangely disproportionate to its true strength.

204. From fear of arousing the anger of South Africa which has become taboo, Pretoria's power is being presented as stupendous and irresistible. That is the key to the stratagem which is being used to protect major interests from an imminent threat.

205. The desire to perpetuate the trading monopoly, the resistance to extension of the General Assembly's powers, the reluctance to relinquish any part of the economic paradise of southern Africa, and the firm determination of certain Powers to restrict the action of the United Nations to the service of their national cause—those are the four principal components of the slow-motion strategy advocated. The logical conclusion is that a formula designed to further such ambitions, however soothing it may appear, is not likely to lead to the ultimate goal, which is the complete independence of the Territory concerned, in conformity with the spirit and letter of the decision taken by the General Assembly last October.

206. The Afro-Asian proposal is at least adequate. While not ideal, the proposal put forward by the Afro-Asian Group offers an appropriate solution and anticipates the attainment of the final stage, namely, the accession of the Territory to independence.

207. Contrary to statements in which, either explicitly or by circumlocution, it was described as extreme, unrealistic and impracticable, we for our part maintain that the draft resolution [A/L.516 and Add.1-3] submitted by the two junior continents has struck its opponents not as unfeasible but as unacceptable, although it is so balanced in substance and form as to make it a compromise proposal acceptable to all trends of opinion. Compared with the other views expressed, the Afro-Asian proposal is the one presenting the greatest advantages, on two counts.

208. Firstly, from the practical angle. From that angle the draft submitted to the Assembly by the delegations of Africa and Asia is justified by the number of its sponsors. Would it not be going beyond customary limits to suggest that so great a number of United Nations Members were, collectively and simultaneously, in error?

209. In support of the argument of number—that number being close to or just above half the membership of this Organization—I must also mention the enthusiastic and unconditional approval of the Afro-Asian position by the representatives and leaders of all South West African nationalist movements.

210. The obvious reasons which I have just given are strengthened by the natural interest that the representatives of Asia and Africa have in the cause of the Territory under discussion. As we are the ones most directly affected and concerned, simple logic, together with a human and natural attachment to our inalienable rights, dictates that we choose an alternative least detrimental to us.

211. Thus the charges that this position is lacking in practical sense and diplomatic realism are devoid of logic.

212. Secondly, from the legal standpoint. If the proposal of the Afro-Asian camp is approached in a rigorously legal spirit, it will be seen to be literally in conformity with Article 81 of the Charter, which calls for the administration of a mandated or Trust Territory by an authority which may be "one or more States or the Organization itself".

213. In both letter and spirit, Chapter VII of the Charter supports the Afro-Asian thesis. One should not, of course, limit one's arguments to the theory of law. We shall consequently adduce as evidence the historic case of the Saar, which affords a classic example of transitional administration of a mandated territory by an international organization with the help of military forces supplied by its members. It was France which sent defence forces into the Saar territory following resolutions adopted by the League of Nations Council on 14 March 1925 and 18 March 1926. Those forces were withdrawn only on 12 September 1930 on the order of the League of Nations Council, issued because of the evacuation of the Rhineland which took place on 30 June 1930.

214. The maintenance of order was assured by an international force composed of British, Italian, Netherlands and Swedish contingents, the establishment of which had been decided upon by the League of Nations Council in two resolutions, dated 8 and 11 December 1934.

215. In the light of the foregoing clarifications, we fail to see how it can be claimed that the United Nations, despite its heterogeneous and numerous membership, the extent of its powers and its great capacity for action, cannot do legally what the much smaller and weaker League of Nations was legally able to do.

216. It is obvious that, from both the legal and the practical points of view, the General Assembly has every right to set up a council to administer South West Africa until that country's accession to independence.

217. What possible explanation is there for the view that the Afro-Asian Group, defending its vital interests, is proposing impracticable measures and ill-considered action? We therefore consider it reasonable to appeal again to those who, as if to take back with their right hand the gift they offered with the left on 27 October last, are proposing regressive measures.

218. Despite their present retrogressive attitude, there is still time, for the sake of co-operation, for them to come back to the road that leads to the ultimate goal. This appeal for the assistance of all States is also addressed to the South African Government if, departing from its obdurately negative attitude, it should embark on a course of co-operation, thus following the example of the other former mandatory Powers and allowing the United Nations to play its due role. On the other hand, its refusal to bow to the universal verdict would call for the application of the measures envisaged in Chapter VII of the Charter, since if the United Nations has to choose between excess of timidity and excess of zeal, its very vocation requires it to opt for defeat in active combat rather than for inaction because of the fear of an imagined defeat.

219. In a world where there is every reason for peoples to draw closer together, where interdependence among nations has become an imperative necessity and a pressing obligation, where there can be neither assured security nor solid and lasting progress for any people without a network of international co-operation among all countries, it is the sacred duty of all Members of the United Nations to unite to bring about the triumph of right and freedom in this part of Africa, which is one of the links in our universe.

220. That is our position; we have not strayed into the enchanted realm of speculation, and we invite this Assembly to act in the sphere of stark reality to promote an undertaking of universal human significance.

221. Mr. EL BOURI (Libya) (translated from French): Allow me, on behalf of the Libyan delegation, to extend my warmest and most sincere congratulations to the President on his election to preside over the fifth special session of the General Assembly.

222. It is beyond question that, from the Covenant of the League of Nations to the United Nations Charter, the international community has made a considerable effort to change its moral and legal premises so that it might more surely advance towards that high ideal of brotherhood which is at the basis of all the religions born of man's anguish.

223. Two terrible wars in less than fifty years were bound to cause statesmen to attempt to modify certain concepts and to revise certain relations among States as among men in order to ban war for ever. They decided to eliminate from international practice the arbitrary domination of one people, race or State by another, on any pretext of an alleged superiority. They decided that the annexation of one people by another should likewise be proscribed, and the principle of self-determination was introduced into international law, to become the cornerstone of twentieth century civilization.

224. Violent confrontation of selfish national interests was replaced by international co-operation. The idea of a totalitarian State in which the individual has no rights was replaced by that of a national community, founded on respect for fundamental human rights and freedoms and for the equality of all men before the law.

225. It must be recognized that the international community which now numbers 122 Member States and in which all continents, races, religions, languages and political, philosophic and economic systems of our variegated world are represented, is making a substantial effort to conform to the new ideal that it has freely and voluntarily embraced.

226. It is nevertheless painful to record that in this unanimity of goodwill and mutual understanding there are some obstinately discordant voices, including the voice of South Africa. Whether because of its absurd policy of apartheid or its attempt to annex a Territory once entrusted to its care in good faith, South Africa persists in defying the international community and violating its new moral and legal rules as well as its own commitments which it freely undertook.

227. For twenty years the question of South West Africa has been on the agenda of every session of the General Assembly. During that long period of waiting and forbearance more than seventy-five resolutions were adopted, all moderate and conciliatory, and all designed to bring the recalcitrant Member back into the fold rather than to punish it. To all these measures, to the assiduous attempts to initiate a dialogue, South Africa always replied by an unvarying and definite refusal. It was in this context that the United Nations General Assembly finally adopted, by an overwhelming majority, its history resolution 2145 (XXI). That resolution, which terminated the Mandate that had been entrusted to South Africa, placed the Territory under the direct administration of the United Nations so that the people concerned might be brought to self-government and independence. It instructed a Committee composed of fourteen Member States to recommend practical means by which the Territory should be administered so as to enable the people of the Territory to exercise the right of self-determination and to achieve independence.

228. I wish to associate myself with the tributes that have been paid to the Ad Hoc Committee for South West Africa and to its Chairman for their goodwill and their efforts to reconcile the different points of view.

229. Nevertheless, I must note with regret that after three months of work, the Ad Hoc Committee has been unable to carry out its terms of reference, which were the logical consequence of resolution 2145 (XXI). As that resolution put an end to South Africa's administration of South West Africa, the General Assembly had to act rapidly to establish a body which would assume the administration of the Territory on behalf of the United Nations and fill the vacuum created by the revocation of the Mandate.

230. The Committee of Fourteen was to make such action possible. A formula could have been found for the direct administration of the Territory with a view to its accession to independence. The representative

of Algeria appositely reminded us [1505th meeting] of the precedent established by the League of Nations in its administration of the Saar. Instead of a definite proposal, the Committee of Fourteen put before the General Assembly the three draft proposals which it had considered. Those drafts have been carefully analysed and commented upon by the many speakers who have preceded me. At this late stage of our debate, I shall limit myself to a few brief remarks. I shall begin with the draft of Canada, the United States and Italy [A/6640, para. 84].

231. Very cleverly conceived and phrased, the draft resolution in question, while recalling in its preamble the three essential points of resolution 2145 (XXI), has in its operative part, in which the terms of reference of the proposed body are set out, nevertheless evaded the obligations arising under paragraph 6 of the said resolution—the paragraph which calls for the establishment of a body to administer the Territory during an interim period on behalf of the United Nations. There is even a striking contradiction between the objective set in resolution 2145 (XXI) and that in the Western draft. Whereas in the first case a body is to be established for the purpose of executing the terms of a General Assembly resolution—a body which should, of course, have at its disposal the necessary means and powers of execution, and which would naturally have complete freedom to negotiate so as to bring its primary undertaking to a successful conclusion—the Western draft, on the other hand, provides for no practical means or specific measures, and contains only a vague mandate to explore the ground, make a comprehensive survey, collect information and engage in conciliation, should the need arise. In other words, if this draft were adopted as it stands, the General Assembly would be back where it was during the twenty years preceding the memorable date of 27 October 1966.

232. Those were twenty years during which the United Nations patiently and conscientiously studied the plight of the Territory, making various surveys, gathering all available data on the Territory's human and material resources, going so far as to compile a list of the international trusts which are exploiting it. This draft resolution is six months late; its adoption would take the United Nations a long step back from a just solution to the question of South West Africa.

233. The Western proposal completely fails to take into account the past resolutions of the General Assembly, notably resolution 1514 (XV), when it calls upon the United Nations official for whose appointment it provides to determine the necessary conditions that would enable the Territory to achieve independence. All such precautions and all such preliminary steps have been left far behind at this stage of the debate. We in this Assembly are no longer at the point where we were still discussing whether a given people is fit for independence. We have solemnly proclaimed here that all men acquire at birth the right to that precious thing we call independence, and that it is a right of which they cannot be deprived except through some accident of history. It is one of these accidents that we now have to remedy as quickly as possible. We cannot, unfortunately, do this by adopting a draft resolution that is not in keeping with the exigencies of the situation.

234. We are happy to say that the draft resolution submitted by Mexico and Chile [*ibid.*, para. 93] takes more fully into account the obligations which at this stage are incumbent on the United Nations under resolution 2145 (XXI). It provides for the setting up of a body endowed with executive and administrative powers in accordance with the unambiguous provisions of resolution 2145 (XXI). Unfortunately, it does not provide for any measure to be taken in case the Pretoria authorities oppose the installation of the Council in the Territory.

235. Although this proposal is not entirely satisfactory to my delegation, I have pleasure in associating myself with the tributes paid by other delegations to the Latin American representatives for their noble and constructive effort.

236. Bearing in mind the provisions of the Charter which govern our actions and the times in which we have the good fortune to be living; taking into account also past resolutions of the United Nations, particularly General Assembly resolutions 1514 (XV) and 2145 (XXI); and mindful of the totally unconstructive attitude of South Africa over the last twenty years, it can be said that the Afro-Asian draft resolution [A/L.516 and Add.1-3] which the Nigerian representative, Chief Adebo, introduced so brilliantly [1505th meeting] is at the present time the only acceptable proposal before us. While calling for the establishment of a body to take over the administration of the Territory on behalf of the United Nations and to lead it to self-government and independence, the proposal provides for recourse to the Security Council should that body meet with obstruction on the part of the former administering Power. Those who criticize the draft on the ground that it might lead to a confrontation are mistaken.

237. If a confrontation should take place, it would not be the doing of the United Nations, which has hesitated for twenty years. The United Nations is simply patiently seeking to administer justice in a case referred to it by the world community.

238. It was the authors of the Charter themselves—including the five major members of the Security Council—who, in their wisdom and knowledge of the ways of men, foresaw that enforcement measures would at times be necessary to compel Member States to respect their contractual obligations. Why then, in these circumstances, should we be so afraid to remind Members, particularly recalcitrant Members, that there are provisions in the Charter which allow us to use enforcement measures should that painful necessity arise?

239. If we wish to induce South Africa to negotiate—and this is something that we are still prepared to do but, of course, without surrendering any of the ground gained—let us not be weak enough to give South Africa the impression that we would in no circumstances have recourse to the measures provided for in the Charter. To give such an impression would be sheer cowardice and would encourage South Africa to turn a deaf ear to our offers of negotiations, just as it has so stubbornly done over the last twenty years.

240. On the other hand, any call for action in this regard, as the Ethiopian representative so rightly pointed out [1503rd meeting, para. 39], will have only the force of a recommendation so long as the measures proposed to the Security Council are not adopted and the Council itself does not consider such action appropriate. Consequently, there is no ground for any fears on this score, the more so since operative paragraph 8 of resolution 2145 (XXI), which we are seeking to implement, contains a reference to the authority of the Security Council, a reference that was accepted by the overwhelming majority which voted in favour of the resolution of 27 October last.

241. All those who have spoken from this rostrum have recognized that the question of South West Africa, the subject of our deliberations, is one of the greatest challenges our Organization has ever had to face. Mr. Jakobson, the Chairman of the *Ad Hoc* Committee on South West Africa, said in his statement before this Assembly:

"We are all of us deeply involved in the question of South West Africa. We have assumed direct responsibility for the territory. We must find ways to discharge that responsibility. Failure to do so would mean defeat not only for the cause of the people of South West Africa but for the United Nations itself." [1503rd meeting, para. 7.]

242. At this crucial time, every one of us must do his duty without worrying about what his neighbour is going to do. The General Assembly, now fully acquainted with the facts of the situation, must courageously shoulder its responsibilities and see to the implementation of resolution 2145 (XXI) which it adopted by an overwhelming majority. The General Assembly must affirm by a unanimous, or nearly unanimous vote that the ideals of San Francisco are still the ideals of the United Nations: the right of every man to happiness and justice without discrimination as to race, colour or creed.

243. Mr. KATENGA (Malawi): Last week I had the pleasure to associate the delegation of Malawi with the congratulations which speakers who preceded me had graciously showered upon Ambassador Pazhwak on his re-election as President of the General Assembly at its fifth special session. Under his wise leadership we feel reassured of impartial guidance.

244. The General Assembly at its twenty-first regular session passed a momentous resolution regarding the future welfare of South West Africa and its peoples. Resolution 2145 (XXI) must have stirred up hopes of expectations in the hearts of many South West Africans. The present special session, primarily called in further consideration of the same resolution, is evidence of the dedication of this Organization in the cause of universal freedom.

245. Before tackling the question of South West Africa, permit me to correct certain fallacious statements which the permanent representative of Guinea made some days ago. In his speech [1504th meeting] the permanent representative of Guinea accused Malawi of complicity for its trade relations with South Africa. The Malawi delegation would like to inform him that our relations with South Africa are honourable. If, for his own *infra dig* reasons he

would like to construe them complicity, then I should like to put it to him that many other countries are victims of the same complicity, if it be one. Mr. Marof Achkar himself knows that there are several African and non-African countries which trade with South Africa. He further knows that South African nationals or companies have invested in many countries, African and non-African. Further, I should like to point out that it is the firm belief of my Government and the people of Malawi that the policy of apartheid or racial discrimination by Whites against the Blacks, or by Europeans against Africans is based upon fear and ignorance; fear and ignorance on the part of Whites or Europeans. Consequently, the plight of my Government in maintaining relations with the South African Government on a mutually respectable basis is an endeavour to dispel such fear and ignorance. In spite of such relations Malawi is opposed to apartheid as a philosophy and policy.

246. When pointing a "holier than thou" finger at Malawi, Ambassador Achkar was unfortunately oblivious of the despicable complicity in which his country has lately been involved. The leaders of his country have threatened to overthrow legitimate African Governments in West Africa. The Guinea Republic has received and nurtured the ex-President of Ghana. Instead of according him a respectable political asylum, they have fallen prey to collusion and complicity. In his speech to this Assembly the Chairman of the Ghana delegation to the twenty-first session of the General Assembly on 10 October 1966, said:

"We are aware that there are certain people in countries outside Ghana who appear to think that they can arrogate to themselves the right to determine who should rule or should not rule in Ghana. This, as you all know, contravenes the Charter of the United Nations." [1435th meeting, para. 92.]

247. In his nefarious design the Ambassador of Guinea further quoted my President as having called other African leaders irresponsible. I do not recall my President having said so. But if he said so in a reference to Guinea's leaders, then I could not agree more in the light of recent events there. The threat of attempting to overthrow other African Governments is diametrically opposed to the principles of the charters of both the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity. Indulging in such complicity is stark irresponsibility and the very negation of African unity. In his further remarks the Ambassador of Guinea said: "We do not expect that the leaders of Malawi will do a quarter or even a tenth of what is being done by the leaders of Zambia ..." [1504th meeting, para. 191.]

248. To compare Malawi and Zambia is immaterial. I begged of him to confine comparison between what his country and mine had done. I submitted facts and figures which clearly demonstrated that in the question of South West Africa—the matter at issue—Malawi had contributed more than Guinea. I would be grateful if he would refute that with an equal submission of facts and figures.

249. Turning to the report of the Ad Hoc Committee for South West Africa [A/6640] my delegation would

like to compliment members of the Committee for having worked so hard in producing it. However, it is to be regretted that the Committee was unable to reach some measure of consensus. What was difficult to achieve among fourteen delegations must of necessity be more so among 121 delegation.

250. The Ad Hoc Committee was created under operative paragraph 6 of resolution 2145 (XXI). Inter alia, the Committee was established

"to recommend practical means by which South West Africa should be administered, so as to enable the people of the Territory to exercise the right of self-determination and to achieve independence, and to report to the General Assembly at a special session as soon as possible and in any event not later than April 1967".

251. It was the hope of all the people of the world and in particular of this General Assembly that we would meet during this special session to deliberate upon definite and practical proposals, and that the process in the fulfilment of self-determination for South West Africa in accordance with the spirit of that resolution would begin now.

252. In December 1920, the League of Nations entrusted South West Africa to the Union of South Africa. In 1946, the United Nations adopted resolution 9 (I) requesting all States administering territories held under the Mandates System of the League of Nations to place such territories under the Trusteeship System. South Africa did not co-operate. It is a matter of deep concern that such a defiant and recalcitrant attitude should have characterized the history of the whole case. In 1949, by resolution 338 (IV), the General Assembly referred the matter to the International Court of Justice for an advisory opinion. On 11 July 1950, the International Court of Justice pronounced the opinion<sup>2/</sup> that South Africa continued to have international obligations regarding South West Africa in spite of the dissolution of the League of Nations. Subsequent International Court of Justice opinions confirmed that principle in spite of the refusal of the mandatory authority. The judgement of 18 July 1966 is misleading. However, it might be pointed out that that decision related to "material interest" of the petitioners only. It did not touch upon the substantive question of the status of the territory.

253. Consequently, by analogy, the former pronouncements of the International Court of Justice remained in force until 27 October 1966, when the General Assembly, by resolution 2145 (XXI), paragraph 4, decided that the United Nations should assume direct responsibility for the territory.

254. The report now before the Assembly is the result of that resolution. I shall not waste the Assembly's time by commenting on all the proposals contained in that report. I shall proceed by saying that my delegation abstained from voting on resolution 2145 (XXI) because we envisaged the difficulty of its implementation. However, as the decision was taken by the vast majority in the General Assembly, it is for this Assembly to continue in its search for

<sup>2/</sup> International status of South West Africa, Advisory Opinion: I.C.J. Reports 1950, p. 128.

ways and means of implementing that resolution or an equitable formula for the solution of the problem. In this regard, my delegation is conscious of the division of opinion in the *Ad Hoc* Committee. Therefore, in the light of such circumstances my delegation maintains that a practical and peaceful formula stands the best chance of success.

255. In the same spirit, South Africa would be well advised not to misconstrue the good intentions of the General Assembly of the United Nations if it should decide upon a negotiable or consultative formula in the process of implementing resolution 2145 (XXI). The history of this case has shown that South Africa has been both recalcitrant and thoroughly unwilling to co-operate with the general will of this Organization. Therefore, the stringent proposals made in this Assembly do not come as a surprise. They are the result of the persistent and stubborn frustration of efforts experienced over a span of twenty years by the Assembly at the hands of South Africa. The impatience of the vast majority in this regard indeed ought to be respected.

256. One of the proposals before this Assembly is that the administration of South West Africa should be entrusted to the Organization of African Unity in association with the United Nations. With all due respect, the Malawi delegation considers this proposal spiritually commendable but practically unrealistic. The Organization of African Unity as a regional body cannot undertake such responsibility. It has been emphasized over and over again that the question of South West Africa is the responsibility of the United Nations as a whole and not of a section of it.

257. My delegation, however, favours a calculated and peaceful formula. Certain elements contained in the Latin American proposals [A/6640, para. 93] seem to offer a reasonable chance of attaining the goal which we seek in this matter; for my delegation realizes that South West Africa has been ruled as a colonial territory and that the *de facto* authority is in effective occupation. Consequently, transfer of authority or replacement of the *de facto* authority cannot be effected without the involvement of consultation, even if such consultation were purely and strictly for the implementation of resolution 2145 (XXI). All the proposals in the report have one objective: to advance the Territory and the people of South West Africa to full and undivided independence and sovereignty.

258. The Malawi delegation favours a peaceful course of action because the past history of the United Nations has shown that certain delegations, having recourse to Chapter VII of the Charter, have been obliged to veto expenses incurred in coercive operations approved by the General Assembly. This attitude is implicit in their speeches and proposals.

259. The problem before us can best be appreciated in its historical perspective. The metropolitan Powers, due to territorial greed and aggrandisement, mutilated Africa into unnatural boundaries at the Berlin Conference of 1884-1885. African problems today can be traced back to that Conference. The mutilation of Africa, in what was called the scramble for Africa, was guided mainly by the power struggle for supremacy in Europe. It is regrettable that this struggle

should have found an outlet for expression in the continent of Africa. It can further be contended that the same forces generated then are still at play in Africa today; hence the difficulties with which we are presented in the solution of these colonial issues. These forces have taken on different dimensions and have found expression in more subtle situations.

260. The nations of Europe, as represented by the ideals and principles of the French Revolution, fought for the emancipation and dignity of man on their continent. The American Revolution, again, represents the struggle of man, fighting, not only against the colonial yoke, but for the right of man to determine his own destiny. The South West Africans today look to the United Nations in hope and in expectation of exactly the same thing, and the United Nations has the sacred responsibility to fulfil this hope. With the good will of all, a peaceful and unanimous settlement can be achieved. Let it not be said that we met in vain.

261. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): I call on the representative of Guinea who has asked to speak in exercise of the right of reply.

262. Mr. DIALLO Seydou (Guinea) (translated from French): The golden rule in this house is that the representative of a sovereign State may express the views of his Government and the representatives of other sovereign States may then exercise their right of reply. That was done here a few days ago.

263. The Government of the Republic of Guinea, through its representative, had expressed its views on the attitudes of culpable complicity of certain States which we mentioned by name. We mentioned our friends of France, the United Kingdom and Malawi—Malawi, which not only did not co-sponsor the resolution of 27 October 1966 but did not even vote for it. Looking at the present draft resolution [A/L.516 and Add.1-3], I again fail to find Malawi's name, although 99.5 per cent of the African States have sponsored it.

264. My colleague of Malawi exercised his right of reply. We even applauded him, The representative of Guinea, with a dignity you may have remarked, then explained why he had mentioned those countries by name.

265. I am very surprised that my colleague of Malawi, in a spirit of recrimination, should have returned to the rostrum and reopened that debate. Believe me, I do not wish to prolong this, to me, painful spectacle of two brothers of the same colour, race and possibly religion, confronting each other over a grim and vital problem which is distressing to every human conscience. He has returned to the charge. I want to tell him that his reference to Ghana was unfortunate. It was on the soil of Ghana that the President of his country, whom I know well, found asylum when he was pursued; he took refuge in Accra, the capital of Ghana, where he remained for more than five years. We know African history, at least.

266. Next he tells us that we should name the countries guilty of complicity. But I myself spoke from this rostrum last year, and the members of the Fourth Committee will remember that we said they must be mentioned by name; the United States of America, France, and so on. Both here and in the

Fourth Committee, their names were not mentioned out of courtesy; but we say that they must be named because they are the real accomplices, the real culprits.

267. The Guinean delegation does not say one thing here and other elsewhere. The best way to maintain a friendship is to tell the truth. We tell the whole truth to our friends, whether they be American, French or Soviet. That is our golden rule, our immutable principle.

268. I do not wish to prolong this spectacle but would simply say that we condemn irrevocably all the countries which trade with South Africa; and we reach the acme of vehemence, if I may put it that way, in condemning the African countries which play that game. It is neither honourable nor worthy of ourselves, our countries or our race.

269. That is what we wished to say—that the representative of Guinea had to say. I make no comment on the remarks which referred to the people of Guinea; that is a matter for private discussion.

270. No African representative, not even the representative of Malawi, has the right to regard Africa as emotional, unreasonable and childish. No head of State has the right to consider Africa a child. It should not be thought that our resolutions are unrealistic. If we do not apply them today, we shall apply them tomorrow. If we cannot apply them, mankind as a whole, prompted by the same feelings, will apply them for us. But we shall vote for them in full awareness, without any irresponsibility. That was the word which the representative of Malawi used:

"irresponsibility". We are neither irresponsible nor emotional.

271. I should like to say to my colleague of Malawi that he should at least refrain from launching a debate in front of our adversaries who are laughing at us and at our suffering, our hardships, and humiliation; such matters are best settled in private. We do not engage in propaganda here.

272. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): I call on the representative of Malawi who has asked to speak in exercise of the right of reply.

273. Mr. KATENGA (Malawi): My colleague, the representative of Guinea, has put it to me that matters of this kind must not be brought into the open, as he said, before our adversaries. If my colleague, the representative of Guinea, knew that such matters ought to be settled within four walls he should not have brought them here in the first instance.

274. We take offence just as much as he himself takes offence at this kind of thing. We shall not be bamboozled or beaten into following any sort of attitude. We do not do that and we refuse to do it. If the representative of Guinea wants us to settle a matter, as he says, of mutual interest, and since, as he says, we are both African brothers, and we both come from the same continent and belong to the same cultural system, then why did he have to come up here to mention us instead of doing it outside? There are several people who have mentioned such things outside. We will never, never—and I repeat, never—be bamboozled.

*The meeting rose at 6.40 p.m.*







CONTENTS

	Page
<i>Agenda item 7:</i>	
<i>Question of South West Africa (continued) . . .</i>	1

*President: Mr. Abdul Rahman PAZHwak*  
*(Afghanistan).*

AGENDA ITEM 7

Question of South West Africa (*continued*)

1. Mr. TABOR (Denmark): May I join with previous speakers in extending to you, Mr. President, the sincere congratulations of the Danish delegation and of myself on your unanimous election as President at this special session of the General Assembly.

2. When the General Assembly adopted resolution 2145 (XXI) on 27 October 1966 it was indeed a historic event. The General Assembly, by a nearly unanimous vote, decided that the Mandate of the Union of South Africa over South West Africa was terminated, and the United Nations took over direct responsibility for the territory. In doing so, the General Assembly fulfilled its obligation not only towards South West Africa and its people, but towards the world at large. It raised, I dare say, the hope that the community of nations was not just going to stand by doing nothing while a territory entrusted to a Member country under a specific mandate was being treated in a manner contrary to that mandate, contrary to the Charter of the United Nations and contrary to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

3. Since then the Ad Hoc Committee for South West Africa, under the eminent leadership of my colleague Ambassador Max Jakobson of Finland, has made a thorough investigation of the ways and means by which the United Nations can best exercise its responsibility for South West Africa, a responsibility whose sole aim is to lead that country to freedom and independence.

4. It appears from the three proposals submitted to the Committee, from the draft resolution before us, and from the statements made in this Assembly, that it is generally agreed that a United Nations council for South West Africa shall be established. However, it also appears that this agreement is limited to one point, namely the creation of a more permanent body, while the views differ with regard to the question of the mandate of the council and the procedure it should follow.

5. In assessing the actual situation and the prospects of achieving progress, I suggest, however, that, so far, there has not been enough time for a detailed

study of the practical arrangements for the setting up of an interim administration, nor for the transfer of power to such an administration as a first step towards independence, let alone the arrangements which must precede the country's final achievement of independence. Neither has there been sufficient time to investigate thoroughly the needs of an interim administration in terms of funds and personnel. Furthermore, we have not even embarked upon an examination of the form and extent of the assistance which must necessarily be granted in order to ensure economic and social development.

6. Finally, it seems to me to be evident that, in order to carry out its tasks, whatever they may be, it will be necessary for this body to come into contact with, on the one hand, representatives of all sections of the people and, on the other hand, the Government of South Africa. It appears from our debate that some delegations are hesitant about our approaching South Africa. But how will it be possible to proceed towards the transfer to the United Nations of the actual responsibility for South West Africa unless an effort is made to establish contact with the Government of South Africa? And may I add that, in the interest of broad support for the next steps to be taken, I find contacts with South Africa appropriate both because that is a practical necessity and because it will clearly demonstrate to everybody concerned whether the envisaged procedure is likely to lead to any progress at all.

7. That being said, I should like to stress clearly that it is quite evident that, during such contacts, the terms of resolution 2145 (XXI), by which the Mandate of South Africa over South West Africa was terminated and the United Nations assumed direct responsibility over the territory, will under no conditions be negotiable—that the only purpose of contacts with South Africa will be to implement resolution 2145 (XXI).

8. As to the question of the formal structure and the task of an interim administration, there are considerable differences of opinion. Although it is clear from resolution 2145 (XXI) that the responsibility for South West Africa now falls upon the United Nations, there are a number of ways in which that responsibility may be exercised. Clearly, it will necessitate a United Nations presence in South West Africa. But the question is: in what capacity shall the United Nations representatives and personnel function in the area? They will, of course, assist in the implementation of a comprehensive programme for economic and technical assistance. But on top of that, are they to act as administrators or, rather, to act as advisers to the South West Africans? I believe that it is neither necessary nor realistic to

take a final stand on this question at the present juncture. Would it indeed be over-optimistic to expect that an examination of this problem by the new body might lead to a rapprochement between the various opinions?

9. The task before us is to lead South West Africa to independence in a peaceful and orderly manner. That, I take it, is not disputed in good faith by anyone. But on two very pertinent points we must again take note that there are differences of opinion, namely on the timing and on the measures to be recommended in case any Government should put obstacles in the way of the United Nations in the carrying out of its resolutions.

10. As to the suggestion made in the Committee by the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia, let me say this: I understand their motives. However, I am afraid that, even if that suggestion were carried out, it would defy the very purpose of resolution 2145 (XXI), which is to enable the people of South West Africa to exercise their right of self-determination. Because what would happen if South Africa suddenly pulled out of South West Africa leaving it entirely on its own? The country would plunge into chaos and internal strife. That is not due to any fault whatsoever on the part of its people. It is because South Africa, over the years, has created a society deliberately organized so that the indigenous population is excluded from taking any significant part in the government and the administration of the country, and because South Africa in its administration of the country has scrupulously followed the principle of divide and rule.

11. In general, I believe that the problem of the date or time for the independence of South West Africa should be seen in connexion with the question of the implementation of the United Nations resolutions.

12. The draft resolution before us [A/L.516 and Add.1-3] and the proposal submitted in the Committee by the African group and Pakistan [A/6640; para. 45 and 82] recommend, among other things, that the Security Council should take enforcement action against South Africa if it frustrates or obstructs the proposed South West Africa council's immediate taking-up of its duties in the territory. The two other written proposals tabled in the Committee do not mention the Security Council at all. This, as well as the debate in this Assembly, clearly demonstrates that, in the membership of our Organization, there is a widespread hesitation to involve the Security Council at the present moment.

13. I agree with the many speakers who have stressed that, in practice, we shall be able to solve the very difficult problems confronting us only if the broad agreement which was established during the twenty-first session of the General Assembly can be maintained and if it includes those Members whose position in the final analysis will be of vital importance to further United Nations efforts in this matter. If not, if this front breaks up, the only ones who stand to gain are those few who are against the independence and freedom of South West Africa.

14. This is why we in Denmark strongly advocate a compromise—but let us be clear: not a compromise

at any price. Resolution 2145 (XXI) was only the starting-point on the road towards independence for South West Africa, and we shall have to prove at this session that we are prepared to pass new milestones along this road; concessions will have to be made by everybody. And let me in particular say this: we have noticed with deep regret and concern the negative attitude of the South African Government towards any co-operation with the United Nations, which was most recently demonstrated in the case of Ovamboland. We have not entirely given up every hope of a change in this attitude; if, however, such change should not materialize, the United Nations will have to draw the appropriate conclusions since, in our opinion, it would indeed be outrageous if one country, with possibly a few supporters, should be allowed to counteract the decisions and the will of the world community.

15. The representative of the United States said the other day that the last word will not be spoken by this session of the General Assembly. I believe that this was a very significant statement and fully in line with the pledge made by the United States in support of resolution 2145 (XXI). Because we are all, all of us who voted in favour of that resolution, duty-bound to work for the realization of its goal, which is the independence of South West Africa; and we are duty-bound to see to it that we never cease to proceed towards that goal. Applied to the present situation, this means two things: first, we must take a step forward from resolution 2145 (XXI); and secondly, we must act in broad agreement.

16. The decisions of this Assembly will be of vital importance not only to South West Africa but to the United Nations itself, to its authority and to its prestige. It is a test-case in which we shall see whether a great majority of our Members who are agreed upon a certain goal can also agree on the ways and means to reach that goal. This will call for patience in some quarters and for determination in other quarters. And let me add, it will call for a spirit of co-operation among us all.

17. If we pass this test, we may in due time adjourn this Assembly in the conviction that we have done what it is possible to do in order to promote the cause of freedom in South West Africa.

18. If not, we shall take upon ourselves a heavy responsibility. We shall be to blame not only for the lack of progress in the case of South West Africa, but we may then be responsible also for the lack of progress in other cases of suppressed peoples on which our failure in the question of South West Africa might reflect.

19. Mr. TILAKARATNA (Ceylon): Mr. President, on behalf of the Ceylon delegation, I should like to extend to you our warmest and most sincere congratulations on your election to the high office of President at the fifth special session. It is indeed gratifying that, at this session, our consideration of one of the most crucial problems that have ever faced the United Nations will have the benefit of your good counsel and able guidance.

20. At this rather late stage of our deliberations on the question of South West Africa, it is not my intention to dwell at any length on a comparative study

of the proposals before us. On the other hand, what I wish to emphasize is that my country is happy to be associated with fifty-eight others that have unanimously and conscientiously placed before this session a draft resolution which we believe is the only answer to a problem that has defied any semblance of a solution during two decades of United Nations effort.

21. We believe that the provisions outlined in the Afro-Asian draft resolution represent the logical and consequential outcome of that historic resolution 2145 (XXI) approved at the last session of the Assembly. The convincing accord with which that resolution was adopted at the twenty-first session was indeed eloquent testimony to what this Assembly thought would be a fitting and proper solution. We think that today it is our sacred duty to translate the provisions of that resolution into meaningful action.

22. When virtually one half of the membership of this Assembly has raised its voice as one, there must be cognizance of the fact that this does not represent merely the solidarity of a group of nations: it also means that so many of us have toiled in the tentacles of colonialism and have lived to learn that the trail of bitterness left in its wake lasted not decades but centuries. We believed that the lofty aspirations of the United Nations were built on those costly lessons of history. But the problem of South West Africa clearly demonstrates that those lessons have been in vain.

23. I should like to place on record my delegation's deepest appreciation of the constructive work done by the Ad Hoc Committee under the leadership of its distinguished Chairman. If the ideal and expected result of a single, unanimous proposal did not emerge from its deliberations, we should perhaps express disappointment, but not surprise. It is at least gratifying that all the proposals reveal a common concern for the gravity of the situation — but, unhappily, not the same degree of urgency about finding a solution to this problem. Regrettably, therefore, the methods of approach and the means proposed for attaining the declared objective are considerably at variance. We are hopeful, however, that an identity of views will ultimately prevail and pave the way again to a course of action that will command the overwhelming support of this Assembly.

24. We believe that the Afro-Asian draft resolution spells out in precise terms the action envisaged by resolution 2145 (XXI). If we attempt at this stage to dilute its provisions, we shall, I think, be guilty of trying to undermine the firm content of that resolution, which, after all, was the outcome of two decades of frustrating effort on the part of this Assembly to settle this question.

25. We feel also that the situation which has developed over this lengthy period cannot now be seriously influenced by considerations of diplomatic dialogue or contact. We share the apprehension of many delegations that all possibilities of meaningful dialogue have long since been exhausted. My delegation would be the first to agree that considerations of practicality, of reality, are all-important. But, unfortunately, these concepts tend today to mask the real facts of a situation to such an extent that they lose all significance.

Problems such as that facing us today have defied solution, not for want of knowledge of either the problem or its most effective solution. We think the result can simply be equal only to the extent to which we Member nations are prepared to work for it with courage and conviction. The United Nations cannot possibly achieve what we are not prepared to concede.

26. The real question, therefore, is how far those nations which are able to contribute significantly to a solution of this problem are prepared to do so at this time. After two decades of existence the United Nations must truly reflect the will and conscience of us Member nations. Our words may form an image, but our actions will surely leave the lasting and indelible impression. We believe it is on these impressions that the annals of today's events will be written and evaluated.

27. In conclusion, I wish to join the many voices that have been raised here in stating that the problem of South West Africa is not only one that concerns the fate and future of a people in deep despair, but also one that has evoked a vast tide of human feeling. This problem has reached a point of no return. The situation today is a challenge to the very purposes and principles under which we are assembled here. It is therefore my country's urgent plea and prayer that all nations take serious note of the situation prevalent in South West Africa and strive for a solution that will not only bring peace and emancipation to that troubled land but add another milestone to the achievements of this Assembly.

28. Mr. VINCI (Italy): Mr. President, it is customary for a delegation, when it takes the floor for the first time in a debate, to convey its congratulations to the presiding officer on his election. In this case I accomplish this duty with the greatest pleasure since we—and I, in particular—have had plenty of opportunities to appreciate your great experience of our Organization and your effective guidance during the last session of the General Assembly. Your unanimous election to the Presidency of the General Assembly at its fifth special session raises our hopes for a fruitful and constructive conclusion to our present deliberations.

29. Since we are on the theme of congratulations, allow me to take this opportunity to express the sincere appreciation of the Italian delegation to Ambassador Jakobson, as well as to the distinguished members of his Bureau, for the most valuable guidance they gave to the Ad Hoc Committee for South West Africa.

30. Our appreciation goes also to the entire membership of the Ad Hoc Committee which, in its short but extensive period of meetings, accomplished, in our view, very good work in a climate of harmony and co-operation which came up to the best standards of the United Nations.

31. Although, as has been pointed out by several speakers, the Committee on South West Africa was unable to reach unanimous conclusions, it was never divided on matters of principle. We were at one in taking as the basis for our deliberations the provisions of resolution 2145 (XXI) and its ultimate objectives: the exercise of self-determination and

the attainment of independence by the people of South West Africa.

32. My delegation maintained, and still maintains, that the General Assembly marked a turning point when it made its momentous decision on 27 October 1966 terminating the Mandate of South Africa for South West Africa. The contents of the resolution, and even more the virtual unanimity that supported such a decision, give substance to this conviction of ours. We therefore fully share the confidence of those speakers who have emphasized and advocated, as did the representative of Denmark a few minutes ago, the necessity of preserving what has been called the "grand coalition"—the coalition which assured the adoption of resolution 2145 (XXI). And I fully agree with Ambassador Tabor that this achievement, this coalition, must stand firmly on the basis of resolution 2145 (XXI), which is an irrevocable decision. We wish, however, to add that we firmly believe that the further steps that this Assembly is called upon to take must be based on the realities of the situation in the area and in the international community alike. Those realities are altogether unfortunate, and indeed shocking in southern Africa, but we cannot ignore them or pretend that they are different from what they are. To base our decisions and deliberations on erroneous assumptions cannot, in our view, but result in dividing this Assembly, breaking the coalition and give comfort to those elements in South Africa which are bent on maintaining their domination in South West Africa. Some representatives have emphasized that the question is a test case for the United Nations. I fully agree with that view; but this is one more reason for the caution the representative of Japan called for yesterday.

33. Let me, nevertheless, assure our African colleagues and friends that when we refer to the "realities of the international community" we do not make a one-way reference. We are firmly convinced that one of those realities is the international public opinion reflected in the resolutions of the General Assembly, a reality which ought to be taken into full account by all Member States, including South Africa. To state that resolution 2145 (XXI) is illegal and void does not in any way diminish the validity and the importance of a decision which is the true expression of the will of the international community. And since lawmakers have always regarded it as a main source of inspiration, South Africa would be, in our opinion, better inspired if it accommodated itself to the new situation that no juridical niceties will ever be able to change.

34. It is not my intention at this advanced stage of our debate on South West Africa to give a comprehensive appraisal of the various proposals contained in the report submitted by the Ad Hoc Committee [A/6640] for consideration by the Assembly. Rather, we should like to comment briefly on some of the remarks which have been advanced on the proposal submitted jointly by the delegations of Canada, the United States of America and Italy [*ibid.*, para. 84]. Before doing so, I should like to express our appreciation to, among others, the representatives of Ethiopia, Ghana, Nigeria and Tunisia, who acknowledged the constructive spirit behind our proposal. But I should be

less than candid if I did not add that we were surprised and disturbed by other comments and by the misrepresentations which accompanied some of the statements we heard. May I be allowed to say that to indulge in casting doubts on the good faith and goodwill of those who express ideas which are different from our own will, in the long run, produce only one result: silence those delegations which, out of a sincere sentiment of solidarity, endeavour to offer the contribution of their ideas and initiatives. We do not believe that that approach is conducive to a fruitful and constructive discussion of the grave issue before us. Therefore, we will refrain, in our remarks, from making comments in the same vein. Rather, we shall take it for granted that the delegations which expressed disagreement with our proposals did so in a spirit of constructive co-operation and bearing in mind the magnitude of the task before us.

35. Before I reply to our critics, allow me to reassure those Members which expressed the opinion that our proposals might consist only of "studies", "surveys" or "consultations". Far from that; our plan is a plan for action. When we speak of "comprehensive survey" we do not mean the past, we mean the present and the future: in other words, to find the best ways and means to implement resolution 2145 (XXI). Our objective is not to delay but to establish the conditions which will enable the people of South West Africa to become free, self-governing and independent at the earliest possible stage.

36. Broadly speaking, the criticism which was levelled against the proposals submitted by Canada, the United States and Italy follows three different lines.

37. Firstly, it was said that the Western proposals are not in keeping with resolution 2145 (XXI). That criticism stems obviously from a basic misunderstanding. According to one interpretation of the resolution—an interpretation which we cannot share—it pointed solely to a direct administration of the Territory of South West Africa by the United Nations. But nowhere does resolution 2145 (XXI) indicate that the only and exclusive way to lead the country to independence is through direct administration by the United Nations. That may well be one of the alternatives; but on our side we refuse to believe that it is the only alternative or solution. In fact, our point has consistently been that the time of colonial peoples being administered by third parties—be it even by the United Nations on an interim basis—has long expired. A serious attempt must be made, therefore, to explore the possibility of making the South West Africans self-governing as a first step in the process of enabling them to accede to freedom and independence, it being understood that the whole operation would be carried out under United Nations supervision and direct responsibility.

38. Secondly, it has been alleged that our proposals imply a continuation of the South African control of the Territory and contemplate a "dialogue" with the Government of South Africa without specifying the nature and the purpose of that dialogue.

39. As to the first point, let me remind the Assembly that the existence of a de facto administration is one

of the realities which we must reckon with lest we base our deliberations on sand. We reaffirm our support of resolution 2145 (XXI), which terminated the Mandate, and all our thinking proceeds from this basic common stand. We believe, at the same time, that a search for the means to restore the inalienable rights of the population of South West Africa is a precondition for any other decision, including a decision on the arrangements to secure the administration of the Territory during the transitional period. This aim, in our view, can be better pursued in trying to secure a measure of co-operation, even at this eleventh hour, from those authorities which, although illegally, still occupy the Territory, and the co-operation of the Powers which are in the best position to achieve that result. There should be no doubt that any contact should be carried out strictly within the context of the relevant resolutions of the United Nations; it will be the responsibility of the body called upon to implement resolution 2145 (XXI) to make sure that there will be no retreat from the United Nations position.

40. Thirdly, a great many misinterpretations and misconceptions surround the core of our proposals, which would entrust a special representative to establish, in consultation with all representative elements in the Territory, a nucleus of self-government in South West Africa.

41. May I, in this respect, draw the attention of the Assembly to the summary of our statement which accompanied the introduction in the Ad Hoc Committee of the three-Power proposals. I shall quote from the report of the Ad Hoc Committee:

A body small in size but sufficiently representative of the various sections of the population should be set up and entrusted, from the very beginning, with clearly defined administrative responsibilities. The body thus constituted should develop gradually and as expeditiously as possible into a regular, representative, centralized government capable of exercising the cause normally invested in an independent State. In so doing, the United Nations would avoid the burdens and difficulties of any sort of external administration of the Territory. The United Nations could, from the very beginning, confine itself to giving assistance to a nucleus of local administration which would develop and gradually become the sole regular, representative government of the new independent country." [A/6640, para. 86.]

42. This clarification will, I hope, reassure those who believe that our plan provides only for "studies" and surveys". I should like, in particular, to emphasize, in connexion with the idea of self-government, the words "representative" and "centralized" as well as the word "unified" which appear in our document, words which should dispose once and for all of the criticism—I would say unfair criticism—levelled against the three-sponsors: namely, that we may play into the hands of the Government of South Africa, or, even worse, give a hand to the policies of Bantustan, as one delegation has suggested, deliberately leaving aside the words "unified" and "centralized" in quoting one of the key points of our proposal.

43. In the consensus which was reached at the sixteenth meeting of the Ad Hoc Committee, we fully endorsed the view shared by the other members of the Committee that the recent announcement of the South African Government with regard to Ovamboland was contrary to the resolution of the General Assembly, and, therefore, illegal. We have nothing to add to or subtract from that consensus. We still feel that our approach to the problem of South West Africa, which we define as a "short-cut solution", is an approach that should be seriously explored by giving a special representative, supported by a United Nations Council, the necessary Mandate.

44. We hope—indeed I may say that we have some confidence—that our explanations may help to dispel some of the doubts which have surrounded our initiative. We particularly hope that our ideas will be taken into account when a decision is come to.

45. Our proposal may not be perfect; it is certainly not ideal. Personally, I do not know of anything ideal on earth. Perhaps the cosmonauts will find something ideal in the celestial bodies; personally, I doubt it. We realize that our proposal does not entirely satisfy the African delegations and might not offer the quick solution which they are striving for. But do other proposals offer such an opportunity? We are afraid not. We feel, as a matter of fact, that they would demand years and years of struggle and sacrifices. And this is to me a grim prospect since the heaviest burden would be placed on the Africans, whose lot has been, until now, meagre and unjust. For our part, we understand and sympathize entirely with their feelings, with their sufferings. We can understand also that, being perfectly and rightly convinced of the justice of their cause, our African friends can hardly understand why it takes so long to see it win a prevail everywhere.

46. Some delegations finally seem to believe that we claim greater wisdom than others in international affairs. There is no pretension of the sort. We have simply noticed that, since the adoption of resolution 2145 (XXI), some changes—some symptoms of changes—have been taking place in South Africa. The representative of Sweden mentioned some of them. However small, they are nevertheless of some significance as they might hide greater changes in the minds of South Africans, in spite of what their Government states officially.

47. The impact which resolution 2145 (XXI) has produced speaks in our opinion, in favour of what we have always worked for, namely, resolutions which command the support of the overwhelming majority of the States Members of the United Nations, including the major Powers. Resolution 2145 (XXI) has received the support of most of the major Powers from all regional groups. If we read carefully the statements made from this rostrum, we can assume that a draft resolution on the lines which we have suggested would also enjoy the support of one, and perhaps both, of those permanent members of the Security Council that have abstained from voting on the previous resolution. That, I believe, would be a great victory for the African cause and for the United Nations. It is unthinkable to me that faced with such possible results, faced with such a prospect, such a

real prospect, that line of action should be dropped in favour of a different line which has proved to be impractical and fruitless up to now. To do so, as the representative of France and more recently the representative of Denmark have pointed out, might lead the United Nations to a failure and impair the effective functioning of the Organization.

48. In concluding, I should like to sum up the Italian position as follows.

49. First, in supporting resolution 2145 (XXI) and indeed actively participating in its elaboration, we meant to meet the views and the expectations of the African delegations, which have been so bitterly disappointed. We felt that the principles which had been somewhat shaken by the procedural judgement of the International Court at the Hague and the condemnation of the odious policies of apartheid practised by the South African Government needed to be clearly confirmed by the world community. We were fully aware, at the same time, of the implications of that resolution, of the difficulties to be faced in seeking its speedy implementation and in the divisions it might produce among the Members of the United Nations.

50. Second, we consented to take part in the work of the Ad Hoc Committee, with the sincere purpose of co-operating in working out a practical plan for the solution of the problem which would enable us: (a) to safeguard the principles set forth in resolution 2145 (XXI); and (b) to indicate a method for an acceptable and agreed solution, thus avoiding a serious crisis within the Organization.

51. Third, while respecting the motives which have prompted other initiatives in the fourteen-nation Committee and at this special session, we feel it is our duty to express our reservations concerning their practicability in the present situation. To try to force the pace would lead us to a critical situation which it is better to avoid for the sake of the United Nations itself.

52. Fourth, we believe, on the other hand, that our proposals—in the context and with the objectives we have indicated today—offer a valid alternative which, in our opinion, is worth trying.

53. We have no monopoly of wisdom in this Assembly and most certainly no ulterior motives in offering our contribution. We do so in a spirit of solidarity and with a sincere and strong desire to further the cause of the emancipation of colonial peoples as well as the cause of the United Nations as a whole.

54. Mr. ROSSIDES (Cyprus): Mr. President, on behalf of my delegation I wish to congratulate you most warmly on your unanimous election to the presidency of the General Assembly at this special session. Your wide experience and wisdom and the outstanding ability, impartiality and tact with which you have conducted the deliberations of the twenty-first session have greatly contributed to its fruitful results. Among them is the historic resolution on whose implementation we are now engaged. We feel confident that, under your wise guidance, the work of the current session will prove equally successful and productive.

55. This special session is of particular importance, for it has to deal decisively with a problem of long

standing and grave injustice to a people that has been persistently denied its basic human rights and human dignity, particularly at a time when so many nations and peoples of the African continent have attained full statehood and have brought to the world community their enlivening spirit and vigorous contribution.

56. The United Nations has been seized of this problem since 1946. Through a long series of General Assembly resolutions and recourses to the International Court of Justice, it has sought a solution through both political and judicial means, but to little avail. The defiance by South Africa of all United Nations efforts remained and remains unchanged. The resolution adopted by the twenty-first session of the General Assembly has boldly opened the way to a solution and brought the problem to the stage of conclusion. It terminated the Mandate of South Africa and placed direct responsibility on the United Nations in order to ensure for the people of South West Africa their freedom and independence with the least possible delay. It is our compelling duty to give effect to resolution 2145 (XXI) by adequately implementing its terms.

57. We have before us the report of the Ad Hoc Committee, a lucid exposition of the dedicated work of that Committee under the able chairmanship of Ambassador Jakobson of Finland.

58. It is disappointing that no agreement was reached on a single recommendation. However, there did emerge a consensus in the reaffirmation by all delegations represented in the Committee of their full adherence to the decision of the United Nations contained in General Assembly resolution 2145 (XXI) and to the objective of self-determination and independence for the people of South West Africa as a single and undivided whole in an integral territory. The differences of opinion were in respect of the means to be applied towards those ends. Thus we have before us three different sets of proposals. We shall call them the Afro-Asian, the Latin American and the Western plans.

59. Before turning to those proposals, we should perhaps examine the purport and meaning of resolution (XXI).

60. The resolution declares the failure of South Africa to fulfil its mandatory obligations and it terminates its League of Nations Mandate to administer the territory, which is henceforth to come under the direct responsibility of the United Nations. The relevant terms of reference of the Ad Hoc Committee, as provided in paragraph 6 of the said resolution, are

"to recommend practical means by which South West Africa should be administered, so as to enable the people of the Territory to exercise the right of self-determination and to achieve independence".

61. The meaning of that paragraph is clear. It places a duty on the Ad Hoc Committee to recommend the mode by which South West Africa would come under an interim administration by the United Nations, whose task would be to prepare the independence of the Territory.



62. The resolution also calls upon the Government of South Africa to refrain from an action, constitutional, administrative, political or otherwise, which would alter or tend to alter the present international status of South West Africa. The purport of this paragraph is to prevent any attempt by South Africa at annexation, whether direct or through a process of partition.

63. The resolution further calls the attention of the Security Council to these matters. That obviously means that the General Assembly envisages the necessity for Security Council action in order to give effect to the resolution.

64. Of the three proposals before us, the first has been embodied in the Afro-Asian draft resolution sponsored by fifty-nine Member States [A/L.516 and Add.1-3]. Cyprus is one of the sponsors. We have sponsored the draft resolution not only because of our deep sense of solidarity with our brothers of the African continent but also because after studying the three proposals we are convinced that the Afro-Asian draft resolution contains in it all the necessary elements for the implementation of resolution 2145 (XXI). It thus constitutes a constructive step towards the declared objectives.

65. This draft resolution appropriately includes in its section I a reaffirmation of the territorial integrity of South West Africa, which is ominously threatened from recent South African moves towards partition. After the adoption of resolution 2145 (XXI) the South African Government tried to reactivate its partitionist policy and turned its attention to the report of the Odendaal Commission,<sup>1/</sup> which recommended the fragmentation and partition of South West Africa, in the Bantustan pattern, intending thereby to destroy the territorial integrity and unity of the country and its international status. As the representative of Ghana pertinently remarked, it was "a blueprint for the ultimate annexation of South West Africa" [1509th meeting, para. 20]. This partitionist policy of the South African régime is of long standing. When the issue, however, was brought to the United Nations in 1958 through a Good Offices Committee on South West Africa, an overwhelming majority of the General Assembly emphatically condemned any concept of partition and none of the representatives who participated in the debate showed any favour for it. It was generally felt that such a policy would be disastrous in its effects and would mean "acceptance by the General Assembly of the principle of apartheid"<sup>2/</sup> and a "betrayal" of the cause.

66. Still persisting in this policy of splitting the Territory, the South African Government, on 22 March last, offered separate self-determination to Ovamboland. By such a move, as pointed out in The New York Times of 26 March:

"South Africa would be embarking on its long-threatened partition of South West Africa. Such fragmentation would flout specific United Nations

warnings and a 1950 advisory decision of the World Court".

67. In view of the growing dangers involved in these obvious trends of South African policy, the Afro-Asian draft resolution, in its Section I, rightly reaffirms the territorial integrity of South West Africa and the right of its people to freedom and independence, it being well understood that the latter, is wholly dependent upon the former.

68. There is a need to proceed with determination for an effective United Nations presence in the territory, not only for the purpose of speeding up independence but also, and more important, to avert the growing threat of partition, which is by far the major calamity as it is perpetual in its evil consequences and its threat to peace.

69. Both the Afro-Asian draft resolution and the Latin-American proposal [A/6660, par. 93] fully provide for an interim United Nations administration until independence through the establishment by the General Assembly of a United Nations council and the appointment by it of a United Nations commissioner in order to prepare the way for independence, through normal constitutional processes. Those provisions are the most essential elements for implementing resolution 2145 (XXI), within the framework of the mandate given to the Ad Hoc Committee by the said resolution.

70. In the elaboration of the details, and in other respects, the Afro-Asian and Latin-American plans are not dissimilar and follow more or less the same lines. Their main difference lies in that the Latin-American proposal proceeds on the assumption that the Government of South Africa might co-operate with the United Nations council in the transfer of the administration of the territory. It thus gives primary place in its plan to relevant contacts by the United Nations council with the South African authorities. The proposal provides for no alternative action by the United Nations if the South African Government refuses to co-operate with the United Nations council.

71. The Afro-Asian draft, on the other hand, does not envisage the possibility of the Pretoria régime acquiescing in the transfer of administration to the United Nations and makes no mention of any relevant contact, acting obviously on the basis of past experience of defiance by South Africa of numerous United Nations decisions, and, moreover, in view of the statements by the Pretoria authorities with regard to the resolution, which it declared it to be "unconscionable and impossible to implement" and "felt that the likelihood of South African compliance was so remote as to be almost

If resolution thus proceeds with enforcement action. This is one that can be bridged so that their proper place in a combined resolution together. In other respects they will be joined together and a common draft resolution may be adopted by an overwhelming majority of the Council, one no less impressive

<sup>1/</sup> Report of the Commission of Enquiry into South West Africa Affairs, 1962-63, Pretoria, Government Printer 1964.

<sup>2/</sup> David N. Wainhouse, Remnants of Empire (New York, Harper and Row, 1964) p. 55.

than that by which the basic resolution 2145 (XXI) was adopted.

73. The Western proposal submitted by Canada, Italy and the United States [*ibid.*, para. 84], proceeds along totally different lines. Its more important characteristic is that it makes no provision for interim administration by the United Nations, thus allowing South African administration of the territory to continue. In our view this runs counter to resolution 2145 (XXI), which finally terminated South Africa's Mandate and placed direct responsibility for the territory on the United Nations. It is also contrary to the specific mandate given to the Ad Hoc Committee under that resolution, namely

"to recommend practical means by which South West Africa should be administered, so as to enable the people of the Territory to exercise the right of self-determination and to achieve independence".

74. The Western proposal provides, as the other proposals do, for the establishment of a United Nations council and the appointment of a special representative for South West Africa, but there is hardly any similarity in any of their functions. Moreover, all authority and powers are vested in the special representative, who will report to the General Assembly, while the council will co-operate with him.

75. The special representative is entrusted with certain tasks, mainly of an exploratory nature, among which are the following: to make a comprehensive survey of the situation with particular reference to its human and material resources; to ascertain which elements are representative in the territory, and to consult with them in order that, with their accord, a nucleus of self-government may be established. Some of the functions of exploration could be useful, others not.

76. But, independently of our views on the merits or demerits of those functions, it is hard to imagine how any United Nations organ which purported to implement the relevant resolution of the General Assembly could possibly carry out its functions in the territory while the South African racist régime continued in control and the people were kept under its administration with all the existing restrictions of freedom of expression and of movement. Hardly any of the tasks entrusted to the special representative by this proposal could be carried out under that régime, even assuming that the special representative were allowed to operate at all under it.

77. It is obvious, for instance, that no accord of representative elements on an establishment of self-government, as suggested in the proposal, can possibly be expected to be reached under a régime of apartheid and its divisive policy.

78. Under the Western proposal, the General Assembly would entrust the special representative with the responsibility of determining "the necessary conditions that will enable South West Africa to achieve self-determination and independence". Such prior determination was not thought to be required in the case of other nations of Africa and Asia for achieving their independence. Furthermore, the historic General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV), the Declaration on

the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples declares in paragraph 3:

"Inadequacy of political, economic, social or educational preparedness should never serve as a pretext for delaying independence".

79. It is the position of my delegation that the time for the exercise by colonial peoples of the right of self-determination under the Charter is always the present. Freedom is the inalienable birthright of all peoples, and its attainment ought not to be postponed on any pretext. Furthermore, from the relevant resolution in this case, 2145 (XXI), it is clear that no postponement of the independence of South West Africa on any such grounds is envisaged or contemplated.

80. It has been said that we must proceed by steps in this case. We are prepared to agree with that view. Each step, however, should be a step forward, and not backward, from the position taken by the United Nations in the said resolution. We believe that the Afro-Asian draft resolution is a decisive step forward.

81. The decision of the General Assembly, which terminated the League of Nations Mandate granted to South Africa and placed the Territory and the people of South West Africa under the direct responsibility of the United Nations, is a final decision and an irreversible step from which there can be no retreat. We confidently trust that the permanent members of the Security Council, which have a special responsibility in the premises, will act in this spirit and firmly uphold the United Nations. We do not overlook the difficulties arising from political and economic involvements in the situation, but the task has to be carried out with determination for the very authority of the United Nations as a world Organization is under direct challenge. To meet the challenge effectively it is essential that the United Nations should present a common front. It is our earnest wish and hope that such a common front will emerge in this session through a generally acceptable resolution, so that unity in the General Assembly may be preserved, thereby strengthening the impact and effect of its resolution. In that way only can justice be done and the people of South West Africa attain their rightful place in the world community and fulfil their destiny.

82. Mr. LIU (China): Mr. President, first of all, allow me to associate myself with all previous speakers in congratulating you on your election to the Presidency of this Assembly. The honour thus conferred upon you demonstrates once again the high esteem in which you have been held by all your colleagues in the United Nations.

83. The General Assembly has been convened in special session to give further consideration to the question of South West Africa, a question which has occupied the attention of the United Nations for some twenty years and which was the cause of protracted proceedings before the International Court of Justice. The General Assembly, at its twenty-first regular session, adopted, with virtual unanimity, resolution 2145 (XXI) in which it took the unprecedented step of declaring that South Africa's Mandate over South West Africa was terminated and that, thenceforth, South West Africa came under the direct responsibility of the United Nations.

84. The principles laid down in that resolution are, in our view, in accord with the Charter and reflect the determination of the United Nations to lead all non-self-governing peoples to freedom and independence. My delegation supported that resolution and stands by it.

85. While there is common agreement on the ends to be achieved, there has been considerable difference of opinion on the means of bringing them about. That had become abundantly clear in the course of the debate at the twenty-first session of the General Assembly. It was for that reason that the Assembly finally decided to entrust to an ad hoc committee the task of recommending

"practical means by which South West Africa should be administered, so as to enable the people of the Territory to exercise the right of self-determination and to achieve independence".

86. We now have before us the report [A/6640] of the Ad Hoc Committee. It contains no unanimous recommendation. The fourteen delegations represented in the Committee were not in complete agreement about the scope and content of the "practical means" by which the goals set forth in resolution 2145 (XXI) could be translated into reality.

87. That, of course, is not surprising. On a question as complex and difficult as the question of South West Africa differences of opinion and approach are as inevitable as they are legitimate. Nonetheless, it is to be observed that, whatever may have been the divergence of views, all members of the Committee were united in their determination to bring about the freedom and independence of the people of South West Africa with as little delay as possible. There can be no doubt that the three formal proposals outlined in the Committee's report represent the honest efforts of their sponsors to find what they regard as the most "practical" approach to the problem.

88. In the formulation of these proposals the sponsors may have been influenced by their assessment of the requirements of the situation and the state of public opinion in their own respective countries, as well as their interpretation of the role the United Nations should play in this case. Thus, as the Chairman of the Ad Hoc Committee, Ambassador Jakobson of Finland, pointed out at the beginning of the present debate [1503rd meeting], while all three proposals envisage the creation of a new United Nations organ known as the "United Nations Council for South West Africa", the functions of the proposed council are defined in very different terms in each proposal.

89. In the course of the present debate, the positions taken by the sponsors of the various proposals remain widely divergent although their ultimate objective, I believe, is substantially identical. My delegation, however, sincerely hopes that, at its current special session, the Assembly will be able to iron out those differences and adopt a course of action which will command the broadest support. For, unless we could find a solution that would command the support of the overwhelming majority of Member States, effective implementation of resolution 2145 (XXI) would be exceedingly difficult. Certainly, the Assembly cannot

afford to give the impression that it is hopelessly divided on an issue as important and urgent as the future of South West Africa.

90. It is not my intention, at the present stage of the proceedings to go into a detailed examination of the merits of the various proposals. I shall content myself with a few general observations.

91. Let us remind ourselves once again that this special session of the General Assembly has been called not to reopen the general debate on the question of South West Africa—that is already behind us—but to perform a specific task, namely to recommend practical means by which South West Africa should be administered. The General Assembly has already decided to revoke the Mandate exercised by South Africa over South West Africa and to place the territory under the direct responsibility of the United Nations. Those decisions are irrevocable. What the United Nations must do now is to devise procedures by which the responsibility thus assumed can be adequately discharged.

92. As we see it, to achieve the objectives of the decision of the General Assembly of 27 October 1966 it is necessary to bring about effective United Nations presence in South West Africa and to set up an administration responsible to and under the supervision of the United Nations. My delegation, in common with many other delegations, holds the view that any machinery set up by the United Nations for South West Africa can only be regarded as a temporary or transitional arrangement designed to prepare the inhabitants of the territory for self-determination and independence.

93. I believe there is general agreement that contact has to be made with South Africa in order to bring about the transition. I agree with the representative of Ethiopia when, voicing an African point of view, he says that the proposed United Nations council should undertake all the necessary contacts, including contact with the de facto administration of the territory for the purpose of arranging the actual transfer of administrative functions. It is understood, of course, that the terms of resolution 2145 (XXI) can in no way be altered by any form of negotiation.

94. Whatever decisions the General Assembly may take, the overriding consideration must be the inhabitants of the territory themselves—their welfare, their future, their wishes and aspirations. It is of the utmost importance that, during the transitional period, public order be maintained, essential services not be disrupted, and no administrative and political vacuum be created to invite chaos and conflict. We earnestly hope that the Government of South Africa will find it within its own interests to co-operate with the United Nations so as to enable the only remaining mandated territory in Africa to achieve independent statehood in an orderly and peaceful manner.

95. Mr. FAKHREDDINE (Sudan): Mr. President, your election to the Presidency at this special session is an expression of the confidence of the Members of this Organization, with which I have the honour to associate myself and my delegation. You have our esteem and admiration for the wisdom and statesmanship with which you guided the affairs of the twenty-first session.

We congratulate you on your election to the Presidency of this special session.

96. After twenty-one years of patient study, persuasion and earnest appeals, and after many statements and declarations of intent on the question of South West Africa, the General Assembly, on 27 October 1966, passed its historic resolution 2145 (XXI) terminating South Africa's long-abused Mandate. The General Assembly had then announced its determined purpose of saving the people of South West Africa from a vicious and oppressive policy of degradation and bringing them ultimately to freedom and independence. The United Nations thus assumed a responsibility that it was meant and organized to assume, and should have the confidence and ability to execute.

97. The sad chronology of events that had impelled the Members of this Assembly to terminate the South African Mandate called for immediate and prompt action. The delegation of the Sudan had, during the twenty-first session of the General Assembly, advocated such action and pledged itself to contribute towards its fulfilment, and we still stand by the same pledge. Such prompt action would have saved the situation which is now deteriorating with the passage of each day.

98. It is well to remind ourselves that chapter XI of Article 73 of the Charter of the United Nations enjoins Members which have or assume responsibilities for the administration of territories whose people have not yet attained a full measure of self-government to recognize the principle that the interests of the inhabitants of those territories are paramount. The Government of South Africa, in defiance of the Charter, maintains and promotes a régime in South West Africa which is designed to subordinate the interests of its inhabitants to those of the white minority. The Government of South Africa, in violation of the Charter, maintains and promotes policies in South West Africa based on inequality in the administration of justice and in economic and social opportunity, and subjects its inhabitants to flagrant abuses of human dignity. In denying the responsibility of the United Nations for rectifying this situation, the Government of South Africa confronts the Organization with the juridical equivocation that the Territory of South West Africa is not properly a "Trust Territory" and does not therefore fall within the provisions of the Charter for the administration of the International Trusteeship System.

99. The representatives of South Africa, in spite of the advisory opinions of the International Court of Justice of July 1950<sup>3/</sup> and June 1956<sup>4/</sup> on the status of South West Africa and the near-unanimous verdict of the membership of the United Nations as embodied in resolution 2145 (XXI), have always maintained that the United Nations has no legal authority to intervene in the affairs of South West Africa. In view of this it seems vain to hope that South Africa will agree to enter into any dialogue with the United Nations on the future of South West Africa.

<sup>3/</sup> International status of South-West Africa, Advisory Opinion: I.C.J. Reports 1950, p. 128.

<sup>4/</sup> Admissibility of hearings of petitioners by the Committee on South West Africa, Advisory Opinion of June 1st, 1956: I.C.J. Reports 1956, p. 23.

100. This fifth special session has been convened to study the report of the Ad Hoc Committee. The Ad Hoc Committee was formed to study ways and means by which the United Nations could implement resolution 2145 (XXI) and discharge the responsibility to which it had committed itself. We regret that the report of the Committee was merely a reflection of the differences among its members on the most crucial aspect of its work, that is, the recommendation of practical means by which South West Africa should be administered so as to enable the people of the territory to exercise the right of self-determination and to achieve independence.

101. The delegation of the Sudan is grateful to the previous speakers who expounded the salient features of the Afro-Asian draft resolution [A/L.516 and Add.1-3]. But it remains for us to stress that the Afro-Asian draft calls for action by the Security Council in case of South Africa's intransigence vis-à-vis the implementation of resolution 2145 (XXI). This, in the opinion of my delegation, is the crux of the whole matter: to provide for action which will deter South Africa from frustrating the implementation of the United Nations resolution. This provision is included in the Afro-Asian resolution because it was anticipated that South Africa would not be willing to implement any decision that the Assembly might take in execution of the terms of resolution 2145 (XXI).

102. The question has often been asked of us: how do we know about this unwillingness on the part of South Africa before even approaching it on the matter? Such a question would be a legitimate one if the Government of South Africa had remained inactive or silent in the matter. But they have not been inactive nor have they been silent. It is well known that the Government of South Africa is proceeding with its plan to dismember the territory and divide its people in total disregard of the most solemn Declaration contained in paragraph 6 of the United Nations historic resolution 1514 (XV), which maintains that any attempt aimed at a partial or total disruption of the national unity and the territorial integrity of a country is incompatible with the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations.

103. Further, the Government of South Africa and its representatives here have repeatedly declared their position on the question. What evidence then do we have that they will be open to negotiation? How can we appeal to them? Should we appeal to their respect for the Charter of the United Nations, which they have continued to violate with impunity? Should we address ourselves to their humanity or to their conscience, while knowing that their conscience and their humanity have been impervious for so long to the cry of justice for the black man?

104. In this light, one fails to see why the Latin American proposals [A/6640, para. 93], which agree in all essentials with the Afro-Asian draft resolution, have stopped short of providing for action in the event of South Africa's failing to acknowledge the authority of the United Nations or admit representatives of this authority. Paragraph 8 of these proposals reads:

"The Council shall enter immediately into contact with the authorities of the Republic of South Africa,

in order to lay down procedures, in accordance with resolution 2145 (XXI), for the transfer of the Territory with the least possible upheaval, a time-limit for its completion being prescribed."

105. While we admit that this suggestion is motivated by a genuine desire for a peaceful solution of the problem, we maintain that an entry into a dialogue and the creation of a local administration under the de facto Government of the territory is a retreat from resolution 2145 (XXI), which states categorically that South Africa has failed to fulfil its obligation in respect of the Mandated Territory of South West Africa and has in fact disavowed the Mandate. According to this resolution, the Mandate has been terminated, and apart from the Mandate, South Africa has no right to administer the territory.

106. The delegation of the Sudan can only wonder whether our friends from the Latin American and West European countries have any information denied to us on which they are basing their proposals and envisaging negotiation with South Africa. We are unable to ignore the fact that the South African Foreign Minister has stated in no uncertain terms that South Africa would defend its rights in South West Africa with all the power at its disposal. Resolution 2145 (XXI), in the eyes of South Africa is an illegal resolution the implementation of which will be resisted in every possible way.

107. The proposals made by Canada, Italy and the United States [ibid., para. 84] confer a mandate on a "special representative", one of whose tasks would be "to consult with all representative elements in order that, with their accord, a nucleus of self-government may be established in South West Africa as soon as possible". These proposals, therefore, offer us a resident representative to study, ascertain and report, when for twenty years this Assembly has been engaged in this problem and there is no aspect of it that remains to be ascertained.

108. The protagonists of these proposals ask us to leave the door open for consultation and warn us against a premature confrontation, for fear that the reputation and effectiveness of the United Nations may be damaged.

109. The representative of Italy, in explaining the proposals, is quoted as having indicated [ibid., para. 85] that it was advisable for the territory to be administered by the people of South West Africa themselves in accordance with their wishes. He went on to say that the main task of the United Nations should be to assist, for a period which should be as brief as possible, the efforts of the local population to achieve self-government and independence.

110. The representative of the United States, speaking before this Assembly in support of the Western proposals, said that the greatest disservice to resolution 2145 (XXI) and to its implementation would be to create the impression in South Africa and in the world that we are divided on its implementation. He went on to say that our objective here was not to score debating points but to work together towards the implementation of resolution 2145 (XXI). I agree most whole-heartedly with the representative of the United States about our objectives. I agree with the

representative of Italy that our goal is and should be the achievement of self-government and independence for South West Africa. But the methods that they propose cannot, according to the evidence that we have before us, lead us to the achievement of those objectives. On this we are indeed divided and will remain divided unless there is evidence that South Africa is prepared to concede that these are legitimate objectives, and is prepared to show its readiness for consultations about the implementation of these objectives.

111. Let the representative of South Africa come out and tell this Assembly that his Government is prepared to acknowledge the international status of South West Africa and the United Nations responsibility for that territory. Let him come out and tell us that his Government is prepared to affirm that it will not engage in any action that will jeopardize the territorial integrity of the country. Let him come out and tell us that his Government is prepared to concede the right of the people of South West Africa to self-determination and independence.

112. If the Government of South Africa is prepared to make that declaration, we shall have all the evidence that we need. If the Government of South Africa is prepared to make that declaration, we shall be prepared to listen to the counsel of our friends who tell us that there is room for negotiation and consultation. But in the absence of such evidence, the Western proposals for negotiation with South Africa will have the effect of committing the United Nations to an acceptance of the régime that it has already declared unlawful.

113. If we sought co-operation with the de facto administration whose legal right to continue to administer the territory has lapsed, in order to establish "a nucleus of unified self-government", the United Nations would be sharing the responsibility of the illegal occupation.

114. We are open to reason, but surely it is not reasonable to expect the United Nations to retreat whenever it is confronted with the obstinacy of the foes of the principles it must defend. Let the Members of the United Nations uphold these principles and unite in the implementation of resolution 2145 (XXI), as they were united in passing that resolution. Let the United Nations resolve to defend the right of the people of South West Africa to self-determination and independence, as it resolved to proclaim that right.

115. The PRESIDENT: The representative of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics wishes to make a statement, and I now call on him.

116. Mr. KUZNETSOV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (translated from Russian): The special session of the General Assembly is concluding its discussion of the question of South West Africa.

117. The USSR delegation has had an opportunity to state its opinion on the report of the Committee of Fourteen [1504th meeting]. Nevertheless, being aware of the high responsibility for the General Assembly's decisions that devolves upon each State, we deem it advisable to present a few supplementary ideas which have occurred to us in the course of this session.

118. As might have been anticipated, two opposing schools of thought, two different political courses of action, have once again come to light. The overwhelming majority of States sincerely want to help the people of South West Africa to free itself with all speed from the oppression of the South African racists and to achieve independence; on the other hand, a certain group of countries is doing all it can to prevent this, whatever the cost.

119. I should like to remind the General Assembly of the arguments presented from this rostrum by the representatives of Western Powers. They all, in one way or another, tried to persuade the General Assembly that it must have some regard for the de facto administration of South West Africa and for the South African authorities and must at all costs avoid a "confrontation" with them. Instead of a straightforward and unambiguous refusal to support the colonialist Pretoria régime or permit the further exploitation of South West Africa's material and human resources by foreign monopolies, we once again heard urgent appeals for consultations and negotiations with the forces of racism.

120. Is it not clear that the purpose of these appeals is to give aid to the South African authorities, postpone the solution of the question, and continue to maintain the people of South West Africa in the chains of slavery, poverty and impotence? Were we to adopt such an approach, that people would have to live under racist oppression for many years to come, firmly bound to the chariot of the foreign monopolies.

121. I saw with satisfaction that in their statements the representatives of the United Arab Republic, Mali, Somalia, Tanzania and many other African and Asian countries, including some who spoke today, gave the treatment they merited to attempts to frighten this Assembly by the spectre of a confrontation with the racists and to divert it from adopting effective decisions.

122. As the representative of Barbados so aptly remarked [1505 meeting], the Powers which are so united in their effort to protect the South African racists from any unpleasantness on the pretext that the international situation should not be further complicated showed no such concern when they acted in Suez, committed aggression against Viet-Nam and engaged in armed intervention in the internal affairs of the Dominican Republic.

123. The socialist States and the great majority of the countries in the Afro-Asian Group have unanimously opposed this endless procrastination and advocated the prompt liberation of South West Africa from racist oppression. This unanimity is of great political importance, and demonstrates once again the futility of certain attempts to obscure the clear position of the socialist States, cast doubt on their total opposition to colonialism and racism as a matter of principle, and take advantage of minor differences of opinion on how the problem of South West Africa should be solved.

124. We are grateful to the representatives of the free countries of Africa for their recognition of the contribution made by the USSR to the cause of the common struggle against colonialism and racism and

its unfailing support of the national liberation movement.

125. As we have said in our earlier statement, and as we emphatically re-affirm, the Soviet Union's endeavour to give comprehensive assistance to oppressed peoples in their struggle for freedom and independence and to strengthen its fraternal collaboration with the peoples of the liberated States of Asia, Africa, and Latin America is part and parcel of the general line of Soviet foreign policy, and the Soviet Union never did and never will waver from it.

126. We noted with satisfaction that the representatives of some African countries gave recognition in their statements to the useful part that could be played by the Organization of African Unity in solving the problem of South West Africa and agreed that that Organization could make a contribution to the liberation of the Territory's people. In this connexion, I should like to stress once again that, like the African and Asian delegations, my delegation believes that the participation of the Organization of African Unity in solving the problem of South West Africa would be in the spirit of resolution 2145 (XXI) and would not mean that the responsibility of the United Nations for the implementation of that resolution would in any way be diminished. On the contrary it is our view that the United Nations will more successfully carry out the requisite measures for the preparation and conduct of general elections in the Territory if it has the assistance of the Organization of African Unity.

127. In the course of the debate, mention was made of certain particular conditions in South West Africa which allegedly make it impossible for its people to become independent forthwith and require a certain "transitional period"—for which, be it noted, no time limit is set. What we have to say on this point is that the problem of South West Africa does indeed have a particular feature, which is, however, that the indigenous population of the Territory is subjected to triple oppression: oppression by the colonial settlers in South West Africa itself, oppression by the racist rulers of South Africa, and also oppression by the foreign monopolies, which support the first two categories of oppressors in order to go on robbing the people of the Territory with impunity.

128. It is precisely because of this particular feature that the first thing that must be done is to bring about cessation of the aid extended to the Government of South Africa by certain Western Powers, expulsion of the racists from South West Africa and the granting of independence to its people.

129. So long as the Western Powers, headed by the United States and the United Kingdom, in fact continue to oppose the expulsion of the South African racists from the Territory and to lend them support, all those who advocate the prompt liberation of the people of South West Africa must rivet their attention on that fundamental, that principal obstacle. This session, which has been specially convened to discuss the question of South West Africa, must speak sternly to those who are stubbornly obstructing the implementation of resolution 2145 (XXI) and all the earlier resolutions on the subject. It will be remiss in its duty, will disappoint the hopes of the South West

African people, and will only play into the hands of the Republic of South Africa and its patrons if, plunged in consideration of various plans for the future administration of the Territory, it fails to take steps to remove the main obstacle in the way of the liberation of that long-suffering people. It is surely clear that no plan for the administration of the Territory, no matter how excellent, can be carried out so long as the South African racists enjoy the firm support of the above-mentioned powers and exercise dominion over South West Africa with their help. Unless we categorically condemn that support and firmly demand that it cease completely, no plan for the solution of the problem of South West Africa, no scheme for the administration of the Territory, can be anything but illusory.

130. For all these reasons we must begin by mobilizing the real potential that this session of the General Assembly can draw upon, and make some progress towards solving the problem on this basis.

131. We must require the Government of the Republic of South Africa to withdraw at once all its armed and police forces from the Territory of South West Africa, release all political prisoners, and return to South West Africa the political refugees who had been driven from the country because they had advocated that their native land should be given independence.

132. The main thing is, however, to require certain Western countries, first and foremost among them the United States and the United Kingdom, which have the greatest economic interests in the Republic of South Africa and South West Africa, to take decisive measures against the Pretoria régime, including economic measures. It is important that these countries should in fact take a position which would compel the South African authorities to quit the Territory of South West Africa, thus clearing the way for the application of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples and General Assembly resolution 2145 (XXI). This session must mobilize world opinion, urge all decent people to come to the defence of the people of South West Africa and exert pressure on the authorities and the patrons of the Republic of South Africa.

133. Adoption of the above-mentioned measures by this special session of the General Assembly would put a spoke in the wheels of the South African racists and their patrons and would be a real contribution to the liberation of the South West African people.

134. I should also like once again to draw attention to the fact that, given the present policy of the Western Powers, setting up a United Nations administration for South West Africa is a scheme fraught with danger. This fact was not denied by many representatives of African and Asian countries who spoke before me. We should be under no illusion that those who oppose South West Africa's liberation would not attempt to use for their own selfish ends every opportunity that offers, including decisions regarding the composition, rights and duties of the United Nations Council and the appointment of a Commissioner. Similar, if not greater, dangers would arise when it came to staffing the services of the Council and the Commissioner and also to forming a so-called force to maintain order in the country.

135. The United Nations has had considerable bitter experience of its good name being used by the Western Powers for aims quite different from those for which the United Nations was created. More than one example can be cited of occasions when correct decisions taken by the United Nations were, in the course of execution, subverted by the Western Powers, so that they served not the interests of peoples fighting for their freedom and independence, but of the colonialists and the monopolies. We must not forget these special lessons of the past, and be on our guard.

136. In conclusion, the USSR delegation reaffirms the willingness of its country to continue, together with all countries actively opposing colonialism and racism, to fight for the prompt solution of the problem of South West Africa in the interests of its people and of other African peoples. The USSR is ready, in the future, as it has been in the past, to oppose all the manoeuvres of the imperialist Powers to maintain the racist domination over South West Africa, whatever form those manoeuvres might take.

*The meeting rose at 12.50 p.m.*





United Nations  
**GENERAL  
ASSEMBLY**

Official Records



FIFTH SPECIAL SESSION

**1515th  
PLENARY MEETING**

Friday, 5 May 1967,  
at 3 p.m.

**NEW YORK**

**CONTENTS**

	Page
<i>Agenda item 7:</i>	
<i>Question of South West Africa (continued) . . .</i>	1

**President: Mr. Abdul Rahman PAZHWAQ**  
**(Afghanistan).**

**AGENDA ITEM 7**

**Question of South West Africa (continued)**

1. Mr. RAFAEL (Israel): Mr. President, I wish to join those who have preceded me in congratulating you on your election as President at this important special session of the General Assembly. Your long experience in the affairs of our Organization will be of great value in the conduct of our deliberations.

2. I regard it as a special privilege that in taking the floor for the first time in my capacity as Permanent Representative of Israel to the United Nations, I have the opportunity of addressing myself to a burning question relating to the African peoples, but certainly not to them alone. The question of the future of South West Africa is a matter of the greatest concern and preoccupation to all Governments and peoples for which freedom, the liquidation of colonialism, the eradication of discrimination, the attainment of human dignity and the equality of all men are the very foundations of their political and social faith.

3. The problem of South West Africa, which has developed into an intolerable situation, has been before the United Nations since its very first meetings over twenty-one years ago. Every conceivable approach to reaching a solution which would conform to the principles of the Charter and assure the people of that land of their fundamental rights has been thwarted. The United Nations has shown patience and even leniency in the face of the stubborn stand persisted in by the Government of South Africa in utter disregard of the clearly expressed position of the United Nations.

4. A turning point was reached on 27 October 1966, when the General Assembly adopted its momentous resolution 2145 (XXI). In deciding that the people of South West Africa are entitled to the rights of self-determination, freedom and independence and that the Mandate has terminated, the United Nations has taken upon itself the responsibility for the destiny of South West Africa and its people.

5. When taking this decision, the General Assembly was fully aware of the gravity of the task it was taking upon itself. It was conscious of the fact that its steps to implement its policy would require careful planning and preparation. That is what was entrusted to the Ad

Hoc Committee for South West Africa. It is a matter of deep disappointment to the Government of Israel that the Ad Hoc Committee was unable to present an agreed plan of action to this special session of the Assembly, despite the untiring efforts of its Chairman, Mr. Jakobson, to reconcile divergent viewpoints.

6. The inability of the Ad Hoc Committee to recommend concrete steps in no way detracts from the responsibilities which we have taken upon ourselves by our decision of last October. Nor does it affect in any way the jurisprudence of the United Nations on this question, as consolidated in the resolution adopted at the twenty-first session. On that occasion, we explained in detail why in our view the Government of South Africa had forfeited all right to continue to administer the territory in any form, and why the sacred trust of civilization which was embodied in and, indeed, was the very essence of, the Mandate, is now placed upon the United Nations until the Territory becomes independent. Refusal to co-operate with the United Nations, and unilateral attempts to impose other solutions, will not deflect the United Nations from its determination to see its policy implemented and will only make the situation even worse than it is now.

7. The proposal by which South Africa would be made a co-administrator of the territory, even though only on an interim basis and for an undetermined period, would serve only as a guise for legitimizing South Africa's continued presence in the territory, which our resolution of last October declared illegal.

8. We share the widely felt anxiety that, after the breakthrough of last year, the loss of momentum may be leading to a new impasse, and we are not prepared to agree to that happening. In our understanding, the primary purpose of the draft resolution [A/L.516 and Add.1-3] so ably introduced by Mr. Adebó, the representative of Nigeria [1506th meeting], is to renew the momentum and to move forward. Its authors are right in seeking an institutional framework to bring about the implementation of United Nations policy. To provide the action of the United Nations with the necessary moral strength and political impact to overcome the entrenched resistance, all efforts should be made to rally around the General Assembly's decision the greatest measure of support from all parts of this Assembly, regardless of political or ideological grouping.

9. Our responsibilities to the people of South West Africa and our undertakings as members of the United Nations place upon us the solemn obligation to take at this session positive and concrete steps for the effective and rapid implementation of the General Assembly's declared policy for South West Africa.

10. Mr. ALARCON DE QUESADA (Cuba) (translated from Spanish): First of all, Mr. President, I should like to associate myself with those delegations that have congratulated you on your election as President of the General Assembly for the fifth special session. We also wish to express our certainty that, as during the twenty-first session, your presence in this high office will ensure the smooth progress of our work. The Cuban delegation also wishes to assure you of its full co-operation.

11. I also have the unavoidable duty, in taking the floor for the first time during this session of the Assembly, to place on record the Cuban delegation's strongest condemnation of the terrorist attack on 4 April against the *chargé d'affaires* of the Cuban delegation to the United Nations. Such actions confirm the belief of many Member States that conditions for the normal functioning of the United Nations simply do not exist on United States soil. Let it be clear, also, that there is not, in the arsenals of the Central Intelligence Agency, any weapon which is capable of silencing the voice of the Cuban revolution.

12. Cuba has often stated its position on the problem of South West Africa. Since 1959, in the General Assembly, the Fourth Committee and the Special Political Committee, the Cuban delegation has consistently opposed the policy of apartheid, has defended the right of the people of that Territory—as of all colonial peoples—to complete national independence, and has ceaselessly denounced the material support which the major imperialist Powers—particularly the United States of America—are giving to the racists and colonialists in Africa.

13. In keeping with this position, at the last session my delegation supported resolution 2145 (XXI) terminating the Mandate exercised by the Pretoria régime over South West Africa and establishing the Ad Hoc Committee for South West Africa. Nevertheless, on that occasion we expressed our doubts as to the possibility of giving practical effect to the measures requested by the African States, particularly to the measure that was and is, in our view, the major objective in that part of the world—namely, the immediate independence of the Territory.

14. The reason for our doubts was the attitude maintained by the United States Government and some of its allies, since the very establishment of this Organization, in regard to the cause of the liberation of peoples. Twenty years of debate and more than seventy resolutions on the question of South West Africa should be enough to make it clear that the United Nations is powerless to resolve this serious problem. Hence, we stated then, and we repeat today, that the only solution for this people will be complete independence and that it can achieve this only by engaging in a most determined struggle against its direct and indirect oppressors and only by replying with revolutionary violence to the centuries of violence which it has suffered at the hands of the racists, colonialists and imperialists. Our proceedings during the last session leading up to the adoption of resolution 2145 (XXI) once again confirmed that judgement.

15. We all remember the manoeuvres by the imperialist Powers, particularly the United States, to prevent this Assembly from adopting a resolution clearly and

unequivocally asserting the rights of the oppressed African majority. We all remember the United States representative's lengthy metaphysical discourses on the Mandate — with a capital "M" or a small "m" — discourses obviously intended to induce the United Nations to shirk its responsibilities in regard to the Territory and to keep the Territory under foreign domination. We all remember his requests for a postponement of the vote on resolution 2145 (XXI); his efforts to delay the General Assembly's decision and the numerous ways in which pressure was exerted on Member States.

16. The purpose of all these actions was to delay and divert United Nations action and to gain time for the South African racists. The United States delegation's behaviour in the Ad Hoc Committee on South West Africa, and at this special session too, shows that the imperialist Powers have not moved one millimetre from the position they have occupied for over twenty years.

17. The Western Powers' proposals for further studies of the situation in the Territory, and even for negotiations with the usurper authorities of South Africa, are another example of their contempt for Member States. How, after so many discussions in the General Assembly, the Fourth Committee and the Special Committee on the Situation with Regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, and after the adoption of resolution 2145 (XXI)—how is it still possible to maintain that further studies of this problem are required? Those who are calling for studies of this kind must first explain to us what has been the use of twenty years of debate on the one and same question if, at the end of these debates, all that they can suggest is further studies. What use would this Organization be if it had not already been able to obtain a clear picture of a question that has been on its agenda year after year since its establishment?

18. There have, in fact, been many studies, such as the one by the Committee of Twenty-four dated 5 January 1965.<sup>1/</sup> This report shows who is deriving the most benefit from the policy of apartheid in South West Africa, who is providing the Pretoria régime with material support, and why some Western Powers do not want South West Africa to be independent.

19. I should like to read out several paragraphs from the conclusions of this study that was approved by the Committee of Twenty-Four, paragraphs which clearly indicate the close link between South African racism and the interests of the imperialist monopolies which control the natural resources of all southern Africa:

"The fact that the greater part of the Territory's economic production is in the hands of foreign enterprises, has serious implications not only for the Territory's economy but also in the political and social fields. With only minor exceptions, the companies which control the mining and fishing industries are either totally or largely subsidiaries of wealthier corporations whose main interests and activities are elsewhere. In the ultimate analysis it can be shown that the overwhelming majority of the mining

<sup>1/</sup> See Official Records of the General Assembly, Nineteenth Session, Annexes, annex No. 15, document A/5840.

companies belong to a complex of foreign capital which operates in many areas of southern Africa, Northern and Southern Rhodesia, the Congo (Leopoldville) and Angola, and in reality is directed by a number of monopolistic combines controlled by financial interests in the United Kingdom, the United States of America and the Republic of South Africa. As a result of this, an overwhelming proportion of the profits obtained in the Territory goes to the above-mentioned countries and also to other countries which invest their capital in South West Africa.

"The study of the implications of the activities of the mining industry and of other international companies which have invested capital in South West Africa indicates that, together with the Government of South Africa carrying out its reactionary policy towards South West Africa, the foreign companies having considerable capital investments in the Republic of South Africa and in South West Africa also bear the responsibility for the suffering of the people of the Territory."<sup>2/</sup>

20. The report goes on to say:

"Foreign companies operating in South West Africa, motivated by high profits rather than the development of the Territory and its people, share South Africa's interest in perpetuating the existing system of administration as long as possible. It is precisely from those Member States whose nationals own companies and have financial interests in the Territory that the Republic of South Africa derives its main support which encourages its continued non-compliance with the Charter and the numerous resolutions of the United Nations concerning the question of South West Africa."<sup>3/</sup>

21. It is these factors which explain the stubborn resistance of certain Western Powers to any solution to this problem, and their efforts to perpetuate the slavery in which their South African partners are keeping the people of South West Africa. There can be no other explanation for the proposals submitted by those delegations. One striking example is their cynical insistence on so-called negotiations with Pretoria. With whom do they think this Organization can negotiate if for twenty years the South African authorities have rejected the idea of any dialogue with the United Nations? With what moral authority can the United States make any kind of proposal concerning this problem, when it is precisely the support that the United States imperialists have provided and are still providing to the racists which has enabled the latter to flout the will of the peoples and scorn the decisions of this Assembly?

22. That is why my delegation feels it must question the effectiveness of any decision the Assembly may adopt. We have repeatedly maintained that the United Nations will not be able to accomplish the task for which it was supposedly established, or to achieve the purposes and principles of the Charter, so long as the pernicious influence of the United States Government exists within it.

<sup>2/</sup> *Ibid.*, document A/5840, paras. 172 and 173.

<sup>3/</sup> *Ibid.*, para. 175.

23. We cannot forget that in the United Nations, side by side with the representatives of newly independent States, there are representatives of States which kept them in colonial bondage for centuries. In this Organization, side by side with those struggling against imperialism, there are also imperialists; side by side with those who oppose apartheid and racial discrimination, there are racists; side by side with those who wish to protect world peace; there are warmongers. In this Organization there are representatives of peoples struggling for freedom, progress and world peace, and also representatives of the very Governments which must be got rid of before any of these aspirations can be attained.

24. We feel that these factors must inevitably be uppermost in our minds when the General Assembly comes to take its decision. Korea and the Congo are eloquent examples of how the imperialists can manipulate this Organization and use it against the interests of the peoples.

25. For these reasons, the Cuban delegation cannot place its faith in United Nations actions on behalf of any small country. For these reasons, too, we insist on the need to unmask the negative effects on this Organization of the conduct of certain imperialist Powers—particularly that of the Government of the United States of America—and the need to combine the efforts of all States which are interested in the emancipation of the peoples in order to put an end to all the manoeuvres of the United States in and outside this Organization and to offer militant support to those who are fighting for national emancipation or are resisting imperialist aggression in different parts of the world.

26. The present international situation does not allow us to entertain any illusions about finding a peaceful solution to conflicts such as that which now exists in the southern part of Africa. In recent years, the United States Government has been pursuing on a world-wide scale a campaign of the most savage repression against all national liberation movements. The Washington authorities are violating the rights of all peoples; they are intervening directly and indirectly in the internal affairs of all nations; they are trying desperately to maintain their political hegemony in the world and to protect the interests of their monopolies, in the face of the mounting upsurge of the oppressed masses. There can be no more vivid example than the barbaric aggression against the heroic people of Viet-Nam; the criminal bombing of the territory of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam; the aggression of half a million Yankee soldiers against the South Viet-Nameese population; the attacks against the Kingdom of Cambodia; the military intervention in Laos; the plans to expand the war against the peoples of south-east Asia and more and more. The criminal aggression in Viet-Nam is sufficient in itself to show that the United States is prepared to resort to the most repugnant methods in order to protect its régime of exploitation and pillage.

27. Moreover, the courageous resistance of the Viet-Nameese people, and their boundless determination to fight until total victory, show us the right way of solving the present conflicts between the peoples and their enemies.

28. The forces which must be destroyed in southern Africa, together with their leaders and supporters, are the same forces which must and will be destroyed in Viet-Nam. They will be destroyed in both countries with the same courage, the same methods and the same fighting spirit which the Viet-Nam nation symbolizes today. This fighting spirit must be found within the Territory of South West Africa. In some parts of the country, the most enlightened sections of the population have already started to follow the path of armed struggle. It is efforts of these freedom-fighters that will lead to the liberation of the Territory and the elimination of racial oppression.

29. We should like to take this opportunity to express our solidarity with the national liberation movement of South West Africa, with those who have already begun the armed struggle and those who will follow their example; and we should like to appeal to all revolutionary and progressive States to give them all possible moral and material support.

30. Today, as always, my delegation is prepared to co-operate with the friendly States of Africa by taking decisions that will guarantee the independence and freedom of peoples who are victims of colonialism and racism. This stand of ours is based on our position of principle and on a correct appreciation of the situation in the world and in this Organization. Finally, we are convinced that with or without United Nations, and in spite of the power of imperialism and the racists, the people of South West Africa will emerge victorious.

31. Mr. JOHNSON (Liberia): Mr. President, it is my privilege to bring to you the sincere congratulations of the delegation of Liberia on your unanimous reelection as President for the duration of this special session of the General Assembly. In the confidence of your ability and impartiality, we have every reason to feel that under your able guidance the work of this session will be brought to a successful conclusion.

32. We extend our appreciation to the Ad Hoc Committee for South West Africa for its work embodied in the report [A/6640] which is the subject of the debate now in progress.

33. The question of South West Africa, which has agitated debate in the United Nations since 1946, arises out of one of the great misfortunes of geography. Mainly because of the geographical contiguity of South Africa to the Territory of South West Africa, the tutelage of the people of South West Africa was entrusted to South Africa forty-seven years ago by the Council of the League of Nations.

34. But it was not in the interest of the promotion of the moral and material well-being of the inhabitants of that Territory and their orderly evolution towards self-determination and the achievement of independence that South Africa accepted the Mandate to administer the territory. It was for the stealthy purpose of annexation. Only two years after the conferral of the Mandate on South Africa, Field Marshal Christian Smuts stated that the Mandate gave to the Union of South Africa: "Such complete power of sovereignty, not only administrative but legislative, that we need not ask for anything else". Thus, by entrusting to South Africa the tutelage of the inhabitants of

South West Africa, one of the greatest wrongs and tragic errors of mankind was committed.

35. After so many fruitless years of endeavouring to right this wrong, both here in the General Assembly and in the International Court of Justice, the General Assembly, at its twenty-first session, decided to assume direct administration of the Territory of South West Africa and terminate South Africa's right to administer the territory as conferred by the Mandate.

36. As the termination of South Africa's right to administer the territory had become inevitable, arising out of the former's efforts to annex South West Africa and the application to this territory of the doctrine of racial superiority—a doctrine sanctified and formalized by its laws, official acts and statements—the Secretary of State of Liberia, Mr. J. Rudolph Grimes, who was one of the first speakers in the debate on the question of South West Africa at the twenty-first session, proposed [1414th meeting] that, as a first step to the termination of the Mandate entrusted to South Africa, the Assembly should establish an ad hoc committee, to be immediately designated by the President of the Assembly, which should report to that session on or before 30 November 1966 on the objectives, terms of reference and composition of a United Nations commission or council for South West Africa to be established prior to the adjournment of the twenty-first session.

*Mr. Kabanda (Rwanda), Vice-President, took the Chair.*

37. It had been foreseen by the Liberation delegation that, in view of the recalcitrance of South Africa and its repeated refusal to co-operate with the United Nations on the question of South West Africa, the termination of South Africa's administration of the territory and the assumption of direct responsibility for the territory by the United Nations prior to the adoption of practical means by which South Africa should be administered by the United Nations would create the untenable situation of South Africa's continued de facto administration of the territory at the same time that the United Nations had assumed direct responsibility for the administration of the Mandated Territory. And this, unfortunately, is the exact situation which now prevails.

38. Though South Africa's right to administer South West Africa was extinguished seven months ago by resolution 2145 (XXI), it still maintains its stranglehold on the territory and has not the least intention of permitting United Nations administration that would lead to the exercise of the right of self-determination and the achievement of independence by the inhabitants of the territory.

39. On the other hand, the Ad Hoc Committee for South West Africa, which was established after the termination of the Mandate to recommend practical means for the administration of South West Africa so as to enable the people of the territory to exercise the right of self-determination and to achieve independence, has been unable to agree on a single set of proposals for United Nations administration of the territory.

40. My delegation shares in the disappointment expressed by other delegations because of this lack of

agreement by the Ad Hoc Committee on a single set of proposals concerning the administration of South West Africa, though we are not here merely to lament this fact or impugn the motives of any of the members of the Ad Hoc Committee.

41. It has, however, to be admitted that because of this lack of agreement on the part of the Ad Hoc Committee, it appears that we have been thrown between the horns of a terrible dilemma, if the report of this Committee [A/6640] is to be considered as a barometer of the general atmosphere prevailing at this session.

42. But be that as it may, the decision of the General Assembly, at its twenty-first session, to revoke South Africa's right to administer South West Africa and for the United Nations to assume direct responsibility for the territory was an irrevocable act. There can be no turning-back. Means will have to be devised to wrest from South Africa its control of South West Africa as a usurper, or we make a complete mockery of our own decision in this matter.

43. By resolution 2145 (XXI), the international status of the Territory of South West Africa is to be maintained until the territory achieves independence. The resolution is equally clear concerning the authority and responsibility of the United Nations in regard to the territory. The United Nations is responsible for the preservation of the international status of the territory until the achievement of independence. The authority of the United Nations extends to all policies and measures which may be necessary to ensure the moral and material well-being and security of the inhabitants of the territory. Such authority is, and must be, as broad as the "sacred trust of civilization", which was created under the Mandates System and which has been grossly violated by the former Mandatory, the Republic of South Africa.

44. As one of the applicants, together with Ethiopia, before the International Court of Justice in the South West Africa case, we should like to recall to the Assembly the holding of the Court in its judgement of 1962<sup>4/</sup> in regard to the essential principles of the Mandates System. The Court's views on this matter, which are relevant to the continuing authority and responsibility of the United Nations, were not in any way modified or repudiated by the Court's later judgement of 1966.<sup>5/</sup>

45. In the 1962 judgement, the Court described three essential principles of the Mandates System. The first of these was the recognition of certain rights of the peoples of under-developed territories, including South West Africa. The second principle was the "establishment of a régime of tutelage for each of such peoples to be exercised by an advanced nation as a 'Mandatory' on behalf of the League of Nations."<sup>6/</sup> It is this tutelage, or Mandate, which has been violated, for-

saken and disavowed by South Africa. The United Nations, as is its right and duty under well-established principles of international and domestic law, has invoked South Africa's breaches of its Mandate undertaking as a ground for considering its Mandate Agreement with South Africa terminated.

46. The third essential principle of the Mandates System, as the Court held in its 1962 Judgement was "the recognition of 'a sacred trust of civilization' laid upon the League as an organized international community and upon its Member States. This system is dedicated to the avowed object of promoting the well-being and development of the peoples concerned and is fortified by setting up safeguards for the protection of their rights".<sup>7/</sup> The breach and disavowal by South Africa of its undertaking and obligations as Mandatory leads to the necessary conclusion that the United Nations must give effect to the third essential principle of the Mandates System as declared by the Court in 1962, namely the enforcement of the "sacred trust", which is laid upon the United Nations "as an organized international community", in the Court's words.

47. As is well known to the Assembly, the International Court of Justice decided, in its Advisory Opinion of 11 July 1950, that "the General Assembly of the United Nations is legally qualified to exercise the supervisory functions previously exercised by the League of Nations with regard to the administration of the Territory".<sup>8/</sup>

48. The 1950 advisory opinion, which remains the authoritative and guiding legal rule to be followed by the Assembly, described the international obligations to promote the well-being and the social progress of the inhabitants of the territory as representing "the very essence of the sacred trust of civilization"<sup>9/</sup> and the primary overriding purpose of this international institution. And the Court went on to say that these obligations "could not be brought to an end merely because this supervisory organ"—that is, the League of Nations—"ceased to exist".<sup>10/</sup>

49. For the same reason, it seems obvious to my Government, the responsibility of the United Nations to assure the carrying-out of the sacred trust continues, despite the fact that, by reason of South Africa's violation and disavowal of the Mandate agreement, that Government's authority as Mandatory over the territory has been terminated and it has no right to administer the territory. The ex-Mandatory is in fact and in law a usurper and trespasser in the territory. Its rights in the territory were "mere tools given to it to enable it to fulfil its obligations",<sup>11/</sup> in the words of the 1962 judgement of the Court.

50. At the same time, the rights of the inhabitants under the sacred trust of the Mandates System remain, as they have been, a charge upon and a responsibility of the United Nations. Such a charge and responsibility,

<sup>7/</sup> Ibid.

<sup>8/</sup> International status of South-West Africa, Advisory Opinion: I.C.J. Reports 1950, p. 137.

<sup>9/</sup> Ibid., p. 133.

<sup>10/</sup> Ibid.

<sup>11/</sup> South West Africa Cases (Ethiopia v. South Africa; Liberia v. South Africa), Preliminary Objections, Judgment of 21 December 1962; I.C.J. Reports 1962, p. 329.

<sup>4/</sup> South West Africa Cases (Ethiopia v. South Africa; Liberia v. South Africa), Preliminary Objections, Judgment of 21 December 1962; I.C.J. Reports 1962, p. 319.

<sup>5/</sup> South West Africa, Second Phase, Judgment, I.C.J. Reports 1966, p. 6.

<sup>6/</sup> South West Africa Cases (Ethiopia v. South Africa; Liberia v. South Africa), Preliminary Objections, Judgment of 21 December 1962; I.C.J. Reports 1962, p. 329.

by the clear terms of the Mandates System itself as authoritatively interpreted in the jurisprudence of the Mandate, is placed upon the United Nations until the territory achieves independence.

51. Of the various proposals presented in the report of the Ad Hoc Committee, my delegation considers those offered by Ethiopia, Nigeria, Senegal, the United Arab Republic and Pakistan [A/6640, paras. 45 and 82] to be practical for United Nations administration of the territory. Without resorting to the temptation of repeating the ample reasons, already given by a number of speakers, of the practicability of such proposals, which have been developed into a draft resolution [A/L.516 and Add.1-3] and sponsored by fifty-nine Member States, we should nevertheless make it clear that, with the dissolution of South Africa's right to administer South West Africa, machinery must be put in motion to give effect to resolution 2145 (XXI) without the requirement for further studies and evaluation of the South West Africa situation as a prelude to administration by the United Nations.

52. Regarding the question of a dialogue with the authorities of South Africa as a means of furthering the solution of this problem, the delegation of Liberia has always been in the front ranks of those Members which consider our Organization the practical embodiment of the peaceful aspiration to harmonize contending and conflicting interests by dialogue, negotiation, conciliation and other pacific methods, and my delegation would be among the first to agree that the peaceful transfer of the administration of South West Africa to the United Nations depends upon South Africa's willingness to co-operate and that, as a matter of wisdom and statesmanship, South Africa should not continue to take upon its shoulders the heavy burden of responsibility for adding to an already troubled world another factor upsetting the delicate balance of international peace.

53. But I would wish to echo the following statement made by the representative of Tunisia:

"If South Africa is willing to negotiate the transfer of the Territory with the United Nations, let the South African delegation present here say so, or let another delegation say so on its behalf. That would introduce a new element which could certainly change the premises from which the Assembly is now proceeding." [1507th meeting, para. 26.]

54. In conclusion, let me stress that the issue before us is whether a people struggling to throw off the yoke of oppression and alien rule shall be helped towards their destiny by our constructive action, or shall be forced to more and more desperate measures to obtain their rightful role in human society.

55. We, this assembly of sovereign States which we call the United Nations, have the opportunity and responsibility to influence that choice in South West Africa. I desperately hope that we in the General Assembly have the will to exercise that responsibility wisely.

56. Mr. BERRO (Uruguay) (translation from Spanish): A few months ago, under the wise and eminent Presidency of Mr. Pazhwak, we adopted the historic reso-

lution 2145 (XXI). Today we are meeting here again to decide on measures to give effect more fully to that resolution.

57. We have not come here to discuss the ideas, principles or doctrines connected with the Mandate which South Africa exercised over the colonial Territory of South West Africa. This problem, which pre-occupied the United Nations for twenty-two years, now has only an historic value. There is no controversy whatsoever about it. Everything was decided by the General Assembly in October 1966. South Africa's Mandate is terminated, and its Government no longer has any right to administer the Territory. South West Africa is now a Territory having international status, and comes under the direct responsibility of the United Nations. It will maintain this status until its people achieves independence. In the meanwhile, South Africa must refrain from any action, constitutional, administrative, political or otherwise, which might alter or tend to alter the international status of South West Africa.

58. All we have to do at this special session is to take cognizance of the report of the Ad Hoc Committee [A/6640] which was also established under resolution 2145 (XXI), and was instructed "to recommend practical means by which South West Africa should be administered, so as to enable the people of the Territory to exercise the right of self-determination and to achieve independence". This is where we stand. This is what we have come to do.

59. Once again, we are fortunate in having you, Mr. Pazhwak, to preside over our work. This is good augury, which permits us to hope that this special session of the Assembly will be able to complete the splendid work accomplished during the last session by the adoption of resolution 2145 (XXI).

60. Before examining in detail the report of the Ad Hoc Committee, we must first mention the serious difficulties which confronted that body, as a result of one inherent defect in the very resolution which brought it into being.

61. Despite the many merits of that valuable document, one must say that it suffers from the omission of any reference to the government which should be administering South West Africa from the precise moment at which the Mandate of South Africa was legally terminated on 27 October 1966, and at which the Territory, "having international status", accordingly came "under the direct responsibility of the United Nations". Provision—if not for the presence—at least for the existence of an authority which would at that time assume the task of administering the Territory, thus avoiding the legal, political and moral absurdity of having the impostors, the usurpers and those responsible for racism and apartheid acting as de facto rulers in the very country from which they were to be expelled because of their continual failure to comply with their duties under the Mandate which they had constantly flouted, and with their obligations to an international organization whose resolutions they had violated with shameful cynicism and temerity.

62. A de facto situation was created which amounted to a contradiction of the General Assembly decision. On the one hand, the direct responsibility of the United



Nations and the international status of the territory was established, excluding any intervention by South Africa; and, on the other hand, the guilty continued to act as rulers as if nothing had happened. It was in these most abnormal circumstances that the Ad Hoc Committee had to begin its work. Thus, the inherent difficulties of the problem were inevitably aggravated. The presence of South Africans as de facto rulers in South West Africa robbed resolution 2145 (XXI) of much of its force and prestige and, at the same time, strengthened the position of the usurpers and increased the responsibilities of the Ad Hoc Committee in its complex task of finding a solution to the problem of transferring power to the United Nations, declaring independence, and establishing a government by the indigenous inhabitants. Those responsible for the very anomalies which had to be corrected were still present in the territory itself like "lords and masters" - feudal private law sense of those words and, moreover, they were known for their unflagging opposition to the international Organization and their repeated failures to comply with their duties as members of the community. All these circumstances are reflected—although not explicitly mentioned—in the Ad Hoc Committee's report, and they are the reason for the differences to be found in the three proposals submitted and in the opinion expressed by the Soviet delegation.

63. We shall not go over all the specific characteristics and details of each of the three proposals submitted to the Assembly. These are very well known. We shall consider them, therefore, in general terms, paying special attention to the legal and political principles underlying them. We shall try to identify the philosophy behind each one, not in order to stress the differences and antagonisms but in order, at the end of our brief study, to present an over-all picture of the analogies and similarities of purpose and common objectives, which may lead us to an understanding for the good of the indigenous inhabitants of the Territory and may strengthen the respect and authority of the United Nations.

64. The three proposals before us have the defects of their own virtues. Here, I am using a phrase of Woodrow Wilson's, which was engraved in my mind when, as a law student, I read his book entitled Congressional government.<sup>12/</sup> Wilson maintained that the virtues of men, and even the virtues of systems of government, carried within themselves the seeds of their defects or the imperfections opposed to their positive qualities. Generosity, for example, implicitly involves a contrary tendency to save; and exaggerated parsimoniousness ultimately leads to avarice. The parliamentary system of government makes it possible to consider problems more easily, and theoretically it comes close to the democratic ideal; but the very same qualities make it slow, ineffective and unstable. The presidential system, speedy and effective in practice, may lead to authoritarianism or abuse of power.

65. The proposals submitted by the Ad Hoc Committee, for whose intelligent, unflagging and dauntless efforts we are glad to express our appreciation, are

truly exceptional in that all three are based on the same principles, all three seek the same goal, and, yet, all three point to different courses of action; and none of them conclusively solves the problem posed by resolution 2145 (XXI).

66. Our delegation is of course inclined to favour the formula submitted by the representatives of Mexico and Chile [A/6640, para. 93], although we differ from its sponsors in their belief that it is perfect and does not require changing or reforming. We feel, in fact, that the structure of their proposal is broad and flexible and opens the door to conciliatory views whose acceptance might lead us to a unanimous understanding in keeping with the spirit which prevailed at the last session of the General Assembly when, in October 1966, we voted for the liberation of the people so cruelly suppressed by the South African racists.

67. The proposal of the Western Powers [ibid., para. 84] is designed above all to be realistic; it strives to implement resolution 2145 (XXI) by following the path of least resistance in order to avoid confrontations which might develop into new armed conflicts; but for the sake of realism—perhaps, excessive realism—its undeniable merit of political prudence has robbed it of much of the humane and legal substance deriving from the very resolution which it was intended to implement. It has transformed it into an ineffective instrument, since its lack of energy and authority with respect to South Africa, instead of contributing to a solution of the grave conflicts which exist at present, will serve merely as another complicating and explosive factor, accentuating the anguish and the disturbances which beset the world.

68. Far be it from us to deny the merits and the good intentions underlying the Western Powers' proposal. However, we must, to use Wilson's phrase, recognize that the proposal "has the defects of its own virtues". The element of realism is too strong, and it ignores some fundamental legal aspects.

69. The proposal submitted by Ethiopia and Pakistan, and now supported by the Afro-Asian group [ibid., paras. 82 and 99], has some special characteristics. On the one hand it takes account of the legal aspect although it does not carry it through to all its extremes and consequences; and, on the other hand, it faces up to the practical and realistic aspect, dealing in this connexion with the very thorny questions of this political realism which it tries to solve.

70. Its main feature is the very laudable proposal to implement resolution 2145 (XXI) without delay. However, it errs perhaps on the side of excessive foresight, in that it envisages heroic remedies which are indicated only in extremis, when the state of the patient is so critical that death is certain if the remedy is not applied, and there is only a remote possibility of life if it is.

71. The result of this combination of conflicting legal and political elements in the initial African proposal [ibid., para. 45] is that—through no fault of the sponsors, but due rather to an understandable desire for harmony—the actual text, while not altogether impairing the main objective which underlies the proposal and gives it life, is somewhat unsound legally and dangerous politically, and lacks the practical effec-

<sup>12/</sup> Woodrow Wilson, Congressional government—A Study in American politics, New York, Meridan Books, 1956.

tiveness which is so urgently needed. Nevertheless, it is a basic and most valuable contribution which should be taken fully into account in trying to solve the problem of South Africa's unlawful resistance to resolution 2145 (XXI).

72. Lastly, the Latin American proposal, produced by the talent, skill and wisdom of Ambassador Cuevas Cancino and Ambassador Piñera, the representatives of Mexico and Chile respectively, has many similarities with the Afro-Asian draft. However, we think that the political elements have been dealt with more carefully, from the point of view of realism and practical efficiency, in the proposal by Chile and Mexico. In accordance with the classical tradition of Latin America, this has been done without any detriment to the legal principles.

73. In short, this is a proposal whose noticeable similarities with the Afro-Asian draft give us some grounds for optimism about the possibilities of overcoming existing differences and reaching an understanding which will make it possible to include other geographical groupings by incorporating, where possible, some of their views, so that the resolution may finally be supported by a vast majority which, as in the case of resolution 2145 (XXI), would reflect the incontestable will of the international community.

74. It is obvious that we are working in a realm which limits and restricts much of our freedom of movement, since the San Francisco Charter itself, by failing to establish a regular and automatic system of sanctions which would make its provisions mandatory, has set obstacles in the way of the full application of public international law. Hence the imperfections, the evasions, the reticence, the fears, the doubts and uncertainties which are noticeable in the various proposals concerning a problem whose clear and unequivocal solution springs immediately to mind as soon as one considers it in detail.

75. The comments we have just made bring us to a problem which goes beyond the limits of the item on South West Africa, but which necessarily arises in the consideration of any matter, controversy or conflict that affects relations among States or between individual Member States and the international community. This is the problem of international law as an autonomous discipline.

76. There is no doubt that politics is concerned with law and law derives its substance from politics. Theoretically however, "the classic doctrine of international law is based on the assumption of an international community to which sovereign rights are subordinated for the common good of mankind".<sup>13/</sup>

77. It is equally true that "every society is based simultaneously on material and moral factors and is the result of a series of loyalties active enough to require some organization of power and conscious enough of the common good to recognize the idea of law and the sense of obligations."<sup>14/</sup>

<sup>13/</sup> Charles de Visscher, *Théories et réalités en droit international public* (Theory and reality in public international law), Paris, Editions by A. Pedone, 1953, p. 114.

<sup>14/</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 115.

78. We should also remember the following words of wisdom:

"In the State, it is the vital interests, the most highly political interests, which bring the highest loyalties into action. In the international community, however, the opposite is the case. There one observes minor loyalties, on economic or technical questions for example; but the nearer one gets to vital questions such as the maintenance of peace or the prevention of war, the less influence the community has on its members. Loyalties are weakened"—in the international context—"as the perils threatening the community increase. The loyalties that then assert themselves turn back towards their traditional focus—the nation. In theory, men accept the idea of supranational values; but, in the field of action, they are nearly always guided by national imperatives."<sup>15/</sup>

79. In the light of these concepts, when the problem of Southern Rhodesia was being considered in the Security Council towards the end of last year, we emphasized the need to consider the problem from an international standpoint, rising above aggressive assertions of sovereignty or selfish economic interests. At that time we said:

"We must face Ian Smith's challenge to humanity, secure in the knowledge of our duty and imbued with an international outlook which rises above all prejudice and self-interest and puts us on a higher plane as a community of nations in which the political aims of States do not obscure the humanitarian and moral objectives of power."<sup>16/</sup>

80. We would like to offer the same thought now. If we act in accordance with our lofty and noble responsibilities, resolution 2145 (XXI) will not become a stigma or a mockery in the annals of the international community. On the contrary, it will be remembered as a valuable affirmation of law in the history of the United Nations.

81. "When all has been said about rules of law and the way in which the political basis of power conflicts with them, we must return again to moral standards",<sup>17/</sup> as the Honorary President of the Institute of International Law has reminded us. The peoples must work out a moral code strong enough to serve as a basis for the international community, so that the idea of good is compatible with the powers of joint action that are required to ensure compliance with the rules of law, in spite of the negative influence of political realities.

82. If we act according to these principles, we shall banish from the United Nations all those problems which, like that of South West Africa, are a blot on its escutcheon.

83. The group of impostors which, as a result of flagrant usurpation, is now exercising *de facto* authority over the Territory of South West Africa has proclaimed *urbi et orbi*, that it is not prepared to accept formulas which would, without violence nor friction,

<sup>15/</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 116.

<sup>16/</sup> *Official Records of the Security Council, Twenty-first year*, 1340th meeting.

<sup>17/</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 120.

permit the transfer of the Territory to the United Nations authorities and the withdrawal of the bureaucratic personnel, police and military forces and other elements from South Africa. A continuous and uninterrupted series of acts and measures by the "Pretorian" Government—I use this word with reference both to the geography of Africa and to the abusive policies of the Roman emperors—has shown that the promoters of racism and apartheid in South Africa have never at any stage considered, and are not considering, compliance with General Assembly resolution 2145 (XXI). All the evidence suggests that they have decided to reject it and to fight it, if necessary by force, thus opposing the whole international community and the wishes and intentions of the entire world. This quite clear in retrospect. Resolution 2145 (XXI) was adopted on 27 October 1966. A few days later, the Prime Minister of the Republic of South Africa, insulted the General Assembly, and made the following senseless statement to the Nationalist Party Congress in Capetown: "We shall continue to govern the Territory as we have done in the past". This flagrant challenge to the authority of the United Nations was repeated by the South African Minister of Defence in Port Elizabeth on 3 November 1966, when he stated that "South Africa will never allow the Territory to be taken away from it".

84. The following information, which confirms those enlightening statements, is taken from the working paper on the question of Southern Rhodesia:

"In 1965 the total value of exports . . . amounted to £14.4 million, of which domestic merchandise accounted for £12.8 million. Total imports from South Africa amounted to £27.5 million.

"Pursuant to its declared policy of not participating in any form of sanctions and boycotts, the Republic of South Africa has, since the illegal declaration of independence, continued to maintain 'normal trade relations' with the Smith régime. In clarification of the term 'normal trade relations', the Government of the Republic explained that this did not mean continuing to sell the same commodities or quantities as before. It meant that everybody in competition tried to sell what and as much as he could. It also meant trade without inhibitions and without breaks.

"In a statement to the South African Parliament on 21 September 1966, the new Prime Minister of the Republic, Mr. Johannes Vorster, stated that he intended to follow the same policy towards Southern Rhodesia as had been followed by his predecessor, Dr. Verwoerd. Mr. Vorster further said that neither pressure nor force would compel South Africa to take part in boycotts or sanctions. His Government was determined to carry on its policy of normal trade with Southern Rhodesia even if this meant taking risks.

"Although South Africa has not published any trade statistics on Southern Rhodesia since the illegal declaration of independence, it has been openly acknowledged by official sources in Salisbury that the Republic [of South Africa] is the main economic prop of the Smith régime." [A/AC.109/L.393, paras. 237 to 240.]

85. As we can see, the stubborn rebelliousness of the "Pretorians" is being displayed on all fronts of the battle. To oppose the United Nations on matters concerning human rights, even within the Republic of South Africa. They go their own way in matters of colonialism, racism, apartheid, etc., in the oppressed Territory of South West Africa. And as if that were not enough, they are making a mockery of the Security Council, they are flouting Article 25 of the Charter and they are taking an open stand against the international Organization, disregarding the mandatory economic sanctions imposed against Southern Rhodesia. In insolent terms, they are describing a legitimate measure by the international community, adopted under Chapter VII of the Charter, as a "boycott". Who are they to speak of boycotts? Birds of a feather flock together, and Pretoria and Salisbury have joined hands. And are these gentlemen of South Africa really likely to engage in a dialogue? Are these gentlemen, who pejoratively describe the coercive measures adopted by the Security Council as a boycott and vaunt their defiance of these measures—are they, perhaps, likely to want a thoughtful and friendly discussion to solve the problem which they alone have created in regard to the Territory of South West Africa? Pretoria has maintained a permanent boycott. Firstly, against the League of Nations; then, against the United Nations. At all times, they have boycotted the law, human dignity, freedom and the most noble ideals and feelings. They have maintained a boycott for everything and against everything. A boycott against dignity and against life; a boycott against men's consciences, a boycott against the conscience of the whole world. Can we hope for anything from these people? Can we expect the world to stop and accept more affronts, more offences and more insults? Did we not have a dialogue with these men in the interminable discussions of six months ago? Did our reasoning help in any way? It would seem that the more mankind tries to save them from the error of their ways, the more they cling to their position of defiance, insults, mockery and rebelliousness. The history of the United Nations is eloquent in that respect. In the twenty-two years of its existence, South Africa has been imposing its will.

86. Resolution 2145 (XXI) was adopted precisely to put an end to their arbitrary and outrageous actions. All that remained was to implement it. To that end, the Ad Hoc Committee was set up, and its report is now before us. As an indication of the perversity and recklessness of the South African Government, I should like to quote the following passage from the report submitted to the Assembly, which clearly illustrates their attitude both before and after the decision of 27 October 1966:

"All the efforts of the Organization as well as of individual Member States during that period had been directed toward persuading the Government of South Africa to co-operate with the United Nations in taking the necessary measures to enable the people of the Territory to exercise their rights, recognized in the Charter of the United Nations, in conditions of peace and harmony. Had South Africa co-operated with the United Nations, it would not have been necessary to establish the Ad Hoc Committee." [A/6640, para. 4]

87. Those who still listen credulously to the siren songs of the Pretoria Government should remember the serious facts exposed in the Ad Hoc Committee on 29 March 1967, facts which clearly reflect the perverse intentions underlying the present conduct of the South African racists towards the Territory of Namibia. The Nigerian representative stated that:

"... the Government of South Africa had recently published a text of a statement made by its Minister for Bantu Administration and Development and of Bantu Education on 21 March 1967 to the effect that South Africa was offering the people of a section of South West Africa, Ovamboland, the opportunity of gaining self-government. Among those who did not know the situation in South West Africa well, that statement had been a great propaganda success for South Africa. For the members of the Committee who knew the situation only too well, and for the people of the Territory, on the other hand, the move was a sinister one, constituting a violation of General Assembly resolution 2145 (XXI)." [*ibid.*, para. 124]

The Afro-Asian group had dealt with the subject on 23 March 1967 when it adopted a very vigorous resolution, the text of which was later submitted to the Committee [*ibid.*, para. 125].

88. Further on in the same report it is stated that:

"Following statements by the representatives of Mexico, Chile, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Japan, Czechoslovakia, the United States, Ethiopia, Pakistan and Canada, the Chairman noted at the 16th meeting on 31 March 1967 that the statements made on the subject confirmed that the Committee unanimously endorsed the view that the proposal of the South African Government with regard to Ovamboland was contrary to General Assembly resolution 2145 (XXI) and was therefore illegal." [*ibid.*, para. 127.]

89. Our purpose in mentioning this recent attitude of the leaders of South Africa, and the vigorous reaction of the Ad Hoc Committee is to stress the futility of a new dialogue with these insensitive and obstinate people whose minds reject any intellectual or spiritual idea that would show them the error of their ways and bring them back to the world of ideas and feelings which give human beings their dignity and enrich human life with an ethical meaning without which might, force and wealth are useless. These people have done us the immense harm of making us lose faith in them.

90. We are always ready to follow the path of conciliation, tolerance and persuasion. But forty-two years is a very long time, and the negative results are bound to affect our minds and hearts, especially when, in the face of unjustified credulity, our conscience categorically demands the fulfilment of a sacred and an urgent duty to save a people from pain, torture, indignity and servitude.

91. We can still hear the sincere words of the representative of the United States, who made a last appeal for a new dialogue with the Pretoria leaders. We appreciate the deep feelings and infinite sincerity of Mr. Goldberg, our distinguished colleague and fine friend. However, we believe that this step has been ruled out by the leaders of South Africa themselves.

In view of their continued defiance of the United Nations, their disregard for the Assembly, their mental blindness to the world and their moral deafness to the repeated requests by the international community, we find it difficult to advocate a position which would be discouraging and harmful for the prestige of the Organization and would not help to attain the objectives of the historic resolution 2145 (XXI).

92. We know that an understanding with South Africa would remove many obstacles. But South Africa does not wish to reach an agreement with us. It merely wishes to impose its own will and to disregard the United Nations. Mr. Goldberg himself has said that:

"We are united in our common purpose to bring self-determination, freedom and independence to the people of South West Africa in accordance with the Charter, and in our common dedication to the terms of resolution 2145 (XXI). That resolution is our anchor. The greatest disservice to that resolution, and to its effective implementation, would be for us to create an impression in South Africa and in the world that the United Nations is fundamentally divided on how these principles are to be achieved. The issue is not between ourselves... but between us and South Africa." [1505th meeting, para. 12.]

93. In spite of these clear-cut and precise ideas, the representative of the United States admitted the possibility of exploring the ground again with the South African authorities. As he said movingly:

"And in this, as in every situation of conflict, I always bear in mind the famous admonition of President Kennedy... 'Let us never negotiate out of fear; but let us never fear to negotiate.'" [*ibid.*, para. 24.]

94. We fully agree; it is not possible to negotiate on the basis of fear and it would be undignified and counter-productive for us to do so. He who acts out of fear has lost the battle before the fight has fully begun and is defeated at the negotiating table before he has opened his mouth. In view of the position repeatedly taken by Pretoria, it would be an admission of fear to abandon the proper course for implementing resolution 2145 (XXI), and to turn to the rebels in an attempt to work out new formulas which, as we know in advance from the position they have adopted before, would only serve to negate the authority of the Assembly in regard to the resolution whose implementation we are trying to achieve, and would seek by every possible means to avoid complying with it. The only action appropriate at the present stage of events is to comply with the decision taken last October. With that as our starting point, it might then be possible to listen to South Africa, but only with a view to working out the most rapid and effective measures to ensure strict compliance with the decision adopted.

95. The Count of Romanones rightly said there were no simple formulas for solving complex problems. This is true in the present case. But we should not be awed by the difficulties; nor should we exaggerate them. Seneca said in his Epistulae ad Lucilium: "It is not because they are difficult that we lack the courage to undertake certain things; rather, they are difficult because we lack the courage to undertake them."

96. So let us then set to work; let us face the difficulties. It is regrettable that South Africa persists in its attitude of rebelliousness against the United Nations, but this cannot paralyse our action. The time for warnings is past. The truth is, in fact, that the torrents of eloquence uttered over the past twenty-two years in the United Nations have been of no avail - "vox clamantis in deserto". The South Africans have been deaf to our warnings. Perhaps the character in one of the plays of Benavente, the great Spanish playwright, was right when he said: "I do not believe that sermons have any effect. They are like the road signs on dangerous curves; useless for those who drive carefully, and even more useless for those who are determined to crash."

97. If the rulers of South Africa want a crash, in spite of everything that the United Nations had done to prevent it, no one will be able to say that the international Organization has acted with culpable negligence or without displaying the common sense or wisdom of the good pater familias. South Africa alone will be to blame for its senseless behaviour. It has gone its way, and we in the United Nations must go ours.

98. We cannot stop now to discuss whether resolutions of the Assembly are legally valid or not and whether they are inherently binding on all Member States.

99. We have all received the South African notes repeating the hackneyed theory about the invalidity and ineffectiveness of General Assembly resolutions. That ancient and decaying theme which the defaulters of Pretoria have tried to revive, about the legal nature of General Assembly decisions and resolutions, is designed solely to defer and obstruct compliance with resolution 2145 (XXI), so that they can introduce new and radical changes in the Territory which they still hold unlawfully and without any title, and so that they can use these delaying tactics to break the spirit of the indigenous inhabitants and strengthen their own ill-gotten position. In this way, they are striving to create more difficulties and obstacles which will have to be faced when the day comes for their inevitable withdrawal from the Territory and for the liberation of the indigenous people whom they have kept in an ignoble and inhumane serfdom for forty years.

100. To depart from the basic purpose of this special session—the implementation of resolution 2145 (XXI)—in order to discuss with the South African authorities the powers of the Assembly and the validity of its decisions, would be a serious error whose consequences might undermine the authority and prestige of the United Nations.

101. The authority of the Assembly, its powers, its functions, its duties, the legal nature of its acts and the extent to which they are binding, etc. have been the subject of historic debates in which the foremost jurists of the world, with their wisdom, erudition and eloquence, have provided all the information we can expect on these issues.

102. May I here recall the quite outstanding—in fact, unique—figure of Víctor Andrés Belaúnde, whose magnificent statements on that fundamental question have been set down for posterity in his book entitled "20

Años de Naciones Unidas" ("20 years of the United Nations").<sup>18/</sup>

103. The "Pretorians" have nothing new to tell us about racism. They know as well as we do what the General Assembly can do. They know that Article 10 of the Charter confers very broad powers on the Assembly which "may discuss any questions or any matters within the scope of the present Charter or relating to the powers and functions of any organs provided for in the present Charter, and, except as provided in Article 12, may make recommendations to the Members of the United Nations or to the Security Council or to both on any such questions or matters".

104. The exception mentioned in Article 12 relates to the overriding responsibility of the Security Council when a matter within its competence has already been brought to its attention. Apart from this, the Charter places no limits on the action which the General Assembly may take. Moreover, this has also been recognized by the International Court of Justice in its Advisory Opinion of 1950 concerning this same question of South West Africa.<sup>19/</sup>

105. The extensive powers of the General Assembly are defined in the following provisions, classified by types of possible action:

(a) Questions for "consideration": Article 11 (1); Article 12 (2); Article 18; Article 15 (1); Article 24 (3); Article 35 (3);

(b) Questions to which "attention" may be called: Article 11 (3);

(c) Questions for "discussion": Article 11 (2) and (4); Article 20;

(d) Questions on which "studies shall be initiated": Article 13 (1) (a) and (b); and Article 60;

(e) Questions on which "recommendations" may be made: Article 10; Article 11 (1) and (2); Article 13; Article 14; Article 17 (3); and Article 105 (3);

(f) Questions which may be "considered and approved": Article 17 (1) and (3); Article 62 (3); Article 63 (2); Article 66 (2); and Articles 85, 87, 105 and 107.

106. Finally, it is the General Assembly which, truly reflecting the democratic will of the international community, elects the non-permanent members of the Security Council and the members of the Economic and Social Council, the Trusteeship Council and all other subsidiary organs it may decide to create. It also elects the Members of the International Court of Justice and the Secretary-General, in co-operation with the Security Council.

107. In short, when it adopted resolution 2145 (XXI), the General Assembly, the supreme organ of the United Nations, acted within its powers on a question which came directly within its competence. Furthermore, as was correctly pointed out by the representative of Pakistan, Mr. Pirzada, in the debate last September:

"It does not take any rights away from South Africa, because South Africa never had any rights

<sup>18/</sup> Víctor Andrés Belaúnde, 20 Años de Naciones Unidas, Madrid, Ediciones Cultura Hispánica, 1966.

<sup>19/</sup> International status of South West Africa, Advisory Opinion: I.C.J. Reports 1950, p. 128.

over South West Africa. An international régime was established in South West Africa, and the agency responsible for the administration of that régime has proved itself incapable of bearing this responsibility... [1414th meeting, para. 109].

"The situation of South West Africa is nothing but a colonial situation with the thinnest possible disguise lent to it by the historical act of the confirmation of the Mandate by the League of Nations. The League was not the author of the idea of Mandates. The idea had been acted upon even before the establishment of the League, specifically by the Supreme Council of the Peace Conference on 6 May 1919." [*ibid.*, para. 102.]

108. Thus, at its twenty-first session, the General Assembly was clearly and simply giving effect to the Declaration contained in resolution 1514 (XV), and was applying operative paragraph 5 of that Declaration to the Territory of South West Africa.

109. Nobody can question the eminently legal nature of decisions by the General Assembly, when it is acting on matters specifically assigned to it by the Charter. Whether the decisions are called recommendations, resolutions or whatever you like, the substance is not affected. If the legal decision is valid, its force in all its effects must be recognized. The institutional framework of the United Nations would be meaningless and illogical if the legal decisions emanating from its supreme organ could be regarded as mere literary pronouncements, mere coffee-house utterances, with no value or authority which were not in the least binding upon the members of the community. If the implementation of the resolutions of the General Assembly were to depend on the whims or caprices of individual Members of the Organization, then we would have to conclude that the United Nations did not exist as an organized legal entity.

110. In view of the behaviour of the Government of South Africa, there is no other course but to follow the path outlined in resolution 2145 (XXI), taking all the legitimate steps at the appropriate time one after another but without any delay, until independence is achieved for the martyred people of Namibia. When the United Nations was created, there were seven African Territories under the Mandate of the League of Nations, Namibia is the only one still under the colonial yoke. All the others have for some time been free States.

111. The General Assembly cannot evade its responsibilities at this decisive moment for the future of the United Nations. This Assembly has to, and it must, give effect clearly and unequivocally to resolution 2145 (XXI), which was unanimously adopted by the body representing the will of the world. This Assembly must not be dilatory, or make excuses, or display negligence or oversight or resignation in regard to the categorical and unequivocal duties conferred upon it by the community of nations barely six months ago, thereby bringing to an end for ever a period of shame which had lasted forty-two years, half during the days of the Geneva system and the rest under the San Francisco system.

112. This is the Parliament of the world. Its value lies not in our speeches but in the effectiveness of its

decisions. Alongside the Assembly, and perhaps with even greater responsibility, there is the Security Council. It is on this body that responsibility for the implementation of the resolutions adopted by the world legislative body largely devolves. The mandatory character of our resolutions, if Members do not voluntarily respect the legal order, will in the last analysis depend on the attitude of the five permanent members of the Security Council. Unanimity within the General Assembly, the justice of its decisions and their democratic value as an expression of the will of the world—all these will be of no avail; if only one of the permanent members of the Security Council exercises its veto the resolutions of the General Assembly will lose their authority, in the strict meaning of procedural law, and will become ineffective as regards their practical implementation.

113. For this, San Francisco is to blame. This Organization was born under a sign that was not at all propitious for the effectiveness of law, and tended rather to favour the imposition of political factors in order to maintain the balance between the victorious Powers of the Second World War. But this original defect should not now be accentuated by the body which holds the key to the solution of the major problems of mankind. Its attitude should, rather, be just the opposite. It must keep pace with the irreversible march of ideas and universal feelings on questions relating to racism, anti-colonialism, social welfare, collective security and so forth, and must interpret and implement the Charter in such a way that its defects will go unnoticed, and will not irrevocably obstruct the relentless advance of mankind towards a greater, safer and a worthier future.

114. If United Nations bodies do not face these grave problems with an international approach, rising above interests or influences based on the concept of individual sovereignty, then all the efforts made in this building to save the international community which came into being in 1945 will be in vain. With great sorrow, we shall witness the frustration of the only remaining ideal of peace and security.

115. Responsibility for avoiding this rests with the great Powers. Let us seek a sensible solution to the problem of South West Africa. Although we must not adopt solutions which would inevitably lead to a confrontation, let us not stop halfway. Let us rather adopt measures which are in keeping with our duties, in order to give effect to resolution 2145 (XXI). The authority and prestige of the United Nations are at stake in this emergency. If we do not act in time, a new Oliver Cromwell may appear with a sign: "This house to let".

116. Mr. TOMEH (Syria): I should like first of all to congratulate the President on his unanimous election to the Presidency of the General Assembly at this special session. The outstanding merit which he displayed as President at the twenty-first session, his long career and contributions to the work of the United Nations and his qualities of wisdom, tact and firmness all speak for themselves. It is a source of pride and pleasure for my country, Syria, and its people, to see a distinguished Afghan brother assume such a prominent position in the international Organization, and gives hope for generations to come.



117. The General Assembly, at this special session, has been discussing the question of South West Africa for almost two weeks. The various points of view in support of the different positions have all been exhaustively explained. Almost everything that could be said at this stage of the debate has already been said. Therefore, I should like now with the utmost brevity simply to make our position as a sponsor of the Afro-Asian draft resolution [A/L.516 and Add. 1-3] crystal clear.

*Mr. Pazhwak (Afghanistan) resumed the Chair.*

118. The fact that the United Nations has been discussing the problem of South West Africa since the inception of the Organization, and the fact that, of all problems, this has produced the largest number of resolutions adopted, are very significant indeed; they are indicative of the difficulties that the international community has been facing, and will continue to face, as a result of the ugly legacy of colonialism and its hideous entrenchment in some parts of the world. It is necessary, absolutely necessary, to be aware of this fact so that we may all be warned against the great obstacles that we shall be continually confronting in the future.

119. The delegation of the Syrian Arab Republic cannot but express astonishment when we see some representatives coming to this rostrum to express their countries' alleged concern, when they themselves have not only been encouraging imperialism and supporting its legacy in other parts of the world, but are violating—and right now—the most elementary principles of human rights, including the right of self-determination, enshrined in the Charter. Our part of the world, the Arab homeland, is no exception in this tragic situation. For at this very moment, while we are discussing the ordeal of the people of South West Africa, our Arab brothers are falling as martyrs to freedom and the right to self-determination denied to them in Aden and in occupied Southern Arabia, and in Palestine and on other battlefields of honour, against imperialist invaders and usurpers. Our thoughts cannot but go also to the tens of thousands of innocent victims falling week after week and month after month as a result of an inhuman, savage, imperialist war carried on by the United States Government in South Viet-Nam, a war already denounced not only by the world-wide conscience of mankind at large, but also by great segments of the American nation as well as by some of the highest intellectual and spiritual centres of the American people.

120. It is, therefore, from a tragic experience that we approach this problem—our own and the world's—and appraise it with the extreme seriousness that it deserves and the enormous sense of responsibility which it requires from us.

121. The terms of reference of the Ad Hoc Committee for South West Africa, as laid down in General Assembly resolution 2145 (XXI), are crystal-clear. The General Assembly having terminated the Mandate over South West Africa, the Committee is requested to recommend practical measures for the administration of South West Africa by the United Nations. Its authority is to be derived from the General Assembly directly. This was the logical outcome of the debates in the

twenty-first session, and hence the vote to adopt resolution 2145 (XXI) was quasi-unanimous.

122. Now, at this special session, divergencies have arisen as to the scope these practical measures. The word "practical" itself led many delegations to identify this term with efficacy. Now, they argue, if you do not negotiate with the de facto authority and obtain its blessing and approval, the measures you take will remain ineffective. This implies putting the whole United Nations at the mercy of that de facto authority and giving to it really dictatorial powers over the United Nations. But if such powers are to be admissible, if the rule of force and not the rule of law is to prevail, why then the United Nations and all the principles it stands for?

123. Yet none other than the representative of that very de facto authority has used this rostrum to affirm solemnly that the United Nations has no jurisdiction whatsoever over South West Africa; that South Africa is there by right of conquest; that even the League of Nations had no juridical power to revoke the Mandate; and in sum, all his statements were tantamount to saying: We are here to stay, whether the international community likes it or not.

124. How any negotiation now with this conqueror can be fruitful we fail to see. Certain delegations eloquently advocate a process of assuaging this outlaw. But one may indeed ask again whether twenty years of persuasion, appeals, resolutions and condemnations have induced him to effect any change in his policy of conquest, apartheid and racial discrimination.

125. It is from experience that we speak, for Syria has always taken an active, indeed a very active, interest in the particular problem of South West Africa and was specifically involved in negotiations with the Government of South Africa. As a matter of fact, Syria was a member of more than one committee that dealt with this problem; and as early as 1950, by resolution 449 (V), a Committee of five, composed of Denmark, Thailand, the United States of America, Uruguay and Syria, was established by the General Assembly. The task of that Committee was to confer with the Government of South Africa. But after four years of exhaustive endeavour, the work of the Committee was terminated unsuccessfully—an appropriate reminder in this long and, by now, historical experience, of what can be expected of attempts to negotiate with the Government of South Africa or with any other similar racist, fascist régime. It is equally one more reason why the Syrian delegation finds it imperative to emphasize the difficulties ahead that are imposed on this Organization and on the world community at large and that are due only to the obduracy of imperialism, with its modern allies in the form of neo-colonialism—a fact which we can never disregard or pass over lightly.

126. Thus, if the Afro-Asian draft resolution resorts to invoking the Security Council and its possible application of Chapters VI and VII of the Charter, it is because one must necessarily wonder whether there remains any alternative. These Chapters are there; they are in the Charter. The Security Council is there; it is the most important organ of the United Nations. Do those who advocate by-passing all these provisions imply that they wish to eradicate them from the Charter



or attach to them only mythical importance? If this is what is meant, let it be said quite openly.

127. Yet, if they want to avoid Security Council involvement and the application of sanctions, it is well within the power of their Governments to act even without the Security Council. Let them once threaten South Africa—or any other rebellious régime which disregards resolutions of the Security Council—with the withdrawal of their huge investments; let them stop being tempted by huge, illegal profits gained at the expense of the suffering masses of African labour; and let them really embark on the implementation in deed of what is so ardently professed in words, and immediately the problem of South West Africa will come, sooner than we expect, to its logical solution.

128. No conclusion is more relevant than to express the hope that the Afro-Asian draft resolution will be adopted unanimously. We express that hope because it represents the logical step that the United Nations can take. Recalcitrance about it means the prevalence of complacency and expediency over principle, justice and right. Let not our Organization fall into this abyss where, instead of being an instrument for justice, it condones and approves injustice. The millions of Africans suffering under the rule of force will have enough strength to defend their rights, but they must be completely cognizant of who are their true friends and who are their adversaries.

129. It is no exaggeration to say that, in all great causes, the knowledge, simple as it is, of who are true friends and who are real adversaries is of the utmost importance. The forces of liberation, wherever oppression and the denial of the sacred and universal right of self-determination exist, are coming to acquire this knowledge more and more, but they are paying a high price in human lives—a price only too well known on the altar of human and universal history.

130. The PRESIDENT: There are no other names on the list of speakers. The Assembly has therefore exhausted the list of speakers in the general debate on item 7.

131. I now request members to turn to the Fourth Committee's report [A/6651] on the hearing of petitioners concerning the question of South West Africa.

*Mr. Esfandiary (Iran), Rapporteur of the Fourth Committee, presented the report of that Committee and then spoke as follows:*

132. Mr. ESFANDIARY (Iran), Rapporteur of the Fourth Committee: As members are aware, the General Assembly, in deciding at its 1502nd meeting on 21 April 1967 that the question of South West Africa would be dealt with directly in plenary meetings, agreed that petitioners requesting to speak on this question would be heard in the Fourth Committee, which would submit a report on such hearings to a plenary meeting of the Assembly before it concluded its consideration of the item.

133. Following the hearing of the petitioners, the Fourth Committee was informed on behalf of several delegations that their failure to put questions to the petitioners did not imply any abatement of the grave concern with which they regarded the question of South West Africa. On the contrary, it was their desire to save the Committee's time, in the knowledge that previous deliberations on the question had already clarified the issues involved.

134. I wish to commend the present report to the attention of the General Assembly for appropriate action.

135. The PRESIDENT: I have received no request to speak from any representative. Therefore, if there are no objections, I shall consider that the Assembly takes note of the Fourth Committee's report [A/6651].

*The Assembly took note of the report of the Fourth Committee.*

136. The PRESIDENT: Before adjourning the meeting, I should like to inform members of the General Assembly that I understand, from a series of meetings with a number of delegations, that certain consultations are going on among representatives. I have agreed to give as much time as is needed for these consultations, because I believe they are necessary and desirable. I have been informed that they are proceeding in a good spirit. While I am convinced that if that spirit is maintained the Assembly will in the long run save time, I appeal to all those engaged in the consultations to keep in mind the necessity of achieving fruitful results as soon as possible.

*The meeting rose at 5.30 p.m.*



CONTENTS

Page

Agenda item 7:

Question of South West Africa (continued) . . . 1

President: Mr. Abdul Rahman PAZHWAQ  
(Afghanistan).

AGENDA ITEM 7

Question of South West Africa (continued)

1. The PRESIDENT: The General Assembly has not met since 5 May. Since that date Members have had many formal and informal consultations, by meetings of various groups and by meetings among the groups through their representatives. Such consultations were essential and most desirable. The number of such meetings has been larger than the number of plenary meetings which could have been held in the absence of consultations. Thanks to these consultations, the time of the Assembly has not been wasted. The representatives of all groups have been in close touch with me. I wish to express my gratitude to them. Through their tireless co-operation, patience and hard work—to which I wish to pay tribute—certain agreements have been reached which reflect straightforward understanding and less division of opinion among Members of the Assembly.

2. The General Assembly has already concluded the general debate on the question of South West Africa. Delegations wishing to submit new proposals or amendments should move them formally if it is their intention that a vote be taken on them.

3. The revised draft resolution in document A/L.516/Rev.1, submitted by a number of delegations, was distributed at 7 a.m. yesterday, and the draft resolution in document A/L.517, submitted by Saudi Arabia, has been before the Assembly since 26 April. I assume that Members have had sufficient time to study them.

4. I should like to suggest, therefore, that the time limit for submission of new proposals or amendments should be set for 3 p.m. tomorrow, 19 May. Such new proposals or amendments should be submitted in writing, although this may be done by oral statements.

5. I should also like to request that representatives who wish to explain their vote kindly inscribe their names on the speakers' list as soon as possible. I intend, with the Assembly's co-operation and consent, to close the list upon the adjournment of this plenary meeting.

6. If there is no objection to the suggestions I have just made, I shall take it that they are approved by the General Assembly.

*It was so decided.*

7. Mr. ADEBO (Nigeria): On 26 April [1506th meeting] I had the duty of introducing to this Assembly and commending for its acceptance a draft resolution [A/L.516] which was eventually co-sponsored by as many as fifty-eight Member States of this Organization. That draft resolution was a product essentially of the Afro-Asian group of nations in this Assembly. It was a draft resolution the terms of which were deliberately prepared to reflect what the Afro-Asians considered the best, the most appropriate method of implementing the intent of the General Assembly as embodied in resolution 2145 (XXI).

8. Nevertheless, at the conclusion of my speech, I referred to the spirit of co-operation that had produced resolution 2145 (XXI) and I promised the Assembly that the Afro-Asian group of nations and their fellow-sponsors of the draft resolution would work in the same spirit of co-operation in order that this special session might produce a decision that would be in the best interests of the people of South West Africa; that would be within the context of resolution 2145 (XXI); and that would be a true implementation of paragraph 6 of that resolution—that is to say, that would bring about without delay a replacement by a United Nations presence of the illegal presence of South Africa in South West Africa.

9. I added that the Afro-Asian group of countries had already constituted a steering committee to enter into immediate consultations with other groups represented in the General Assembly. In accordance with that undertaking, the Afro-Asian group of countries entered into those discussions. The have been going on since 27 April, on every working day of the week, right up until this morning. The Afro-Asian group of countries has been in consultation with other groups during all that period in day-long sessions.

10. What have we discovered? As representatives are aware, there are several groups that can be quite easily identified in this Assembly. There is the Latin American group; there is the Nordic group of countries; there is a group which is called the Western European group but which functions in a way that at times enables it to operate together in respect of one issue, and at times to operate as individual countries in respect of another item. Then there is, of course, the socialist group of countries.

11. We have attempted, during the period to which I have referred, to consult with all of those groups and, in addition, to hold individual consultations with

as many Member States as we could which are not represented in any of these group formations.

12. In regard to the Western group of nations, representatives are aware that in the Ad Hoc Committee's report a scheme was put forward by three delegations, the delegations of the United States, Canada and Italy [A/6640, para. 93], on behalf of themselves. That team again made it known to us that it was taking a fresh initiative in the course of this special session and, therefore, one of the series of discussions which we held was with the team consisting of the delegations of the United States, Canada and Italy. We discovered that their approach was still the same as was reflected in the Ad Hoc Committee's report. We discovered that it was an approach that one of the proponents said was calculated to ensure "the foot in the door". But we also discovered that that "foot in the door" was still going to take a form which looked to us just like another study group.

13. We held a very interesting series of discussions with the socialist group. In regard to that group, the Afro-Asians had no doubt at all about their identity of interest with us in wanting to clear off the remnants of colonization and colonialism, from our continent, and in particular, in wanting to ensure that South Africa departs from South West Africa without delay. Unhappily, we discovered that the group retained its aversion in principle to our concept of a United Nations administration because, for one reason, it feared that this might develop into another Congo operation, and because, for another, it felt that this would delay the granting of independence to the people of South West Africa.

14. The Afro-Asians, for their part, explained once more why, in spite of their anxiety that, if possible, their kith and kin in South West Africa should be granted independence tomorrow, they felt convinced that the realities of the situation demanded that there should be an interval, as short an interval as possible, when we would have the United Nations presence in that Territory in the form that we propose.

15. Our consultations with the Nordic countries were also interesting. Those countries contented themselves with emphasizing to us the need for a dialogue with South Africa and the need to protect what is commonly called the near-unanimous front that was achieved in connexion with resolution 2145 (XXI). One or two of them were kind enough to let us know that, as far as they were concerned, everything must be done within the terms of resolution 2145 (XXI).

16. Of course, we also had a series of discussions with the Latin Americans. In terms of actual results as reflected in the revised draft resolution before the Assembly now, those were the most productive sessions of all. It was, of course, obvious from the start that the gap that divided the Latin Americans from the Afro-Asians was the narrowest of all. It was also obvious to both groups that, although it was narrow, it was a very difficult gap to bridge, and many meetings were necessary in order to bridge that gap.

17. The Latin Americans had the same goals as we, not merely in vague and general terms but in specific terms. They shared the same approach with us, but

they advocated a slower pace. They also wanted a period in which there would be some sort of dialogue with South Africa. They also wanted us to suspend the request for the application of Chapter VII of the Charter for the time being.

18. As I said earlier, we had discussions with individual countries which are not members of groups. I regret to say that we were not able to have discussions with all of them, and I apologize to such of them as we were not able to consult in the time that was available, but even that series of discussions was most interesting. It reflected the same variety of opinion as had appeared in our consultations with the different groups. One of the delegations we consulted was led by its own Foreign Minister, who, by his presence, gave a clear demonstration of the interest that he and his country have in this subject. Unfortunately, we were not able to subscribe to the suggestion that he made. He very courageously proposed that the first step that was necessary was an approach to that dreaded institution of this Organization called the Security Council. I think my colleagues will appreciate how difficult it would be for a great many Members of this Organization to agree entirely with him, but it was a logically argued suggestion, as were a number of other suggestions that we had from other individual countries.

19. At the conclusion of our series of discussions the Afro-Asian steering committee reported to its group. It was a day-long session of that group of countries. It was not an easy meeting. A comprehensive report was delivered to the group on the results of our discussions. It was a factual report. In the end the group decided, very reluctantly in the case of a number of countries, that it would, in deference to the advice and suggestions of other Members of the United Nations, make concessions in the draft that was originally recommended for the approval of this Assembly. It decided on the draft which is now before you [A/L.516/Rev.1] and which essentially merges the positions of the Afro-Asian group of countries and the Latin American group of nations. It is a draft that was very difficult to formulate. It is a compromise draft. It is not in the form in which the Latin Americans themselves originally wanted it; nor, obviously, is it in the form that we Afro-Asians originally required of the General Assembly; but it is a draft to which both our groups feel able to subscribe as the kind of solution to this problem that would represent an advance towards the goal that the General Assembly set itself when it adopted resolution 2145 (XXI).

20. What changes have been made to our old draft resolution? I should now like to call attention to them. In Section II of the original draft resolution we opened by asking the Assembly to decide to establish a United Nations council for South West Africa to be elected during this session and to entrust to it certain powers and functions. In that paragraph we have agreed to add after the word "functions" the words "to be discharged in the Territory". We have done so in order to make it abundantly clear not only that we intend the council for South West Africa to operate in South West Africa but that we expect that it will discharge those functions while in the Territory. We have not set functions for the council which we

expect it to discharge outside the Territory. We expect the council to go there as soon as possible and to begin to discharge the functions there.

21. In the revised text before the Assembly paragraph 1 (f) of Section II no longer appears where it did but it has not gone out of the draft resolution altogether. It will now be found in the new Section V, where it has been enlarged and amplified for reasons which I shall explain later.

22. I should now like the Assembly to look at Section IV of the old draft resolution. We have inserted two new paragraphs in this section. The first of them appears immediately after paragraph 1 and reads as follows:

"2. Requests the Council to enter immediately into contact with the authorities of the Republic of South Africa in order to lay down procedures, in accordance with General Assembly resolution 2145 (XXI) and the present resolution, for the transfer of the Territory with the least possible upheaval."

As I have explained, this provision is completely new. Representatives will require no further explanation of the need of it.

23. Many of our friends, and particularly our friends in the Latin American group, recommended—and recommended very strongly—that the first duty of the Assembly was to provide for this contact with the authorities of the Republic of South Africa. The Afro-Asian group, in spite of its feeling that the Government of South Africa has made its position too abundantly clear to require any further investigation, has nevertheless yielded to the advice and suggestions of its friends. Along with our Latin American colleagues we now recommend to the Assembly this important provision. But I should like the Assembly to examine the provision carefully. We are providing here for dialogue of a particular kind, for a dialogue which will be squarely within resolution 2145 (XXI); and a dialogue the purpose of which is clearly set out there, that is to say, a dialogue for the laying down of procedures, in accordance with that resolution and the present draft resolution, for the transfer of the Territory of South West Africa, with the least possible upheaval, out of the hands of the Government of South Africa.

24. In that form and in the circumstances, both our groups feel able to recommend this for the acceptance of the Assembly. We have added just one word in the opening sentence of the old paragraph 2 of Section IV, the word "further". Because if we make more than one request, then we need to add that word "further" to the second of those requests. We have also deleted from the old paragraph 2 the words "without delay".

25. Why have we done this? We have done it as a consequence of the fact that we have provided for a period of contact during which the procedures for the transfer of authority will be worked out. We recognize that this will take some little time, although we are anxious that it should take as little time as possible, and certainly not longer than between the end of this session of the Assembly and the beginning of the next regular session. For this reason, representatives will find in Section V of the revised text, the

reporting section, the provision which now requests the council to make two kinds of reports: to submit a special report to the twenty-second session concerning the implementation of the present resolution, and then to make reports, at intervals not exceeding three months, on its administration of the Territory.

26. The second new provision in Section IV is the provision that appears as paragraph 4, but which did not appear at all in our original text. The provision reads as follows:

"4. Calls upon the Government of South Africa to comply without delay with the terms of resolution 2145 (XXI) and the present resolution and to facilitate the transfer of the Territory of South West Africa to the Council."

27. A number of our delegations felt that this was indeed an unnecessary provision, that South Africa already had notice in resolution 2145 (XXI) regarding what it ought to do. But, again, in deference to the advice and appeals of our friends, we have agreed to the insertion of this paragraph. It is a superfluity that does no harm and we recommend it accordingly to the General Assembly: that this new call should now go out from the General Assembly of the United Nations to the Government of South Africa, asking it to do what is its duty, to comply without delay with the terms of resolution 2145 (XXI) and with the terms of the present draft resolution, and to facilitate the transfer of the Territory of South West Africa to the council whose establishment we are requesting.

28. I call the Assembly's attention to another clause in Section IV: namely, paragraph 3 (b). The original text of the provision included the following words: "and their replacement by law enforcement personnel operating under the authority of the Council". That is to say, we asked the council to ensure the withdrawal of South African police and military forces and their replacement by other law enforcement agents.

29. We have deleted those words, because we want to make it clear that these are not law enforcement personnel of the type for which Chapter VII of our Charter provides. All we want to provide for in this connexion is the capacity for the council to look after law and order during the period in which it is temporarily administering the Territory, and we feel that adequate provision for this purpose has in fact been made in a provision which reappears in the revised text under Section II, paragraph 1 (d), where the council is authorized to take all the necessary measures for the maintenance of law and order in the Territory.

30. There are one or two further amendments in this very important section. In what now reappears in the revised text as paragraph 5 of Section IV, we request the Security Council to:

"take all appropriate measures to enable the United Nations Council for South West Africa to discharge the functions and responsibilities entrusted to it by the General Assembly".

31. The only alteration made to this provision is the substitution of the word "appropriate" for the word "necessary". Some members have asked: Why do you really require this provision? What does this provision mean? Does this provision not mean that

you are threatening South Africa with the application of the provisions of Chapter VII of the Charter? That is not the intention of this particular provision. This particular provision is a wide provision, and we would like to call the attention of the Members to the fact that Chapter VII of the Charter is not the only Chapter under which the Security Council has functions to perform. The Security Council is capable of taking appropriate measures under Chapter VI, should it feel that measures under that Chapter are necessary to enable the council that we are establishing to function, and to function effectively.

32. I make this explanation because, in this particular section, we have deleted two paragraphs which appeared in the old text which were most important from the Afro-Asian point of view, but which nevertheless the Afro-Asians agreed to surrender. Paragraph 4 of Section IV of the old text declared

"that South Africa's continued presence in South West Africa and any action by South Africa which frustrates or obstructs the task of the Council is an act of aggression against the people and the territorial integrity of South West Africa and a flagrant defiance of the authority of the United Nations".

33. The Afro-Asian group makes no apology for having inserted this provision in the old text. Nevertheless, in deference to our friends, particularly our friends in the Latin American group, we have decided to suspend for the time being the submission of this particular provision to the General Assembly.

34. That also applies to what appeared in the old text as paragraph 5 in Section IV, which read as follows:

"Requests the Security Council to take enforcement action, under Chapter VII of the Charter, against South Africa for acts specified in paragraph 4 above and to adopt appropriate measures against any other State which obstructs or frustrates the task of the United Nations Council for South West Africa."

35. Here, again, we have no apologies to make about this, knowing as we do the record of the Government of South Africa, knowing as we do that South Africa is able to continue with this unfortunate record because of the support of certain other Members of the United Nations. Nevertheless, in a spirit of co-operation with our colleagues in other groups, the Afro-Asian group agreed to suspend the submission of this paragraph for the consideration of the General Assembly.

36. I shall now proceed to deal with amendments that we propose under Section V. In Section V of the old text, we asked the Council to make one report. For the reasons which I have already indicated, we are now asking the Council to make two reports. It will be found that the requests for these reports are embodied in the single provision of Section V of the revised text.

37. Finally, we have a new Section VI, which reads:

"Decides that South West Africa shall become independent on a date to be fixed in accordance with the wishes of the people and that the Council

shall do all in its power to enable independence to be attained by June 1968."

38. This text is, of course, different from the text in the old draft. That text read as follows:

"Decides that South West Africa shall become independent immediately upon the establishment of a legislative assembly and a responsible government, not later than June 1968."

39. We amended the old provision for this reason: our friends in the Latin American group pointed out that they had difficulty in accepting our old formulation, because it did not bring out what they felt must surely be in our own minds, that the people of South West Africa must have the final voice in the determination of the date of their own independence. The Afro-Asian group confirmed to its Latin American friends that their understanding of our intent was accurate, and we both agreed that this formulation would more clearly bring out that intent and underline the urgency of this operation from our point of view by asking the council that we are to establish, for its part, to do all that it can to ensure that the people of South West Africa are put in a position to have their independence not later than June 1968.

40. It will be observed that in Section II of the revised text, as in Section II of the old text, there is still an omission. That omission relates to the number of Member States that we are going to recommend to be elected during this session to form the United Nations council for South West Africa. That omission is still there because we are still in consultation with regard to the number that should be put there. In the course of the debate on this draft resolution, we shall produce the number after our discussions have been concluded.

41. As I said before, this revised text is one which the Latin American group and the Afro-Asian group of countries in the United Nations feel able to recommend to the General Assembly in substitution for the old text. That old text, as we all recall, was eventually co-sponsored by as many as fifty-eight Members. The revised text, as you will observe, is already co-sponsored by as many as seventy-nine Member States. Indeed, that number would be larger if it were not that, for reasons quite unconnected with the merits of our draft, we feel unable to take a final decision yet on all the offers of co-sponsorship that have been made. I have no doubt that by the time this draft resolution comes to be voted upon the number of sponsors will have risen.

42. The text that we are submitting is a compromise; it cannot please everybody. In fact, we have made no effort at all to please a certain class of persons. We have made no effort to please those who speak as though resolution 2145 (XXI) had never been adopted by the General Assembly. Our starting point is resolution 2145 (XXI), and if we are to be able to accommodate any suggestion for amendment it is necessary that whoever proposes that suggestion be clearly operating upon the understanding not only that resolution 2145 (XXI) exists but also that it exists to be implemented.

43. We have regrettably been unable to please those who are very anxious not to give the least annoyance

to South Africa, to those who appear to us to place the need of not annoying South Africa above the need to do justice to the people of South West Africa. We have, regrettably, been unable to please them.

44. We have not been able to please those that feel that a provision is realistic only if South Africa feels able to accept it. We make no apology for the fact that we have not been able to please any Member States that think in such a way.

45. But, unhappily, we have also failed to please a number of our most genuine friends. We have been unable to please those, for instance, who feel that this draft resolution is too weak for their comfort and for the salvation of the people of South West Africa. All I can say in extenuation of that failure is that both our groups have felt it necessary to move at this pace as an experiment worth trying to see what happens.

46. Another class of people that will be distressed by what we are doing consists of those friends who have been telling us about the need for us to maintain what they call "the near-unanimity front" that was created when we adopted General Assembly resolution 2145 (XXI). Speaking for myself, I think that the idea that we could implement resolution 2145 (XXI) on the same basis as we adopted it is an illusion and a hopeless delusion. I say so because it is easier to jump the first hurdle than to overcome the last one, especially if those hurdles are staggered in an ascending order of magnitude which is the position in regard to the implementation of resolution 2145 (XXI). As the battle gets fiercer, we are bound to lose some of those who might be called the fainthearted. It is a fact of life that we must take into account; the fiercer the battle, the tougher the measures become, I have no doubt that it will be more difficult to continue with that illusion of near unanimity. So, while I am proud of the fact that we adopted that historic resolution 2145 (XXI) with a historic majority, I think that it would be an illusion for us to think that we can go forward from that to the complete salvation of the people of South West Africa on the basis of the maintenance of the "near-unanimity front".

47. What I do accept and what my colleagues who co-sponsored this draft resolution do accept, is that, as we go along, we should endeavour with all our might to carry with us as many of the Member States of this Organization as possible, and that we have attempted to do. I think that those members of the other group who even today feel unable to go along with us will themselves concede that it is not for want of trying on our part—and trying very hard indeed. It is significant that one of the important groups in the United Nations here which was able to help us on a collective basis in October 1966 did not find itself in that comfortable position during this special session.

48. But, again speaking personally, I do not think we need to shed too many tears simply because we are not likely to get the same near-unanimity as we achieved before. As I said when introducing the earlier text of this draft resolution, it is not only the size of the majority that matters; the soundness of the decision is most important.

49. The sponsors of this draft do not maintain that they have put forward the soundest solution in the world. We have put forward what we consider to be, after a most industrious session of discussions, the most acceptable draft within the context of resolution 2145 (XXI). We call upon all our friends who are still doubtful of their position "to come along to Macedonia" and help us through.

50. Even if some Member States cannot go along with us in co-sponsoring this draft resolution or in supporting it with their votes, we hope they will recognize that, when there is a division of this kind concerning the method, and when the majority of the Assembly feels very strongly that the method it is supporting is the right one, it is the duty of the minority, I submit with due deference and respect, to give that method a fair trial—to give that method a fair trial by putting no impediment in its way, to give it a fair trial by ensuring its co-operation with the measures proposed by the majority of the Assembly as the method to be followed. I therefore hope that those of our colleagues who feel unable to vote for this draft resolution will nevertheless be able, if the draft is adopted, to pledge their co-operation to give it a fair trial.

51. I have already spoken longer than I had contemplated, and yet I have a further duty to perform. As a member of the African group, as a member of the Afro-Asian group and as a member of the Afro-Asian-Latin-American fraternity that recommends this draft resolution to the General Assembly, I have the following pleasant duty to perform. I wish to pay a tribute to those Member States that constituted the contacts committee, the drafting committee and the steering committee of the Afro-Asian group for their industry and the way in which they conducted the discussions with colleagues in other groups.

52. I wish to pay a tribute particularly to the Asian members of the Afro-Asian group for the unbroken solidarity that they have always displayed in regard to the unfortunate problems that still plague our African continent.

53. I wish, of course, to pay a large tribute to our Latin American colleagues for their co-operation and understanding, without which we could not have produced the revised text that we now place before the Assembly. As they and we know, this is only the beginning of our happy co-operation in the cause of the struggle of the people of South West Africa. My colleagues in the Afro-Asian group are very proud of this partnership and we hope that it will continue until we have together, and alongside our friends from other groups, succeeded in redeeming the people of South West Africa from their present state.

54. I also wish to thank those who do not belong to Latin America or Africa or Asia and who have agreed to co-sponsor our draft resolution, including all those, whether sponsors or not, who will eventually vote for this draft resolution.

55. Finally, on behalf of the Afro-Asian and Latin American groups, I wish to thank this special session of the General Assembly, under your wise guidance

Mr. President, for the patience that it exercised while the discussions were taking place, discussions that resulted—fairly happily, in our opinion—in our being able to present to the Assembly a text which both our groups, as well as our other friends who have co-sponsored the draft resolution, are able to commend to the Assembly for its unanimous support.

56. Mr. PIÑERA (Chile) (translated from Spanish): The Chilean delegation would like to express its profound satisfaction at the successful results of the efforts by the Latin American and Afro-Asian groups to find common ground on the problem of South West Africa. The results of their efforts are embodied in draft resolution A/L.516/Rev.1, which twenty-three Latin American countries joined the Afro-Asian States in sponsoring, so that the draft today has approximately eighty sponsors.

57. In the last few days the representatives of the two groups have held many consultations and talks leading to the introduction of significant amendments to the text, involving mutual concessions on the part of both groups and giving evidence of a generous spirit of goodwill and co-operation which constituted a new and important landmark in the increasingly close friendship and co-operation between the countries of Africa, Asia and Latin America.

58. We feel sure that the changes made in the draft resolution will make it easier for those States which found it difficult in present circumstances to support a call for action by the Security Council under Chapter VII of the Charter to give it their support. Wording has been inserted establishing clearly the intention of the United Nations to ensure that its responsibility towards Africa is discharged in accordance with the terms of General Assembly resolution 2045 (XXI), the first object being to find a peaceful and harmonious way to solve the problem. Thus it is proposed that the Council for South West Africa will enter into contact with the South African authorities to ensure the transfer of the Territory with the least possible upheaval. Similarly, the Government of South Africa is called upon to comply without delay with resolution 2145 (XXI) and the resolution before us. Furthermore, it is made clear that the Council will only exercise its administrative functions once it is in the Territory. But this desire for peace cannot be carried to the point of permanently jeopardizing the interests of the people of the Territory as expressed in United Nations agreements. Hence the draft provides that the Council shall submit a special report to the twenty-second session of the General Assembly concerning the implementation of the resolution. Further, the Security Council is called upon to take all appropriate measures to enable the United Nations Council for South West Africa to discharge the functions and responsibilities entrusted to it by the General Assembly.

59. We are convinced that the result of the combined Afro-Asian and Latin American efforts is a constructive and realistic document which can be supported without hesitation by the other Member States. We trust—I repeat, we trust—that it will receive virtually unanimous support in the Assembly. Both in the Ad Hoc Committee for South West Africa and in the General Assembly during the first few days of this

special session, my delegation had occasion to express its sincere conviction that everything must be done to preserve the great coalition that adopted the historic resolution of last October. The strong unity achieved reflected the almost unanimous view of the United Nations that the Mandate should be terminated, that South Africa henceforth had no right to continue administering the Territory, which assumed international status, and that the world Organization was directly responsible for bringing the people of South West Africa to self-determination and independence.

60. Moved by this spirit of goodwill and give-and-take, we have made great efforts to overcome the objections of some countries to the idea of direct administration by the United Nations—the principle underlying the Afro-Asian/Latin American draft—and, as the Nigerian representative has pointed out, we contacted practically all the delegations in an attempt to reconcile differing points of view, whenever it was possible to do so while remaining within the letter and the spirit of General Assembly resolution 2145 (XXI). We have sought to dispel the misgivings expressed about the system of direct administration, and we have noted the fact that the countries expressing them fully share the aim we seek, namely, freedom for the people of South West Africa, but differ as to the methods to be used. We ourselves have tried to reconcile the differences which, as I have said, are concerned with the approach rather than the goal. We are nevertheless fully convinced that, in view of the lack of a will to co-operate on the part of South Africa, fulfilment of the United Nations direct responsibility is only conceivable through direct United Nations administration of the Territory. We feel that the various other solutions suggested in this Assembly would in fact, though clearly not in spirit, evade the serious responsibility we assumed irrevocably when we adopted General Assembly resolution 2145 (XXI). For this reason we are concerned that some countries which gave their valuable co-operation and support to resolution 2145 (XXI), do not now see their way because of these reservations concerning method to giving their support to the Afro-Asian/Latin American draft resolution, which seems to us to be the logical, practical and realistic corollary of the previous resolution. This would seem particularly serious in the case of the permanent members of the Security Council, since failure on their part to lend their support might give South Africa the impression, which we know to be false, that the States which bear the primary responsibility for maintaining peace and security are not prepared to implement resolution 2145 (XXI). Such a misconception, as we consider it, could make it far more difficult to achieve a peaceful and harmonious solution to the problem.

61. I believe I am interpreting the feelings of a great number of African, Asian and Latin American countries which sponsored the draft resolution when I say that we consider the attitude of the United Nations to this problem as marking a critical juncture in the life of the Organization, which is of vital importance to us. Either the United Nations is capable of enforcing fulfilment of the resolution adopted almost unanimously by the Member States and bringing the people of South West Africa—which at present has an indisputable international status pursuant to General Assembly



resolution 2145 (XXI)—to the full exercise of their human and political rights, or else the Organization will witness a serious decline in its moral authority, not to speak of its capacity to face far graver and more complex crises which may endanger world peace in the future.

62. I am confident that the Organization will be able to solve the South West African problem in a just and peaceful way and thus emerge not weakened in any way but actually stronger from this ordeal, which as I have said I regard as critical for its future. The widest possible support for the draft resolution we have submitted will, I am firmly convinced, help to bring this about.

63. Mr. LOPEZ (Philippines): Three weeks ago when the co-sponsors of the original Afro-Asian draft resolution [A/L.516] began their consultations with other delegations and groups of delegations, they understood that they had to operate within the framework of two fundamental limitations: first, that they had to try to devise a compromise formula that would advance the United Nations a measurable step towards the implementation of General Assembly resolution 2145 (XXI); and, secondly, that they would endeavour to ensure that the compromise formula would enjoy the support of the largest possible number of delegations, thus preserving the near-unanimity with which the General Assembly decided last October to terminate South Africa's mandate over South West Africa.

64. To spell out those two essential objectives is to say, in effect, that the sponsors of the original Afro-Asian draft resolution had deliberately decided to perform their task within a very narrow compass indeed, a space which offered very little elbow room for diplomatic manoeuvre. For, in their search for a formula that would represent a step forward from the position we achieved in resolution 2145 (XXI) and that would enjoy the widest possible support of the General Assembly, our negotiating group was obliged, at the same time, to take account of the broad spectrum of attitudes to be found among the other delegations or groups of delegations, as well as of the varying shades of opinion existing amongst the Afro-Asian delegations themselves.

65. When, at the end of the second week of negotiations, we happily succeeded in achieving a consensus with the Latin American delegations, we of the Afro-Asian group felt that the way was open for further negotiations with other delegations and groups of delegations upon a broader basis than was heretofore possible.

66. The representatives of Nigeria and Chile, who have spoken before me, have described in detail the long and arduous negotiations, lasting for three weeks, which involved consultations that took place between us and other delegations not once, but on as many as four, five or six different occasions, and which we gladly entered into in an earnest attempt to develop a broad consensus that would move us forward along the road to the implementation of resolution 2145 (XXI).

*Mr. Waldheim (Austria), Vice-President, took the Chair.*

67. It is left for me to say now, on behalf of the Asian delegations whom I have the honour to represent

in the five-member negotiating committee of the Latin American and Afro-Asian delegations, only that we now present to the General Assembly a compromise proposal which we consider to be the best that can be achieved in existing circumstances and which we believe satisfies the two fundamental objectives which I mentioned in the beginning. This is a compromise that will not please everybody, not even the sponsors themselves. It is surely indicative of the essential nature of this compromise that, in the process of mutual accommodation with the Latin American delegations, the Afro-Asian group found itself unable to carry the continued support of two or three of their own number which considered the compromise proposal to have watered down certain principles which they considered fundamental and which they could not abandon or surrender. But it is in the nature of a genuine compromise that it cannot fully satisfy everybody.

68. On the question of South West Africa, the most that one can dare to hope for is a formula that is first of all morally and intellectually valid and at the same time is framed in full awareness of the realities of international life. The first condition that we must try to satisfy is necessarily that the proposal should stand within the four corners of the purposes and principles of the United Nations as set forth in the Charter and that it must logically follow as a necessary consequence of the decision taken in resolution 2145 (XXI).

69. We cannot accept a compromise that ignores or violates the clear principles of the Charter or that would have the effect of making us stand still where we stood last October or, what is worse, that would make us retreat from that position. But equally, we were fully aware that we should not recommend a course of action to this Assembly that totally disregards the facts of international life. The first of these facts is that South Africa has rejected resolution 2145 (XXI) and has since made it clear that it is not prepared voluntarily to surrender the administration of South West Africa to the United Nations. A second fact of international life is that the great Powers—the permanent members of the Security Council or the majority of them—are not at present prepared to lend their influence and power to the implementation of resolution 2145 (XXI), and that without that support we run the risk of affirming a resolution which is intellectually and morally valid but which cannot be executed or enforced.

70. In my statement during the general debate [1512th meeting] I said that the General Assembly had a clear duty to perform: to do what it must do in obedience to its functions and powers under the Charter, with all the courage and fortitude, the prudence and wisdom, at its command. When it is the turn of the Security Council to act, let the members of that other principal organ of the United Nations, and particularly the permanent members of that organ, do what they will have to do in conformity with their obligations under the Charter, and let us hope that, at that time, that organ will also have the courage and fortitude, the prudence and wisdom, to take such a decision as the circumstances at the time will require. I have spoken of prudence and wisdom, for, in the face of this grave problem and

in the context of our troubled times, those are the operative concepts, but always we must consider the qualities of prudence and wisdom in the light of two overriding considerations: first, the well-being and freedom of the people of South West Africa and, secondly, the future of the United Nations itself.

71. As regards the first of those, we hold the candid view that any proposal today which is so tailored as to receive the same vote of 114 by which resolution 2145 (XXI) was adopted last October would in all probability be a proposal that would freeze us where we stood last October or move us back from there but would not carry us forward from the position indicated by that resolution. That is so because the dynamics of political life in Africa, particularly in southern Africa, today are such that if you do not move forward in that area, or if you merely stand still there, you are in grave danger of being pushed back. I must repeat that the decision taken in resolution 2145 (XXI) can be eroded by vacillation and finally nullified by inaction.

72. As for the effect which our decision would have on the future of the United Nations itself, the lessons of history are very clear indeed. The United Nations can destroy itself in two ways: first, by careless, imprudent and precipitate action; secondly, by timidity, impotence and inaction in the face of an unavoidable challenge to its responsibility. The United Nations can die, as the League of Nations died more than thirty years ago, from these two causes or from a combination of them. I do not believe that our Organization will die in the attempt to solve this problem, since the world has such great need of it, even as it is, but if it must die it were surely better that it die and disappear standing up and fighting with courage and dignity for what is right and just.

73. Mr. BAROODY (Saudi Arabia): I believe that the representative of Nigeria this afternoon gave us a comprehensive picture of the negotiations and what has taken place in an attempt to find a solution to this intractable problem. I say "intractable" because, with all the pleadings and sometimes the invective and the reasoning with South Africa, we have bogged down and we find ourselves where we started. I will not use the time this afternoon to say what has been said time and again, if I have asked for the floor, it is because I have submitted a draft resolution twice, during the last session and during this special session. Inasmuch as Saudi Arabia is very much attached to the Afro-Asian community, I have thought it best to wean myself from a draft resolution which from the outset, I thought, would accomplish nothing unless South Africa softens its attitude and relaxes it. Also I believe that in not doing so it will one day find itself in trouble.

74. I cannot let this opportunity pass without recalling to some of my friends who were here in 1956—and I do not wish to embarrass the Government or the person who was appointed as High Commissioner for dealing with the particular question—that I warned the United Nations then that the High Commissioner, who was a good friend of mine and I knew would do his best to communicate with that Government, would

not be admitted to deal with it on a humanitarian question. He was not admitted. He drew a salary for a few years, but the whole thing wound up with nothing. That is why I have said that I hope our colleagues from South Africa will not treat the High Commissioner the same way as another High Commissioner was treated by a country that did not see fit, for other reasons, to admit him to make certain investigations with regard to an alleged humanitarian matter.

75. However, I am fully in agreement with the objectives of the Afro-Asian, and now Latin American, draft resolution [A/L.516/Rev.1]. I said from the beginning that I would be willing to vote for it. Then what will happen to my draft resolution? [A/L.517]. There are three avenues open to me. One is to submit it to a vote, in which case I think I should not be so wise, as the Afro-Asian and Latin American draft resolution stipulates that the High Commissioner will try to seek admittance into South West Africa. Therefore it stands to reason that I should wait to see what will happen—whether the High Commissioner will be admitted or the door will be slammed in his face. The second avenue would be to withdraw my draft resolution. I will not withdraw my draft resolution. It will be a testimony to what I have said. I hope I shall not be vindicated by retaining it, but I think it should be retained and I will not withdraw it. I can envisage that during the next session—and I hope I am wrong—we may be confronted with the same attitude on the part of South Africa and thus a new situation will arise in which we shall have to produce another draft resolution, and I will tailor my draft resolution to whatever situation arises at that time.

76. Therefore, I forthwith suspend my draft resolution [A/L.517]. In saying that I am suspending my draft resolution, I mean that I have not withdrawn it. I do not have to reintroduce it as a new draft resolution. It stands on the books, so that the substance of it can be reactivated. I take this action with the hope, as of now, that the High Commissioner will be allowed to function, and with the hope that South Africa will allow the United Nations to levy taxes in South West Africa, because that is what the Afro-Asian-Latin American draft resolution stipulates. But I doubt it. I should be a hypocrite if I said "Oh, they might". I should be happy if they did allow the High Commissioner to go in, and I should be even happier if South Africa allowed the council to function within South West Africa. The reason for my keeping my draft resolution pending is that I am not so optimistic.

77. If nothing develops from the Afro-Asian-Latin American draft resolution, then I shall be in a better position to revive the draft resolution of Saudi Arabia, with the hope that it will become the nucleus of a practical solution that will yield results.

78. Again I must thank you, Mr. President, for having given me the opportunity to speak, and I should like all my colleagues here to know that I shall fully support, with my vote, the sole draft resolution that is before the house.

*The meeting rose at 4.55 p.m.*

United Nations  
GENERAL  
ASSEMBLY

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1517th  
PLENARY MEETING

Friday, 19 May 1967,  
10.30 a.m.

FIFTH SPECIAL SESSION

NEW YORK

CONTENTS

	Page
<i>Agenda item 7:</i>	
<i>Question of South West Africa (continued) . . .</i>	1

*President: Mr. Abdul Rahman PAZHwak*  
*(Afghanistan).*

AGENDA ITEM 7

Question of South West Africa (continued)

1. The PRESIDENT: Before I call on the first speaker this morning, I should like to remind Members that the only proposal before the General Assembly is that contained in document A/L.516/Rev.1. The representative of Saudi Arabia has suspended his proposal contained in document A/L.517. Therefore, explanations of vote should be confined to the draft resolution which is formally before the Assembly.

2. If any new proposals are made formally before 3 p.m. today, representatives will of course be given an opportunity to explain their votes on those proposals also.

3. Mr. AIKEN (Ireland): When I spoke in the general debate on South West Africa [1518th meeting] I outlined the practical steps which the Irish delegation believed should be taken by the General Assembly to implement resolution 2145 (XXI).

4. It appears to us that the draft resolution which has been tabled [A/L.516/Rev.1] fails to take full account of the obduracy of the Government of South Africa and of their determination never to withdraw from their illegal occupation of the Territory of South West Africa.

5. The Government of South Africa is well aware that the Charter places primary responsibility on the Security Council for the maintenance of peace and the suppression of acts of aggression, and that permanent members of the Security Council never cease emphasizing that, in their view, the Charter gives the Council sole and exclusive authority to decide whether action is to be taken to implement United Nations resolutions such as 2145 (XXI).

6. Therefore, in my opinion, whether the General Assembly resolution 2145 (XXI) is to be carried out depends immediately not so much on the attitude of the Government of South Africa, whose opposition must be taken for granted, but on the attitude and determination of the Security Council, which we may influence in some degree. And no Assembly resolution, however worded or strongly supported, can change the situation unless the Security Council acts upon its responsibility for implementing resolution 2145 (XXI).

7. In these circumstances we believe that the people of the territory can be brought to freedom in the most peaceful and orderly manner only if the Assembly resolves to place the responsibility where the authority and the power belong—that is on the Security Council and particularly on the permanent members thereof.

8. I would urge that at some stage—and as it is not possible at this special session it should be considered for the next regular session—the Assembly should request the Security Council to appoint a special representative for South West Africa on the nomination of the Secretary-General and also to appoint, on the nomination of the President of the Assembly, a small consultative committee with which the representative should confer. The functions of the special representative should be, I suggest, first to enter into pourparlers with the Government of South Africa and with representatives of the territory with a view to finding agreement upon a programme for the peaceful and orderly transfer of the administration of the territory to a Government freely elected by the people of the territory; secondly, to keep contact with the consultative committee and to keep it informed on the steps he has taken and proposes to take in carrying out his mandate; and thirdly, to report regularly and at short intervals to the Security Council on the progress of his work.

9. It follows from what I have said about our views that my delegation cannot support any text which does not clearly place upon the Security Council the primary responsibility for implementing resolution 2145 (XXI). I recognize, of course, that draft resolution A/L.516/Rev.1 is the result of long and diligent negotiations and that it has good points, including the paragraph which aims at the establishment of immediate contacts with the Government of South Africa. It lacks, however, the authority which, as I have explained, we feel any measure adopted now must have if it is to be effective. Nevertheless, if the text is approved, I wish the council which it proposes to establish the greatest possible success in opening the way for the freedom of the people of South West Africa.

10. Mr. MATSUI (Japan): I should like to explain very briefly the position of my delegation with regard to the draft resolution submitted jointly by the Afro-Asian and Latin American Member States [A/L.516/Rev.1]. We all know very well the intensive consultations and negotiations that have taken place during the past ten days and which were conducted in a spirit of co-operation and conciliation with a view to reaching a common agreement. My delegation appreciates particularly the tireless efforts of the Afro-Asian and Latin American countries in that regard.

11. The draft resolution before us is obviously the result of a compromise and accordingly may be open

to various criticisms. However, as far as my delegation is concerned, our basic points of view, which we expressed in the Ad Hoc Committee as well in this Assembly, are generally reflected in this compromise agreement, which has already obtained the support of an impressive majority of Members. Therefore my delegation is in a position to vote in favour of the draft resolution contained in document A/L.516/Rev.1. At the same time, I wish to reiterate the earnest hope of my delegation that the problem of South West Africa will be settled by peaceful means, taking fully into account the best interests and wishes of the people of the territory.

12. Mr. KJARTANSSON (Iceland): The delegation of Iceland has followed with great interest and attention the debate on the question of South West Africa during this special session of the General Assembly. We have given full and serious consideration to the different proposals which emerged as a result of the conscientious work of the Ad Hoc Committee under the able leadership of Ambassador Max Jakobson. We have also followed carefully the discussions and negotiations which have taken place since the beginning of the fifth special session. These discussions have primarily reflected the prevailing desire in this Assembly to take a step forward in pursuance of the goals set forth in resolution 2145 (XXI) and, at the same time, to endeavour to maintain the overwhelming majority by which that resolution was adopted.

13. We have now before us the draft resolution presented jointly by the Afro-Asian and the Latin American groups [A/L.516/Rev.1].

14. Before we proceed to the vote on this draft resolution I should like to explain briefly the main considerations by which the delegation of Iceland has been guided. We have borne in mind that our common and primary concern is and must always be the welfare of the people of South West Africa. We in Iceland know what it means to fight for freedom because it took centuries to obtain ours. Since we became a Member of the United Nations it has been one of the cornerstones of our foreign policy to support the rights of all peoples for self-determination and independence.

15. In direct continuation of that policy, we supported resolution 2145 (XXI), and feel indeed very strongly that its contents are not negotiable.

16. While it appears that we are nearly unanimous as to the goal we wish to attain in this matter, we have seen clearly that there are differences of opinion as to the most suitable and effective means of achieving that objective. Resolution 2145 (XXI) provides that South West Africa comes under the direct responsibility of the United Nations. This provision has given rise to different interpretations. The Icelandic delegation is in agreement with those who consider that direct responsibility does not necessarily mean immediate United Nations administration. At the same time we are aware that we are dealing with a most serious problem, and that the next step this Assembly takes is fraught with grave risks and may have consequences that will affect for years to come peace and stability on the continent of Africa, and indeed in the world at large. It is therefore the considered opinion of my Government that we should proceed with

the utmost caution and explore every avenue and possibility of achieving our objective by peaceful means. We share the view that contact or negotiations are necessary with the de facto administrator of South West Africa about the modalities for the transfer of the administration of the territory with the least possible upheaval to an authority appointed or established by the United Nations.

17. It is also our firm belief that it is necessary to have an overwhelming majority, preferably similar to that obtained for resolution 2145 (XXI), to give any real meaning to the draft resolution before us. In particular, it is important to have the support of the permanent members of the Security Council. Unfortunately, this support does not seem to be at hand.

18. For these reasons, the Icelandic delegation feels that it would neither be in the best interests of the people of South West Africa, nor, indeed, in the interest of the United Nations if the General Assembly at this stage adopted a resolution that, on the one hand would prejudge the result of the effort towards a peaceful solution, and on the other, might, by that very judgement, throw obstacles in the way of achieving our objective. In this connexion, we particularly have in mind paragraph 5 of Section IV of the draft resolution before us.

19. It is indeed better to work slowly towards a reasonably assured success rather than hurry towards disaster.

20. For the reasons I have here outlined, the Icelandic delegation regrets that we shall not be able to vote in favour of the draft resolution presented by our friends of the Afro-Asian and Latin American groups. At the same time, we do not feel that we can oppose a course of action that a considerable majority of the Members of this Assembly have found to be the right one. We shall therefore not vote against the resolution, but shall abstain.

21. Mr. FEDORENKO (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (translated from Russian): During the general debate and in the course of informal consultations among delegations we have exhaustively explained the position of the Soviet Union on the methods to be used in solving the problem of South West Africa in accordance with resolution 2145 (XXI).

22. This position derives from the unalterable policy of the Soviet State of giving all possible support to the peoples fighting for freedom and independence and overcoming the resistance of the imperialist and colonial Powers to the ineluctable process of elimination of colonial and racist régimes.

23. In this brief statement of explanation of vote, the USSR delegation would like to pay a tribute to the efforts of African and Asian countries to arrive at an agreed decision on the question under discussion. We naturally fully share and support the endeavour of the African and Asian States to promote the early liberation of the South West African people from colonial racist oppression and to give it all the assistance it needs to set up a free and independent State.

24. At the same time, the USSR delegation is convinced that, given the broad and many-sided support the South African racists receive from certain Western

Powers, these lofty goals cannot be duly achieved by means of the measures set out in the draft resolution before us [A/L.516/Rev.1].

25. In order to clear the way for the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples with regard to the people of South West Africa, we must begin by vigorously condemning the colonialist régime of the Republic of South Africa for its refusal to comply with General Assembly resolution 2145 (XXI), and also the policy of those Governments which have been obstructing the implementation of the resolution by lending support to the Republic of South Africa.

26. We believe it is altogether unjustified to place any hopes in negotiations with the forces of racism at Pretoria. Instead of asking favours of the South African régime, we should vigorously demand the immediate and unconditional withdrawal from South West Africa of all its police and armed forces and its administration, the liberation of political prisoners and the return to their native land of the fighters for freedom and independence of South West Africa. These demands, however, are not to be found in the draft resolution.

27. Furthermore, it will be remembered that in the course of the discussion many delegations mentioned the special responsibility for the implementation of resolution 2145 (XXI) that devolves on the United States, the United Kingdom and other Western Powers which have sizable financial and economic interests in the Republic of South Africa and South West Africa. We have always held, and we hold today, that it is the direct duty of the General Assembly to appeal urgently to the Governments of those States to take effective economic, diplomatic and other measures against the Republic of South Africa with a view to obtaining the removal of the South African authorities from South West Africa. There can hardly be any doubt that the absence of such an appeal would seriously weaken the decision taken at this session.

28. Lastly, the people of South West Africa and world opinion as a whole should not be given the impression that the United Nations, instead of granting independence to the Territory's population, is merely substituting its own trusteeship for the mandate held by the Republic of South Africa. And yet the proposed draft resolution makes no mention of that extremely important question—the immediate granting of independence to the people of South West Africa, and instead of setting up an administration composed of indigenous inhabitants it provides for the creation of a cumbersome United Nations administration.

29. It must also be borne in mind that the imprecision with regard to the composition of the Council and the person of the Commissioner leaves the door wide open to all sorts of manoeuvres by the colonial Powers and threatens the interests of the Territory's population.

30. Past experience gives us every reason to assume that an administration which is composed not of representatives of the local population but of representatives of the United Nations and which, moreover, must rely on hired foreign personnel, will not be able to ensure the formation of a new State. Its activity

is far more likely to result in postponing the decision of the question of South West Africa's independence, and it may cause certain complications and create additional financial difficulties for the United Nations.

31. Having that last circumstance in mind, we find it necessary to declare that the Soviet Union will not regard itself as bound by any financial obligations which may be incurred by the United Nations in connexion with the activities of the United Nations Administration in South West Africa.

32. Because of all these considerations taken jointly, the USSR delegation strongly doubts the effectiveness of the measures provided for in the draft resolution. The USSR delegation is consequently unable to vote for the draft, being in favour of a more effective and realistic solution of the problem under discussion.

33. At the same time, the USSR delegation deems it necessary to stress once again that the Soviet Union, together with the African and Asian States and all other countries which cherish the ideals of freedom and independence, will not relax its efforts to seek practical ways of solving the problem of South West Africa, so that the people of the Territory may be liberated from colonialist racist oppression at the earliest possible date.

34. Mr. VINCI (Italy): At the outset of this explanation of the vote of my delegation on draft resolution A/L.516/Rev.1, may I recall briefly my statement from this rostrum on 5 May [1514th meeting], I tried on that occasion to explain, to the best of my ability, the position which the Italian delegation holds vis-à-vis this serious problem of South West Africa and the course of action which, at this stage in the present international situation, we believe could offer the best chance for implementing resolution 2145 (XXI)—namely, enabling the people of the territory to govern themselves, to exercise their right to self-determination and achieve independence as soon as possible.

35. We did that before, during the meeting of the Ad Hoc Committee for South West Africa and we restated our views, our earnest intentions, our purposes, during the intense consultations we had in the last two weeks with the co-sponsors of the revised draft resolution and with many other delegations.

36. We sincerely regret that these consultations have not led to the result we worked so hard for: a text which would command the support of the general membership of the United Nations, with one or two exceptions, and which would especially enjoy the support of the major Powers, of all groups, including this time all the permanent members of the Security Council.

37. We have always thought and we still maintain that this would be the best and the most constructive approach in order to achieve at this stage, as I said before, three main objectives: (1) a practical and expeditious solution of the problem confronting us; (2) our attachment to peace and our preference for the use of peaceful means and peaceful methods in a world already clouded by so many conflicts; (3) a united front which would prevent cleavages within this Assembly and enhance, rather than diminish, the prestige and the authority of our Organization.

38. If we have not succeeded we regret it, but we do not complain. We wish, on the contrary, to express our gratification for the very fact that long, extensive consultations have taken place and that each Member has participated in them with frankness, sincerity, goodwill and a real desire to achieve positive results. If those sincere endeavours of friendly co-operation among all the groups were the only outcome of this session, we believe that, in spite of our failure, we would have at least one reason for comfort and for hope.

39. In particular, we wish to place on record our sincere appreciation of the efforts made by the co-sponsors of the original draft resolution and by our Latin American colleagues in working out a new text. We acknowledge that, as pointed out yesterday [1516th meeting] by the representative of Nigeria, certain controversial provisions have been omitted, a result which only a spirit of compromise could have made possible, as we were reminded yesterday by my good friends, Ambassadors Adebo, Piñera and López. However, the basic concept of the original draft resolution has remained, implying for the future what is not spelled out today. And we have no doubt that it is for those reasons or others connected with the concept of a direct United Nations administration that most, if not all, other delegations, apart from the sponsors, feel unable to support the draft resolution under consideration.

40. Our point of view has been made clear in the Ad Hoc Committee, in a plenary meeting of the Assembly and during the consultations, and we shall therefore not take up the time of the Assembly to restate all the reasons why, much to our regret, we are in the same position and cannot support the draft resolution appearing in document A/L.516/Rev.1. I should like to recall what I said in my previous statement, on 5 May, illustrating an alternative proposal embodied in a formal document we had introduced in the Ad Hoc Committee, with the co-operation of the delegations of Canada and the United States. We said that perhaps it was not the ideal proposal but it was, in our view, workable, and practical, a definite step forward from resolution 2145 (XXI), and worth trying.

41. That is our considered position. In our view, any other course which would simply assume that the objectives we are striving for could be achieved by a stroke of the pen would in fact be self-defeating and could delay rather than speed up the achievement of the aims contained in resolution 2145 (XXI).

42. We do not disagree altogether with the sponsors of the draft resolution before us on the objectives: freedom and independence for the people of South West Africa. May I add that we perfectly understand and respect their position of principle and their way of thinking. Where we differ is only on the approach and on the methods to reach our common goal.

43. We feel ultimately that an honest and open difference of views as to the methods of implementing our previous decisions is much better than a basic unbridgeable divergence of purposes—the latter, fortunately, is not the case. We may part company for a while, but I do hope that it will be for a very short while.

44. As a token of the sincerity of our sentiments, let me also express the wish that the future will prove that we are wrong and that those who do not share our views are right. Should this turn out to be the case, the Italian delegation will be perfectly happy to acknowledge it at once and to reconsider its position.

45. If, on the other hand, the future shows that we were right, we expect our friends to do the same. In either case we should be able to work again for our common purposes.

46. Mr. LEDL (Czechoslovakia): The absolute majority of the Member States of the United Nations, with the exception of notoriously stubborn colonialist régimes and their allies and supporters, quite rightly proceed in our deliberations from the fact that the substance of the solution of the question of South West Africa lies and must lie in a consistent application of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples and the contents of resolution 2145 (XXI), respectively, in relation to that territory. The crux of the whole set of problems concerning South West Africa resides today in what practical measures, what concrete methods and what ways should be formulated and carried out so that the right of the people of South West Africa to self-determination and independence should be immediately brought to reality.

47. As we have explained in detail in the Ad Hoc Committee of which the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic is a member, and also at the current special session of the General Assembly, we consider the attainment of the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of the Republic of South Africa from the Territory of South West Africa to be a priority task in compliance with the Declaration and the above-mentioned resolution. There can be no doubt about the fact that the presence of the Republic of South Africa or its organs in South West Africa constitutes the main obstacle standing in the way of the implementation of the inalienable rights of the people of South West Africa. The requirement of an energetic condemnation of the relations and collaboration by the Western Powers with the Republic of South Africa is also closely connected with this task, as is the requirement of a condemnation of the policy which, regardless of the statements that its exponents make here, supports the Pretoria régime in its inhuman policy of apartheid and enables it to carry out the continuing policy of annexation of the Territory of South West Africa.

48. Those are the reasons why we have insisted and continue to insist that the General Assembly, with its entire political power and authority, should call on the administration of the Republic of South Africa, in compliance with resolution 2145 (XXI), to withdraw immediately and unconditionally from the Territory of South West Africa, to set free immediately all political prisoners and to make the solution of the question possible in accordance with the requirements of the Declaration.

49. At the same time we continue to be of the opinion that the General Assembly should emphatically call on all those that continue to collaborate with the Republic of South Africa—particularly the United States of America and the United Kingdom—to sever completely



and without any further delay their relations with the Pretoria régime and to apply consistently a policy of complete boycott and isolation of the South African economy. We have presumed in the past, and we continue to presume, that the United Nations will utilize all measures and means provided for in the Charter in order that those requirements can be consistently implemented.

50. That, in brief, is our position on the first aspect of the question, a position which we believe is decisive in order to bring the contents of resolution 2145 (XXI) to life.

51. With respect to the other aspect of the question, namely, the realization of the right of the people of South West Africa to independence and self-determination—an aspect which, I should like to stress, cannot mechanically be separated from the first aspect—it is necessary to emphasize once again that the responsibility of the United Nations cannot in any way be replaced by the question of the administration of the United Nations over the Territory of South West Africa. We are not engaged in a struggle against all the remnants of colonialism only to create, even in the name of our Organization, a new trust régime which might be abused, whether we wish to concede it or not, by foreign monopolies which today are ruling over the Territory of South West Africa and over the whole southern part of Africa in order to strengthen their own supremacy and further to expand the exploitation of the indigenous population of Africa.

52. As we understand it, the responsibility of the United Nations for the Territory of South West Africa means that the United Nations must do everything possible in accordance with the Charter to achieve the speedy declaration of the independence of South West Africa and to enable the people of South West Africa to manage their own affairs. We have consistently maintained that it is only the people of South West Africa which have the right to determine their own development and that it is only they which have the authority to exercise their inalienable right to independence and self-determination.

53. Perhaps it is not necessary to dwell at length on the fact that this point of view does not exclude, but even presupposes, that assistance should be granted from abroad to the people of South West Africa in the establishment of their statehood. To this effect, and bearing in mind the views and requirements of our friends of the Afro-Asian group, we proposed and supported, in the course of the current consultations, the creation of a special commission on South West Africa, which would work with the Special Committee of Twenty-four to ensure the implementation of resolution 2145 (XXI). The special commission would carry out consultations with the representatives of the people of the territory and also of the Organization of African Unity in order to work out a concrete programme of action. The special commission would also have the task of granting assistance to the local population in the establishment of legislative and executive organs based on the widest possible democratic representation. In our view, the special commission should submit reports to the General Assembly; between sessions of the General Assembly, it should submit reports to the Special Committee of Twenty-four.

54. Those are the principles of a positive platform which we believe would offer a possible way to solve the problem of South West Africa. We do not pretend to possess, as the saying goes, a "patent on reason", and, as we have already stated in the general debate, we are prepared to participate effectively in the consideration and implementation of other constructive suggestions and ideas.

55. In our position we have always proceeded, and we continue to do so, from a sole premise, which is an axiom for us, namely, that the people of South West Africa must acquire independence and exercise their right to self-determination. Therefore, we cannot subscribe to any solution which would create, in substance or by its consequences, a situation in which the policy of apartheid and annexation carried out against the people of South West Africa by the Pretoria régime would be replaced by further oppression by Western monopolies, a situation which we are convinced would in addition create a dangerous precedent. That is the reason why we shall not be able to vote in favour of the draft resolution [A/L.516/Rev.1].

56. That is the position of the Czechoslovak delegation on the important and concrete question of implementing the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. That position stems from our conviction that it is only the resolute common action of all progressive forces against the remnants of the colonialists and their supporters that can break once and for all the apartheid policy of the Pretoria régime and that can, consequently, give the people of South West Africa the opportunity to exercise their right to independence and the free development of their country. That position proceeds from the view that today all nations of the world are sufficiently advanced so that they can administer themselves and manage their economic and cultural development, as well as their relations and co-operation with the rest of the nations of the world. It is in this spirit that the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic has developed intensive political, economic and cultural relations with the countries that have liberated themselves from colonial slavery, among which, and not least, we find the great family of African countries.

57. I should like, therefore, to avail myself of this opportunity to state on behalf of the Czechoslovak delegation that, in the spirit of our unchangeable policy and mutual co-operation with the Afro-Asian countries, we are fully prepared, in the present concrete case as well, to support all practical steps which may effectively lead to the achievement of the final objective, namely the achievement of independence and freedom by the oppressed people in South West Africa.

58. Mr. TARABANOV (Bulgaria) (translated from French): The position of the delegation of the People's Republic of Bulgaria with regard to draft resolution A/L.516/Rev.1 on the question of South West Africa is based on and derives from a clear and consistent policy of assisting those who are fighting against colonial domination and for the national liberation of subjugated peoples. In the statement it made during the general debate on this question [1512th meeting], my delegation reaffirmed that, as in the past, our country would continue to support the struggle to throw off the



colonial yoke in Africa and elsewhere and to affirm the independence of all peoples.

59. We assured the African delegations that the delegation of the People's Republic of Bulgaria would always stand at their side when effective measures needed to be adopted and applied in order to put an end to the régime set up in South West Africa by the South African racists and those who support them. Just as it did during the general debate on the question of South West Africa, my delegation wishes to emphasize that we shall continue to give our support to any workable and effective measure conducive to abolishing colonialism and racism in Africa.

60. However, we have certain doubts regarding the methods advocated and some of the steps outlined in the draft resolution in question. In view of some of the provisions of this draft, we cannot but recall that all peoples are capable of taking charge of their own destiny and of organizing their own State and Government, and that there is no people that cannot carry on its own administration and manage its own affairs. This is clearly set forth, furthermore, in paragraph 3 of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, which emphasizes that "Inadequacy of political, economic, social or educational preparedness should never serve as a pretext for delaying independence".

61. In our view, the granting of independence is a matter of principle, and it should not be limited by political or administrative considerations or by transitional arrangements and institutions between colonial status and the establishment of an independent State. We believe that every people is capable of shouldering its own responsibilities and organizing its own independent State.

62. The people of South West Africa would, we are sure, discover the strength and the means to organize its own Government if, with adequate assistance from the United Nations and from its friends, it could remove the obstacles in the way of its liberation from the colonial yoke and regain its independence. The main obstacles lie, without any doubt whatsoever, not in any inability of the people to take care of itself, but in the colonial domination and the racist régime set up in the country by South Africa despite and contrary to the decisions and resolutions of the United Nations, particularly resolution 2145 (XXI), which provides that the Mandate delegated to the Union of South Africa by Great Britain is terminated and that henceforth South West Africa comes under the direct responsibility of the United Nations.

63. If the responsibility of the United Nations mentioned in that resolution could be exercised through the adoption of the necessary measures to compel the withdrawal of the South African police force and administration and thus terminate the revolting system of apartheid which has been set up in South West Africa, the people of that country would without any doubt—and this has been confirmed in the statements of all the African delegations and of others as well—be in a position to take charge of its own destiny.

64. Of course, the liquidation of apartheid presupposes an end to the financial, economic, political and moral assistance South Africa receives from

certain Western countries—assistance which enables and even encourages it to continue its sway over South West Africa.

65. We grant that it is not an easy task to persuade or to compel the Western countries, or some of them, to change their policy of assistance to South Africa. Certain powerful economic groups in those countries have large-scale investments there which they are steadily increasing in order to profit from the slave-State conditions established by South Africa in South West Africa. However, we must recognize the obvious, and that is that unless effective measures are taken to compel those countries to cut off aid to South Africa, the latter will not be in the mood to loosen its grip on South West Africa.

66. In our opinion, it is largely to that end that the responsibility of the United Nations and of all the friends of the South West African people must be exercised.

67. In view of the present situation and of the repeated refusal on the part of South Africa to withdraw from South West Africa, it is difficult to see the value or significance of the provision in the draft resolution before us [A/L.516/Rev.1] which speaks of making contact with the South African authorities to arrange for the transfer of the Territory. It is clear that such a provision can only result in allowing those who have an interest in prolonging the revolting apartheid system to postpone indefinitely the liberation of the Territory from the clutches of its colonial and racist oppressors by engaging in negotiations with South Africa.

68. To our very great regret and despite our feelings of solidarity with the African countries sponsoring the draft resolution before us, we cannot support such a text. However, despite the differences of opinion which separate us from certain African countries with regard to the methods to be employed in bringing about the independence of South West Africa, we shall continue to stand shoulder to shoulder with them in their unremitting struggle for the liberation of that country and of the other countries and territories in Africa which are still groaning beneath the weight of the colonial yoke.

69. Mr. IGNATIEFF (Canada): I should like to explain briefly the position which the Canadian delegation will take in voting on the draft resolution submitted to this Assembly in document A/L.516/Rev.1.

70. The position which my Government has taken is squarely based on resolution 2145 (XXI), adopted at the twenty-first session by a large majority, in which an Ad Hoc Committee was required to recommend

"practical means by which South West Africa should be administered, so as to enable the people of the Territory to exercise the right of self-determination and to achieve independence".

71. Having reviewed carefully and sympathetically all the ideas which were put forward in the Ad Hoc Committee as well as in the debate of the United Nations General Assembly, we still believe that the practical means which would best serve the achievement of the objective of enabling the people of South West Africa to exercise their right of self-determination and to achieve independence depend, at this stage principally,

on the ability of the United Nations to have access to the people as soon as possible, to see what the United Nations can do most effectively and most expeditiously to help them. This, in our view, necessitates conducting a dialogue with the de facto administration as well as having contact with the representatives of the people of the territory. To help the people, one must in the first place be able to communicate with them, to have contact with them, in order to find out what one can best do to help them. No scheme, however elaborate or perfect in form, which does not have this essential characteristic would, in our view, be regarded as meeting the criteria of the "practical" means envisaged by the aforesaid resolution adopted at the last session.

72. It was in the light of these criteria that we examined the proposals contained in document A/L.516 and the later proposals in document A/L.516/Rev.1 sponsored by seventy-nine Afro-Asian and Latin American delegations. My delegation has been willing fully and frankly to participate in discussions with other groups and to consider various courses of action. We regret very much that the consultations have failed to resolve differences of opinion which still exist as to the best or the most practical method of attaining the objectives in resolution 2145 (XXI) to which I have referred and of which we confirm our continued support.

73. The basic differences, in our view, related to the method, to ways and means, and not to objectives and principles, and therefore should have been resolved with further patience and diplomacy. The sponsors have set their minds on the establishment of an administrative council to take over from South Africa administrative functions made forfeit by resolution 2145 (XXI). We believed and still believe that to achieve effective action by the United Nations in the territory it is necessary to consult with the people of the territory and with the de facto administration first.

74. It is also necessary to take practical political considerations into account. We believe that our approach is firmly based on the principles of the Charter which require efforts at peaceful settlement to be tried first, before having recourse to coercion. We regard this approach also as more expeditious and efficacious because in the absence of agreement of the permanent members of the Security Council the consideration coercive measures as a means of implementation would not seem to us to hold much promise. By using the process of a dialogue through a special representative we would be assured of support of at least some of the permanent members in the dialogue proposed with the Government of South Africa and would be following, in our view, an approach which has a chance of giving access to the Territory of South West Africa and to its inhabitants. The Canadian delegation, therefore, regretfully cannot support draft resolution A/L.516/Rev.1.

75. In concluding, I should, however, like to express the gratitude of the Canadian delegation for the courteous hearing we have at all times been given in our discussions with the negotiating group of the Afro-Asian States—and I should like to pay a special tribute to the efforts of our friends in the Latin American delegations in this connexion. We share the objectives of both those groups in spite of our honest differences

of opinion about the methods to be followed at this time.

76. Mr. AZNAR (Spain) (translated from Spanish): My delegation has followed very closely the debates on the question of South West Africa and the proposals submitted both in the Committee established by General Assembly resolution 2145 (XXI) and during this special session. We voted in favour of resolution 2145 (XXI), and hence we consider ourselves under an obligation to comply with its provisions and to act accordingly when the time comes to accept its implications.

77. Naturally, therefore, we fully agree with the Ethiopian representative's statement [1503rd meeting] that the General Assembly clearly has to consider the question of South West Africa in a context different from that prevailing in the past. If the Assembly is to be true to itself, our debates on this question of South West Africa must be conducted within the framework established by resolution 2145 (XXI) and in the light of the report of the Committee on the Territory. There can be no question of reopening the entire voluminous file on a question which has been discussed ad nauseam for more than twenty years in various forums and organs of the United Nations.

78. Given this approach to the question, the Spanish delegation would like to make some comments on draft resolution A/L.516/Rev.1 as a contribution to a peaceful solution of the problem.

79. In the debates in the Committee, and in this forum, voices have been heard telling us: "We cannot vote in favour of the draft resolution submitted to us because it says too little." Other voices, with subtle reasoning which nevertheless commands respect, have said the opposite: "We cannot vote in favour of the draft because in present circumstances it says too much."

80. Disagreement has thus been expressed on this matter either on grounds of excess or on grounds of deficiency. In my opinion there is a middle way between excess and deficiency, namely, what is feasible, the step we can take at this moment. The Spanish delegation's position is based on this—what is feasible and strictly that. The policy of "all or nothing" generally serves the interests of the advocates of "nothing".

81. We are well aware that the peaceful solution of this problem is extraordinarily difficult without the collaboration of the administering Power, whose attitude polarizes the discussions, leading them to different and not easily reconcilable extremes. Nevertheless, thanks to the sense of responsibility of the Afro-Asian countries in accepting the reasonable suggestions of the Latin American delegations, and in particular to the efforts of Chile and Mexico, considerable progress has been made, in my delegation's opinion, along the road towards a balanced compromise. The draft resolution before us is sound evidence of that.

82. Quite a number of delegations regard this text as unrealistic, believing that the only possible way of implementing it would be to use force against South Africa; and the countries which could contribute effectively towards achieving this are not prepared to do so. The fact is that the United Nations is not at present

a world Government; consequently, before a desirable solution can be reached, the will must be present on the part of the sovereign States making up the Organization. But this hard fact does not mean that we must fold our arms and do nothing in the face of situations which seem to us unjust or calling for review and reform. Despite its imperfections and the fact that world changes make it in certain respects obsolete, the Charter signed at San Francisco nevertheless provides us with procedures for making recommendations, setting targets, reaffirming principles and assessing values in which we believe and which we wish to prevail, if not now, then tomorrow, and if not tomorrow, then the next day. And to achieve this we must struggle with the utmost fearlessness and patience.

83. Within the same context, my delegation considers that draft resolution A/L.516/Rev.1 presupposes the establishment of a goal which seems desirable. And although we cannot achieve it immediately, because the balance of power in the international community at present is not conducive to it, it is nevertheless one more means of exerting political and moral pressure on the administering Power. The history of the United Nations shows us how effective such forms of political and moral pressure have proved in many cases.

84. There are three reasons why my delegation is inclined to give favourable consideration to the draft which seventy-nine countries have submitted to us for decision. In the first place, the draft keeps the principle of direct administration by the United Nations for a transitional period prior to independence. As the Algerian representative said very rightly in his statement on 26 April, there is already the precedent of the Sarre Basin, a Territory which was directly and very successfully administered by the Council of the League of Nations; and I agree with his statement that "what was achieved by the League of Nations would seem, a fortiori, attainable by the United Nations which, in contrast to the League of Nations and in spite of the failures and crises which it has experienced, enjoys a moral and material authority imparted to it by its quasi-universal character and the determination of its members to 'establish conditions under which justice . . . can be maintained' " [1505th meeting, para. 45]. Secondly, the draft makes a point which my country, mindful of the provisions of the Charter, considers essential, namely, what I would call the principle of negotiation. That is how my delegation interprets paragraphs 2 and 4 of Section IV of the draft resolution. They represent one more attempt to reach agreement and a further opportunity to South Africa to collaborate with the United Nations in fulfilling the Purposes and Principles set forth in Chapter I of our founding Charter.

85. Thirdly, the Spanish delegation considers that the wording of paragraph 5 of Section IV is more in keeping with the provisions of the Charter, especially with Article 24, which confers on the Security Council primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security.

86. For all these reasons, my delegation will vote in favour of the draft; and, I would add in conclusion, that it once more affords us the great satisfaction of sup-

porting steps which in some important aspects, as here, are the fruits of the experience, the sound sense and profound legal acumen of the Spanish American delegations to which Spain feels itself bound by lasting and indestructible ties of brotherhood.

87. The PRESIDENT: The General Assembly has now heard all those representatives who wished to explain their votes before the vote is taken. There are eighteen representatives who have expressed a desire to explain their votes after the vote has been taken.

88. I call on the representative of Ethiopia on a point of order.

89. Mr. MAKONNEN (Ethiopia): Mr. President, I am most grateful for the opportunity which you have given me to come to the rostrum at this late hour and at this stage—this final stage, I may say—of our deliberations.

90. I have come to the rostrum primarily to perform a function that has been entrusted to me by the co-sponsors of the draft resolution before the Assembly. Representatives will have seen that in section II, paragraph 1 of the draft resolution no specification was made of the number of Member States which would be called upon to serve on the United Nations council for South West Africa. We had left that blank pending very close consultations among ourselves and also with other groups, because we wished to make a recommendation which would be in keeping with the composition and character of the United Nations. A council of this kind, first of all, had to be representative of all groups in the United Nations. We wish it to be a really international body since it will have the very important duty of acting for and on behalf of the General Assembly in this delicate matter. Therefore, we have been exercising our minds with a view to finding the right number to recommend. We have been aware, of course, of the fact that there is safety in numbers; but there is also inconvenience in numbers in that if the council is too large it runs the risk of being unmanageable. At the same time, it cannot be too small, given the considerations which I have already mentioned.

91. Therefore, after a good deal of study and consideration, we are able to recommend to the Assembly the number of eleven as being a number that, in our view, would take all the factors involved into consideration. So I should be grateful if in the blank space in the draft before the Assembly [A/L.516/Rev.1] my colleagues would be good enough to insert "eleven" as the recommendation of the co-sponsors.

92. Mr. President, now that you have given me the opportunity of coming to the rostrum on a point of clarification, you will perhaps allow me to make one or two comments by way of clarification which I hope will be in order and not out of place. I feel that, having had the great honour and privilege of being the spokesman of the Afro-Asian group at the beginning of the session, this opportunity for clarification allows me to make some comments and perhaps also some assessments.

93. Mr. President, you will recall that, on the day of the opening of the session, in the statement I made in the name of my colleagues of the Afro-Asian group

[1503rd meeting], I said that we were perfectly prepared to accept your advice and guidance to the effect that we should maintain an open and reasonable attitude of mind. I think I can say with good reason—and, I am sure, without contradiction even on the part of those who are farthest away from us—that our attitude throughout these deliberations of the past weeks, both in the Assembly and in the different consultations that have taken place, has been sound and reasonable. As my friend and colleague, Ambassador Adebo, had occasion to explain yesterday [1516th meeting], this of course is clearly shown in the draft resolution that the three groups, of Latin America, Asia and Africa, have been able to place before the Assembly and which is before it for action. In saying this, I should like to go a little into detail, although of course it is not my intention to prolong the proceedings of this session, which has already been too long. Mr. President, you have already been good enough to give us all the time required to carry the consultations to the maximum and it is not my intention to abuse your generosity in this respect. However, I think it is right that I should say, by way of reply to those who may have given the impression that we have not given in on all the points on which we could give in, that one of the primary demands made of us from the very beginning was the demand that we should agree to allow a chance for contact with the de facto authority of South Africa, that we should allow for a reasonable trial period. The Assembly will recall that in my statement at the beginning of the session I said that, whereas, in our view, that contact could not be excluded, we have had experience in the past of South Africa's continued defiance. Even the day before yesterday one of the responsible South African ministers in one of his statements said something to the effect that South Africa would in no way co-operate with the United Nations. I do not know to what extent he was speaking for his Government or whether it was only an outburst of the moment. At any rate, in spite of all this, we agreed that we should be prepared to allow for such a contact, provided of course that that contact were under the umbrella of resolution 2145 (XXI). To allow for any contact outside that resolution would be to take the Assembly backwards, and this, of course, we could not accept. So on that one important issue—important for us and for the United Nations—we were able to allow ourselves generosity of spirit and, in spite of misgivings on the part of some members of all groups, and more particularly of our own African group, we said that we would allow such contacts to take place.

94. With regard to the question of reference to the enforcement provisions of the Charter relating to Security Council action: In asking for implementation of resolution 2145 (XXI) and working out a scheme for such implementation, we were, again on the basis of our experience of continued defiance, absolutely justified in demanding that it be made perfectly clear to South Africa that if it refused to comply with the wishes of the Assembly there was no alternative but to call into play enforcement provisions which, after all, are not new—provisions which were not brought into being by the Afro-Asian group or the Latin American group but are in the Charter itself. Then we were advised, for the sake of co-operation and so as not to give

South Africa an excuse to refuse to talk, that we should agree to set those provisions aside for the time being and to allow our presentation to be as peaceful as possible in its approach. We agreed to do that.

95. There are other concessions and compromises that we have made but I do not think they require much deliberation since they are by now only too well known. I am prepared to say here and now that the modifications we made, which, happily, are modifications which do not in any way change the basis of our stand and which were suggested to us primarily by our brothers of Latin America, have made our presentation, which was already logical, as sound and reasonable as we can make it in the circumstances.

96. Having gone to the trouble of making all these modifications, what kind of attitude should we have expected from those who have been preaching such modifications and urging us to make them? What is the response we have had from the major Powers? Here I must put aside the position of the Soviet Union, because, as the Assembly will have noted from the statement made by Mr. Fedorenko this morning, it is basically different in its content and approach from the Western position as expressed to us—and I have no cause to hope that this Western position has been changed, for it has been expressed to us at the last minute by the representatives of the Western countries. We are of course sorry that the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries have not found it possible to maintain the solidarity with us that has always been characteristic of our relations from the beginning of the United Nations. We understand their difficulties and preoccupations. We are reassured by the promise they have made that, in spite of the fact that they will not vote for our draft resolution [A/L.516/Rev.1] at this time, we can always be assured of their continued support and co-operation.

97. I have already had occasion to say how much importance we attach to that support. Therefore, leaving the Soviet Union aside for the time being, the attitude shown by the major Western Powers is of course disappointing and very disturbing to us all. For, as I said earlier, we would have expected that, after we had made so many concessions, after we had been so accommodating, the Western Powers would be more co-operative and would be more aware of their special responsibility with respect to South West Africa.

98. After all, as I said in my opening statement, and I say again, the main reason why South Africa is defying the United Nations today is that it is protected by the Western Powers, by the Western alliance, and by the knowledge that the Western Powers will not do anything that would in any way undermine their economic interests in South Africa. That being the case, the attitude of the Western Powers creates a number of question marks in our mind—question marks which have to do with the very basis of the balance of major Powers in the United Nations and in the Security Council. This is not the time, of course, to go into that here. But I say, in all earnestness, that the attitude of the major Powers, in the face of the explosive and deplorable situation in southern Africa, cannot be ignored. It has to be thought about; it has to be considered all the time. Even at this eleventh hour, I can-

not but take this opportunity to appeal to the Western Powers to live up to the responsibilities of the United Nations, to see to it that the effective pressure that they are in a position to put on South Africa be properly applied. They should not take an attitude that encourages South Africa to continue in its defiance.

99. This is an earnest appeal that I am making, not only on my behalf, I am sure, but on behalf of all those who have the interest of the United Nations at heart.

100. Now I come to a short assessment of our session. In spite of everything that has been said, in spite of all the ominous predictions and false expectations that have been expressed, in spite of the fact that the Press—especially the Press here in the United States—has chosen to ignore this special session of the General Assembly, it will go down in history as an important one during which, first of all, the nations of Africa, Asia and Latin America spoke their mind, showed their willingness to co-operate with everyone, and made every effort to enhance the role of the United Nations as the bastion of justice and peace.

101. Of course, this not the end of the South West African problem. We all know that. This is only the beginning. In spite of our misgivings with regard to certain attitudes taken in the General Assembly, we will continue, first of all, to work united, as we have been in this session, to see to it that the draft resolution, once adopted, is implemented. Secondly, we will continue the fight. For us especially, the African nations, and I think equally for the nations of Asia and

Latin America, as well as for all nations that have the peaceful progress of the world at heart, this is a struggle which we cannot give up, this, as I have said before on many occasions, is a test case for the United Nations, in which it cannot afford to fail. Speaking for the sponsors of the draft resolution, I can assure the Assembly that we have the determination to continue to work together so that the liberation of that unfortunate territory will be achieved as soon as possible, without delay.

102. The PRESIDENT: Members of the Assembly have heard the statement of the representative of Ethiopia. I should like to state that the points of clarification to which he referred were in order, and every Member has the same opportunity to make such points, if he wishes to do so.

103. Before adjourning this meeting, I should like to remind Members that at the 1502nd plenary meeting, the Assembly agreed that a decision should be taken at a later stage regarding the closing date of the session. After reviewing the situation, and in consultation with the members of the General Committee and the Secretariat, I suggest that Tuesday, 23 May, should be considered as the closing date of the session, on the understanding that night meetings may be held if necessary.

104. If I hear no objection, I shall take it that the General Assembly approves this suggestion.

*It was so decided.*

*The meeting rose at 12.30 p.m.*

United Nations  
**GENERAL  
ASSEMBLY**

Official Records



FIFTH SPECIAL SESSION

**1518th  
PLENARY MEETING**

Friday, 19 May 1967,  
at 4.30 p.m.

**NEW YORK**

**CONTENTS**

Page

Agenda item 7:  
*Question of South West Africa (continued)* . . . 1

**President: Mr. Abdul Rahman PAZHWAQ**  
**(Afghanistan).**

**AGENDA ITEM 7**

**Question of South West Africa (continued)**

1. The PRESIDENT: The Assembly has exhausted the list of speakers in explanation of vote before the voting. Since no new proposals have been received and since there are no other representatives who wish to speak before the voting, we shall proceed to the vote.

2. The only proposal formally before the Assembly is that contained in document A/L.516/Rev.1. Members are aware that the representative of Ethiopia proposed this morning [1517th meeting], on behalf of the sponsors of that draft resolution, that the United Nations Council for South West Africa, as mentioned in section II, paragraph 1, of the draft resolution, should comprise eleven Member States.

3. Before the vote is taken, I wish to remind the General Assembly of the note prepared by the Secretary-General [A/6653], in accordance with rule 154 of the rules of procedure, on the financial implications of the draft resolution.

4. Before putting to the vote the draft resolution contained in document A/L.516/Rev.1—and a roll-call vote has been requested—I should like to request the Under-Secretary for General Assembly Affairs to explain the voting procedure to the Members of the Assembly.

5. Mr. NARASIMHAN (Under-Secretary for General Assembly Affairs): In respect of the roll-call vote on this item, may I request representatives to be kind enough, at the same time as they call off their votes when their names are called—and not before—to press the corresponding button in the small panel on their desks: the green button, at the extreme left, for "Yes"; the red button, at the extreme right, for "No"; and the amber button, in the centre, for "Abstention". May I again request representatives, at the same time as they press the corresponding button, to call their votes orally.

*A vote was taken by roll-call.*

*Jamaica, having been drawn by lot by the President, was called upon to vote first.*

*In favour:* Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Laos, Lebanon, Liberia, Libya, Madagascar, Malaysia, Mali, Mauritania, Mexico, Morocco, Nepal, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Pakistan, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Spain, Sudan, Syria, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, United Arab Republic, United Republic of Tanzania, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zambia, Afghanistan, Algeria, Argentina, Barbados, Bolivia, Brazil, Burma, Burundi, Cambodia, Cameroon, Central African Republic, Ceylon, Chad, Chile, China, Colombia, Congo (Brazzaville), Congo (Democratic Republic of), Costa Rica, Cyprus, Dahomey, Ecuador, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Gabon, Ghana, Greece, Guatemala, Guinea, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Israel, Ivory Coast.

*Against:* Portugal, South Africa

*Abstaining:* Luxembourg, Malawi, Malta, Mongolia, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Poland, Romania, Sweden, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Australia, Austria, Belgium, Botswana, Bulgaria, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Canada, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Finland, France, Hungary, Iceland, Ireland, Italy.

*The draft resolution was adopted by 85 votes to 2, with 30 abstentions.*

6. The PRESIDENT: Section II, paragraph 1 of the resolution just adopted provides that the United Nations Council for South West Africa, comprising eleven Member States, should be elected during this session. Unless I hear any suggestion to the contrary, I shall put this matter before the Assembly not later than Tuesday afternoon, 23 May.

7. I shall now give the floor to representatives who wish to explain their votes.

8. Lord CARADON (United Kingdom): I wish to make a short statement in explanation of my abstention from the vote on the resolution. My statement can be short because twice on this issue I have made the position and policy of my Government clear in this Assembly.

9. My delegation did not vote for resolution 2145 (XXI), for reasons which I have already fully explained. We have constantly in mind our obligation not only to the people of South West Africa, but also to the United Nations itself. We have consistently argued that we have an obligation not to raise false hopes, not to deceive ourselves or anyone else, and not to believe that we can overcome real barriers by words

alone. We were convinced that resolution 2145 (XXI) was likely to lead not to advance but to dissension and deadlock. But that did not mean that we were negative; far from it, We stated and advocated the practical and constructive course which we considered the right one. Let me state again the aim we set, the decision we took, and the method we proposed.

10. The aim was to enable all the people of South West Africa to proceed to free and full self-determination and independence. The conclusion which I stated last October in the General Assembly was that the South African Government had forfeited the right to administer the Mandate over South West Africa. As to method, our contention throughout has been that, having reached that vital conclusion, we should together thoroughly study all questions relevant to the advance which we wish to achieve and then act, not by words alone but by considered and deliberate action within our clear capacity.

11. We greatly regret that the pledge we gave to play a full and constructive part in considering methods and means and working out tactics and strategy and examining all legal and other aspects of the problem was not welcomed and accepted by others, and that the possibility of going forward in full agreement was therefore lost.

12. We were moreover prepared to support the practical action proposed in the Ad Hoc Committee by a number of countries, including Canada, Italy and the United States [A/6640, para. 84]. And again it is a matter for regret to us that the practical proposals then put forward were not accepted.

13. Two courses were proposed. We believe that the course we advocated could have opened the way to effective progress. We cannot see that resolution 2145 (XXI) and the resolution now adopted will do so. So, in abstaining from the vote today, I reaffirm the aim and the decision and the method which we have throughout consistently supported.

14. Mr. CSATORDAY (Hungary): The Hungarian delegation has participated in the general debate on the question of South West Africa with the sincere intention to add its useful contribution to the cause of the freedom and independence of the people of South West Africa. We were guided by the same purpose in the course of the consultations which took place among different groups of Member States before the voting.

15. My delegation would like to express its appreciation for the kind words used by several delegations in commenting in the general debate, and privately as well, on the positive contribution of the socialist countries to the struggle against colonialism and imperialism in general and against the minority racist régime of South Africa in particular.

16. This special session of the General Assembly has just adopted a resolution on South West Africa sponsored by seventy-nine Member States. My delegation, as is known, abstained from the vote. We consider it most unfortunate that a situation should have arisen in the United Nations in which my delegation, acting on the basis of principle, has found it impossible to vote in favour of a draft aiming at the liquidation of colonial rule in Africa. I should like

to explain briefly the reasons for my delegation's attitude.

17. First, we firmly maintain that every people has the right to self-determination and independence. We understand self-determination to mean that every people should decide itself everything concerning its internal matters; these should not be decided from the outside. Thus, an indigenous population should exercise the power within the borders of its own country. In dealing with the problem of South West Africa our guideline has been the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. In paragraph 5 of that historic resolution the General Assembly declared:

"Immediate steps shall be taken, in Trust and Non-Self-Governing Territories or all other territories which have not yet attained independence, to transfer all powers to the peoples of those territories, without any conditions or reservations, in accordance with their freely expressed will and desire, without any distinction as to race, creed or colour, in order to enable them to enjoy complete independence and freedom."

18. Many speeches, resolutions, exhortations have been voiced in this hall. I do not wish to repeat them, but we think that this passage in the Declaration says clearly that immediate steps should be taken. "Steps" mean concrete measures to achieve the aim—that is, independence for the people of South West Africa; and "immediate" means that we should not postpone in any way a decision or the taking of these steps. In requesting immediate independence for South West Africa we are acting in full observance of the Declaration contained in resolution 1514 (XV).

19. Secondly, many delegations have called attention to the present realities of the situation in South West Africa. In discussing the realities, we cannot ignore the most important aspect of the problem; the political, economic and strategic reasons for the close co-operation of the NATO Powers with the white minority régime in South Africa. Unfortunately, no reference was made in the resolution to this stumbling-block on the road leading to the independence of South West Africa. Instead, tact, politeness and a deference to the interests of those Powers and to their opinions have been expressed.

20. My delegation maintains that without putting an end to this heinous and criminal co-operation, carried out in spite of many United Nations resolutions, we cannot effectively help the people of South West Africa to gain genuine independence. How long will those Powers abuse our patience and, above all, abuse the patience of the people of South West Africa? It would seem to be a mere illusion to expect the major NATO Powers to co-operate in deeds in achieving that goal. The aggressive activities of the United States in South-East Asia, among others, clearly indicate the true nature of imperialism and colonialism. It uses force to oppress the freedom-loving people of Viet-Nam, in spite of the mounting indignation of world public opinion, and is prepared to commit similar crimes elsewhere if its vested interests or ambitions for power meet opposition.



21. Thirdly, during the existence of our Organization every year tremendous efforts have been made to persuade the racist minority régime of South Africa to abandon its illegal occupation of the Territory of South West Africa and its cruel policy of apartheid. Considering the aggressive attitude of the minority racist régime of South Africa, on what basis can we count on the co-operation of that régime in the future? That reasonable question is still waiting to be answered. Why is a dialogue needed? On what grounds and how is it to be carried out? We had an opportunity of hearing an answer from representatives of South Africa. They have been present in our hall, not only their Ambassador but also special emissaries from that régime—high officials. Did they have any contacts with the African people or with delegations that are interested in solving the problem of independence for South West Africa? Did they express any intention to satisfy the rightful demands and to execute the resolutions adopted by our Organization? We have only heard one word from them during this session of the General Assembly, and that is the word they spoke during the voting: "No". That is their answer to the whole resolution and to all the attempts for a dialogue for the settlement and solution of this problem. Thus, in the view of my delegation, any attempt to create contacts with them or to start a dialogue with them is only delaying the independence of South West Africa. Instead of raising false hopes, we ought to condemn that régime for its illegal occupation of the Territory, which as a result of the acceptance of resolution 2145 (XXI) came under the direct responsibility of the United Nations.

22. Fourthly, in the view of the Hungarian delegation, no outside administration should be imposed on any territory in the world, on any people that is striving for independence. Any such outside administration has inherent dangers of abuse of power. It would have danger that the situation might get out of the hands of the Organization, that a bureaucracy might be established and that the problem might not be properly settled. It might give an opportunity for personal ambitions and not promote the true interests of the local people. We have already in the past had very bitter and bad experiences. We cannot delay the independence of the Territory by making experiments, especially in a situation where uncertainty prevails over the outcome of the experiments.

23. Fifthly, by the assumption of administrative functions, such power is given to the proposed council that it calls for the utmost precaution. I am referring to the power to promulgate laws, decrees and administrative regulations up to the time of the establishment of the legislative assembly and the taking of necessary measures for the maintenance of law and order. We cannot ignore the fact that in such a council the members might have different approaches to the solution of the same problems. Each member might differ according to his background and interests, and these conflicting interests might result in bad resolutions and not in promoting the genuine interests of the local population. Besides, such a council would need an administrative staff which would also be composed of foreigners. They would constitute a link between the council and the action in the field, and through this particular means

they might even modify or change the meaning of correct decisions, as has happened on other occasions. In our view, these powers must be exercised by the representatives of the indigenous peoples. The functions of the United Nations in this respect should be restricted solely to promoting activities of this kind by the local government of the people.

24. Sixthly, according to section V of the resolution, the Council is to report to the General Assembly at intervals not exceeding three months on its administration, and there is no provision for the control and direction of the Council in the period of time between the sessions of the General Assembly. I think that even the sponsors of the draft resolution did not have the intention to establish a self-governing body, in the form of this Council in the Territory, whose activities would be very difficult to control.

25. During the consultations no explanation was given regarding the situation that would arise when an urgent consideration of a particular problem would be necessary in order to decide how to guarantee the best interests of the South West African people. The Council might very frequently meet such a situation when advice and direction would be needed. Judging the problem of South West Africa objectively, the chances for the co-operation of the minority white régime in the implementation of the United Nations resolution on South West Africa are not greater now than they were before; that is, they are practically nil. The resolution does not give a clear answer regarding that very possible outcome. Thus we are again losing valuable months without bringing nearer the independence of the Territory. In order to avoid such a development, the socialist countries, including Hungary, have suggested giving an organic role to the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples and to the Organization of African Unity in the carrying out of the provisions of this resolution.

26. This proposal was prompted by the experience that in recent years that Committee has proved its efficiency in handling colonial issues, including the question of South West Africa. Also well known is the extent to which the Organization of African Unity, by its resolutions on different colonial issues and by other practical means, has contributed to the solution of many problems at the United Nations.

27. The involvement of the Committee of Twenty-four and the Organization of African Unity in the implementation of the present resolution, therefore, would not lessen the responsibility of the United Nations, but would raise it to a higher level, would increase its control and efficiency, and would at the same time accelerate the process of decolonization in South West Africa. I am still wondering why this aspect of the problem was not given the necessary attention by the sponsors.

28. Seventhly, turning to the financial implications of the implementation of the resolution, my delegation maintains that the United Nations should hold responsible the colonial and other Powers which are usurping the human and material resources of the territory. They should cover such expenditures. The United

Nations should in no way contribute to their continuing role. Otherwise, we would create a very dangerous precedent which would rather encourage than discourage the colonial Powers to continue the exploitation of the remaining colonies, including South West Africa. To independent South West Africa, on the other hand, my country will gladly render economic and other assistance in a selfless way.

29. My delegation has always paid very significant attention to the struggle of peoples for self-determination and independence. The Hungarian Government, in accordance with its modest possibilities, has extended and is extending political, economic and all other assistance to peoples fighting against imperialism and colonialism.

30. We appreciate very much the endeavours of the Afro-Asian and Latin American countries to find a solution for the independence of South West Africa by the presentation of the resolution on South West Africa. Although my delegation has expressed some reservations in connexion with certain parts of the resolution, I should like to assure the co-sponsors that in the genuine efforts and positive steps they undertake for the independence of South West Africa and to help the people of South West Africa to overcome the nefarious attempts of the colonialist and neo-colonialist Powers, and in intervention to prevent this development, they can always count on the co-operation of my delegation and my country.

31. Mr. HAMBRO (Norway): When General Assembly resolution 2145 (XXI) was adopted last year, the majority in favour of that resolution was impressive. But, still, concern was felt because two permanent members of the Security Council were unable to vote for the resolution and two other members made their affirmative votes contingent upon various verbal reservations.

32. It seems to us that the experience of the intervening months has proved that this concern was not unfounded and that the General Assembly should proceed with the greatest caution in subsequent efforts to implement the resolution.

33. The resolution changed the status of South West Africa within this Organization. The South African presence in the Territory is no longer based legally on the Mandate, but forms a purely factual situation without any basis in the law of the United Nations. This factual situation is henceforth in conflict with the law of the Organization, and must therefore be changed. It is the task of the Organization to make the actual circumstances conform to the legal situation and to spare no effort which could realistically be made to bring this about.

34. It is true that support of the major Powers was important last year, when the General Assembly settled some basic principles with regard to South West Africa, and it is even more true today that the support of the major Powers is absolutely essential for the implementation of that resolution.

35. Before the vote was taken today, it was quite clear that the resolution could not command the kind of majority which was obtained in favour of the resolution of last year. Of particular importance,

to our mind, is the fact that two of the permanent members of the Security Council who voted in favour of the resolution last year found themselves forced to abstain this year. Yet, it is quite clear that, in the last resort, the Security Council may be asked for enforcement measures. It is open to doubt whether the permanent members will uphold in the Council what they have been unable to support in the General Assembly.

36. Furthermore, it seems to our delegation that the resolution goes beyond what is justified by political realities, in so far as it envisages an immediate presence in the Territory is no longer based legally opposed—without in any way indicating how this presence will come about. Nor are we convinced that the provisions for a United Nations administration for the Territory, as set out in the resolution, represent the most practical solution to the problems that would follow the withdrawal of the present *de facto* administration. The United Nations would be faced with organizational difficulties of unprecedented magnitude in attempting to discharge a responsibility which would cover all governmental activity in the Territory. We believe that this enormous task would require, in addition to universal support, much more study and planning than has so far taken place.

37. It seems to us, therefore, that the adoption of this resolution will raise false hopes and indicate to the peoples of the world that the Organization is able to take steps which at present are not possible.

38. If this resolution does not achieve its goals, it may weaken the Organization without having helped the people of South West Africa. Therefore, the Norwegian delegation was not able to vote in favour of the resolution which was just adopted. This does not mean that we have changed our position of last year. We voted in favour of resolution 2145 (XXI), which was a resolution of principle, and my Government is ready to vote for new resolutions implementing that resolution, provided they have a reasonable chance of being executed and will bring effective help towards the freedom of South West Africa.

39. Mr. TOMOROWICZ (Poland): If I take the floor at this late stage of the proceedings on the present point on our agenda, it is because I deem it my duty to explain as briefly as possible the motives which prompted my delegation to abstain from voting on resolution A/L.516/Rev.1, much as we wished to be together with our Afro-Asian friends also in this procedural act. I can be brief—indeed I feel compelled to be brief—in explaining our position on this matter because elaboration at this stage would tend to be repetitious, especially since I trust that, on the basis of our statements in the general debate, and in the bilateral and multilateral discussions we had the opportunity to have, there can be no room now for any doubts whatsoever as to our firmness and devotion to the struggle for the full implementation of the important aims given to all of us by resolution 2145 (XXI). I am pleased to say that we have also had here ample testimony of the full understanding of our position in that respect, in the interventions of a number of important African representatives.

40. My delegation is deeply convinced that the resolution contained in A/L.516/Rev.1 should have contained such provisions as would enable fulfilment in practice of all the basic aims of resolution 2145 (XXI), and we wanted to see those provisions made effective to eliminate all loss of time and to make use of all ways and means available to our Organization in that respect.

41. I trust that here we are in full agreement with the Afro-Asian group. Where we differed in our discussions was in the realm of methods to be adopted.

42. With all regrets and hesitation, after making a thorough and honest analysis of the resolution which has just been adopted, we have to admit that we have serious doubts about whether it will lead to a speedy fulfilment of the aforementioned aims.

43. To make the resolution effective, we wanted it to leave no doubt whatsoever as to our total condemnation of the position taken by the Government of South Africa, to exercise pressure upon all those Members which have important economic, political and diplomatic relations with South Africa to discontinue all their activities in those fields—activities which, in the final analysis, have strengthened the position of the Pretoria régime—and to make them use their weight to crush the obstinacy of the South Africans. We believe that it is for this Organization to collaborate fully with the African States to help the people of South West Africa to enter directly into the administration of their own territory, and not to be a replacement for their administration, which may only slow down the process of the emancipation and liberation of the people of South West Africa.

44. May I take this opportunity to look for a moment into the future, which in this respect, we trust, is most important, and once again to reiterate our full readiness and resolution to continue to co-operate with our Afro-Asian friends in the struggle for a free, independent and sovereign South West Africa.

45. Mr. PATRICIO (Portugal): Mr. President, as this is the first time I have had the opportunity to speak from this rostrum, I wish, in the name of the Portuguese delegation, to offer our felicitations on your election to preside over the deliberations of the fifth special session of the General Assembly.

46. When on 27 October 1966, the General Assembly, at its twenty-first session, adopted resolution 2145 (XXI) on the question of South West Africa, the Portuguese delegation made clear the reasons, which were mainly juridical, why we could not support its provisions. The present resolution [A/L.516/Rev.1] is intended to implement those provisions. Consequently, the Portuguese delegation could not do anything other than assume the same position as last year and cast a negative vote this time also. We may add that the misgivings which we had reason to voice on the former occasion remain and that no new elements have arisen to alter that basic position.

47. Mr. DE BEUS (Netherlands): When my delegation voted for resolution 2145 (XXI) on South West Africa during the twenty-first session of the General As-

sembly, it made it clear that it considered the decision to terminate the Mandate exercised by South Africa entirely justified in view of the non-compliance by that country with the provisions of the Mandate Agreement. At the same time, my delegation made equally clear its reluctance for the United Nations to assume immediately a direct responsibility for the administration of the Territory, convinced as it was that that provision not be carried out in practice.

*Mr. Rossides (Cyprus), Vice-President, took the Chair.*

48. On 27 October 1966 my delegation stated:

"My delegation has, from the beginning, however, been reluctant to accept a resolution or a stipulation which cannot be carried out in practice in the foreseeable future. Accepting resolutions which we know in advance cannot be implemented devalues the resolutions of the General Assembly which can be only to the ultimate harm of the United Nations and to all of its Members. It is for that reason that my delegation still harbours a reservation with regard to ... the final provision of operative paragraph 4 of the resolution... Under the present wording of this section of paragraph 4, the United Nations would be obliged to assume immediately a direct responsibility itself for the administration of the Territory. Such a stipulation could, in our opinion, not be carried out in practice..." [1454th meeting, para. 98].

49. Nevertheless, my delegation stated that, while maintaining its reservation with regard to operative paragraph 4, it did not wish to withhold its support from the resolution as a whole.

50. Since then, nearly half a year has elapsed and no progress has in fact been made on the way to the assumption of the direct responsibility for the Territory which the United Nations then undertook. The Ad Hoc Committee for South West Africa, notwithstanding valiant efforts by its members, has been unable to come to a common recommendation for the "practical means" by which that should be done according to resolution 2145 (XXI).

51. The vote which has just been taken on the latest resolution concerning South West Africa has brought no change in the basic attitude of my delegation, nor has it decreased our misgivings about adopting resolutions when we know that they cannot be implemented in the foreseeable future. And we do know that the resolution just adopted can neither be implemented nor enforced without the active participation and support of those who have the power to do so. The adoption of a decision without their support, as has just been done, means merely adding another paper resolution to the long list of unexecuted resolutions regarding South West Africa. In the view of my delegation, it was not wise to take a further step on the road towards the creation on paper of an administration for South West Africa without first trying to secure implementation of the first and most vital part of the resolution of October 1966, namely to obtain access to South West Africa.

52. For somewhat less than half a century South Africa has been the administering Power over South

West Africa, and its administration there continues. That is contrary to resolution 2145 (XXI), but no purpose is served by ignoring the fact. Having terminated the Mandate, the United Nations should, in our opinion, now concentrate its efforts on the first practical steps to carry this decision into practice, rather than formulating new and more far-reaching decisions which cannot be carried out for the moment. The first step should, we believe, be to obtain a United Nations presence in South West Africa. It is that step that was central in the proposal made earlier by Canada, Italy and the United States, which my delegation would have been able to support because it would, in our view, have been a realistic attempt to implement resolution 2145 (XXI).

53. It would be idle to suppose, in the circumstances as they present themselves, that practical means to assume responsibility over South West Africa will be easily found. But it would be even less realistic to suppose that a resolution of a more stringent nature than resolution 2145 (XXI) will bring a solution merely by the force of its language. Instead of furthering the implementation of resolution 2145 (XXI), the newly adopted resolution will—we are reluctantly forced to state—create new and vaster problems for the near future.

54. The resolution that has now been adopted foresees that possibility, true enough, by requesting the Security Council to take "appropriate measures" to make possible the assumption of United Nations administration in South West Africa. This reference to the Security Council implies that some time in the near future the Council may be asked to address itself to the matter in order to enforce the relevant decision of the Assembly. It is our feeling that the provisions of the Charter concerning enforcement action, which were designed with a view to enabling the Council to restore peace once it had been disturbed, were not intended to cover a situation such as that now prevailing in South West Africa.

55. The resolution that the Assembly has adopted today will—we fear—remain a dead letter and will, in addition, break the near-unanimity that prevailed seven months ago.

56. For those reasons my delegation was not able to vote for this resolution.

57. Mr. WALDHEIM (Austria): In its intervention before the General Assembly on 27 October 1966 [1453rd meeting], the Austrian delegation made clear its position on the question of South West Africa. Our attitude on this burning problem is therefore well known to this Assembly. Resolution 2145 (XXI), which was supported by my delegation, opened a new chapter in the history of this Organization and paved the way for the solution of one of the most urgent problems of our time. It established special responsibilities for the United Nations which now have to be discharged.

58. Our attitude on the question of South West Africa has not changed since last October. We were and we are firm supporters of the principle of self-determination and of the right of colonial countries to decide freely on their future and to accede of their own free will to full independence.

We now have to give evidence that we are willing to carry out what we eloquently idealize. We must, therefore, find ways to discharge the responsibility we have taken upon ourselves under resolution 2145 (XXI) of the twenty-first session of the General Assembly, however difficult that might be. Although there has been general agreement on the final aim, the suggestions for action by the United Nations made in this Assembly are, as you all know, widely different.

59. The draft resolution originally submitted by the Afro-Asian delegations [A/L.516] called for an administrative body to proceed to South West Africa to take over the administration of the territory; in the original proposal by the Latin America delegations [A/6640, para. 93], the council to be created was to enter into contact with South Africa; in the proposal by Canada, Italy and the United States [A/6642, para. 84], the council was to have no administrative function, but to co-operate with a special representative, who was to establish the necessary contacts with all representative elements in the Territory.

60. Whereas it was possible, after a series of consultations between the sponsors of the Afro-Asian and the Latin American draft resolutions, to work out a common text, it was unfortunately not possible to reconcile the proposals contained in this document with the suggestions made by the delegations of Italy, Canada and the United States. We have to note that the complexity of the problem prevented the Assembly from reaching unanimous agreement. That was indeed regrettable.

61. The Austrian delegation is fully aware of the difficulties that stand in the way of achieving the goal set out in last year's resolution. We have reason to fear that it cannot be achieved in the time in which we should like to see it achieved. Shocking as it may be, the present reality cannot be overlooked. In our approach to the question of replacing the *de facto* administration by a new administration which draws its legitimacy from the decision of the United Nations, we have to take this reality into consideration.

62. There is wide agreement that contact has to be established with the *de facto* administrator in order to lay down the procedure for transferring the Territory with the least possible upheaval. This attempt, in the opinion of my delegation, has to be made in order to explore all the possibilities for a peaceful solution and to set the stage for further actions of the United Nations. Considerable progress was made in this respect during the consultations which took place between the sponsors of the original draft resolutions and which led to the introduction of document A/L.516/Rev.1.

63. I should like to express to the sponsors of this resolution our appreciation for their tireless efforts, for their patience and perseverance in trying to work out through mutual concessions a compromise text which should serve as a basis for further actions of this Assembly. We had hoped that those efforts would lead to a draft resolution acceptable to all. We are sorry to note that this could not be achieved. The historic resolution 2145 (XXI) is followed by a resolution enjoying less support. It does not have

the backing of the permanent members of the Security Council. We sincerely believe that only a resolution which has the full and active support of those Powers also can enable the United Nations to achieve, without delay, the goal set out in resolution 2145 (XXI).

64. We have to continue on the road of last year's decision, which found such broad agreement in the General Assembly. The fact that the resolution just adopted does not have the full support of the membership, especially of the permanent members of the Security Council, leads us to doubt the practical possibility of implementing the decision just taken. I do not want to elaborate in this context on the provisions setting up the council for South West Africa and giving its terms of reference, nor on the question of how to define the tasks of the Security Council in this connexion. I wish to stress, however, that we fully recognize the need for adequate and efficient machinery to implement last year's decision. Any action of this kind would, in the view of my delegation, require the support of the permanent members of the Security Council.

65. What we have to avoid under all circumstances is a split in our approach to this problem. What we need under all circumstances is unity. If we are unable to achieve this unity, we run the risk of doing harm not only to the people of South West Africa but also to our Organization.

66. We sincerely hope that this unity can be reached in the course of our further efforts, and I wish to assure this Assembly that my delegation is ready to co-operate fully to this end.

67. It was in the light of those considerations that the Austrian delegation cast its vote on the resolution just adopted.

68. Mr. JAKOBSON (Finland): In explaining the abstention of my delegation in the vote on the resolution which has just been adopted by the General Assembly, I wish to recall what I said in my statement at the beginning of this debate on 25 April [1503rd meeting]. I expressed the hope of my delegation that a determined effort would be made to maintain the grand coalition of nations that had supported the historic decision of the twenty-first session of the General Assembly on the future of South West Africa. Of course, maintaining that coalition could not be an end in itself. It was the view of my delegation from the outset that any decision taken by this special session not only would have to be based on resolution 2145 (XXI), which irrevocably terminated the Mandate of South Africa over South West Africa, but also would have to carry us forward from that point and represent a real advance towards the goal of enabling the people of South West Africa to achieve self-determination and independence.

69. We all know that a determined effort was in fact made to find a solution that would combine the two qualities I just mentioned: maintaining the near unanimity achieved last October and carrying us forward to the goal that we set for ourselves. It is now clear that such a solution could not be found. The sponsors of the resolution just adopted obviously came to the conclusion that any further concessions on their part for the sake of maintaining the coalition

of last October would have defeated the purpose to which, in their view, all those who voted for resolution 2145 (XXI) were committed. At the same time, those delegations that could not support the resolution, for a variety of reasons, felt that it failed to pass the test of what in present circumstances was practicable.

70. The fact that the majority of last October has now fallen apart—a fact that so many speakers have deeply regretted—is not due to any lack of effort or time. The patient and persistent negotiations carried out between different groups—and no one could have more sincerely or ably striven for genuine compromise than the spokesman of the sponsors, the representative of Nigeria—clearly demonstrated that there is at present an irreconcilable difference over the means by which the purpose of resolution 2145 (XXI) can be carried into effect. It is not a difference that could be resolved by a form of words. It reflects a real difference of interests and convictions. This fact, though regrettable, must be faced.

71. As far as my delegation is concerned, we stated in the Ad Hoc Committee on South West Africa that, in our view, the logic of resolution 2145 (XXI) establishing direct United Nations responsibility for South West Africa pointed to the desirability of a direct United Nations administration for the Territory. Unfortunately, the logic of the resolution on which we have voted does not correspond to the prevailing facts of power. The course of action mapped out in the resolution requires the co-operation of the great Powers, which alone have the means and the responsibility for carrying it to a successful conclusion. Yet the great Powers, the permanent members of the Security Council, each for different reasons, have withheld their support.

72. In these circumstances, my delegation regretfully came to the conclusion that it could not vote for the resolution, which, while it is an impressive expression of the convictions of a great majority of the General Assembly, could not in practice be carried out. This should not be taken to imply any weakening of our commitment to the aims and purposes of resolution 2145 (XXI). The United Nations has assumed direct responsibility for South West Africa and must continue its efforts to find ways of discharging that responsibility.

73. Mr. ASTROM (Sweden): The Swedish delegation, acting on instructions of the Swedish Government, abstained from voting on the resolution just adopted. The reason we did so was not that we waver in our determination to work on the basis of last year's historic decision or to continue on the road indicated by that decision. Nor was the reason that we hesitate to support the legitimate demands of the people of South West Africa for self-determination and national independence. In fact, several leaders of the liberation movement are honoured guests of Sweden. We were compelled, to our deep regret, to abstain from voting because we did not feel that the various provisions of the resolution, taken in their totality, would constitute at this stage "the concrete and constructive decisions for a just and peaceful solution of the problem" of which the Swedish delegation spoke in the debate [1507th meeting, para. 12].

74. In arriving at this conclusion, the Swedish Government was guided by two interrelated considerations. The first was that a new resolution, in order to contribute effectively to the solution of the problem, had to obtain the same kind of support that was forthcoming for last year's resolution. We knew that this would not be the case and that many countries whose collaboration was essential for the successful realization of the objectives of the United Nations, as determined by last year's resolution, including four of the permanent members of the Security Council, would not find it possible to vote for the resolution.

75. The second consideration, which, as I said, is closely related to the first one, was that we had doubts whether the various elements of the resolution were balanced in such a way as to provide a firm basis for further United Nations action. The Swedish delegation, for its part, has not taken the position that the possibility of a provisional United Nations administration should be excluded; nor are we opposed to the idea of an appeal or a request to the Security Council using language at least as strong as the corresponding provision in last year's resolution. We also favour the suggestion to establish contact with the South African Government, while continuing to hold strongly that the terms of last year's resolution are not negotiable.

76. The manner, however, in which these three essential elements have been combined in the new resolution makes us doubt whether the resolution will in fact carry the question forward and increase the influence that world opinion, as expressed in the United Nations, could exercise towards the liberation of the people of South West Africa and towards the replacement of the de facto administration by a new administration which draws its legitimacy from the decisions of the General Assembly and from the demonstrated support of the people of South West Africa.

77. The Swedish delegation wishes to express its appreciation to the various delegations and groups of delegations with which it has been privileged to consult on this important matter. We have not given up hope that through continued consultations and co-operative efforts amongst Member States it will prove possible to bring the great task undertaken by the United Nations to a successful conclusion.

78. Mr. BANZAR (Mongolia) (translated from Russian): As everyone knows, the Mongolian People's Republic, which has been consistently pursuing a policy of supporting the struggle of colonial and dependent peoples for their freedom and national independence, and which is a member of the Afro-Asian Group, has always supported the Group's wise proposals aimed at eliminating the shameful system of colonialism in all its forms and manifestations.

79. Our delegation has repeatedly stated in the General Assembly its position on the question of South West Africa.

80. We continue to advocate the immediate granting of independence to the people of South West Africa. At the twenty-first session of the General Assembly, my delegation co-sponsored resolution 2145 (XXI),

by which the General Assembly took away from the Republic of South Africa the Mandate for South West Africa and placed the Territory under the direct authority of the United Nations.

81. Nevertheless, my delegation abstained in the vote on draft resolution A/L.516/Rev.1.

82. In our opinion, the prime prerequisite for the exercise by the people of South West Africa of its right to self-determination is the removal of the South African armed and police forces and the South African administration from the Territory. The resolution should have severely condemned the Government of the Republic of South Africa, which has been so obdurately refusing to comply with General Assembly resolution 2145 (XXI), and should have insisted on an unconditional withdrawal of all its armed and police forces.

83. The resolution should also have contained an appeal to all States, and primarily to those countries which have important economic and financial interests in the Republic of South Africa and which for that reason encourage the racists as a matter of policy, to end their collaboration with that country and to take effective measures against it in order to make it release its hold on the Territory.

84. So long as the racist authorities of the Republic of South Africa continue to remain in the Territory, my delegation doubts that the creation of various supplementary organs, including the Council which is mentioned in the resolution, can serve any useful purpose.

85. Being guided by these fundamental considerations my delegation, to its regret, was unable to support the resolution just adopted by the General Assembly.

86. In conclusion, my delegation would like to emphasize that the Mongolian People's Republic will in the future continue to give strong support to the just struggle of the people of South West Africa for its right to self-determination and will do all it can to help that people to achieve complete freedom and national independence as soon as possible.

87. Mr. BOUATTOURA (Algeria) (translated from French): During the discussion of the report of the Ad Hoc Committee for South West Africa [A/6640], the Algerian delegation had occasion [1505th meeting] to remind the Assembly of its position on paragraph 6 of General Assembly resolution 2145 (XXI). It will be remembered that Algeria abstained in the vote on that paragraph as it considered that the setting up of an Ad Hoc Committee would in no way bring us nearer to a solution of the problem before us.

88. The nature and the conclusions of the Ad Hoc Committee's report have, we believe, confirmed our misgivings. Despite the need to find an appropriate solution, certain measures likely to strengthen the position of the South Africa authorities have been included while means of bringing pressure to bear on Pretoria have been left out. On the one hand, talks with Pretoria are recommended, although, to be sure, it is stated that such contacts are to be limited in scope and duration. In this connexion, my delegation would have preferred part V of the resolution we have just adopted to be more explicit and to specify



clearly the time-limit for such contacts. On the other hand, no provision is made for the measures needed to achieve the objectives we all agreed upon in resolution 2145 (XXI). The reasons given for this do not seem convincing to us, for it is obvious, and has been obvious for a long time, that only by vigorous action will we be able to overcome the stubborn resolve of the South African authorities, which continue to ignore the decisions of the United Nations.

89. However, the Algerian delegation voted in favour of the draft which was submitted by a very large number of African, Asian and Latin American delegations. We did so in a spirit of solidarity, but we continue to believe that the measures set forth in it are an adequate response neither to the actual state of affairs nor to the known attitude of Pretoria.

90. Algeria's position, however, is certainly that of the sponsors of the resolution we have adopted. It was not without some hesitation that Algeria finally decided to vote in favour of that resolution despite its reservations with regard to the provisions of part IV, paragraph 2. We can see two possibilities: either South Africa accepts the terms of resolution 2145 (XXI), and there is a sound basis for a dialogue, or South Africa refuses—as is actually the case—to recognize the legality of that resolution or to implement either it or the resolution we have just adopted. In that case, what is the use of this recommendation to the Council? The importance of part IV, paragraph 2, is obvious. It defines and describes the executive duties of the United Nations Council. We voted in favour of the resolution out of feelings of natural solidarity which rightly take precedence over a judgement which we regard as fundamental.

91. Mr. GAUCI (Malta): My delegation supported and stands by the provisions of resolution 2145 (XXI) on South West Africa.

92. We read the report of the Ad Hoc Committee and followed the subsequent debate on that report with the care merited by this serious question, and bearing constantly in mind our obligations to the United Nations.

93. Until the very end, we entertained hopes that the lengthy consultations between the various groups would result in a formula which could command the support of the vast majority of the Members of the United Nations, including the permanent members of the Security Council. Our hopes, and a modest, last-minute effort on our part to bridge the gap, were unavailing.

94. We fear that the resolution which has just been adopted harms the United Nations more than it helps the people of South West Africa, and it could not therefore command our support. In view of the present international climate and the actualities of the situation in South West Africa, we are not convinced that other more practical approaches towards a solution of the problem were fully explored. It is evident that what is and what is not practical must be seen against the background of the general international situation and the views of the major Powers.

95. We are seriously concerned at the adverse consequences which the unlikelihood of the imple-

mentation of this resolution will have on the prestige of the United Nations and hence on its capability to effect peaceful change. This lack of capability for practical action will, in turn, gravely affect the interests of small countries which, in the United Nations, have a forum where their voices and influence are out of proportion to their real power in the world.

96. Mr. LIATIS (Greece): In casting its vote in favour of the draft resolution submitted jointly by the Afro-Asian and Latin American groups, the Greek delegation has acted in accordance with the general line of policy followed all along by Greece on the question of South West Africa.

97. We would, of course, have very much preferred a resolution which, as we earnestly hoped and wished, also commanded the support of Powers whose co-operation would be necessary in a matter which in the last resort may require appropriate action by the Security Council.

98. In the present circumstances, however, we thought it essential that a clear and positive step forward in relation to resolution 2145 (XXI) should be taken by this special session of the General Assembly as a result of the work of the Ad Hoc Committee for South West Africa and of our deliberations on this problem, long pending before the United Nations.

99. May I also stress that my delegation has not been unheeded of the counsels and exhortations for caution and prudence and diligence in dealing with this delicate and difficult matter which we heard from many quarters, especially those coming from some of our closest and best friends in this Assembly.

100. Nevertheless, thanks to the fruitful co-operation of the initiators of the resolution with our Latin American friends, we feel that those elements of caution and prudence and diligence were instilled in the original Afro-Asian draft. As a matter of fact, the text we have just approved duly opens ways and provides for possibilities of contacts with the South African authorities with a view to reaching a peaceful solution of the problem in conformity with the fundamental principles and tenets of the Charter, as we all most ardently hope and strive for.

101. It is in this spirit that my delegation welcomes the outcome of the vote taken this afternoon in this Assembly, and we feel confident that it will mark another milestone in the progress our Organization has to make in the discharge of its duties and responsibilities on behalf of the people of South West Africa.

102. Mr. GOLDBERG (United States of America): We of the United States were heartened last October when the General Assembly achieved, in the adoption of resolution 2145 (XXI) by the overwhelming vote of 114 to 2, an auspicious unity of action on this most difficult issue. In spite of wide differences in initial approach, we managed to unite in a historic decision that South Africa had forfeited its right to administer South West Africa, that South Africa's Mandate over the Territory was at an end, that Territory was now under the direct responsibility of the United Nations, and that an Ad Hoc Committee should recommend practical means by which the Territory should be administered so as to



enable its people to exercise their right to self-determination and to achieve independence.

103. My country served on that Ad Hoc Committee. Throughout its meetings, and again at this special session of the Assembly, we laboured long and hard with all schools of thought in search of a common approach. Our hope was to achieve agreement on a resolution which would carry resolution 2145 (XXI) a further step forward, perhaps not as big a step as we might wish, but at all events a step which would be taken with the unanimity necessary to make it solid and effective.

104. Now, for the time being, we must candidly accept the fact that our efforts have not succeeded. The draft resolution, just voted upon, for reasons which we made clear to the sponsors from the outset, could not be supported by my Government. I have no desire whatever to engage in long explanations, and certainly not in recriminations. I entirely respect the motives of those who put forward the draft resolution and I wish to express appreciation for the attentive consideration which was given to the views of my delegation during our common attempts to reconcile our different approaches.

105. Lest there be any misunderstanding, and because the issue, regrettably, is still a long way from being resolved, I wish to restate at this time as succinctly as possible my country's position concerning South West Africa.

106. First, we continue our full support of resolution 2145 (XXI). This historic resolution stands as the virtually unanimous decision of the United Nations on this issue.

107. Secondly, we shall continue to support the United Nations in its search for practical means

by which its responsibility with respect to South West Africa, pursuant to resolution 2145 (XXI), can be discharged.

108. Thirdly, we believe that further progress in this matter will inevitably require a good faith effort to advance the purposes of resolution 2145 (XXI) through a dialogue with the Government of South Africa, which still remains in physical control of the territory.

109. Despite our differences, let us not forget how wide our agreement has been and still remains on this important issue. We are agreed in our abhorrence of apartheid and racism. We are agreed in our determination to see the people of South West Africa enjoy their full rights under the Charter. And we are agreed in our affirmation of the responsibilities of the United Nations in this regard.

110. In resolution 2145 (XXI), not quite seven months ago, we closed the door on a chapter of history nearly fifty years in duration, the chapter of South Africa's rights in South West Africa under the Mandate. The next chapter is still being written. Although we were unable to support the resolution which has been adopted today, we nevertheless pledge that the United States, faithful to its vote in support of resolution 2145 (XXI), will do whatever it can, by all appropriate and peaceful means, to implement the terms and purposes of that resolution. My country's tradition concerning universal freedom is such that wherever any people come forward to claim it as their equal birthright, the United States must and will support them. We shall, therefore, faithfully support the people of South West Africa in their just aspirations by every effective and peaceful means until those aspirations have been attained.

*The meeting rose at 6.15 p.m.*



CONTENTS

	Page
<i>Agenda item 8:</i>	
<i>Comprehensive review of the whole question of peace-keeping operations in all their aspects</i>	
<i>Report of the Special Political Committee. . .</i>	1

**President: Mr. Abdul Rahman PAZHAWAK (Afghanistan).**

AGENDA ITEM 8

Comprehensive review of the whole question of peace-keeping operations in all their aspects

REPORT OF THE SPECIAL POLITICAL COMMITTEE <sup>1/</sup>

1. The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will begin its consideration of the item entitled "Comprehensive review of the whole question of peace-keeping operations in all their aspects". The report of the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations has been circulated [A/6654].

*Mr. Abdel-Hamid (United Arab Republic), Rapporteur of the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations, presented the report of that Committee and then spoke as follows:*

2. Mr. ABDEL-HAMID (United Arab Republic), Rapporteur of the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations: Members will recall that, at its twenty-first session, the General Assembly had on its agenda the item entitled "Comprehensive review of the whole question of peace-keeping operations in all their aspects". After a detailed debate, the Special Political Committee, to which this item had been allocated, submitted its report.

3. The report contained three draft resolutions recommended by the Special Political Committee. However, the General Assembly did not pronounce itself on any of those draft resolutions. Instead the Assembly decided, by resolution 2220 (XXI), to refer the report of the Special Political Committee to the fifth special session of the General Assembly. By the same resolution, the Assembly also requested the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations to continue the review of the whole question of peace-keeping operations and to report to the General Assembly at this special session. The report which I have the honour to submit is in pursuance of that decision.

4. The Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations had a busy session during the last three months.

The meetings began on a positive note, due largely to the initiative taken by a number of its members from non-aligned countries, in proposing through a memorandum that the work of the Special Committee could best be organized by the establishment of two working groups, Group A and Group B, in addition to the Committee itself, the two working groups to deal with the study of the various methods of financing peace-keeping operations and with the study of matters related to the facilities, services and personnel which Member States might voluntarily provide for a United Nations peace-keeping operation. That joint memorandum of the non-aligned countries, members of the Special Committee, is appended as annex I to the report.

5. The two working groups held a total of ten meetings. The meetings were constructive and businesslike and clearly reflected the desire of the members of the Committee to make sincere efforts to achieve progress in what is admittedly an extremely difficult and complex area. Several useful and practical suggestions were made, and these are contained in the views summarized in the body of the report of the Special Committee.

6. I now come to the recommendation of the Special Committee to the General Assembly. In paragraph 153 of its report, the Special Committee has recommended to the General Assembly the adoption of a draft resolution.

7. Operative paragraph 1 of the draft resolution would have the General Assembly renew its appeal "to all Member States and in particular to the highly developed countries to make voluntary contributions to overcome the continuing financial difficulties of the Organization".

8. Operative paragraph 2 of the draft resolution requests the Special Committee to continue its work and to study the various suggestions made during the Committee's last session, in particular those relating to the questions of financing future peace-keeping operations and of facilities, services and personnel which Member States might voluntarily provide in accordance with the Charter for United Nations peace-keeping operations.

9. Operative paragraph 3 asks the Special Committee to report on the progress of its work to the General Assembly at its twenty-second session.

10. Members are aware that, during the past few weeks, very intensive consultations have been conducted by the members of the Special Committee and the offices to reach agreement on substantive conclusions which the Committee could include in its report to the General Assembly. A large part of those consultations was based on a five-point draft prepared by several of the non-aligned delegations, members of the Special Committee. This five-point draft, which

<sup>1/</sup> Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-first Session, Annexes, agenda item 33, document A/6603.

now appears as annex V to the report of the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations, sought to list the points on which there appeared to be a possibility for a general consensus. It was not, however, possible to reach agreement, due largely to the shortness of time at the Committee's disposal.

11. Although the draft resolution recommended by the Special Committee might appear to be mainly procedural in character, it clearly reflects the general feeling among the members of the Special Committee that, given more time, it should be possible for the Committee to make significant progress at least in certain areas falling within its mandate.

12. The PRESIDENT: In view of the terms of General Assembly resolution 2220 (XXI), it would appear that the draft resolutions in both the report of the Special Political Committee to the twenty-first session and the report of the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations to the present session are before the Assembly. However, since the draft resolution recommended by the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations was adopted subsequent to the draft resolutions contained in the report of the Special Political Committee, the Assembly may or may not wish to vote at this stage on the three draft resolutions as set out in the report of the Special Political Committee.

13. Therefore, I thought I should bring this to the attention of the General Assembly at the outset, and, in the absence of any objection, to suggest on the basis of a general consensus that the Assembly may defer a decision on the draft resolutions submitted by the Special Political Committee and take a decision on the recommendation of the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations.

*It was so decided.*

14. Before I give the floor to the first speaker, the Chairman of the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations, I should like to announce that the list of speakers on this item will be closed at 1 o'clock this afternoon. This will enable us to organize our work and to conclude the consideration of the item during the afternoon meeting or, if necessary, during the night meeting.

15. Tomorrow morning we shall consider agenda item 9 entitled "Question of the postponement to 1968 of the United Nations Conference on the Exploration and Peaceful Uses of Outer Space". I shall therefore close the list of speakers for agenda item 9 at 4 o'clock this afternoon.

16. Mr. CUEVAS CANCINO (Mexico) (translated from Spanish): The Rapporteur of the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations has introduced the fourth report of that Committee [A/6654], which is thus beginning its third year of work. This is a fairly long period of time, and the draft resolution now before the General Assembly raises the question of continuing the Committee's mandate.

17. The Special Committee has submitted to the General Assembly a recommendation [*ibid.*, para. 152], essentially procedural in nature, under which the Special Committee would continue to examine the various aspects of the complex problem of peace-keeping—organic, financial and constitutional. I am inclined to

emphasize that the problem has to be considered as a whole and not piecemeal; otherwise this complex matter might lose some of its coherence.

18. The Special Committee has wisely adopted the principle of unanimity in its decisions. The problem is simply and solely one of fundamental importance in international life, namely peace-keeping and restraint in the use of armed forces on the part of all States in order to work towards coexistence; it is simply and solely the basic aim of those who founded the Organization.

19. I feel that the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations has made progress in its report. The work done is of a very high level; many of the concepts introduce new elements hardly even outlined up to now, while others reflect attitudes likely to bear fruit, if not now, then in the future. Nevertheless I do not think it rash to say that this question should be viewed in terms of slow but steady progress, and not of sudden and violent developments. Here there is a real conflict between two interpretations of the actual Charter of the Organization. Some countries regard the Charter as a multilateral treaty making law and embodying many obligations which in themselves constitute a source of new legal concepts, but nevertheless a treaty which must not in any circumstances depart from the basis upon which it was negotiated. Other countries view it from a more flexible point of view, as an unwritten constitutional document whereby the General Assembly can play a part more like that of a national parliament. These two interpretations should not conflict with each other but should be directed towards the essential goal of unanimity. Neither should take precedence; otherwise the foundations on which the Organization is built might be shaken.

20. It is not only the past work of the Special Committee that justifies the renewal of its mandate, but also the prospects offered by the continuation of its work. In my opinion, the Special Committee, through careful soundings, could invigorate and breathe life into certain concepts which are only hinted at in the Charter and have not yet begun to play the vital role intended for them. For example, at the last session we saw the possibility of asking the Security Council to apply the conventions and agreements mentioned in Article 43 of the Charter and thus, within the framework envisaged in the Charter, to prepare States to contribute towards peace-keeping. I have used this example rather than others which were also mentioned because it would seem that there is no controversy in this instance.

21. Moreover, the competence and effectiveness of the principal organs of the United Nations is a matter that the Committee has studied with great care. Provision was made for close co-operation, but as far as the concept of harmony within the Charter is concerned, twenty years of operation have perhaps brought out the differences rather than the common ground.

22. I feel that if the Special Committee were to continue its work it could provide the proper sense of continuity, for the concept at issue is one which has been discussed since the Organization was established.

Majority views cannot be imposed in regard to problems like this. We must gradually produce common ideas and avoid simple majority decisions, which entail great danger.

23. I believe that if the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations did not exist, it would have to be created, since it is vital to the basic and harmonious progress of the United Nations. It should help to avoid problems which will undoubtedly arise if hasty majority decisions are taken concerning matters which by their nature are of universal importance, and I do not think it is mere coincidence that the Special Committee came into being at a time when the Organization found itself in a serious and awkward impasse.

24. The only solution, therefore, is to continue reviewing the basic problems of peace-keeping which intrinsically affect the very essence of the Organization and, through careful and accurate analysis, to lay down new goals for putting into practice the principles of the Charter.

25. The Special Committee is the organ best equipped to translate into reality the various possible courses of action which today seem most useful for the Organization and can therefore contribute to the maintenance of peace throughout the world. Hence it seems to me that the General Assembly should consider time as a secondary factor. The problems we are now discussing have existed ever since the Organization came into being, and the important point is that the United Nations must not be weakened, that no doubt must be cast on the inherent excellence and cohesion of the principal organs set up at San Francisco for the maintenance of peace and the harmonious development of the world.

26. As representatives are aware, the Committee of Thirty-three was created during the nineteenth session of the General Assembly by resolution 2006 (XIX), but it is possible and desirable that the Committee should be strengthened by the association of other countries which without being members would take part in its work.

27. I believe I am expressing the general opinion of the Special Committee when I say here that if other States participated, it might give our work more flexibility and perhaps even greater precision. This would be particularly welcomed by many delegations.

28. In view of the Rapporteur's lengthy report, I do not think I need go into the details of our work at the last session. The General Assembly has before it a report of some substance, and I believe that the idea of continuity reflected in the draft resolution expresses very well the way we feel, namely, that our work is far from concluded.

29. However, a further appeal is in order, principally to the developed States, for voluntary contributions to wipe out the Organization's long-standing debts under this head, thus bringing to an end another perhaps somewhat protracted chapter in our history and enabling the Special Committee and the Assembly to devote themselves to more positive aspects of peace-keeping. For I believe that the work of the Special Committee, if it could crystallize certain constitutional and organic points, and by organic I mean embracing future financing, might prove extremely beneficial.

30. Mr. President, as you yourself mentioned, the General Assembly also has before it the report of the Special Political Committee submitted last year. The report was not actually sent to the Committee of Thirty-three, and you suggested that the Assembly should defer consideration of the draft resolutions contained in it for the time being. I believe—and hope I am expressing the general feeling—that the best course would be for the General Assembly to decide to transmit the report, with the draft resolutions it contains, to the Special Committee, which would study it and take it into account in its subsequent work. In that way we could in due course give this delicate and complex question our full attention, which might enable us ultimately to reach a solution to the problem.

31. Mr. GOLDBERG (United States of America): The problem of United Nations peace-keeping operations has come before the General Assembly at the very moment when international developments have brought this subject to the forefront of world attention and concern. We would have to have our heads buried in the sand not to be aware of the connexion between the question which we are debating here and the concrete and immediate realities in the Middle East.

32. The United States does not wish to say anything here today which would interfere with the Secretary-General's efforts to pacify the situation in the Middle East. The most that any of us can constructively do at this moment is to wish him Godspeed and every success in the critical mission on which he is about to embark.

33. In this situation, and in light of the fact that we are dealing with a procedural draft resolution, I do not believe that it would contribute to progress for me to make an extensive statement on the substance of this question. The Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations has proposed a draft resolution [A/6656, para. 153] under which the General Assembly would ask the Special Committee to continue its work and report to the twenty-second session of the General Assembly in the autumn. Although, in all candour, we would have preferred substantive action on this question at the twenty-first session, or indeed at this special session, we nevertheless stated in the Special Committee that we would acquiesce in this draft resolution. I pledge the best efforts of my Government in the Committee's efforts to reach agreement.

34. Peace-keeping lies at the very heart of the responsibilities of the United Nations under the Charter. Whatever the import of the events of recent days, it is necessary to remember that we are dealing here with a problem which is not transitory. It will be with us for many years and perhaps generations to come. We heartily agree with the Secretary-General when, in the concluding passage of his report to this Assembly last Friday, he appealed to the Members to

"intensify their efforts both for the maintenance of peace in this particular situation and for the improvement of the capacity of the Organization to maintain peace".<sup>2/</sup>

<sup>2/</sup> *Ibid.*, Fifth Emergency Special Session, Annexes, agenda item 5, document A/6730, para. 14.

It is in the spirit of that appeal that I make this statement.

35. At the very outset I should like to take this occasion to pay tribute to Ambassador Cuevas Cancino of Mexico and Ambassador Jakobson of Finland for their commendable performance as Chairmen of the two Committees whose reports are before us. This appreciation extends also to the able officers and secretariats serving those Committees.

36. The position of the United States on the principles involved in United Nations peace-keeping were set forth by me only two months ago in the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations.

37. Broadly speaking, they are as follows: the capacity of the United Nations to deploy peace-keeping forces promptly in an emergency must be preserved. To support this capacity, viable and equitable financing arrangements must be agreed upon and faithfully implemented. Any United Nations peace-keeping operation, like any other complex operation, requires a single executive. That executive should be the Secretary-General. He should, of course, operate within the scope of his authority, remaining fully responsible to the authorizing body and consulting with Members on his conduct of peace-keeping operations. No single country, however powerful, can or should be permitted to frustrate by the veto a peace-keeping operation of the United Nations properly initiated by an appropriate organ of the United Nations.

38. My Government has not changed its belief that these principles are sound and that they express the true meaning of the Charter. Indeed, the history of this question shows that this belief is shared by the vast majority of Members. We are aware, of course, that some Members differ with us in varying degrees. It is certainly not my intention today to prolong the constitutional debate. For we have never regarded this question in any of its aspects, legal, financial or otherwise, as an issue in the so-called cold war. We have never looked upon it as a confrontation between the major Powers. On the contrary, we believe that the major Powers, regardless of ideology, share a basic interest in the promotion of peace and security among all nations, large and small. And we believe that the United Nations peace-keeping activities are vitally important to that end.

39. I do not hesitate to emphasize the interest of the great Powers in this matter. The view is sometimes stated that the smaller Powers, because they are more vulnerable, are the real beneficiaries of United Nations peace-keeping, whereas the great Powers "can take care of themselves". My country does not accept this view. Nobody questions the vital interests of the smaller Powers in this activity; indeed, they have manifested that interest time and time again by their votes and their contributions. But neither should anyone suppose that the United Nations peace-keeping operations do not serve the basic interests of all of the great Powers also.

40. We live in a fast-changing and fast-shrinking world in which obsolete habits of thought can be suicidal. Great Powers should not alone be responsible for policing trouble spots, settling quarrels and protecting weaker nations. But if the United Nations

cannot perform this task, what is the alternative? For all Members, large and small alike, have obligations to uphold the law of the Charter and to help each other to maintain their integrity and independence. It is far better for nations to discharge those obligations collectively rather than individually. That is the root of the whole matter of peace-keeping.

41. Surely the era is long past when the world community could afford to ignore, or to be indifferent to, wars between small Powers, for bitter experience has taught us how infectious they can be. All such conflicts carry within them the danger of confrontations into which the great Powers themselves could be drawn and whose destruction would rain impartially on great and small Powers alike.

42. My country and the other major Powers therefore share with all countries a vital interest in maintaining and fostering an impartial instrument of stability, an instrument which, when danger and discord arise, as regrettably they inevitably must, can intervene not for power but for peace. This interest has nothing to do with ideology. It has everything to do with human survival.

43. The impartial international instrument we need already exists. It is the United Nations. Its capacity to serve effectively has been demonstrated in some of the most dangerous situations of our time. In those instances where it has succeeded, it has repaid its cost a thousandfold. In those instances in which it fails—and we must emphasize this, particularly today—our response should not be despair or repudiation, but a resolve to strengthen its effectiveness and to make it succeed. As my illustrious predecessor, Adlai Stevenson, warned: "Let none of us mock its weakness, for when we do we are mocking ourselves."

44. In this connexion, much has been said in favour of fidelity to the limitations laid down in the Charter. My country yields to none in this regard—although there are differences as to what the limitations are. But the Charter does not consist exclusively of limitations. It also confers positive responsibilities to act for peace. Those responsibilities rest on the organs of the United Nations; they also rest on us, the Member States. Each Member, in a manner commensurate with its power, must bear those responsibilities.

45. In this spirit we of the United States pledge anew our desire to see the peace-keeping question resolved and our readiness to work with all others to this end. We wish to respond flexibly to any initiative whose purpose is to ensure the future of the United Nations as a keeper of the peace—to ensure that every part of its peace-making and peace-keeping machinery is kept in working order and improved. Progress to this end cannot be made by unrequited concessions from one side. But where a spirit of accommodation is apparent, my Government will respond.

46. And we shall display the same responsive and responsible attitude also on the collateral question of the United Nations financial deficit. As all Members here well know, the United States over the years has been very forthcoming on this question. Throughout the years we have made large voluntary contributions, over our assessments, to United Nations peace-keeping. We also took a major initiative two years ago,

as I well remember, which was reflected in the consensus of the General Assembly on 1 September 1965, [1331st meeting] in order to break the deadlock over Article 19.

47. I am content to rest on the record of our performance and to leave it to the judgement of the Members whether others have fulfilled their obligations under the consensus.

48. We look forward to the day, which we trust is not far distant, when all Members will see their interests in the same light and will support a vigorous United Nations peace-keeping role as readily as fellow townsmen in all our countries, whatever their differences, support an efficient police force. That day, regrettably, is not yet, but we must not cease to work for its arrival.

49. Some will argue, and do argue, that it is unrealistic, in view of disappointments, to continue to believe in a world of law and order in which the responsibility for keeping the peace is shared collectively. I do not suggest that the road towards such an international order is easy or assured of success. It would be foolish for me to do so in the light of current events. But I do suggest that we are even less assured of success if we continue to rely on the so-called *Realpolitik*, which has been the tradition during many centuries of international affairs. There is nothing less realistic than *Realpolitik*. It has brought tragic wars, the loss of many millions of lives and no security for either the strong or the weak.

50. Surely in this great world Organization, where the tremors of international upheaval from every quarter of the globe are recorded every day—as indeed they are today—it is not too soon for all Members, large and small, to measure their response to the dangers that surround us. This is no time to make legalistic or ingenious calculations of the least that we can be required to do by the letter of the Charter. It is rather a time for us to see how much we can do, under the Charter, to advance the cause of peace. Such is our common unfinished task, for the completion of which the United States pledges its unceasing co-operation.

51. Mr. BAROODY (Saudi Arabia): Al-Mutanabi—the famous Arab poet who lived a few centuries ago, when Europe was still in the Dark Ages and Red Indians still ruled the new hemisphere—had he been alive and with us today, would have recited two lines of his poetry which eloquently highlight the whys and wherefores of the predicament that is confronting us today on the question of peace-keeping operations. I shall recite these two lines in the original Arabic and attempt to paraphrase them in English for the benefit of my colleagues. The first line reads:

"The sword is more truthful than the written word in deciding the outcome, by setting with its sharp edge the limit between the serious deed and the playful act."

52. Applying this verse to modern times, we deduce from it that nuclear armament is more effective than pious United Nations resolutions in setting the limits between what the nuclear Powers decide and what the small Powers devoutly desire. The second line reads:

"Should you see a lion bare his fangs, do not for a moment think that the lion is smiling."

53. Let us take the facts. More and more, our resolutions preach what we cannot practise or implement. When we come to the attitude of the nuclear Powers, we find that each one of them, still adamant in its stand vis-à-vis the other nuclear Powers, despises the soft words they address to us, the small nations, and the accompanying broad smile that lightens their faces. Whenever they act like this, we should recall the lion cited in the verse of Al-Mutanabi.

54. The question of peace-keeping operations, opened for discussion during the fifth special session has, as everyone knows, three major aspects: the juridical, the political and the financial. Although each of these aspects is in principle of equal importance, I believe that everybody concurs in considering the political aspect as presenting the main difficulty, which unfortunately has not so far lent itself to a satisfactory solution. Juridically, no one can contest in this Assembly the fact that the prerogative of peace-keeping rests primarily, and I dare say exclusively, with the Security Council, in accordance with the explicit provisions of the United Nations Charter. Anyone who claims the contrary has failed to interpret the Charter correctly. The residual power of the Assembly pertaining to peace-keeping operations does not go beyond the right to make recommendations to the Security Council in two circumstances: first, when the Council for some reason fails to initiate any action in a situation which the Assembly considers likely to endanger international peace and security; and second, in the event that the Security Council is paralysed because one of its permanent members exercises the veto. In these circumstances the Council may request the General Assembly to pronounce itself on a given situation. Juridically speaking, whatever its recommendations may be, the Assembly cannot itself in any way initiate any peace-keeping operations unless, of course, the Council concurs.

55. These are the facts. These are the facts that stem from the Charter and they cannot be altered unless the permanent members of the Security Council unanimously decided to amend the Charter. Anyone scrutinizing the provisions of Article 24 and Article 25 of the Charter will come to the conclusion that these two Articles constitute, so to speak, a pact among the Members of the United Nations. If the five permanent members of the Security Council, and, in particular, the two great Powers, laboured in continuous harmony towards achieving unanimity on items inscribed on the agenda of the Council, we should not be discussing the question of peace-keeping operations in the Assembly or elsewhere. However, the lack of concurrence, and quite often the wide divergencies, on certain issues in the Council, especially between the two great Powers, bring us to the political aspect of peace-keeping operations. Hence, the whole crux of the question before us resides in the co-operation, or lack of it, in the Council between these two Powers.

56. After having watched the deliberations in the Security Council on major disputes for over twenty years, I believe I am entitled to express my views, without allowing myself to be carried away by wishful thinking and high expectations, as has been the case

with a number of my colleagues who think that the problem could be solved through intensified efforts prompted by good intentions. Good intentions are not wanting and could always be discerned in previous Assemblies and in this one as well; and there has been no lack of diligence, either, in exploring all kinds of remedies, unfortunately with no palpable results. Why should this be so? Any student of history can furnish us with the answer. Those who are in a position to exercise tremendous power, as happens to be the case with the two—if I may call them so—super-state Members of this Organization, are often not quite amenable to reason on anything which may remotely affect their respective national interests.

57. I was indeed amused when the President of the General Assembly at its nineteenth session appointed a Special Committee to deal with the question of peace-keeping operations. Later, when he asked me, I made it quite clear to him that if the two great Powers did not come to a clear understanding on the application of peace-keeping machinery, the outcome would be a waste of time and effort. When I was asked what number should constitute such a committee, I suggested seven or nine, with about half of its members to act informally as conciliators between the two major Powers. Furthermore, I suggested that negotiations with the great Powers should not be publicized, nor should the meetings of the committee even be listed in the *Journal* of the United Nations. Regrettably, a diametrically different procedure was adopted. The committee was publicized, even before it was constituted; so much so that after the appointment of fifteen or eighteen members, a good number of our colleagues thought it would be glamorous to jump on the bandwagon, and expressed their desire not to be excluded from the honour of serving on the committee, whose number ultimately swelled to thirty-three, chosen on a so-called equitable basis. And to what effect? To the effect that some of them veered towards one major Power and others towards the other major Power, with a few members neither attached to nor divorced from either. This third category later found itself buffeted, so to speak, between the tempestuous wind and the stormy ocean, whilst other members were shuttling from one great Power to the other, with no likelihood of working out any practical proposal. Is it then hard to understand why we have so many proposals?

58. With all due respect to the members of the Committee of the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations, and many of them are dear friends—this Committee which has been most assiduous in proffering various views, as is evident from its voluminous report on the subject—we find the two super-Powers still adamant in the respective positions they have taken on the question of peace-keeping operations since they clashed on the interpretation of Article 19 during the nineteenth session of the General Assembly. One might ask: Why should there be such an impasse? A little while ago I mentioned that any student of history might be able to draw a parallel between what happened in the past and what is taking place in our present era. It therefore behoves us to analyse the behaviour of great Powers throughout the ages.

59. What was the case in the past is still true today. Great Powers predicate their policies vis-à-vis each other upon the basis of balance of power and, concomitantly, of partitioning the world into spheres of influence. Ever since the rise of nationalism in Europe, the system of balance of power has been adopted for the regulation of external affairs among States. And rampant nationalism today still supersedes ideologies in shaping the policies of States. In order to maintain a balance of power, each State is constantly on the alert to make sure that it may not become so weak as to invite encroachment upon it by another State. Hence an equilibrium has to be maintained by a State which is quite frequently imbued with fear that it is being emulated in power by another State—singly or in alliance with other States.

60. Those are the facts. It has always been like that, unfortunately. This fear itself is at the root of feverish efforts to accelerate armaments and gear national industry to a state of preparedness in the event of emergency. Other measures are adopted—always in the name of self-defence—for enlisting friends by economic inducements, such as trade or financial aid. To maintain this equilibrium between States, it is necessary that the increase in armaments be accomplished with the utmost secrecy. Hence the network of spies and multifarious activities of intelligence services abroad become understandable.

61. Clandestinely, each Power endeavours to ascertain what a rival Power is doing in the field of armaments. Once in a while saboteurs and agents provocateurs are dispatched by one State to create diversions calculated to undermine the power of another State. In all cases, as mentioned, those actions are motivated by fear and suspicion—while we here in the United Nations deliberate on peace-keeping operations. It therefore stands to reason that whatever a State does surreptitiously to maintain its supremacy, its force conflicts with the interests of a rival State which is trying to do the same.

62. But the great Powers use other than covert means to attain their ends. In fairness to the great Powers, I must say that the medium and small Powers ape them. The great Powers set the pattern for the behaviour of the smaller Powers. You find those Powers vying with each other for the favour of lesser Powers, to enlist them in their respective camps. New inducements are constantly being offered to small States in the form of all sorts of grants, and quite often by supplying them with arms, sometimes gratis and sometimes under long-term payment. Of course, all this is not done for the beauty of one's eyes. Rather it is done on the basis of "Scratch my back and I will scratch yours". And it seems that the backs are always itching these days.

63. Is it any wonder that each of the great Powers has its clients even in this General Assembly? You have only to watch the voting on certain issues to see how well defined the cleavage is. Someone might ask, what about the non-aligned Powers? Let us be frank. Most non-aligned Powers—most, not all—forget all about their neutrality when they can profitably align their interests with one of the two major Powers—and sometimes, alternately with both Powers. We see it happening every day. The chameleon has nothing on



man. The poor chameleon nakedly changes its colour, but man—I had better keep silent, out of respect for our species of homo sapiens; yes, homo sapiens, whose reasoning quite often lags far behind his rationalization, with the result that, not infrequently, we find him sacrificing justice on the altar of expediency.

64. But we have lately witnessed a new development. Outside the United Nations a third force has emerged on the mainland of eastern Asia. Since then, major Powers have even concurred to extend aid simultaneously to some of the so-called non-aligned Powers—not alternately, but simultaneously. That phenomenon was unheard of a few years ago, in my early days with the United Nations, when the great Powers were at loggerheads with each other. Today there is a gentleman's agreement about more or less defined spheres of political influence. That does not mean that suspicion does not still lurk between the major Powers—and the small Powers for that matter. But present suspicions are a far cry from those which prevailed a decade or so ago. To put it bluntly, the emergence of Communist China as a great force in Asia brought the two major Powers much closer, for each of them probably fears that Chinese expansionism may, one of these days, threaten its respective interests in Asia, the mother of continents, with almost half the world's population.

65. Consequently, the present world situation reduces the application of peace-keeping operations only to the small States of this Organization, whose Governments may bicker with one another over real or imagined grievances. Can anyone tell me how the question of peace-keeping operations would have any significance whatsoever if, God forbid, there should be a conflict between the two major Powers, or if one of those major Powers took the law into its own hands against a lesser Power?

66. In the first case we would very likely have a third world war. In the second case, only if the stakes are high for the major Powers does the danger of a world conflagration remain a possibility. But if one of the two major Powers does not think that it is worthwhile—and mark my words here—clashing with another rival major Power in the latter's conflict with a minor State, can we in all honesty assume that a United Nations force would be mobilized? I doubt it. I doubt it because it is most unlikely. Therefore, the object of deploying any given United Nations force is mainly to control the small nations which, for some reason, might jump at each others' throats. In such a case the two major Powers, if they concur on a given issue, become the arbiters between the two fighting Powers, regardless of whether the settlement of a dispute is just or unjust. Needless to say, concurrence by the two great Powers, whether in the Security Council or in the General Assembly, need not provide a just or wise solution.

67. Of course, there is usually no dearth of those who extol whatever decisions on peace-keeping the great Powers take. Quite often expediency overrides any legitimate objection for the sake of preserving peace. But such a brand of peace is in dire contravention with what the Charter prescribes indivisibly:

peace with justice; not the peace of the grave; not the peace of coercion; not the peace of the fait accompli.

68. Therefore, there is no assurance, as I see things, that even the concurrence of the two major Powers for the deployment of United Nations forces may be the solution to the issue preoccupying us in this and other sessions of the Assembly. Someone might ask, what is the alternative to United Nations peace-keeping operations—since, after all, we are committed in the United Nations to preserve the peace and to save humanity from the scourge of war?

69. The situation is not altogether hopeless provided the politicians—not the diplomats—who run the affairs in our respective countries extricate themselves from the antiquated methods of the past. In the past, politicians were compelled to resort to deceit and duplicity—sometimes with decorum, sometimes brashly—to attain their ends, for whatever they considered the national interests of their respective countries.

70. We can no longer afford such a policy. It backfired. It has plunged the world into many conflicts since the Congress of Vienna. The exigencies of the present world situation, fraught as it is with ominous dangers which may threaten the survival of the human species, call for a new brand of men at the helm. And let us hope that our respective countries will produce such men who, in the exercise of their high authority, will rise above baneful international rivalries. The pattern of conducting external relations among States should be altered in such a way as to raise the politician to the rank of a real statesman who would consider it beneath his dignity, or beneath the dignity of the nation he represents, to engage in dishonourable acts towards the Government or people of another country.

71. The League of Nations—and I observed its activities in the late twenties and in the thirties—was established about half a century ago for the purpose of transcending the system of the balance of power and for eschewing secret pacts and spheres of influence. The purpose of the League of Nations was like our purpose today, namely, to resolve differences amicably and on a just basis. The League of Nations foundered because outside its halls alliances continued to be made for maintaining the balance of power and all it involved. In those days, strong Powers lorded themselves over the weak amongst the defeated nations as well as the indigenous people of colonial territories—a number of which, incidentally, were baptized as mandates at the Versailles Conference, of which South West Africa is a legacy.

72. The great Powers of that era fooled no one but themselves; and their policies, allegedly formulated to maintain world peace, backfired and plunged the world into the Second World War. If we do not watch out, and if we follow the same pattern of international behaviour, peace-keeping operations or no peace-keeping operations, the United Nations will meet with the same fate. Let us be frank. We have been talking for twenty years here and the situation gets worse.

73. However, I must state that peace-keeping operations are linked with the question of armaments. There is always the temptation for the aggrieved as well as for the ambitious State to resort to force

whenever it feels that it is adequately armed. The danger is compounded when the State in question happens to be a great Power. Can anyone in this Hall tell me how any peace-keeping operation would have a chance to function if a great Power believed itself aggrieved or became over-ambitious?

74. Let us wake up, especially we young countries here, and open our eyes to the naked truth. We should not beguile ourselves with further futile deliberations, whether in the Special Committee or in the General Assembly. We should not think that by improvising all kinds of imaginable solutions we may finally discover the magic wand for bringing peace by the touch of the hand. In so doing we would only be treating the symptoms instead of finding ways and means for preventing the disease. Peace must first be inculcated in the mind of the child in his formative years at home, instead of giving him military toys and soldiers to play with. Those toys are indicative of the warped mentality of the nineteenth century when a child was told that he should be proud to become a soldier to defend his country. Later, the child should be conditioned to peace by the laborious process of his school education. And subsequently, during the rest of his adult life, peace, peace, peace, should remain before him.

75. Look at the mass media of information today, visual and auditory. In almost every country that has been affected by modern trends, violence and sex have been glorified—violence and sex which condition the minds of the young to pugnacity and promiscuity—and you want peace. Listen to the rumbling of martial drums and watch the unfurling of national flags. Listen to the thud of warriors' boots, marching, marching, marching, to the battlefields, to kill or be killed—and we talk of peace. Other warriors are riding in the skies and raining death on people discriminately or indiscriminately in many parts of the world, while sanctimonious politicians back home dub these warriors liberators and freedom fighters—and we diplomats, helpless as we are, keep speaking of peace-keeping operations in this Assembly.

76. I think we have had enough of words. What we need is good will among men. What we need is a change of heart, until, let us hope, a new generation arises which has been genuinely prepared for peace. Instead of panicking and drafting young men to wage war, I venture to visualize an interim solution which might seem radical and possibly quite novel to this Assembly. Nevertheless I believe that such a solution could be fulfilled if we here at the United Nations took it upon ourselves to publicize it among all peoples of the world—for, after all, this is an open forum. If we cannot settle our own problems among ourselves, perhaps the peoples of the world will take note of what is being done to their detriment.

77. First of all, if we could only legislate on the international level that no one under the age of thirty-five should be conscripted to make war, do you know the significance of such a law, if universally passed by all nations of the world? We only have to take a glimpse at history to see it revealed to us that those in authority who have declared war were preponderantly men over forty years old, men of my age and your age, Mr. President. Thank God, we are men of peace. If in the past only men over forty had been

conscripted to fight, no one would doubt that they would have opted for peace. It is indeed high time politicians all over the world ceased to make the battlefield a chequer-board on which to play with the lives of men.

78. Secondly, mothers in all countries should be consulted as to whether or not their sons should be sent to war. A mother by nature is a protector of life. I am sorry to say that so far the human male has proven himself to be a destroyer of life.

79. Last but not least, if it is not yet possible to have universal conventions to that effect at this stage, as may well be the case, then no youth or young man who has not had a chance, by virtue of his tender age, to relish life as his elders have done should be coerced to sacrifice his own life in war. Nowadays modern technology provides diabolical devices whereby the engines of destruction can be deployed by pushing buttons, with a minimum of physical exertion. Hence, let the elderly men spare the young and do what they consider their patriotic duty by pushing the war buttons themselves, if they find no other way of exercising their patriotism than by subjecting mankind to possible suicide. In the absence of such universal legislation as I am suggesting today, young people everywhere will continue to be driven to the slaughterhouse in many parts of the world, while we quibble here fruitlessly about the question of peace-keeping operations.

80. I have dealt with both the political and the juridical aspects of the item before us and, I should say, the humanitarian aspect also. The financial implications of peace-keeping operations do not arise unless the great Powers concur on whether the United Nations peace-keeping operations are to be devised in a manner satisfactory to all concerned. However, if the major Powers concur, I believe, the financing should be done on a voluntary basis. Such an arrangement need not preclude the creation of a special endowment fund to which States and individuals the world over may contribute with a view to supplementing the budget for peace-keeping operations.

81. In conclusion, in spite of all doubts that anything practical will materialize from our deliberations on this item during the present session, we should not relax our efforts in our quest for the necessary machinery to regulate peace-keeping operations on a just and equitable basis. In the interim period, and pending our finding a satisfactory solution, perhaps a few years from now, I firmly believe that the only way open to us at present is to judge each case requiring peace-keeping operations on its own merits—which should be done primarily by the Security Council and in a recommendatory manner by the General Assembly in conformity with the provisions of the United Nations Charter. Another alternative which should not be ruled out and which applies to a restricted number of cases is that two or more States at war with one another might defray the expenses of peace-keeping operations, provided those States elect to do so and can afford to meet the expenses involved.

82. Mr. IGNATIEFF (Canada): Our experience during and since the last session of the General Assembly with the subject of peace-keeping has shown, I think, quite definitely that disputation on general principles is of no avail—for the very obvious reason that, in the

face of pronounced differences among various Powers in the interpretation of the Charter, no Members or groups of Members are likely to yield on strongly held positions of principle. Recognition of this basic fact seems to be essential if we are to achieve any meaningful progress in the future.

83. Experience in the Special Committee on Peace-keeping operations, the Committee of Thirty-three, despite the modest results contained in its current recommendations, has shown, in our view, that it is none the less possible to discuss profitably certain specific questions in an endeavour to find practical solutions. First and foremost, various suggestions have been put forward on the methods of financing future peace-keeping operations. These remain to be further discussed and explored, taking into account various useful proposals which have been made, including the possible establishment of a finance committee.

84. Meanwhile, the recommendation of the Committee of Thirty-three renews the appeal that Member countries which have not made voluntary contributions, particularly the highly developed countries, should make voluntary contributions to overcome the continuing financial difficulties arising from past disagreements.

85. Secondly, practical progress should be sought in preparations for future peace-keeping operations, as the recommendation of the Special Committee suggests, in regard to the facilities, services and personnel which Member States may voluntarily provide to the United Nations in order to meet future emergencies. Preparations involve such questions as technical studies and exchange of information as well as the implementation of Article 43 of the Charter.

86. From what I have said so far, it follows that both the Security Council and the General Assembly—or, rather, its continuing Committee of Thirty-three, can and should continue to try to resolve specific questions in a practical way. The Canadian delegation believes that progress can be made if we focus attention on the common interests that we have in strengthening the capacity of this world Organization to deal with situations of the kind which have arisen in the past and unfortunately may be expected to arise in the future. This should be done in a practical and effective way rather than by debate on questions of principle on which we are unlikely to persuade one another to change one another's points of view. This seemed to us to be the approach which animated most members of the Committee of Thirty-three during its latest deliberations, and for that reason we are able and willing to endorse the recommendation submitted for our consideration by the Committee of Thirty-three in its fourth report to the General Assembly.

*Mr. Khalaf (Iraq), Vice-President, took the Chair.*

87. We therefore agree that the Committee should be authorized to continue its work and report to the twenty-second session of the General Assembly. In this connexion, I listened to the remarks of the Chairman of the Committee of Thirty-three, the representative of Mexico. We agree with him that this Committee should study and take into account the

recommendations in the report of the Special Political Committee to the twenty-first session of the General Assembly, which is also on our agenda. My delegation would consider such action appropriate on the assumption that progress can be made on peace-keeping, through the Committee of Thirty-three and the Security Council, and that Member States will co-operate towards the achievement of practical results.

88. I could not, of course, make a statement on peace-keeping in this Assembly at this time without alluding to the events of the past few days. These events, the disturbing implications of which our Secretary-General has brought to the attention of the Assembly and also of the Security Council, have served to underline, in a most dramatic way, the real and continuing importance of peace-keeping. The maintenance of peace and security, I need hardly remind the Assembly, is the primary aim of this Organization, on the basis of co-operation among all—I repeat, among all—the Members of this Organization. This is the main purpose and responsibility of the United Nations. In the fulfilment of that responsibility—that solemn trust given into our care on behalf of humanity by the Charter—there can be no victories, save for the cause of peace. There can be no defeats, save for the bewildered and long-suffering peoples of the world who are always the victims of events beyond their control.

89. It has been sometimes questioned why Canada places so much emphasis on peace-keeping. If by this is meant a wholehearted devotion to the purposes of the Charter and to the role of the United Nations in striving for world peace and harmony among the nations of the world, then I am happy to plead guilty on behalf of my country. We are at the same time prepared, and always prepared to consider on its merits every proposal, from whatever source, on the best ways and means which in given circumstances may contribute to the achievement of this aim. This may seem to some rather idealistic an attitude; but one of the greatest of Canada's Prime Ministers, Sir Wildred Laurier, once said: "Let our purpose be ideal and our action be practical".

90. This, I suggest, in all humility, might well serve as a motto for us all in this most grave time when our Organization is going through one of the most severe trials in its history. It is, I can assure the Assembly, the spirit which will continue to animate Canada in our continuing efforts to find solutions to the problems of peace-keeping.

91. This is no time for complacency, nor for dependency, nor for discord. Let us not fall into the temptation either of despair or of mutual recrimination. Let us rather redouble our efforts in the search for peace, using every means made available to us through this world Organization, which was one of humanity's most noble and hopeful structures, and which we must not now allow to fail.

92. Mr. ALARCON DE QUESADA (Cuba) (translated from Spanish): The task of maintaining peace and deciding as to appropriate action for that purpose calls first and foremost for a clear understanding of where the threat to peace lies, what forces must be overcome, and what obstacles removed to achieve har-

monious coexistence among nations, the supreme aspiration of our Organization. To achieve this, all that need be done is to open the windows of the General Assembly to take soundings on the world of today and to put the question to the peoples fighting and dying in their efforts to emancipate themselves and to bring peace for everyone.

93. Some representatives raise the question what is to be done to safeguard peace; what mechanisms are to be created to avoid conflict between nations and to make the hopes which led to the creation of the United Nations come true. Our reply is: ask the Vietnamese people who bear witness to the honour and dignity of mankind and with incredible tenacity resist the savagery and barbarism of aggression unparalleled in history; ask the peoples of Africa, Asia or Latin America fighting in the mountains and the cities to gain their independence; ask the peoples spilling their blood and expending their strength to destroy the last bastions of colonialism; ask the millions of black people struggling to wipe out the monstrous cruelties of apartheid and racial discrimination; ask the starving millions, ask the landless peasants, ask the unemployed workers, the children without schools and the women without bread. Their reply is not given in words, but in blood, not in speeches but in fire: "Work with us to overcome the aggressors, to wipe out imperialism, to put an end to the exploitation and oppression of peoples".

94. Safeguarding peace means wiping out imperialism. Either we fight with determination against imperialism or we do not really want peace. This is more and more certain in present circumstances, where some regions of the world have peace in a literal sense, though basically it is fictitious, while in others, particularly in South-East Asia, the imperialists are giving daily proof, with acts of brutality which will astound future generations, of their ruthless determination to subjugate all peoples, their unlimited will to sack and plunder, the madness of their plans to dominate the world and trample under foot the principles and rules of international law.

95. It is enough to try the patience of the most forbearing among us to listen, in the calm atmosphere of this hall, while the representatives of the imperialist Government of the United States sing the praises of peace at the very moment that American aircraft are bombing the factories and cities of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam and half a million Yankee aggressors are attempting to enslave the South Vietnamese people, at the very time when men and women, old folks and children in Viet-Nam are being massacred on the orders of the imperialist Government of the United States. Here the affable smile, the smooth behaviour and the sober speech; there the 500 lb. bombs, the napalm and the chemical and bacteriological warfare agents; here the spirit of conciliation and promise of negotiation; there the bombed out hospitals, the ruins of schools, the temples reduced to ashes; here the phoney coexistence and the pharisaical peace; there genocide, destruction and crime.

96. Washington wants to impose its own Yankee law and Yankee peace on the world. According to the American imperialists, peace and the precarious, unstable and wavering type of coexistence which

exists in some parts of the world can be maintained as long as they are given a free rein to control and oppress the weaker peoples. Agreement can be reached with the American imperialists as long as and on the condition that they are allowed to bomb the civil populations of sovereign States whenever the whim takes them; as long as they are allowed to invade the territory of any country and set up puppet Governments of traitors in their pay; as long as they are allowed to use napalm and chemical and bacteriological warfare, substances against anti-imperialist popular movements; as long as their monopolies are allowed to plunder whole continents, robbing them of their natural wealth and keeping their peoples hungry, backward and ignorant; as long as they are allowed to threaten, interfere with, blackmail, exert pressure on and commit aggression against the countries which have escaped from their exploitation; in short, as long as they are allowed to keep their privileges even at the cost of the death of millions by machine-gun or through poverty.

97. Men want peace so badly that even the imperialists are forced to talk of peace. But their peace is not the same as ours; theirs is not the peace for which the people are struggling. The American imperialists have their own ideas about international order, in which they have staked out for themselves the ownership of the world and the right to crack the whip over the people. These assertions are borne out by history generally and the history of American imperialism. The truth is there for anyone to read at any time, not in words but in deeds which nobody can deny, in South-East Asia, in Latin America and in Africa.

98. When the United Nations Charter was signed in 1945 after a bloody war, many people no doubt fondly imagined that a new era was to begin among nations, based on mutual respect, equality and law. But two decades have sufficed to remove every trace of that hope. The American imperialists have supported the United Nations to the extent that it has served their interests; they have respected the Charter of the Organization to the extent that it has not prevented them from proceeding with their crimes and plundering. On the other hand, what has the American Government done whenever it has met with resistance to its plans within the Organization? It has purely and simply trampled the Charter under foot and ignored the recommendations of the General Assembly; it has mocked the Member States. It has made it perfectly clear that it cares nothing for international law. It has shown that the international order it advocates is not that which makes for the harmonious development of all nations but that which increases the profits of its monopolies. It has shown that it is not interested in the world's public opinion but in its cheap raw materials, not in its aspirations but in stable markets, not in moral sanctions but in easy profits. It has shown that it does not want international cooperation but domination of the weak, that it does not want friends but serfs or victims.

99. The prerequisite of human progress and the building of a new world free from war or poverty is the overthrow of the aggressors and the elimination of imperialism. Imperialism—and at the present juncture American imperialism first and foremost—

is the sole cause of the conflicts, tensions and threats arising in the international community. In these circumstances, since American Government exercises a powerful influence in the Organization, is it possible to place any hope in the effectiveness and the desirability of allowing the United Nations to act as arbitrator, including the use of armed force, to settle international conflicts? If the root of such conflicts is to be found in the imperialist policy of aggression, the only possible solution, now or in the future, is to fight the imperialists.

100. Is it possible today to conceive of an international peace force organized by the United Nations acting against American interests, and directed against the Yankee aggressors? In the present international situation, with the balance of power as it is in the Organization at the present time, imperialist interests are bound to predominate in such peace forces, in their make-up, their command and their political leanings, just as they prevail in the other centres of power of the United Nations.

101. This Organization still has hanging over it the shameful memory of the Korean and Congo operations in which the United Nations covered itself with blood and dust to serve as a tool for Yankee aggression. In the former case, in violation of the provisions of the Charter, the flag of the United Nations was used to protect the American invaders in their shameless aggression against the Democratic Republic of Korea. Scorning the prestige of this institution and the principles on which it is supposedly based, United States troops continue to occupy the southern part of Korea and to use the flag of the United Nations, under which they are committing acts of armed provocation north of the 38th Parallel and continuing to threaten socialist Korea. In virtue of what principle of international law has the United States Government been able to manipulate the United Nations for seventeen years and turn it into a tool of aggression against a sovereign State? What Article of the Charter authorizes the Organization to interfere in the internal affairs of the Korean people, to divide it artificially by force and to carry out a criminal and foolish crusade against socialist Korea?

102. More recently there have been the Congo operations. Patrice Lumumba appeared before the United Nations and asked for its intervention to preserve the unity and territorial integrity of his country and to put an end to secessionist intrigues organized by foreign monopolies. Lumumba had faith in the United Nations and the effectiveness of its intervention and, it must be admitted, that was his one mistake as a statesman. What happened in the Congo? How did the United Nations forces respond to the hopes Lumumba had placed in them? The outcome could not have been worse—Lumumba was assassinated; Tshombe, the secessionist leader, became Head of State; and the whole of the Congo fell into the hands of the imperialists. Such was the result of United Nations intervention, for the simple and painfully obvious reason that the United Nations troops acted as tools of the monopolies against the Congolese people, assassinated Lumumba and with him destroyed the illusions and hopes he had placed in this Organization.

103. With unbelievable cynicism the imperialists and their de facto agents are trying to speculate about some of the most serious problems affecting the newly-independent States today. They say it may be necessary to use coercive measures, including armed force, against resistance to the United Nations decisions on the part of the colonialists and racists still dominating a large part of the African continent. But is it possible to conceive of military operation, with the participation of the Americans, and their allies, to liberate the people of South West Africa, to sweep away the racist minorities in Pretoria and Salisbury, or to force Portugal to respect the right of the people of Guinea, Angola, or Mozambique independence? Who is it but the Americans and their allies that have done everything possible to obstruct United Nations action in favour of those people? Who, if not they, has disregarded the recommendations of the General Assembly and has given and continues to give economic, military and technical assistance to those spurious régimes? How could the racist Governments in South Africa and Rhodesia or the decadent colonialist Government of Portugal have survived without that support, in the face of universal condemnation and the sustained efforts of all the African peoples?

104. We feel we must state our conviction that apart from a certain moral solidarity, nothing good can come of United Nations actions for those people. Their liberation will come as a result of the struggle of their peoples against the imperialists, colonialists and racists. In that struggle, the support of the African States and of all the revolutionary States in the world will be of inestimable value, but the unthinkable "assistance" of the imperialists—the fountainhead and mainstay of all the forms of racism and colonialism which still exist in the world—will never be.

105. Another argument used by the imperialists to deceive the representatives of small countries is that of the equality of States, allegedly safeguarded by giving the General Assembly the power to take decisions on important matters which, under the express provisions of the Charter, are reserved for the Security Council. Both in theory and in practice, Cuba is an ardent defender of the sovereign equality of all States anywhere in the world; but we do not believe that such equality depends on formal equality as regards voting in certain international bodies. True equality will be brought about as a result of the struggle of the small countries of the world, with the elimination of privilege and oppression in international life. Moreover, the Security Council has beyond any doubt betrayed the wishes of the so-called Third World time and time again. But the true reason for the ineffectiveness of the Security Council can easily be seen from a review of the records of its meetings. Quite simply, the causes are the policy of the great imperialist Powers, particularly the United States of America, the Security Council's support of all the reactionary Governments in the world, and its overt or covert opposition to any progressive change in international relations. But do not those same factors and pressures exist today in the General Assembly? Have not the imperialists contrived, do they not still contrive, to impose their wishes on the Assembly through the use of mechanical

majorities made up of the votes of their numerous puppets, swelled by the different expedients they have for bending the will of the weaker States?

106. For these reasons, Cuba is opposed to the right of the United Nations to act in so-called peace-keeping operations, which it was claimed were justified following the Second World War as being a device for eliminating the last remains of the vanquished international Nazi-Fascism. Today the same situation does not exist in the world; the characteristic features of our times are the collapse of colonialism and the open struggle of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America for liberation.

107. We believe that the interests of the peoples, and especially the peoples of the under-developed world, are not vindicated at the present time by discussing in which United Nations body—the Security Council or the General Assembly—the responsibility lies for so-called peace-keeping operations; those operations are not promoted or carried out under the banners of the international Organization. For, at the present time, what the imperialists are trying to do is to gain juridical support for their definite plans for armed intervention in the countries of the three continents. Examples of this are the conversion of the Organization of American States into a repressive police apparatus designed to fight against the peoples it cynically claims to represent, and the plans to organize a permanent inter-American force, the henchmen of imperialism in the Americas.

108. The recent disastrous Conference at Punta del Este,<sup>3/</sup> the worsening state of poverty and backwardness in Latin America described in the last report of the Economic Commission for Latin America,<sup>4/</sup> and the growing unrest among the Latin American peoples are sure signs of the imminent collapse of Yankee domination over our nations.

109. Nevertheless, the imperialists are not resignedly awaiting their demise. On the contrary, they are stepping up their manoeuvres against Cuba and trying desperately to check the growing emancipation movement of the peoples of Latin America—the Organization of American States is having its last fling. The puppet Government of Venezuela has called an extraordinary meeting of the Organization of American States, supposedly a regional organ of the United Nations but in fact the Colonial Ministry of the United States of America, with a view to accusing Cuba of acts of aggression towards its bogus sovereignty and fictitious independence. In that connexion, the Central Committee of the Cuban Communist Party has recently published a declaration which I shall read in its entirety so that the Assembly will know what is our position:

"As our people have been able to see from the international press agency cables published in full in our newspapers, the lackey Government of Venezuela, obviously acting under instructions from its masters in Washington, is attempting to whip

up a hysterical campaign of violence, aggression and war against our country.

"They talk brazenly of blockades by air and sea, of an ultimatum, of joint armed attacks, of economic boycott against Cuba's trading partners, etc. In other words they threaten and try to intimidate our country in a most shameful manner.

"What has sparked off this fit of warlike hysteria, these feaseome threats and stentorian war cries?

"Are the 'distinguished' governors of Latin America whipping themselves up to go to the assistance of the Dominican people whose country is still occupied by Yankee troops?

"Are they going to insist that an end be put to the occupation of the Panama Canal and that punishment be meted out for the massacre of the people of that country not long ago by the military forces of the United States?

"Do they intend to denounce the barbarous and brutal bombing of North Viet-Nam and the genocide which is being committed against the people of South Viet-Nam?

"Are they rising in protest against the United States for the brazen participation of members of its special forces in activities designed to repress the revolutionary movements in Latin America and demanding the closure of the military schools established in Panama and in the United States itself by the imperialists to train hordes of killers of the oligarchical armies in the technique of hunting down and exterminating the revolutionary fighters?

"Are they demanding the return to Cuba of the territory of the Guantánamo naval base from which periodically shots are fired against Cuban territory, killing Cuban sentinels?

"Are they condemning, however belatedly, the invasion of Girón, organized by the Central Intelligence Agency from bases in Nicaragua and Guatemala; the bombing of our cities by Yankee aircraft with Cuban markings; the pirate incursions from bases set up around Cuba; the thousands of acts of infiltration, the massive air-drops of arms to supply the counter-revolutionaries, and all other such acts committed by the Yankee imperialists without interruption against Cuba for the last eight years?

"Do they intend to browbeat the imperialists into calling off forthwith the criminal and cowardly economic blockade against a Latin American people, in violation of all rules of human and international conduct, and with the disgraceful complicity of all the Latin American Governments save for Mexico, an honourable exception?

"No—these and other facts of the kind are of trivial importance, altogether unworthy of consideration.

"What is really arousing fury and hysteria is the announcement of the presence of three Cubans, one of whom was killed and the other two arrested as they were allegedly assisting a group of eight Venezuelan revolutionaries to return to their home-

<sup>3/</sup> Special session of the Inter-American Economic and Social Council, held at Punta del Este, 15-17 August 1961.

<sup>4/</sup> Official Records of the Economic and Social Council, Forty-first Session, Supplement No. 4 (E/4181).



land, after struggling for years to free their country from domination and exploitation by the Yankee monopolies—for which crime they are assassinated ipso facto when they fall into the hands of the police State. This is what incites them to prompt, violent, homicidal acts against Cuba.

"This is the philosophy, these are the legal concepts and principles of international law, the morals and norms which the imperialists wish to impose on the world.

"The odd thing is that when these pious gentlemen talk of war against Cuba they think of a war fought by the Yankee army, navy and air force. In other words, cowards that they are they think in terms of what in their view would be a quick and easy massacre of our people by the imperialists. Such is the real reasoning underlying the melodramatic sabre-rattling of Mr. Leoni. Incidentally, his statements contained a series of lies. None of the Cubans mentioned belonged to the Cuban Regular Army.

"Antonio Briones Montoto, 27 years old, took an active part in the underground struggle against Batista when hardly out of his teens. Later he rendered services in many different branches of the Revolution, but he never belonged to the Cuban Regular Army.

"Manuel Gil Castellanos, 25 years old, could not take part in the guerrilla fighting because of his age, and was never subsequently a member of the Cuban Regular Army. Like Briones, he took part in other revolutionary activities.

"Pedro Cabrera Torres, 29 years of age, of peasant extraction, was on the Army's records for a little over a year between 1961 and 1963 when he left the Army.

"It is likewise false to allege that a Cuban rifle of Soviet manufacture was captured because all such arms supplied by the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics to the Republic of Cuba are duly registered and checked by the Weapons Section of the Army and none has been reported missing.

"The remaining allegations in the official declaration merely reflect the testimony of persons who are completely at the mercy of their gaolers, whose callousness and brutality are only too well known.

"But let it not be argued that we are anxious to evade responsibility. With regard to the goals of the imperialists and their policy of repression of the revolutionary movement in Cuba, it is not necessary to invent any lies or prove any truths. Yankee imperialism is a system which they are trying to impose on the world by the most barbaric and ruthless methods. It is waging a struggle to the death against the revolutionary movement throughout the world. Our people have been only too painfully familiar with the consequences of this imperialist design ever since the day on which, after a heroic struggle, for the first time in four centuries we earned the right to be masters of our own fate and to work out our own future.

"It is against this criminal imperialism and all its accomplices and lackeys that we are fighting

and will continue to fight, unswervingly and unflaggingly.

"The sickening farce of the Organization of American States is superfluous, for the imperialists have never needed excuses to commit their crimes, nor does the Cuban Revolution need to ask their permission or their pardon for fulfilling its duty to demonstrate its solidarity with all the revolutionaries in the world, including those from Venezuela; because the very existence of imperialism is the justification of the revolutionaries' activities.

"The basic goal of imperialist strategy in the world today is quite clear: to stamp out the liberation movements, making the most brutal and violent use of its military power to repress them, to colonize anew the newly independent countries, to establish throughout the world conditions of complete privilege for their economic interests, and ruthlessly to impose their will on the whole of humanity.

"In order to carry out its bloodthirsty policy of repression of revolutionary liberation movements in under-developed countries, Yankee imperialism has tried to establish a very strange right—the right of military intervention with armed forces and the right to wage destructive, merciless wars against small, weak countries, overcoming them one by one: e.g., in Santo Domingo, with an army of 40,000 men, without any pretext or any green light from OAS, which they subsequently suggested should indecently give its approval. At the same time, near to a million soldiers of various nationalities are waging a genocidal war against the people of South Viet-Nam; Yankee troops are continuing the military occupation of South Korea and part of the territory of Laos; they are savagely bombing the territory of North Viet-Nam and the liberated zones of Laos; they are threatening Cambodia and North Korea with aggression; and they are upholding their protectorate of Taiwan with their squadrons.

"To perpetrate these misdeeds, they use military bases established in territories belonging to many nations on all continents, and sometimes held on to by force, as in the case of the occupied territory of Guantánamo. Some of these bases, such as those in Thailand, take a direct, active part in the aggressive acts committed.

"Imperialism gives its repressive wars an international character by using soldiers of different nationalities. It did so in Korea, and it is doing so at present in South Viet-Nam, with the help of South Korean, Thai, Philippine, New Zealand and Australian troops. It did so too in Santo Domingo, with subsequent help from Brazilian, Costa Rican, Honduran, Nicaraguan and Paraguayan soldiers; and it is attempting to do the same by establishing an international force under the auspices of OAS to be used against Cuba and the liberation movements on this continent.

"In the eyes of Yankee imperialism these acts are legitimate and morally sound; they consider they have the right to practise piracy and perpetrate crimes in all corners of the world—Korea, Viet-Nam, the Congo, Laos, Cuba, Santo Domingo.



"No country can feel safe, because tomorrow Yankee imperialism could unleash new acts of aggression in Korea, in Cambodia, Syria, the United Arab Republic, Algeria or Cuba, to mention but a few examples.

"The intrigues of the Central Intelligence Agency and reactionary coups d'état such as those of Brazil and Argentina in Latin America, Ghana in Africa, and Indonesia in Asia, continue without interruption. Directly or indirectly, Yankee imperialist activities today affect every nation on every continent.

"Western Europe itself is becoming economically more and more a colony of Yankee imperialism. Millions of European workers are toiling to increase its profits. Yankee monopolist capital is taking an increasingly large slice of many of the key industries, and this increased participation is due not only to the profits made in Europe by exploiting English, French, Italian, Spanish, German, Belgian, Dutch and other workers, but also, as has been said by certain financial authorities, to the banking resources of those countries themselves, since their monetary cover to a large extent is in American bank notes while the gold remains in the coffers of the United States. And in all the European firms where the Yankees have a controlling or decisive interest, the policy of the United States Government is imposed over and above national sovereignty. None of those industrial enterprises, wherever they are located, is willing to trade any product with countries like Korea, Viet-Nam, China or Cuba, against which Yankee imperialism has built up its Draconian economic blockade; in fact they exert all manner of pressure on the other national industries, threatening them with economic reprisals to force them to join in their criminal policies; and the same is true of banks, commercial and shipping concerns.

"Nor does the United States mask its intention to use economic relations to infiltrate, weaken, demoralize, corrupt and divide the socialist countries in Europe. This morality, this policy and these strategic objectives underlie every single act of Yankee international policy.

"The military coup instigated by the United States in Greece has shown that even Europe does not escape the techniques used by Yankee imperialism in Asia, Africa and Latin America.

"But it is in the small and militarily weak countries of the so-called Third World that imperialist policy can be seen in its most brutally aggressive and truculent form.

"There is no system which safeguards the peoples there from its acts of vandalism. The United Nations itself has utterly failed to give these peoples the least sense of security; on the contrary, it has actually served on the whole as an instrument for condoning the crimes and misdeeds of the Yankee imperialists. It could not be otherwise, since the system which operates within the United Nations is the one which the imperialists have imposed on the parts of the world represented in the Organization.

"Our international policy is determined by these realities, which are only too evident, especially for

those parts of the world which feel more directly, and in their living flesh, the claws of the imperialists and have to fight a grim and all-out battle—against great odds—to keep imperialism at bay.

"That is why we Cuban revolutionaries have not subscribed and will never subscribe to any agreement relative to the cessation or banning of nuclear tests or against the proliferation of such weapons drawn up under the auspices of the United Nations, although in our present state of technical development this may reflect only a stand on principle.

"The Yankee imperialists are not only developing their nuclear weapons more and more; they are also going full speed ahead in developing deadly agents of chemical and bacteriological warfare. What can it achieve for people to abandon the development of their defence system except to provide the imperialists with ideal conditions for subjecting the world to their terror and their blackmail? Until there is a system which gives the whole of mankind, without any exception, equal and effective safeguards of their security, without privileges for anybody, the right of those countries threatened by imperialism to develop their means of defence, whatever they may be, cannot be renounced.

"This is why we refuse to accept any international United Nations force, which would only serve to place yet another instrument of aggression in the hands of the Yankee imperialists.

"This is why we cannot accept the right of the United States to dictate—as occurred in the October crisis—what type of arms our country, which is constantly threatened, should possess; still less can we agree to the inspection of our territory, for that would amount to confirmation of the right of the aggressors to decide on the arms its future victims should or should not possess.

"This is why we consider that it is not only a revolutionary moral duty but a vital necessity for the peoples of the present-day world, in the face of the imperialist policy of repression and internationalization of their punitive wars against the revolutionary movements, to encourage and increase to the utmost their solidarity with and assistance to revolutionaries fighting in all parts of the world or anxious to fight against imperialism.

"Some people believe that the adoption of a consistent and determined revolutionary policy in the face of imperialism would inevitably lead to a nuclear conflict. That would presuppose that the Yankee imperialists are potential suicides. They are powerful, but they are not invincible, nor are they suicidal, and the path which the pattern of history indicates will lead to a solution of the conflict between the interests of the imperialists and the rest of mankind is through the revolutionary struggle of the people. Confronted with this struggle, neither their conventional, chemical, bacteriological or nuclear weapons will be of any avail to them.

"The overthrow of imperialism does not mean the destruction of the American people or nation. The groups that control Yankee monopoly capital are a very small minority within the United States. The immense majority of the people of the United

States are the millions of industrial workers, farmers cultivating the land, intellectuals and students, and among those millions are the substantial numbers of the black population who are struggling fiercely for their rights.

"It is seldom realized that in the United States the people are one of the chief victims of Yankee imperialism. It is the people who in large measure pay for the unjust repressive wars of the imperialists with the sweat of their brow and the blood of their sons. The Pentagon recently stated, perhaps in an attempt to reply to the revolutionary watchword of Commander Ernesto Guevara, that it was in a position to wage several wars like that in Viet-Nam at the same time. That is what the Pentagon thinks, but not what the American mothers think, nor the black population of the United States, deprived of its most elementary rights; nor could it conceivably express the thoughts of the workers who live from hand to mouth or the immense majority of American students and young people.

"That assertion by the Pentagon may be true as a quantitative expression of its total technical capacity, but it is very far from being true with regard to its human, moral and political resources. In that respect, it has not sufficient resources even to win a victory in one single country: Viet-Nam, let alone to wage several wars of the same kind. To keep that boast would stir the conscience of the people of the United States in an unpredictable manner; and for this reason the historical process of our times will see the people fighting to free themselves, and the people of the United States, draw closer and closer together; and one day they will live in true peace and friendship on the ruins of an imperialist policy which can only survive by resorting to crime and the massacre of entire peoples. The problem for the peoples concerned is this: whether to capitulate to imperialism or to resist and struggle. Throughout the ages, resistance and struggle have meant facing the risks inherent in them, just as capitulation means nothing more than capitulation.

"Fear of nuclear blackmail does inexorably lead to surrender without resistance, without a struggle, in the face of imperialism, so that the fiction and the false pretense that the imperialists are prepared to commit suicide turns into a far more effective weapon for them than their atomic arsenal.

"If we want peace, it must embrace all peoples equally. In the world today, afflicted by domination which stretches out to every continent, the concept of peace can only be honoured if it means universal peace. Similarly, unless the integrity, sovereignty and independence of all countries, large or small, are guaranteed on an equal footing with the concept of peaceful coexistence between States with different social systems, this concept basically runs counter to the principles of proletarian internationalism. What peace do the Viet-Namese enjoy? What type of coexistence does America practise with regard to that country? What meaning do the words peace, European security, peaceful coexistence and similar pious phrases have for the men and women, the old, the young and the children, who are dying each day, the victims of the latest military techniques,

with so many bombs falling on their land that soon they will have exceeded the total weight of bombs dropped on Europe during the Second World War, and their over-all destructive power will be greater than that of the atomic bombs dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki?

"Our Party and our people, therefore, do not shirk their revolutionary responsibility to the world, nor will they shirk from the fight, with all its consequences and sacrifices, however and wherever the imperialists decide to engage in battle against us.

"We are accused of wanting to disrupt the order on this continent, and indeed we do assert the historical necessity for people to disrupt the order established by imperialism in Latin America and in the rest of the world. They accuse us of preaching the revolutionary overthrow of the established Governments of Latin America, and indeed we do believe that all oligarchical Governments, composed of gorillas, with or without uniform, the lackeys of imperialism and accomplices to their crimes, must be swept away in the revolutionary struggle of the peoples. We are accused of assisting the revolutionary movement, and indeed we do give and will continue to give assistance whenever it is requested, to all revolutionary movements fighting imperialism in any part of the world.

"We will never accept the status quo which the imperialists are trying to impose on mankind nor their Draconian laws nor their moral unscrupulousness. Right for us means the right of people to free themselves from exploitation and slavery, the right of humanity to rebel against imperialist crime and aggression, the main prop of reactionary thinking throughout the world. Law for us means the laws of the inevitable revolutionary development of human society; morality for us means the morality of the revolutionary fighters, and one of their most sacred and ineluctible principles in the world today is international solidarity.

"What we shall do in the face of the threats which are hanging over our country today, is increase our defence efforts while not neglecting our difficult but increasingly successful work for the cultural, technical and economic development of our country under the present conditions of economic blockade and, if it were necessary, even under a complete blockade, for at the present juncture no force in the world is capable of destroying our revolution. The Yankee imperialists and all their accomplices in the acts of aggression against Cuba will have to bear the consequence of their acts.

"We are not at all surprised that the corrupt lackey gang of traitors who govern Venezuela are fostering the imperialist war against Cuba, since for years they have been waging war against the people of Venezuela and their inability to stamp out the revolutionary movement explains their desperation. Today they appeal for imperialist intervention against Cuba; tomorrow they will call for the intervention of the Marines in Venezuela itself.

"If it is true that the young Cuban Antonio Briones Montoto died from two bullet wounds in the head and is buried in the Machurucuto cemetery, some sixty

yards from the beach, shot for having assisted the Venezuelan revolutionaries, our Party and our people would express their deep solidarity with his altruistic, revolutionary, internationalist and heroic gesture. To give one's life for the Venezuelan revolution is not only an example of the purest Marxist-Leninist tradition; it is also a gesture worthy of the noble tradition of Bolivar and the Venezuelan nation, whose sons fought and died for the independence of many sister nations on our continent. Bolivar wanted one day to fight for the independence of Cuba. Those who fight the imperialist war against our country should refrain from taking his name in vain. There will never be war between the peoples of Venezuela and Cuba, no matter what the Organization of American States and its masters decide in Washington. Our country or death. We will conquer. The Central Committee of the Cuban Communist Party."

110. Mr. President, my delegation will oppose any attempt to broaden or reinforce in any way whatsoever the jurisdiction of the United Nations in matters of peace and security. Neither the United Nations as an institution, nor any of its organs, is today competent to safeguard the rights of small States nor to establish international peace and order. Hence, the use of armed forces by the United Nations, far from being a safeguard for the peoples of the world would be a real threat to their legitimate interests. For the same reasons, Cuba does not intend to co-operate in any way in such operations and refuses to contribute financially to any operations, past or future, carried out in violation of the Charter and against the genuine interests of the peoples concerned. Such so-called operations, which have little to do with peace and a good deal to do with the policies of aggression and exploitation of the imperialists, are the exclusive responsibility of the imperialists and must be paid for by them like all their other misdeeds committed against the nations.

111. There will be those who read into my words a feeling of pessimism concerning the possibility of this Organization's fulfilling the noble role for which it was created. Nothing could be further from the truth. What we have repeatedly stated from this rostrum is, in fact, that the United Nations will never fulfil its mis-

sion so long as the influence of the American Government persists at the heart of the Organization. We shall never tire of emphasizing the need for all revolutionary and progressive States to pool their efforts to minimize that influence and to thwart the imperialist aim of converting the United Nations into a tool of its aggressive policy.

112. The diplomatic activities of the progressive States in the United Nations must be combined with the revolutionary activities being carried out in the mountains and in the cities, by the people struggling to combat aggression or to achieve complete independence. It is in fact the members of the liberation movements in oppressed countries, the vanguard of the world revolutionary movement, that constitute the real force striving to achieve and maintain true peace. The only sure road to peace is through sincere and unreserved co-operation with those movements, through moral and material solidarity with those in arms fighting to combat imperialism.

113. This militant solidarity is and will continue to be the kernel of the international policy of the Revolutionary Government of Cuba. We are steadfastly following that path, upholding the ideological principles underlying our revolution and inspiring our people. We are faithful to the aspirations which, more than twenty years ago, the peoples of the world tried to see reflected in the Charter of San Francisco; and we join with mankind in wishing to build a new world without exploiters or aggressors, without bombs and without hunger.

114. We repeat yet again that peace will not come out of diplomatic haggling or pious requests. It will be the fruit of achievement and of sacrifice. It will be won by the oppressed people on the battlefield, as a prize for their fight to the death, without quarter, against the exploiters. The vanguard of three continents, united by martyrdom and by courage, are already on the march into battle and towards victory. From this hall, let us salute their gunfire like a hymn heralding the rapid coming of the morrow.

*The meeting rose at 1.15 p.m.*



CONTENTS

	Page
<i>Agenda item 8:</i>	
<i>Comprehensive review of the whole question of peace-keeping operations in all their aspects (continued)</i>	
<i>Report of the Special Political Committee .</i>	1

*President:* Mr. Abdul Rahman PAZHwak  
(Afghanistan).

AGENDA ITEM 8

Comprehensive review of the whole question of peace-keeping operations in all their aspects (continued)

REPORT OF THE SPECIAL POLITICAL  
COMMITTEE<sup>1/</sup>

1. Mr. ÅSTRÖM (Sweden): It is now more than two years since the decision was taken to study the problem of peace-keeping operations in all their aspects. The purpose behind this decision was two-fold. There was, on the one hand, a general wish to avoid a repetition of the sad performance of the nineteenth session; in other words, to try to find a way out of the dilemma created by the various interpretations of Articles 17 and 19 of the Charter with respect to the peace-keeping operations in the Near East and in the Congo. On the other hand, there was a hope that a discussion of possible future peace-keeping operations, their initiation, execution, control, financing and so on, might be not only useful in itself but also conducive to an agreement on the settlement of the past difficulties. The two objectives were thus closely interrelated.

2. As it turned out, a consensus was reached with regard to the past without the help of an agreement on or even a discussion of the future. That consensus has not been fully carried out in practice.

3. May I say here that the Swedish delegation is probably not the only one to think that some reasons advanced for delay in making voluntary contributions do not seem altogether convincing, and that it would surely not be unreasonable to expect now, particularly from great Powers, a gesture of generosity and statesmanship. Such a gesture could do nothing but enhance the stature of the countries concerned. It would also enhance the prestige of the United Nations at a time when that prestige is being severely tested.

4. As things stand now, the sole purpose remaining for the study initiated in the Spring of 1965 has to do

with the question of peace-keeping activities in the future.

5. In the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations, the Committee of Thirty-three, an exchange of views has taken place on this question. The debate has brought out again and confirmed the fundamental differences between various interpretations of the Charter provisions regarding the measures that the United Nations can undertake for the maintenance and restoration of peace. Even the very term "peace-keeping operations" is subject to varying definitions and assessments. It is now suggested that the work of the Committee of Thirty-three should continue and that the study to be undertaken should, in particular, relate to financing and to some aspects of the question of technical preparations. It is symptomatic that these provisions in the draft resolution now before us, in order to be generally accepted, had to be formulated in a manner which is consciously ambiguous and which therefore serves to draw attention to the existing deep differences of opinion rather than to reconcile them.

6. The Swedish delegation does not oppose the consensus behind the draft resolution, but it finds it necessary to give voice to certain misgivings caused by some trends in the debates which have taken place hitherto.

7. There has been a natural tendency, reinforced by experiences of the nineteenth session, to try to find and to settle for a common denominator with regard to each aspect under discussion. In some cases, for instance regarding constitutional aspects, that common denominator has been so near zero that, as a result, the attempt to achieve agreement has been given up. In other cases, for instance regarding financing, control and preparations, the common denominator has also proved to be low, but serious and highly laudatory endeavours have been undertaken by many countries to move our work forward, taking that common denominator as a starting point and trying to work out concrete, limited proposals which would not challenge the constitutional positions of any country. We believe that such efforts should be continued and intensified. At the same time one should guard against certain dangers, as we see them. One is that, in the interest of complete unity amongst Member States, guidelines for the future might be suggested which would in fact detract from the experience gained and the practice acquired over many years and, therefore, lower rather than increase the readiness of the United Nations to deal with emergencies in the future. In the view of the Swedish delegation it would not be advisable to take any decisions that would limit the options open to United Nations organs in the future.

<sup>1/</sup> Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-first Session, Annexes, agenda item 33, document A/6603.

Nor would it be appropriate, or justified, to take any decisions that would cast doubt on the legality, legitimacy or usefulness of peace-keeping operations undertaken in the past.

8. Even if the prospects for constructive results from the forthcoming round of discussions are not encouraging, should this lead to gloom and despondency with regard to the peace-keeping capacity of the United Nations? The Swedish delegation submits that such conclusions would be totally unwarranted. If and when the need arises for a new peace-keeping operation, probably under conditions of crisis and urgency, the ability of the United Nations to respond to that need will be mainly dependent, as in the past, on the willingness of Member States to make use of the machinery of the United Nations and of the accumulated experience of the Organization. If we were able to work out some guidelines beforehand on such matters as financing, administration and so on, this would certainly be helpful, but it would not be likely to determine the success or failure of the United Nations efforts. Conversely, if we should be unable to arrive at any agreed guidelines for the future, this would not prevent the United Nations from taking such decisions as the situation demands and Member States are prepared to support. We believe that if the work of the Committee of Thirty-three is seen in this perspective, it will be possible to assess in a more realistic manner both the value of success and the price of failure.

9. Furthermore, the absence of substantial agreement in our discussions here and in the Committee of Thirty-three in no way means that the work of preparing for peace-keeping operations comes to a standstill. There are a great number of practical measures open to us which can serve this general objective. On the national level it is possible to organize and to keep in readiness certain facilities, services and personnel which may be placed voluntarily at the disposal of the United Nations at the request of a competent organ of the Organization. Many Member States have already taken such action, among them the four Nordic countries, Denmark, Finland, Norway and my own country. I may also mention here that every year a course is organized in Sweden to allow a fairly large number of military officers and civilian officials from those four countries to acquaint themselves with practical problems of peace-keeping.

10. Further, nothing prevents Member States from arranging for bilateral or multilateral talks to discuss such matters and to share experiences with a view to being better prepared. They are also free, of course, to inform the United Nations about any preparations they may have made nationally or about any consultations they may have conducted bilaterally or multilaterally.

11. Finally, it would be possible—and, indeed, it would be highly welcome—to initiate and encourage investigations and studies by national Governments, universities, research institutes and so on, regarding the problem of enabling the United Nations to play a more effective part as an organ for keeping and restoring the peace. The results of such studies should be internationally pooled, and they might be highly useful to the competent organs of the United

Nations as material to be utilized in further studies and in the practical handling of a peace-keeping operation.

12. We feel it particularly important at this juncture to stress the need for a sober appraisal of the review which is now to be continued. The withdrawal of the United Nations Emergency Force has caused widespread and deep anxiety. The total situation in the Near East is extremely serious, and it is highly regrettable that the United Nations Emergency Force is no longer there to exercise its deterrent and restraining influence, as it has done successfully for over ten years. But those disturbing developments should not in themselves lead us to question or to disparage the United Nations function as an instrument for peace. They make us acutely aware of the limitations inherent in United Nations peace-keeping operations based on consent and on voluntary co-operation both on the part of the country whose territory is involved and on the part of the countries which place personnel and material at the disposal of the United Nations. This reminder of the special character of voluntary peace-keeping operations should make us redouble our efforts to increase the prestige, efficiency and usefulness of the United Nations on as broad a front as possible and not only in the field of "peace-keeping" in its present technical sense. We should aim at making the United Nations a centre for early discussion of problems and situations that may threaten the peace, and we should try to develop procedures for the peaceful settlement of such problems and for a peaceful change of such situations.

13. There is, we submit, a need for a broad approach. The Swedish Government pledges its support for all efforts to increase the authority and the effectiveness of the United Nations.

14. Lord CARADON (United Kingdom): As we all very well realize, the events of last week have given dramatic urgency to our debate. I am sure that we all share the widespread and deep anxiety of which the representative of Sweden has just spoken. Those recent events have shown that what we discuss is no academic rehearsal of theories and legalities, but a matter of life and death. And they have shown that the United Nations faces an immediate and major challenge.

15. I do not believe that our purpose today should be to debate those rapidly changing events. If we were to do so we might increase tensions and inflame animosities and so add to the dangers. Moreover, we might prejudice the Secretary-General's mission, on which so much depends. I am sure that all of us most sincerely wish him well in the endeavour for peace on which he has embarked.

16. But while there will be other opportunities to debate the events in the Middle East and the action to be taken on them, I do not think that we should shrink from discussing the whole subject of peace-keeping as we had intended. On the contrary, I believe that we are right to do so now. We should do so with a fearless frankness. We must assess past successes and past failures too. We must consider together what has delayed and what has prevented our efforts in the past and what can now assist and

reinforce them for the future. We must not hesitate now to speak boldly and clearly in facing the realities and the menacing dangers. Far from avoiding or suppressing the peace-keeping issues which we have so long discussed, now is the time when they should be brought out into the open. And where the United Nations has failed in the past, we should not be afraid to admit the failures, not in a spirit of defeatism, but in a spirit of determination to overcome the barriers which for so long have stood in the way of progress.

17. As we turn to consider the report of the Committee of Thirty-three, I join with everyone in expressing gratitude and admiration to Ambassador Cuevas Cancino, the very able and greatly respected Chairman of the Committee. No one could have shown more patience and more resource in the search for progress and agreement. But apart from our gratitude and admiration for the Chairman, I trust that we shall not have to endure any compliments or congratulations on the work of the peace-keeping Committee.

18. While everyone else has searched for a forward course on which we could agree, there have been a few who have still shown themselves unwilling to join in the quest for progress. I agree very much with what the representative of Sweden has just said—and there is nothing to be said for gloom and despondency for its own sake—but we shall do no service to the United Nations if we seek to belittle the failure. Perhaps we have not come to bury the Committee of Thirty-three, but certainly we have not come to praise it.

19. The failure was not for lack of warning. The Secretary-General plainly warned us of the consequences of "a lack of new ideas and fresh initiatives", and above all, to use his severe phrase, he warned us of "a weakening of the will". That may be the most serious charge of all, the charge that there has been a weakening of the will—a weakening of the will to oppose reaction, a weakening of the will to insist on progress.

20. There have been many warnings, not least from the Foreign Minister of Ireland, who has come amongst us like a prophet calling on us to repent, to escape from the wrath to come. His appeal has been specially directed to the smaller States, which have, as he reminded us, the most to lose and the greatest interest in building a more effective United Nations. He has warned us that we are all, large and small, bound in honour to hold the United Nations in trust, to prevent it, to use his words, from "being filched from us Article by Article under the chloroform of some amorphous consensus". Yes, we have had sufficient warning.

21. Nor has our failure been due to lack of effort and initiative. The records of the Committee of Thirty-three are full of constructive proposals. I need not enumerate them. From Canada, from Sweden, from India, from Nigeria, from Jamaica, from the Netherlands, from France and from many others have come positive and original proposals. Ample material was provided for negotiation and fruitful progress. But all those ideas, all those practical proposals and

all those endeavours to take forward steps were opposed and blocked.

22. The failure was not due to a lack of readiness to understand and to respect the strong views of others. On the constitutional issues, on the vexed question of the respective powers of the Security Council and the General Assembly, representative after representative expressed readiness to put aside some of the issues in basic dispute in order to make limited progress in the interests of efficiency and effectiveness. But readiness to respect the views of others brought no corresponding response. The result has been a consensus which we could not support. We could not support it, not because we objected to what it said, but because it said so little.

23. As we look back on these wasted five years and reflect on the harm which has been done, let us think for a moment what could have been achieved if the combined action of all Members of the United Nations had been devoted to progress instead of a weakening of the will. The United Nations could at least have placed peace-keeping on a sound and solvent basis, with assessments taking due account of the capacity of the developed and the developing nations to pay. We could have established a finance committee to make recommendations on how each peace-keeping operation should be paid for. We could have made adequate provision for the financing of the continuing peace-keeping operations for which most of us voted but by no means all of us have paid. We could have relieved the Secretary-General of the intolerable task, the humiliation of begging us to enable our own decisions to be put into effect.

24. On the operational side, we could at least have created an efficient command with provision for training and equipment and logistic support for United Nations peace-keeping forces. We could have put the earmarking of national forces for international duties on a sound basis. We could have avoided the necessity for wasteful improvisation. We, the Members of the United Nations, could in fact, in these years, have forged an instrument ready and able to give immediate effect to the decisions of the United Nations against any emergency.

25. Here let me say a word about the question of enforcement. As we have repeatedly made clear, we stand ready, if the Security Council so decides, to resume the negotiation of special agreements under Article 43 of the Charter, as the Soviet Union has proposed, so that the Council would be able to call on forces for enforcement purposes. Our attitude on this has long been well known; it was specifically stated by my delegation nearly three years ago in a document dated 5 August 1964. There need be no dispute about that. What we are talking about, what this whole debate is concerned with, is not the enforcement capacity of the Security Council, but the capacity of the Organization to apply military methods in the peace-keeping field falling short of enforcement action. On that matter no one should be in any doubt about where we stand.

26. I return to the principles which my Government has firmly and consistently supported throughout this long debate.

27. We continue to believe in the primary responsibility of the Security Council and in the complementary functions of the Council and the General Assembly in the preservation of international peace. We continue to believe in the principle of collective responsibility of all Member States for peace-keeping expenses. We continue to believe in the necessity for greater efficiency in the command and control and training and logistic supply of peace-keeping troops. We continue to support the authority of the Secretary-General.

28. But while maintaining those basic aims, we have been perfectly ready, in a spirit of co-operation, to be content with limited advance. We have been ready and anxious to consider every constructive proposal. We have specially welcomed the proposals put forward last September by Canada and others on the two vital questions of finance and preparation. We have constantly sought not for a cold-war victory but for a United Nations success.

29. More than that, we have shown by practical action that our support for the United Nations is genuine. We have paid our assessments regularly and promptly. We have made substantial financial contributions to all United Nations peace-keeping operations. We have, for instance, always been amongst the first to contribute, at the rate of \$4 million a year, to the Cyprus peace-keeping operation, in addition to providing a military contingent at our own cost. Furthermore, we long ago made a general pledge to provide logistic support for up to six battalions of United Nations peace-keeping troops. And then, anticipating the unanimous call for general voluntary contributions to rid the United Nations of its debt, we took the lead with other supporters of the United Nations, and two years ago we made a voluntary contribution of \$10 million. Our contribution was unconditional. We asked ourselves not how long we could delay, but how soon we could pay. We asked ourselves not how little we could give but how much, at a time when it was by no means easy. No one can accuse us of paying too little and too late.

30. Permit me to say that, if our lead had been promptly followed by other nations well able to pay, the whole position and outlook for the United Nations would by now have been transformed, immeasurably transformed for the better, for the better of the United Nations and for the better of the world.

31. I have often in the past expressed my respectful belief that, in this and other matters, we can ultimately rely on the good sense of the general membership. It is they who stand to lose or gain most by the effectiveness of our Organization. They stood against the attempt years ago to carry the veto into the Secretariat. Moreover, many nations have participated and are still participating today in United Nations peace-keeping operations. And some twenty-three nations have already joined us in coming forward with voluntary contributions.

32. It may be that still further patience will be required. It may be that we must wait still longer for promises to be kept and for the damage done by delay and reaction to be repaired. But I trust and believe that the general membership will not

indefinitely tolerate delay and prevarication and obstruction. I trust and believe that the general membership will rally to support the authority of the Secretary-General and the rights of the General Assembly. I trust and believe that the Member States will increasingly ask not how much they can escape and avoid in responsibility and contribution, but how much they can help in international co-operative action and in building up effective international authority.

33. It is unnecessary today to stress that the conflicts of the world do not diminish, that the disputes multiply, the dangers greatly increase. There are many who recognize the need for the United Nations to do not less but more, to carry heavier responsibilities, to face new and greater tasks. But if we pile on more burdens and at the same time refuse to give the Organization the power and the means to carry out its primary tasks of peace-making and peace-keeping, we shall continue in failure and we shall betray our trust.

34. In the whole field of peace-making and peace-keeping, I hope that the general membership will before long see the need for planning and preparation and will insist on a new major effort to meet it. And no one now can dispute the grave urgency of that need. May I say here, in passing, how much I welcomed the wise and thoughtful and encouraging contribution to which we just listened, from the representative of Sweden.

35. Many of us have contended that what we see in the world and in the United Nations is a transition from the days of power politics and the domination of the world by a few great Powers, a transition from those bad old days, to a new era of international understanding and international co-operation and international authority. We do not expect that transition to be easy or quick. We know that it will be slow and hard. There will no doubt be many failures and setbacks, and maybe even disasters, along the road.

36. There are a few who do not wish to see genuine progress along that road. There are some who are afraid of provoking or challenging those who oppose progress. But, speaking for my country, I wish to say now that we shall never be on the side of delay, we shall never seek to oppose or postpone the strengthening of the United Nations, we shall continue to be in the forefront of those who give practical support to the United Nations and those who advocate the cause of making our Organization a more effective force for peace-making and peace-keeping. We may be balked and prevented and delayed for a while as we are now, but we shall certainly not abandon our efforts nor shall we lose faith that our efforts will prevail.

37. Let me finally return to the immediate situation in the Middle East.

38. Let me most earnestly put it to you that our policy should be positive and determined. We should conclude that what has been attempted and achieved over ten years in the Middle East by the United Nations has been greatly to the credit of everyone who has participated and contributed. It has been specially to the lasting credit of those who, for the past



decade, have given devoted and disinterested service in the desert. All of us should join in paying grateful tribute to them. We owe it to them, and we owe it to all those who place their trust in international understanding and authority, not to give up but rather, in adversity and danger, to reaffirm our determination to serve the purposes of the Charter and to find new means of putting them into effect. I agree with the representative of Sweden when he says that we must redouble our efforts in that direction.

39. It is a time when all the high purposes which we have so often declared will be put to the test. We, for our part, pledge ourselves in this time of testing to join again with all who seek peace and justice in a renewed co-operative effort, an effort to work persistently and urgently and to work together.

40. Now let us unite in supporting the Secretary-General's mission. He carries with him the goodwill and the fervent hopes of everyone in the world who wished to see peace maintained. He personifies the conviction which my Government has long maintained and now more than ever supports: that the solution of the present problems of the Middle East must be found within the peace-keeping framework of the United Nations.

41. Mr. AIKEN (Ireland): First of all, I should like very sincerely to join the representatives of Saudi Arabia, Sweden and Great Britain in wishing our dedicated Secretary-General God-speed and all success in his mission for peace to the Middle East.

42. The Irish delegation has followed with deep concern the proceedings of the Committee of Thirty-three since the last General Assembly. We note with disappointment that little progress has been made in finding agreement among its members on the various aspects of peace-keeping, and none at all upon a system of financing United Nations peace-keeping which would encourage a small country, under threat from a neighbour, to look to the United Nations for a peace-keeping force.

43. This failure on the part of the Committee may well prove disastrous for some small countries. For, despite the best endeavours of the United Nations to conciliate and resolve disputes that may arise between smaller States, it is, in our opinion, vain to hope that some of them would not result in armed conflict unless an effective peace-keeping force is interposed to create the atmosphere for negotiations.

44. Those who have been involved or interested in the international conflicts which have occurred since the beginning of the century do not have to depend on history books to teach them that when States are at war or threatened with attack they look for assistance wherever they can find it. The Charter of the United Nations was hailed by the peoples of the world as a universal alliance for peace, as it bound its Members to take effective collective measures to maintain peace and suppress aggression. It was hoped, and indeed generally believed, that henceforth a State in danger of attack could depend upon the effective intervention of the United Nations to maintain or restore peace and not be driven to widen the conflict and multiply death and destruction by

calling for the help of neighbouring States or great Powers, at the price of its opponent doing likewise.

45. Surely the time has arrived when all the Members of our Organization should realize that, if we do not give effective life to the peace-keeping principles of the Charter, we may by our neglect condemn an unknown number of men, women and children to death and destruction. And I submit that our dedication to these noble principles must wither away, that stable peace cannot be maintained, unless we are prepared whole-heartedly to sacrifice our due share of time, energy and money and that limited measure of national sovereignty necessary to achieve effective co-operation to save our peoples from small wars as well as large.

46. There was a day when a community could mobilize its armed citizenry to meet an attack by ringing the church bell or beating the tomtom. But today a worldwide community such as the United Nations, based on a highly intricate and diversified money economy, can mobilize its resources of men and equipment to keep the peace only provided its exchequer is in a strong and healthy condition. No aggressor has gone to war in modern times depending on the voluntary subscriptions of its citizens to meet the expenses involved. But money, the sinews of war, is also the sinews of peace. In this age all protestations of loyalty to Article 1 of the Charter and of determination to take effective measures to keep the peace, will be judged, especially by those contemplating violence, in the light of the practical steps our Members are prepared to take to ensure that our purse is adequately and reliably filled to finance a United Nations peace-keeping force until peace, when threatened, is restored.

47. As the Assembly is aware, the discussions of the Committee of Thirty-three, whose report is now under debate, provide a clear indication that, if the General Assembly wishes future peace-keeping operations to be reliably financed, it can only do so by standing by its right under Article 17 to make mandatory assessments. If the smaller Members of the Assembly were to allow that clear and unambiguous Charter right to be filched from us through indifference or lack of will to oppose the claim of "All power to the five permanent members of the Security Council", we would, I believe, be accepting a position of servitude which would lead to the destruction of our Organization—to the abandonment of all hope of developing, in the words of paragraph 2 of Article 1, "friendly relations among nations based on respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples", and of taking "other appropriate measures to strengthen universal peace", and to the abandonment of all hope of achieving, in the words of paragraph 3 of Article 1, "international co-operation in solving international problems of an economic, social, cultural, or humanitarian character, and in promoting and encouraging respect for human rights and for fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion".

48. At the twenty-first session of the General Assembly a draft resolution proposing to restore mandatory assessments for peace-keeping, was co-sponsored by twelve Members, namely: Ceylon, Costa Rica, Ghana, Ireland, Ivory Coast, Liberia, Libya,

Nepal, the Philippines, Somalia, Togo and Uganda.<sup>2/</sup> This draft resolution was adopted by the Special Political Committee by 33 votes in favour to 27 against with 48 abstentions. It was not pressed in the General Assembly but the Committee of Thirty-three was asked to continue the review of the whole question of peace-keeping operations and to report to this special session.

49. The Committee's lack of any progress towards agreement on the financing of peace-keeping can have caused little surprise in view of the well-known attitude of permanent members of the Security Council who repudiate the opinion of the International Court confirming the Assembly's right under Article 17. But that attitude will change, I believe, if the Assembly stands by the Charter and clearly demonstrates its will to restore mandatory assessments. Only thus, I submit, can progress be made in financing peace-keeping on a reliable basis.

50. It is, of course, understandable that many Members of the Assembly should have found it difficult to believe that permanent members of the Security Council would for long continue to deny the clear and judicially determined Charter rights of the Assembly under Article 17. However, the co-sponsors of the draft resolution hope that, when all the proceedings and documents relating to the question have been studied in the capitals, the delegations attending the twenty-second session will be instructed to vote to restore mandatory assessments for peace-keeping on the system proposed in our draft.

51. In considering their stand on the question of the Assembly's right to restore mandatory assessments—to impose taxation—for peace-keeping, the Governments of the smaller States will, I hope, remember that one of the first victories for modern democracy was against the Divine Right of Kings, when men, determined to overthrow autocracy, won the right to control taxation. In our circumstances the loss of the Assembly's right to control taxation for all purposes of the United Nations would, I submit, be the first step back to unrestricted great Power domination. When this issue is put to a vote at the forthcoming session, I trust that all the smaller States will stand firm and prove worthy successors of the men who fought for the principles of individual and national freedom, now incorporated in our Charter.

52. Mr. HAMBRO (Norway): I should be less than candid if I were to state that the Norwegian Government was fully satisfied with the report of the thirty-three-nation Special Committee. We were among the co-sponsors of one of the draft resolutions adopted by the Special Political Committee last year and we had sincerely hoped that some progress would be made in the direction of better preparations for peace-keeping operations and that it would be possible to lay down certain rules for their financing. My delegation had hoped that the debates in the Special Committee would have clarified some issues and brought the parties near to agreement, but the sincere and devoted efforts at clarification have not resulted in any appreciable agreement on any of the important issues before the Committee. When my Government

today votes in favour of the consensus of the Committee, we do so in the hope that the next report will be so positive that we may feel that the Committee can still serve a useful purpose in the future.

53. It is possible that it may be wise and even necessary not to force any vote on constitutional questions in such a body as the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations, but the practice of always seeking a consensus has the most unfortunate result that each subsequent consensus has a tendency to be still milder and still weaker than the last. I might perhaps even be permitted to say that the tendency of the Committee is to reach greater and greater agreement on less and less. That, however, should not lead us to undue despondency. We should never lose sight of the fact that peace-keeping operations have taken place in the past and proved extremely useful. They will also take place in the future. The organs of the United Nations have in the past been able to surmount the practical difficulties, and we feel sure they will do so in the future. In the meantime we can hope only that the Member States of the United Nations and the Secretariat of the Organization will continue to make preparations for all these practical problems. We must also hope that the Member States will make substantial voluntary contributions. Such contributions, unfortunately, have so far been more conspicuous in the debates than in the account books of the United Nations.

54. Finally, let me add the wishes of the Norwegian Government for the success of the Secretary-General in his important and difficult mission for peace in the Middle East. Our warm thoughts and fervent hopes accompany him.

55. Mr. WALDHEIM (Austria): The draft resolution before us [A/6654, para. 153] is not an ideal result of the debate in the thirty-three-nation Special Committee. However, we believe that it is the best possible one which could be obtained in the given circumstances. It represents, as we all know, a compromise achieved after long and complicated consultations between the Chairman of the Special Committee and a number of delegations aimed at overcoming the many obstacles which prevented the adoption of unanimous conclusions to be drawn from the debate in the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations. In that connexion I should like to pay tribute to Mr. Cuevas Cancino as well as to the officers for their unfailing patience and devotion, and I should like also to refer to the laudable efforts of the non-aligned countries, which are reflected in the memorandum submitted on their behalf by the representative of Algeria.

56. The summary of the statements contained in the report of the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations shows that a number of delegations were prepared to subscribe to a more substantive resolution, containing certain principles and methods of tackling this matter, which, in their view, could bring an effective solution of some of the major problems connected with peace-keeping operations. Others, however, did not even like what we now have in the draft resolution. Unfortunately, it was not possible to define sufficiently the areas of agreement and to reach a consensus of our debate in the Committee.

<sup>2/</sup> *Ibid.*, para. 4.

57. Although the draft resolution before us does not deal with the substance of the various aspects of peace-keeping operations, my delegation nevertheless believes that the recommendation of the Special Committee is a valuable one, as it requests that Committee to continue the review of the whole question of peace-keeping operations in all its aspects and to study the various suggestions made by different delegations during its last session.

58. The reason why we consider it useful to continue this study is the fact that, in the course of the last session of the Special Committee, a number of constructive proposals were made which, if pursued, could help us in finding agreement on some of the major issues.

59. I should like to refer in this connexion to the proposals made regarding the establishment of a finance committee; the provision of a special scale for operations involving heavy expenditures; the limitation of the total assessment of the developing countries in such operations to 5 per cent; and a study of the technical aspects of peace-keeping operations.

60. In the view of some delegations, these proposals could have formed the basis of a consensus, or should at least have been referred to in the procedural draft resolution as specific subjects of the further deliberations of the Committee of Thirty-three. The Committee was, however, guided by the principle that no delegation or group of delegations should try to impose their views on others. Consequently, the Committee had to concentrate its efforts on those elements which were acceptable to all delegations.

61. Among the many valuable proposals which were made in the course of the debate, my delegation noted with particular interest the pragmatic approach suggested by the delegations of India and Japan, that we should confine our attention at present to the area of broad agreement and consider the financing of peace-keeping operations authorized by the Security Council.

62. Such an approach holds great promise as, in the opinion of my delegation, all major peace-keeping operations will require at least the tacit approval of the Security Council. If we deliberately put aside those highly controversial constitutional questions, we might be able to achieve some practical results. Such an approach might lead in particular to the adoption of generally acceptable guidelines with regard to the financing and the technical aspects of peace-keeping operations and could provide us with a clear concept in respect to peace-keeping operations initiated by the Security Council. We therefore believe that the Committee should study those proposals carefully in order to achieve some practical results.

63. My delegation has also been impressed by the efforts undertaken on various sides to present formulae which could serve as a basis for future discussion. These efforts were made despite differences in the concepts and views of the various parties and are, therefore, in the opinion of my delegation, a vivid expression of the interest which the Members of this Organization attach to these problems and the need to find adequate solutions. It is in this spirit that my delegation has approved the submission of the

memoranda with the report of the Committee of Thirty-three. These papers provide us with a good picture of the present situation. Rather than to force upon the Committee a confrontation of views, they try to clarify the respective positions, an approach which might also be of value in the further deliberations of the Committee of Thirty-three.

64. Although my delegation frankly admits that it expected a more substantive outcome from our debate, we believe that the last session of the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations has produced a number of valuable proposals which should be studied further. We do not expect miracles. The long deliberations in the Committee and elsewhere have clearly shown that we are still far from a solution of our problems. However, this should not discourage us from making another effort in order to overcome these difficulties. The draft resolution before us gives the Committee another chance. It should be used between now and the next regular session.

65. It is in that spirit that the Austrian delegation supports the draft resolution before us.

66. Mr. DE BEUS (Netherlands): When the twenty-first session of the General Assembly decided to refer the report on peace-keeping operations of the Special Political Committee to this special session, very few delegations had any illusions that the well-known constitutional differences on this subject, springing as they do from different interpretations of the Charter, would be bridged in the meantime. All that delegations did hope was that continued work on the part of the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations would indicate limited areas of agreement in which practical progress could be made, while leaving aside the basic differences.

67. And indeed, the Special Committee was seized of a good many constructive proposals, and firm efforts were made to concentrate on areas of agreement. In the limited field where progress seemed possible, useful ideas were submitted about practical aspects of United Nations peace-keeping operations. These applied in particular to methods of financing, methods of assessment of expenses, guidelines for assessment and, furthermore, to the preparation and organization of peace-keeping operations and the study of past experience.

68. The Committee of Thirty-three did not have enough time to try to achieve agreement on some of the ideas put forward, nor was it able to reach agreed conclusions which contained decisions of substance. In those circumstances the Netherlands delegation is of the opinion that the most useful step for the General Assembly to take would be to request the Special Committee to continue its work, concentrating in particular on the various suggestions made by different delegations, without at this point committing anyone to anything more than a study.

69. We would have hoped to find all delegations in the Committee of Thirty-three agreeable to recommending to the General Assembly that it should continue the mandate of the Committee, and at the same time requesting it to study in particular the suggestions purporting to the following possibilities which had been raised in the Committee: first, the

creation of a finance committee; second, the drawing up of a special scale for operations involving heavy expenditures; third, the limitation of the total apportionment of the developing countries in such operations to 5 per cent; and finally, a study of the technical aspects of peace-keeping operations.

70. My delegation therefore actively contributed to the drafting of a recommendation containing these elements. But, much to our regret and notwithstanding the unrelenting efforts of Ambassador Cuevas Cancino, the Chairman of the Committee of Thirty-three—to whom we wish to pay the highest tribute—it proved impossible to agree on the specific mention of such a working programme for the future.

71. At the same time, however, it is worth noting that paragraph 2 of the draft resolution before us expressly requests the Special Committee to make a further study of "the various suggestions made by different delegations" during the last session of that Committee. This sentence clearly implies the concrete suggestions which I mentioned earlier. Having this in mind, my delegation supports the draft resolution as recommended by the Special Committee, even though it would have preferred a more specific enumeration of the subjects to be studied. The continuation of the work of the Committee of Thirty-three seems highly desirable to us because it will keep the subject alive and will enable the Committee to explore the possibilities of progress in limited areas of agreement. We hope, furthermore, that better prospects for the future will also improve the climate with regard to the deficit of the past, and that, at last, the many appeals made to those States that have not yet contributed towards the elimination of the deficit of the past will induce them to do their part in restoring the solvency of the United Nations.

72. Finally, my delegation does not wish to conclude these remarks dealing with peace-keeping operations without using this opportunity to pay tribute to the officers and men of the United Nations Emergency Force, who, for ten years, have done so much to help to maintain peace in an area always fraught with potential danger, an area where, these days, the possibility of armed conflict is again rearing its ugly head.

73. This UNEF operation, which has so abruptly had to be ended, was one of the oldest and most useful peace-keeping operations of the United Nations, and it has proved more eloquently than words can do the value which peace-keeping operations can have and, we hope, will continue to have for the maintenance of peace.

74. In the meantime, our warmest wishes accompany the Secretary-General on his delicate mission so that he may help to preserve peace in the Middle East.

75. The PRESIDENT: Before I call the next speaker, I should like to inform the members of the General Assembly of the present situation. As the Assembly is aware, the list of speakers on the item before us was closed at 1 p.m. and the list of speakers on item 9 was closed at 4 p.m. For this meeting we have only one more speaker, and one representative has asked to exercise his right of reply.

76. Mr. FEDORENKO (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (translated from Russian): This is not the first time that the General Assembly has been discussing the question of United Nations operations for the maintenance of international peace and security, one of the most important questions with which the United Nations has ever been concerned. It is obvious that the very fate of the United Nations as an organization for international co-operation in consolidating the peace hinges on that question.

77. The General Assembly has before it the report of the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations [A/6654], which continued its work this year in accordance with a General Assembly resolution of the twenty-first session. It should be said from the outset that, although the Committee was pressed for time, it held a rather substantial exchange of views.

78. The position of the Soviet Union on United Nations peace-keeping operations is known to all. It was very clearly stated in the USSR Government's memorandum concerning the "United Nations operations for the maintenance of international peace and security" of 16 March 1967,<sup>3/</sup> with which, I believe, all delegations are familiar.

79. The Soviet Union has always adhered to the principle that the United Nations Charter, a fundamental law which all Members of the United Nations have solemnly undertaken to comply with and abide by rigorously, is the only possible basis for United Nations activities in any sphere whatever.

*Mr. Waldheim (Austria), Vice-President, took the Chair.*

80. The history of contemporary international relations bears witness to the fact that threats to international peace and security, focal points of tension and breeding grounds of military conflicts have arisen precisely because certain countries refused to adhere to the fundamental principles of the United Nations Charter and violated those principles. The lesson which the States Members of the United Nations must draw from that experience is that they must, as a matter of priority, concentrate their efforts on ensuring that the principles of the Charter are given effect by each and every Member of the United Nations.

81. It is widely known that, whenever the United Nations found the strength to give effect to the principles set forth in its Charter, it demonstrated its capacity to serve the cause of ensuring international peace and promoting national freedom and independence. On the other hand, whenever the United Nations allowed itself to be led by those who wanted it to contravene the Charter, it found itself unable to cope, and in some cases did harm to its own prestige and authority and to the interests of peoples fighting for an independent existence and for the right to manage their domestic affairs without outside interference. Striking examples of this are offered by the unlawful operations of the United Nations in Korea and the Congo and its so-called "financial crisis".

82. It would seem that there are those today who would not be averse from reviving the criminal

<sup>3/</sup> Official Records of the Security Council, Twenty-second Year, Supplement for April-June 1967, document S/7841.

practices of the Congo affair, as a result of which the United Nations operations in the Congo have become a synonym of aggression against the people of an African country. It is surely an open secret that voices are being heard in Washington urging that the United States aggression in Viet-Nam should be camouflaged by having the flag of the United Nations draped over it. Some of these voices are those of highly responsible representatives of the United States Government. Our reply—and a very firm reply—is that the forces of aggression shall not succeed in making the United Nations their accomplice in their bandit assaults on the heroic Viet-Nameese people. The peace-loving countries and all decent men everywhere are on the side of the Viet-Nameese people and are determined to frustrate the attempts of the ruling circles of the United States to use the United Nations, too, to advance their criminal designs.

83. As the head of the USSR delegation remarked in his initial statement, the Soviet Union, like all other peace-loving countries, categorically condemns further escalation of the aggressive actions of the United States in Viet-Nam, which constitute a serious threat to the cause of international peace and security.

84. The representatives of the United States and of some other Western countries also maintain that the root of the evil as regards the question of United Nations peace-keeping operations lies in different readings of the United Nations Charter. They repeat their argument that the Charter is interpreted differently by different States. Naturally, they are resorting to this manoeuvre because they are unable, nor will they ever be able, to find a single article, a single provision in the Charter which could offer the least support for their present policy.

85. The United Nations Charter is consummately clear and unambiguous. The Soviet Union does not interpret the Charter in any special way of its own. The situation is much simpler than that: the Soviet Union advocates strict compliance with the Charter as it stands. The Soviet Union has opposed, and will continue to oppose, attempts to wreck the Charter. If we must speak of differences of interpretation, those differences are between the precise provisions of the Charter and the way they are interpreted by those who seek to twist or destroy them.

86. Let me ask this question: where, in which chapters, articles or paragraphs of the Charter is there any provision allowing the General Assembly and the Secretariat to decide the question of dispatching United Nations forces for so-called "police action", "maintenance of law and order", interference in a civil war, or "patrolling" different regions of the world, to use a recent phrase of the United States representative, and so on, and so forth? Anyone who looks for such provisions in the Charter will be wasting his time, for the Charter does not, and cannot, contain anything of the kind.

87. The Charter provides for the possibility of preventive and enforcement action; that is the only case in which it mentions the use of armed force. Moreover, the Charter states clearly that both preventive and enforcement action may be carried out only

by the Security Council, and only in accordance with Chapter VII of the Charter.

88. The sending of United Nations troops, in accordance with Charter, to prevent or stop aggressive acts and to protect the sovereignty of the State victim of the aggression is an extreme measure, and there is no need for me to explain in detail that, according to the Charter, the United Nations must seek to attain its purposes, above all, by peaceful means, and only in exceptional cases with the aid of armed force.

89. If certain Powers respected the fundamental principles of the Charter, did not engage in aggression and armed intervention, and refrained from interfering in the internal affairs of other States and nations, there would never be any need at all for the United Nations to have recourse to enforcement action or to use armed force.

90. In any and all circumstances, rigorous and undeviating compliance with all the Charter provisions relating to the use of force for the maintenance or restoration of international peace must be an absolute prerequisite for the application of so extreme a measure as the use of United Nations armed forces. Decisions in such matters must not be taken without carefully weighing all the relevant circumstances, bearing in mind that the use of foreign troops, including United Nations troops, and indeed their mere presence in foreign territory may result in interference in the domestic affairs of States, in serious international complications, in a heightening of tension, and in very dangerous consequences for the United Nations itself. That is precisely what the sad experience of the past has to teach us.

91. Accordingly, we deem it necessary to emphasize once again that, under the Charter, and in particular under Chapter VII of the Charter, the right to take decisions on any questions relating to the use of armed force by the United Nations is vested exclusively in the Security Council, which bears primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security.

92. It will be remembered that in the Security Council decisions on matters of substance, including questions relating to the maintenance of international peace and security, may be taken only with the agreement of all permanent members. This fundamental principle of the Charter, which must be scrupulously observed, excludes any possibility of armed force being used not in the common interests of Member States, as the Charter prescribes, but in the narrow interests of one group of States to the detriment of those of other States.

93. The principle of unanimity of permanent members of the Security Council is important not only—and I would even say, not so much—for the Soviet Union, which, as the world is aware, is able to defend itself against any external threat, as for the young independent States which have not yet attained their full strength. If the unanimity rule did not exist, the United Nations would be used by the forces of imperialism for aggressive purposes, for the suppression of the national liberation movement and for the justification of interference in the affairs of other States.

This is exactly what has happened with the Organization of American States, which, to give but one well-remembered example, was recently cynically used by Washington to cover up United States armed intervention in the Dominican Republic.

94. On the other hand, such Arab States as the United Arab Republic, Syria, Yemen and Jordan, and various other countries, including those of Asia and Africa, are well aware, from their own experience, that the Soviet Union, in strict accord with the Charter, has been opposing in the Security Council all attempts by the forces of imperialism to dominate the young independent States.

95. If the unanimity rule of the Security Council did not exist and if decisions on measures for the maintenance of peace were taken by a majority vote, attempts by certain permanent members of the Security Council to employ armed force against the will of other great Powers which also are permanent members of the Council would in practice lead to one thing, and one thing only: a world war, with all its lethal consequences for the peoples of the world. This is the merciless logic and law of our epoch, the epoch of nuclear weapons and missiles.

96. To seek to achieve effective action by the United Nations on any other basis than strict observance of the Charter would be a most dangerous delusion.

97. The fact remains that even today the imperialist Powers still have sufficient means of exerting pressure to influence the taking of decisions in the General Assembly. It is regrettable, too, that among the independent countries of Africa, Asia and Latin America—as has been said from this rostrum, both earlier and today—the necessary unanimity is sometimes lacking. The imperialist Powers take advantage of this circumstance.

98. On the other hand, the taking by the General Assembly of decisions on the use of armed force on behalf of the United Nations presupposes that the military operations in question would be conducted not under the guidance of the Security Council and its Military Staff Committee, as provided in the Charter, but on the authority of the United Nations Secretariat in which, as everyone knows, the key positions are still held by nationals of the Western Powers. It can readily be imagined what this could lead to; in fact, we know what it did lead to, when attempts of the kind I mentioned were made. This is true regardless of who happens to be Secretary-General. No one man, no matter how great his authority and impartiality, can decide problems which must be decided by the States and their Governments, by the Security Council, on the basis of the United Nations Charter.

99. In advocating that the potentialities of the Security Council in the sphere of maintenance of international peace and security should be utilized to the full, the Soviet Union has never sought to minimize or underestimate the role of the General Assembly, as is sometimes claimed by representatives of the Western Powers. On the contrary, the Soviet Union is in favour of the General Assembly making use of those substantial and important rights in this sphere which it enjoys under the Charter.

100. If, for one reason or another, the Security Council is unable to take a decision on a question relating to the maintenance of peace, there is nothing to prevent the General Assembly from reviewing the entire question and making appropriate recommendations to the Security Council, as it is empowered to do. At the same time, under Article 11 of the Charter, any such question on which action is necessary, regardless of the nature or scope of the United Nations action entailing the use of force, shall be referred to the Security Council by the General Assembly either before or after discussion. Thus, the Soviet Union does not for a moment think of the General Assembly as a club for the practice of oratory. The Assembly is a broadly representative international forum, and the importance of its decisions and declarations on the questions of maintenance of international peace and security, to say nothing of other questions, needs no proving. The major actions taken by the General Assembly with a view to the preservation of peace, the elimination of the colonial system, the protection of small countries from aggression, prevention of interference in the internal affairs of States and nations, progress towards settling problems of disarmament, etc., speak for themselves.

101. The Soviet Union has steadfastly and firmly opposed any revision of the United Nations Charter, and will pursue the same line in the future. This is a matter in which there can be no compromise, and the Soviet Union will never retreat from its principles.

102. If what we are talking about is implementing the provisions of the Charter, the Soviet Union is ready to co-operate fully. But it must be clear to everyone that the Soviet Union is ready to co-operate to that end strictly within the framework of the Charter. No decisions or measures which infringe on the prerogatives of the Security Council shall ever meet with our support.

103. As early as in July 1964, the USSR Government put forward a programme of specific measures<sup>4/</sup> to strengthen the United Nations and increase its effectiveness in the maintenance of international peace. In the course of the work of the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations in the years 1965, 1966, and 1967, the Soviet Union elaborated upon its proposals, taking into account the desire of the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America to play a more active part in the consideration of questions relating to measures taken by the United Nations for the maintenance of international peace and security. The Soviet Union's proposals are based on the possibilities for action which are inherent in the Charter itself but which have so far rarely been taken advantage of or made use of.

104. The Soviet Union's proposals are aimed primarily at substantially increasing the Security Council's preparedness for swift and decisive action. This result could be attained, in particular, by the negotiation, at an early date, of agreements governing the manner in which States shall make armed forces available to the Security Council, as provided for in Article 43 of the Charter. That these important

<sup>4/</sup> Official Records of the General Assembly, Nineteenth Session, Annexes, Annex No. 21, document A/5921.



Charter provisions could be given immediate effect is proved by the statements made in late 1964 by the Governments of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic and the Bulgarian People's Republic concerning their readiness to make contingents of their armed forces available to the Security Council and to conclude the necessary agreements with it. An important step in following up its initiative was taken by Czechoslovakia<sup>5/</sup> in April of this year, in a letter addressed by the Czechoslovak Mission to the President of the Security Council.

105. The USSR Government believes that a large number of States should be invited to take part in the work of the Military Staff Committee. In addition to the non-permanent members of the Security Council, those States Members of the United Nations which are not members of the Council but which would nevertheless make their troops and other facilities available to it for United Nations operations should participate in the work of the Military Staff Committee.

106. Thus, the proposals of the USSR Government which have been submitted to Member States for consideration provide for wide participation by the independent States in the work of the Security Council in preparing and carrying out United Nations peace-keeping operations. Implementation of these proposals would result in a large number of those States participating in the work of the Security Council's Military Staff Committee and in the general strategic direction of the United Nations forces.

107. A question to which many States of Asia, Africa and Latin America have been paying special attention is, as we all know, the financing of United Nations peace-keeping operations. We take an understanding attitude towards the concerns of the developing countries and we believe that they should not be made to bear too great a share of the burden of expenditure resulting from peace-keeping measures that may be taken by the United Nations. The Soviet Union agrees that the Security Council should take into account the limited financial means of the developing States, when it considers the question of covering the costs of United Nations action for the maintenance of international peace.

108. Lastly, my delegation should like to make its position clear on one other matter. The question of voluntary contributions to overcome the financial difficulties of the United Nations has recently been raised once again. The Soviet Union's position in that regard has been explained repeatedly, in particular in the Committee of Thirty-three. The Soviet Union will make a voluntary contribution in accordance with the consensus reached among Members of the United Nations in 1965 and with the resolution adopted by the General Assembly at its twentieth session [resolution 2053 A (XX)].

109. At the same time, I must emphasize that the above-mentioned resolution concerning voluntary contributions applies equally to all States, including, naturally, the United States of America. That is precisely the consensus reached in 1965 on the notorious "financial crisis" owing to the efforts of

African and Asian countries. And yet the United States—as is clear from today's statement of its representative—unlike the Soviet Union and a number of other countries, is in fact evading compliance with the General Assembly resolution. This attitude may greatly complicate the entire question of voluntary contributions.

110. In view of the fact that the substance of the USSR proposals has still not been given due consideration in the United Nations, the USSR delegation believes that an excellent method would be to continue consideration of the question of peace-keeping operations with the use of armed force in the Security Council, which could, perhaps, report to the General Assembly at the twenty-third session. It goes without saying that we are ready to explore other possibilities as well and, in particular, to continue the useful discussion begun in the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations.

111. We are convinced that it would be unwise to deal with this highly important question in haste and attempt to do in a few days or weeks what we have been unable to achieve in the two decades that the United Nations has been in existence. We therefore consider that at the present stage the General Assembly should do no more than take a procedural decision and that the Committee of Thirty-three should report back to it, not before its twenty-third session.

112. We have no objection, however, to the recommendation [A/6654, para. 153] submitted by the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations and are prepared to vote for the draft resolution contained in it, although we do not feel that this draft meets all requirements as fully as it might.

113. We hope that the States Members of the United Nations will carefully study the considerations we have put forward and will take a position that will be in line with the Charter, in the interests of preserving and strengthening the United Nations, and in the interests of peace. We should also like to express our conviction that the majority of the States Members of the United Nations will give proof of a high sense of responsibility for the fate of the United Nations and will dissociate themselves from those who have attempted to lure the United Nations into the dangerous enterprise of violating its Charter. The way to make the United Nations a more effective instrument for the maintenance of peace is not by wrecking or circumventing the Charter, but by strictly complying with its fundamental purposes and principles.

114. The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of Venezuela, who has asked to speak in exercise of his right of reply.

115. Mr. PEREZ GUERRERO (Venezuela) (translated from Spanish): Thank you, Mr. President, for allowing me to exercise the right of reply; I shall be very brief.

116. It is rendering little service to the Organization to use aggressive language such as the representative of Cuba used against my country this morning [1519th meeting]. Unfortunately, the references made in his

<sup>5/</sup> Official Records of the Security Council, Twenty-second Year, Supplement for April-June 1967, S/7852.



speech today were to acts of aggression actually perpetrated against Venezuela. The behaviour and attitude of his Government towards a democratic Government based on free elections, as is the Government of Venezuela, can be seen from his very speech. It was only because the latest action on which the Cuban Government prides itself was laid bare that we have had the opportunity of listening to a statement which lays bare an operation carefully prepared, financed and implemented by that same Government, according to its own confession.

117. Thanks to the effectiveness of our frontier troops, the infiltration of the last few days was uncovered, and my Government was thus able to obtain palpable proof which unequivocally establishes the responsibility of the Cuban Government for those acts.

118. The Venezuelan Government has decided to set the machinery in motion for convening a meeting of the competent regional body, since what is involved is a violation of international law which must not be allowed to evade the international sanction it deserves.

119. The Cuban representative's statement should have convinced the sceptics with regard to the

intentions of his Government in refusing to vote for the General Assembly resolution reaffirming the principle of non-intervention and condemning all direct or indirect intervention. Notwithstanding the Cuban attitude, that resolution is now in full force and its importance for us is enhanced by the activities mentioned today by the Cuban representative.

120. I leave aside the epithets used by the Cuban representative and I do not propose to use improper language which only hurts those who use it. In any case, our position is clear and well known, and is appreciated in the regional and international bodies to whose principles we adhere unflinchingly.

121. I had not intended to participate in the discussion on this item, but I should like to take this opportunity, whilst speaking from this rostrum, to state that my delegation endorsed the views expressed by Mr. Cuevas Cancino as Chairman of the Committee of Thirty-three, and also the suggestions he made for its future activities. Nobody can be unaware of the fact that its work is decisive for the future of the United Nations and its primary task of maintaining peace.

*The meeting rose at 5.10 p.m.*

United Nations  
**GENERAL  
ASSEMBLY**

Official Records



FIFTH SPECIAL SESSION

**1521st  
PLENARY MEETING**

Tuesday, 23 May 1967,  
at 10.30 a.m.

**NEW YORK**

**CONTENTS**

	Page
<i>Agenda item 8:</i>	
<i>Comprehensive review of the whole question of peace-keeping operations in all their aspects (concluded)</i>	
<i>Report of the Special Political Committee . . .</i>	1

**President: Mr. Abdul Rahman PAZHwak**  
**(Afghanistan).**

**AGENDA ITEM 8**

Comprehensive review of the whole question of peace-keeping operations in all their aspects (concluded)

**REPORT OF THE SPECIAL POLITICAL  
COMMITTEE 1/**

1. Mr. SHEVCHENKO (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic) (translated from Russian): The Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations has discussed in detail the question of United Nations operations for the maintenance of international peace and security.

2. We should like to note with satisfaction that most of the States represented on the Committee exhibited a high sense of responsibility for the fate of the United Nations and refused to follow those who sought to lure both the Committee and the United Nations as a whole into the dangerous enterprise of taking decisions contrary to the United Nations Charter and the Special Committee's terms of reference.

3. The Ukrainian delegation deems it necessary to point out that in so important a matter as the achievement of mutual understanding among Member States on the question of ensuring international peace and security there should be no undue haste; still less should there be any attempts to force through proposals which contravene the Charter.

4. Experience has shown that any impairment in such mutual understanding, based on the provisions of the Charter, has led only to a heightening of international tension and has hurt the cause of peace and of the United Nations itself, as an organization in which States are to co-operate, on an equal footing, in promoting peace and the welfare of people everywhere.

5. This is why my delegation supports the Special Committee's draft resolution [A/6654, para. 153], which, as we all know, calls for further study of the whole question of peace-keeping operations, although we have some reservations on a number of details.

6. If the United Nations is to be made a more effective instrument for the maintenance of peace, continuous and manifold efforts on the part of States will be required. We must, above all, strive to prevent violations of the Charter, stop interference in the domestic affairs of States and peoples, and condemn the imperialist policy of positions of strength, a policy which, for the sake of the selfish interests of a group of imperialist Powers, jeopardizes world peace and security and which could have the direct consequences for all mankind.

7. In this connexion, we feel that a step of major importance was taken by the Soviet Union when it proposed the adoption of the Declaration on the Inadmissibility of Intervention in the Domestic Affairs of States and the Protection of Their Independence and Sovereignty, and also the initiative taken by Czechoslovakia in raising the question of prohibition of the use of force in international relations and the right of peoples to self-determination.<sup>2/</sup> There can be no doubt but that these actions have strengthened the United Nations as an organization for the maintenance of international peace and security.

8. In order to make the United Nations more effective we must also make fuller use of the possibilities offered by the Charter for the taking of collective measures to maintain international peace and security.

9. The Charter, besides defining the fundamental purposes and principles of the United Nations, provides detailed regulations for the methods and means to be used in attaining them, above all as regards questions relating to the maintenance of peace. It states unequivocally that primary responsibility for the maintenance of peace has been conferred on the Security Council.

10. The Security Council is empowered to decide all questions relating to action to be taken for the maintenance of peace, including the use of armed force. These extraordinary powers include the right to form and use armed forces, and to determine their duties, numbers, command, duration of the operations, and ways and means of financing.

11. In brief, the Charter contains all the provisions necessary to enable the United Nations, in case of need, to take effective measures for the maintenance of peace, including the use of armed force. What we have to do is to make proper use of the possibilities open to us of creating and organizing an armed force—naturally, in strict compliance with the Charter.

12. Of great importance for a fuller utilization of the possibilities inherent in the Charter are the Soviet Union's proposals, set forth in its Government's

<sup>1/</sup> Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-first Session, Annexes, agenda item 33, document A/6603.

<sup>2/</sup> Official Records of the Security Council, Twenty-second Year, Supplement for April-June 1967, document S/7852.

memorandum,<sup>3/</sup> which are aimed at activating both the Security Council itself and its Military Staff Committee, with due regard to certain rights conferred by the Charter on the General Assembly.

13. We do not wish in any way—and our position on this matter is known to all—to minimize the functions and prerogatives of the General Assembly as they are set forth in the Charter.

14. To enable the Security Council to have at its disposal contingents of armed forces and, if the need should arise, to use them swiftly and to good effect, we must above all strive for the implementation of Articles 43 and 45 of the Charter, i.e. the conclusion in the near future of agreements whereby States would make available to the Security Council armed forces and other assistance and facilities.

15. Such agreements might also make it incumbent upon the signatory States to maintain in a condition of immediate readiness certain contingents of their national armed forces, which could be made available to the Council.

16. Furthermore, consideration should be given to the question of activating the Military Staff Committee, and inviting a large number of States to participate in its work.

17. In order to expedite the conclusion of agreements on making contingents of armed forces available to the Council, the Military Staff Committee could even now proceed to prepare a standard model for such agreements, for the Security Council's approval.

18. As to the financing of peace-keeping operations, the Security Council, in the exercise of its powers, could in each particular case select the most appropriate methods of financing, which could include, *inter alia*, charging the costs to the aggressor State, apportionment of the costs among the Members of the United Nations, voluntary contributions, payment of the costs by the countries directly concerned, or a combination of any of these methods.

19. This is the course that we should take if we are to succeed in increasing the capability of the United Nations to discharge its functions with regard to the maintenance of peace. It calls for the implementation of certain entirely unambiguous provisions of the Charter, and proposals to this effect should therefore command the support of all those who are really desirous of carrying out the Charter's prescriptions concerning effective collective measures for the prevention and removal of threats to the peace, and for the suppression of acts of aggression.

20. However, the discussion of the question of peace-keeping operations indicates that certain States prefer to follow another course. On the pretext of making the United Nations better able to maintain the peace, they are virtually mounting an attack on those Charter provisions which define the measures that must be taken on behalf of the United Nations in order to maintain or restore peace, and especially measures relating to the use of armed force. The proposals advanced in this connexion are tantamount to a revision of those Charter provisions under which only

the Security Council may take decisions on action for the maintenance of international peace and security.

21. The idea of trying to find a substitute for the Security Council is not really new. Throughout the entire history of the United Nations, the representatives of the United States of America and certain other imperialist Powers, desirous of using the United Nations as a tool of their aggressive policy, have been attempting to destroy the very cornerstones of the Charter—those provisions of it which define the functions and powers of the Security Council with regard to the maintenance of peace. And now again, being engaged in an aggressive war against the Viet-Nameese people, the United States is persistently seeking ways to circumvent the Charter provisions on the use of armed force on behalf of the United Nations in order somehow to conceal under the United Nations flag both this bloody conflict and other Pentagon-planned assaults on fighters for national freedom and independence.

22. We should be failing in our duty if we did not draw to the attention of all Members of the United Nations the fact that in his statement the United States representative has been guilty of arbitrary interpretation of the Charter.

23. We, for our part, have always stood, and shall stand in the future, for keeping firm the cornerstone provisions of the Charter, that solid foundation of the United Nations without which it could neither exist nor act.

24. My delegation is deeply convinced that strict compliance with those Charter provisions which govern the use of force on behalf of the United Nations is the only correct and, in the world as it is today, the only possible solution to the problem before us—that of making the United Nations a more effective instrument for the maintenance of international peace and security.

25. It is a grievous error to imagine that the United Nations can succeed in maintaining the peace if the fundamental principles of its Charter, defining the legal international obligations of States, its structure and its purposes and principles, are circumvented or violated outright.

26. The United Nations Charter is an agreed and generally accepted treaty which alone offers a basis for international co-operation within the United Nations. To seek to destroy it means to seek to destroy the United Nations itself, to shake its foundations, to make it powerless in international affairs.

27. We are therefore deeply convinced that the question of peace-keeping operations must be examined in the light of the clear and precise provisions of the Charter concerning the functions and prerogatives of the Security Council, in a spirit of co-operation, without undue haste or agitation, but rather with a sense of full responsibility on the part of all Member States, great and small, for the ultimate fate of the United Nations. It is in that spirit that the special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations, which has been entrusted with a review of this important problem, should proceed, and it is in that sense that we understand the recommendation it has submitted.

<sup>3/</sup> *Ibid.*, document S/7841.

28. The Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, for its part, will support any and all efforts to strengthen the United Nations, and it urges all other States which are sincerely desirous of strengthening the United Nations and increasing its prestige and effectiveness, to do likewise.

29. Mr. SHAHI (Pakistan): At this late stage, the Pakistan delegation will confine its statement to those aspects of peace-keeping that have been the subject of continuing study by the Special Committee. Those aspects continue to demand consideration if progress is to be made in enabling the United Nations to respond promptly and effectively to situations which pose imminent or potential threats to international peace and security.

30. In our view, the meetings of the Special Committee during its recently concluded session brought up many constructive ideas and suggestions to resolve the differences which continue to persist, in relation to the procedural as well as to the substantive aspects of the problems of peace-keeping. The discussions were marked by an earnest approach aimed at preventing a paralysis of the Organization in the fulfilment of its primary purpose, namely, to maintain international peace and security. We should like to pay tribute to the wisdom and patience with which the Chairman of the Committee, Ambassador Cuevas Cancino of Mexico, conducted the Committee's deliberations and steered it to the draft resolution which is before us [A/6654, para. 153].

31. My delegation was greatly impressed with the virtual unanimity of all members of the Special Committee on the approach to the task before it. It was generally stressed that controversial constitutional issues inherent in the question of peace-keeping should be avoided as far as possible and that future efforts should be concentrated on the search for practical, realistic and mutually acceptable solutions that have so far eluded the Organization.

32. We share the view that the real problem before us is not so much a constitutional as a political one. The constitutional controversy is but the emanation of the conflict of views between the permanent members of the Security Council over what each of them regards as its own vital political interest in the question of peace-keeping, as well as the insistence of the overwhelming majority of Member States of the United Nations that they should have an effective role to play in the decisions of the United Nations on the establishment and financing of peace-keeping operations.

33. There can be no doubt in regard to peace-keeping operations of the nature of enforcement actions, that is the use of armed force in cases of threat to the peace, breaches of the peace and acts of aggression, undertaken in pursuance of the provisions of Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations. Here, the responsibility of the Security Council is not only primary, but also exclusive on all aspects of peace-keeping, in regard not only to authorization, but also to organization and financing.

34. If the Security Council fails to act under Chapter VII of the Charter, no enforcement action can be undertaken. No such action has so far been attempted

by the Security Council, nor does my delegation foresee any practical possibility of its doing so in the future unless the international situation undergoes a revolutionary transformation.

35. It is in regard to peace-keeping operations under Chapter VI of the Charter—namely, the pacific settlement of disputes—that controversy has raged in the United Nations during the last seventeen years. The Security Council has in fact authorized peace-keeping operations under Chapter VI in disputes or situations which had or were likely to become a danger to peace or security. No doubt, the responsibility of the Security Council in this sphere is primary, but is it exclusive, or does the General Assembly have a residual responsibility?

36. The permanent members of the Security Council hold opposing views on this question. A large number of other Member States have taken up positions in affirmation of the residual responsibility of the General Assembly under the Charter of the United Nations.

37. In this context, it is pertinent to take note of the fact that in the only case in which the General Assembly decided to assert a residual authority and to authorize a peace-keeping force to interpose itself between combatants and perform duties in the nature of surveillance of frontiers or truce lines, practical difficulties of financing supervened which, in conjunction with the problem of financing a peace-keeping operation authorized by the Security Council, plunged the United Nations three years ago into the worst constitutional and financial crisis in its history and brought it to a virtual standstill. The Organization was able to emerge from that crisis, thanks to the efforts of the Asian and African Member States and as a result of your initiative, Mr. President, by an explicit agreement to shelve the constitutional issues arising from the provisions of Article 19 of the Charter. The consensus of 31 August 1965, appealing for voluntary contributions, continues to be the basis of our search for a solution of the financial difficulties of the Organization resulting from the peace-keeping operations in the Middle East and the Congo.

38. This experience has been a chastening one. It has taught us a lesson and we must draw the necessary conclusions. Therefore, in the view of my delegation, continued preoccupation with the task of delimiting the respective competence of the Security Council and the General Assembly in accordance with the constitutional provisions of the Charter is not likely to lead either to a consensus or to the provision of necessary financial resources to raise and maintain peace-keeping forces, when situations so require, if some of the States which would otherwise be large contributors refuse to pay.

39. There is no immediate prospect of overcoming the constitutional differences on peace-keeping. Judicial verdicts cannot in practice be enforced. Majority votes are not the answer to the problem of financing. Hence the wisdom of a pragmatic and realistic approach on the basis of mutual accommodation of divergent views and interests is self-evident.

40. In this context, my delegation has noted with great interest the view expressed in the recent

session of the Special Committee that peace-keeping measures have emerged as a new concept, different from, but not incompatible with, the enforcement measures contemplated in Chapter VII of the Charter.

41. The founders of the Organization were undoubtedly statesmen of wisdom and foresight, but they were not omniscient; nor did they have the gift of divination to foresee future events and to provide for the contingent and unforeseen elements that influence the march of history. The Charter was written when the cold war had yet to come, making unanimity among the permanent members of the Security Council, on which alone the Council could act to maintain international peace, a rare phenomenon and, consequently, plunging the Security Council into deadlock when the situation demanded commensurate action.

42. Little did the founders of the United Nations, assembled in San Francisco in 1945, visualize the historical phenomenon of decolonization and the emergence into independence of new nations whose number has almost tripled the membership of the Organization. That the "third world" would have collective interests and stakes of its own in world peace, not always identical to those of the great Powers, and would demand for itself a place and a role in the scheme of things within the framework of the Organization, was a development neither foreseen nor provided for in the Charter of the United Nations. Consequently, the Charter, based as it is on the imperatives and hopes of 1945, does not reflect the realities and expectations of today.

43. While Pakistan believes in and will always act in scrupulous respect of the Charter and of all the obligations flowing from it, we cannot regard it as Holy Writ or immutable like the laws of the ancient Medes and the Persians.

44. In saying this, let it not be understood that my delegation is suggesting amendment of the Charter to delimit more precisely the respective competence of the Security Council and the General Assembly, or to resolve the constitutional controversy by spelling out new provisions on the concept of peace-keeping operations other than those in the nature of enforcement action. Nor do we seek, through constitutional amendments, to rectify the imbalance in the distribution of power and responsibility in the Organization so as to confer a greater degree of both on its general membership. We are fully aware that the time is not opportune for seeking adjustments in the relationship of the principal organs of the United Nations through amendment of the Charter.

45. What we do think to be both necessary and opportune is to search, through continuing discussions in the Special Committee on Peace-Keeping Operations, for a political compromise on the basis of consensus without prejudice to the positions of principle of the great Powers.

46. In this context, I may refer to the suggestion made by the representative of Ethiopia in the Special Committee regarding the possibility of evolving a number of gentlemen's agreements "on procedures to be used in the initiation, conduct and financing of peace-keeping operations". This suggestion, in the view of my delegation, deserves consideration.

47. It has been contended that the Security Council offers possibilities for the maintenance of international peace and security, fuller use of which would enable the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America to play a more active role in the discussion of United Nations peace-keeping operations, thereby providing a democratic system and protecting the interests of all Member States. In this context, reference has been made to Article 50 of the Charter, under which any Member State which found itself confronted with special economic problems as a result of the Security Council's decision to establish a peace-keeping force has the right to consult the Security Council with regard to the solution of such problems. Reference was also made to Article 44, under which any Member State is entitled to participate in the decision of the Security Council if it is called upon to provide armed forces. It seems to my delegation that Articles 50 and 44 are applicable only in the context of measures under Chapter VII of the Charter and cannot be resorted to when the Security Council decides on peace-keeping operations under Chapter VI.

48. It is for this reason that my delegation has been led towards the conclusion that a greater role in the decision-making processes of the United Nations in all the aspects of peace-keeping under Chapter VI should be accorded to the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America through understandings and informal agreements.

49. I now turn to the question of methods of financing future peace-keeping operations in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations, with the study of which the Special Committee is particularly charged under the draft resolution before us [A/6654, para. 153].

50. My delegation is pleased to note the constructive suggestions that have been made by a number of delegations. We agree that, first of all, attention should be given by the Special Committee to peace-keeping operations authorized by the Security Council. There also appears to be a general consensus on the various methods to which recourse could be had to finance them. In this regard the guide-lines for equitable sharing of the costs of peace-keeping operations set forth in resolution 1874 (S-IV), adopted by the fourth special session of the General Assembly, should also be kept in view.

51. As for the method of financing by apportionment of the expenses among all Member States, in pursuance of the principle of collective responsibility, the question arises whether the Security Council can or should assume exclusive responsibility to tax the entire membership for peace-keeping operations under Chapter VI, without their concurrence. In an attempt to find a way out of the persistent differences that have marked the consideration of this issue, it has been proposed to establish a financing committee. Whether this committee should be established by the Security Council or by the General Assembly, or by both, and whether it should submit its recommendations to the one or to the other organ, are crucial matters which require further clarification before any definitive opinion can be expressed on the subject.

52. There is one other issue to which my delegation would like to refer. This is the question of establishing a special scale of assessments on an equitable basis to share the costs of peace-keeping operations if they are apportioned among all Member States. My delegation considers that the suggestion in the report submitted by the Special Committee to the General Assembly, that the global financial participation of the developing countries should not exceed 5 per cent of the total costs of peace-keeping operations involving heavy expenditures [A/6654, annex V, para. 3], deserves the serious consideration of the Special Committee for reasons which are well known.

53. Turning now to the question of facilities, services and personnel which Member States might voluntarily provide, in accordance with the Charter, for United Nations peace-keeping operations, as set forth in sub-paragraph (b) of operative paragraph 2 of the draft resolution recommended by the Special Committee, my delegation notes with appreciation the practical and constructive suggestions that have been put forward by the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia, Canada, Mexico, the United Kingdom, the United States and the Netherlands. We consider it important to explore the Soviet Union proposal that the Military Staff Committee or, as suggested by the representative of Mexico, the competent organs of the United Nations, should consult with interested Member States with a view to drafting a standard form of agreement to be used in the conclusion of agreements between them and the Security Council under Article 43 of the Charter. We note the observation of the United States representative that the provision of forces under Article 43 agreements would not necessarily meet the need for manning consent-type peace-keeping operations. The implications of this observation can also be examined together with the proposal of the Soviet Union.

54. This brings us once again to the imperative need to adopt a pragmatic and realistic approach to the problems of undertaking peace-keeping operations and to search for solutions on the basis of mutual accommodation of the conflicting views and divergent interests.

55. It is encouraging that the permanent members of the Security Council, while firmly maintaining their respective positions of principle, have nevertheless stated their willingness to play their part in the combined efforts to reach a realistic consensus. We do not believe that they have frozen their positions. We are encouraged by the statement of the French representative that, in the case of peace-keeping operations involving only surveillance and observation missions, the Charter of the United Nations has granted to the General Assembly, together with the Security Council, the competence to decide on such operations.

56. The Pakistan delegation therefore believes that there is a basis for extending the life of the Special Committee to enable it to continue the review of the whole question of peace-keeping operations in all its aspects.

57. In conclusion, my delegation would like to remind the General Assembly that the task of the United

Nations in the maintenance of international peace and security is not confined to the surveillance of truce-lines by United Nations peace forces and to the dispatch of observation missions. The representative of Ethiopia touched on the heart of the problem when he stated in the Special Committee that "the traditional means of pacific settlement of disputes—negotiations, inquiry, mediation and conciliation—could be elaborated and institutionalized by a formal protocol that would to some extent make their operation automatic".

58. Chapter VI of the United Nations Charter, which deals with the *pacific settlement of disputes*, places upon the Security Council the primary responsibility for recommending appropriate procedures or methods of settlement of international disputes likely to endanger the maintenance of international peace and security. In this respect, we regret to note that the performance of the Security Council has fallen short of the promise held out in the Charter of the United Nations. In our view, the main reason lies in the lack of resolve to implement its own resolutions.

59. The interests of this Organization and its general membership require that in the performance of its foremost task—that is, the maintenance of international peace and security—the United Nations should not be found wanting either in the efforts to remove the causes of armed conflict or in initiating peace-keeping operations when such conflict actually breaks out.

60. Mr. BUDO (Albania) (translated from French): During the last few years the General Assembly has constantly been under pressure from certain Powers which for their own infamous ends, seek to impose on Member States their own ideas with regard to the creation of United Nations forces, or, as they prefer to call it, with regard to "the question of peace-keeping operations". In a time marked by the stormy and triumphant emergence of popular national and social liberation movements, which are bringing together all of progressive mankind struggling against the forces of oppression and aggression and are having an immense historic importance for the fate of human society, these Powers, with the United States at their head, are using every possible means to stamp out the flames of revolutionary struggle, halt the process of popular liberation and launch mad plans for world domination.

61. As part and parcel of this policy and with the same end in view, efforts are now being made to execute in haste the sinister plan for the establishment of United Nations forces.

62. There can be no doubt that those who support such a plan are, wittingly or unwittingly, assisting the imperialist oppressors and aggressors, headed by the United States, at a time when they need assistance most acutely, reeling as they are under the blows showered upon them by the people in their heroic struggle, confronted as they are by insurmountable difficulties and having earned the hatred of all progressive mankind. In other words, to support or to contribute to the creation of United Nations forces in the present state of international affairs and the situation now prevailing in the Organization, is tanta-

mount to contributing, consciously or unconsciously, to the fulfilment of dangerous plans for resort to the threat or use of armed force against the liberation movement and against all peace-loving and freedom-loving countries, in keeping with the policy of spheres of influence and world hegemony so clearly pursued by two great Powers.

63. The practice of making use of the United Nations by some Western Powers as an instrument of interference in the domestic affairs of independent States, and of its armed forces as a means of aggression against peaceful countries and a method of stifling the revolutionary liberation struggle of peoples, was initiated in the very first years of the Organization's existence. This practice, which is in flagrant violation of the fundamental purposes and principles of the Charter, has been the hardest and most damaging blow the Organization has suffered in its entire existence. Among the most flagrant instances, one may cite the armed aggression perpetrated in Korea under the cover of the United Nations and the shameful part played by the Organization's forces in the Congo (Leopoldville) in defence of imperialist and colonialist interests, which led to the criminal dissolution of the legitimate Government of the Congo and the achievement of United States colonialist aims in that country.

64. Every time that a United Nations force has been established and used, it has invariably served the interests of the imperialists and aggressors at the expense of the victims of aggression and of the liberation movement.

65. But the United States of America has constantly endeavoured to go ever further in that direction, to remove any and all difficulties and to have a completely free hand. Thus it has been obstinately pressing for the establishment of a United Nations standing force which it could use easily at any time and in any place in accordance with unforeseeable contingencies of its aggressive and counter-revolutionary policy. United States imperialism has always sought to be in a position to play, in a somewhat disguised form and chiefly under the name of the United Nations, its self-imposed role of international policeman. The United States Government has been increasing its efforts in that direction since 1956, the debates in the General Assembly on the dispatch of the United Nations Emergency Force to the Suez Canal zone being a notable example. Supported by its partners, the United States vigorously maintained at that time that it was necessary to establish what it called a standby force of the United Nations. It even went so far as to argue that the force should be equipped with nuclear weapons.

66. Opportunities to carry out such dangerous plans have increased in recent years because the plans now have the support of another great Power, the Soviet Union. This is a direct consequence of the profound change in that country's policies. For instance, in its Memorandum of 10 July 1964 on "certain measures to strengthen the effectiveness of the United Nations",<sup>4/</sup> the Government of the Soviet Union came out openly in favour of establishing such forces. Thus, on this question as on so many others,

the USSR Government is associated with the Government of the United States and together these two Powers are making every effort to have United Nations forces established without delay, in furtherance of their own designs which are completely at variance with the fundamental purposes and principles of the Charter and with the aspirations of the freedom-loving nations and peoples.

67. There is hardly any need to emphasize that this is a highly dangerous undertaking and that it is a threat to the sacred rights of oppressed peoples, to national sovereignty and independence and to world peace and security. It is clear from the USSR Government's Memorandum to which I have just referred and which, according to oft-repeated statements by that Government, constitutes the basic document on its position in the matter, that this plan is part of the series of agreements successively concluded between the United States and the Soviet Union, and represents one of the many bargains struck between them at the expense of peaceful peoples and nations. Like the notorious Moscow Treaty on the partial cessation of nuclear tests, and like some other treaties which those two Powers have concluded subsequently or plan to conclude in the near future and to impose on other countries—such as the agreement on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons and a treaty relating to a joint system of anti-ballistic missiles—the present plan to establish United Nations forces is part of the collaboration between those two Powers and is aimed at aggressive and anti-popular ends.

68. The differences between the two Powers regarding the respective competence of the Security Council and the General Assembly in carrying out military operations are not so great as they would have us believe by their cunning presentation; they are more apparent than real. Of course, each of the two Powers wants to be in an advantageous position with regard to the establishment, composition, command, control and everything else relating to the forces. That is why one of them is endeavouring to obtain recognition of the exclusive competence of the Security Council, in which it enjoys a special position, while the other insists on equal recognition of the competence of the General Assembly, in which it is still able to command what has been called "a built-in majority". But we must bear in mind above all that both parties, in accordance with their aims, have an equal interest and are completely in agreement regarding their objective—namely, the establishment of United Nations forces. That is the crux of the matter. Hence, it should not be difficult for them to compose their differences whenever they wish and to agree on ways and means of implementing the joint plan, as was the case, indeed, with the draft resolution which has been submitted to the General Assembly by the Special Committee of Thirty-three.

69. The efforts of one of the parties to create confidence in the Security Council by arguing that this body is in itself a guarantee that the forces in question will not be used for imperialist and aggressive ends are obviously in vain. The past activities of the Security Council and the part played by the military forces it has set up are notorious

<sup>4/</sup> Official Records of the General Assembly, Nineteenth Session, Annexes, annex No. 21, document A/5721.



throughout the world, whose peoples can never forget the unjust decisions and positions, contrary to the Charter, which the Council adopted on numerous questions involving the imperialist, colonialist, and racist policies of certain Powers, and their interventions and acts of aggression in various parts of the world, in Asia, Africa, the Near East, Latin America and wherever the rights of peaceful peoples and countries have been violated. Particularly striking are the two cases I have mentioned, namely, the armed aggression perpetrated in Korea in the name of the United Nations, and the dispatch of military forces to the Congo (Leopoldville) to defend the interests of the imperialists and colonialists. We should also remember that while the Security Council decision on the Korean aggression was reached in the absence of the USSR, its decision to dispatch forces to the Congo (Leopoldville) was taken with the support and affirmative vote of the USSR Government—a significant fact which testifies to the new direction of Soviet policy.

70. Is it necessary to mention that the General Assembly has behaved no better, especially in connexion with problems relating to the rights of peoples to freedom and independence and to international peace and security? Above all, it is very well known that whenever the United States Government, has felt it necessary to impose its wishes on this Assembly in order to advance imperialist policy in some respect, it has done so without any scruples and has unstintingly resorted to pressure, threats and blackmail to achieve that end.

71. The question of the representation of China in the United Nations is a typical example. The great majority of Member States agree that refusal to recognize the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations constitutes an injustice and an anomaly without precedent, and that it does serious harm to the Organization. However, this intolerable situation has existed for many years because of the arbitrary position of the United States which results from its hostile policy towards the People's Republic of China and its aims with regard to the Organization itself.

72. Neither must we forget on this occasion that it is precisely because the United States has a hold over the United Nations that it and some of its collaborators were able, by using the expenditures entailed by the military operations of the United Nations as a pretext, to sabotage the entire nineteenth session of the General Assembly, a session which is one of the saddest pages in the annals of the United Nations.

73. It obvious that for as long as the United States Government, either on its own or together with another Power, exercises a hold over the United Nations, the latter will continue to decline and to act in a manner diametrically opposed to the fundamental provisions of the Charter and to its own true mission. To endow it with armed forces which, in disregard of the prerogatives of the Security Council and the General Assembly, would only serve to further the policy of those who at present dominate it, would be to condemn it irrevocably to destruction.

74. In this context we should point out that in order to justify the plan for the establishment of United Nations forces a sustained effort has been made in recent years to make us believe that conditions favourable for this purpose have been established through a relaxation of international tension, greater confidence in relations among States, and some improvement in the situation within the Organization itself. Such assertions are often made, even with reference to the situation in Europe, with regard to so-called European security. I need scarcely say that such contentions are unrealistic and completely unfounded, unless they refer to the strengthening of understanding and collaboration between the two great Powers. Indeed, there can hardly be any doubt that for many years the international situation has been very tense and dangerous for world peace and that it has been constantly deteriorating, and that the situation in the United Nations is equally deplorable and continues to grow worse. It is quite right that the peoples of the world should firmly reject such assertions and should express their profound indignation attempts to justify, on the same false premises, the creation of new forces to be placed under the control of those sworn enemies of the freedom and independence of peoples, the imperialists and colonialists, headed by the United States of America.

75. The valiant people of Viet-Nam who are conducting against the United States aggressors one of the most heroic struggles that the world has ever seen cannot but be indignant and protest vigorously against these sinister plans. The peoples of South West Africa, South Africa, Southern Rhodesia, Angola, Mozambique, so-called Portuguese Guinea, occupied South Yemen, Aden, Oman, Palestine, Puerto Rico. and all other peoples struggling for their sacred and inalienable rights against colonialist and racist oppressors and aggressors are full of indignation and firmly condemn all such attempts in the United Nations, whenever the United States and its partners make use of the Organization for purposes of intervention and pressure and in order to hoodwink them by false claims concerning their liberation by peaceful means, by resolutions destined to remain a dead letter, by "peaceful talks" and by other tricks which are meant only to bring about their capitulation and submission.

76. Member States must also take into account the fact that the plan to establish United Nations forces is now more dangerous than ever in view of the intensified efforts in the Viet-Nam war now being waged by the sponsors of this proposal who do all they can to cause the Organization to intervene in it in every possible way. By such means, by the continuous escalation of this brutal war and by the artifice of the "peace talks", the heroic Viet-Nameese people are to be made to give up their sacred struggle for their country's salvation and surrender to the United States aggressors. But neither the blackmail of war, nor forces of any kind, nor the artifice of negotiations, nor treason from whatever quarter can shatter the iron will of the Viet-Nameese people and prevent them from winning their just fight against the ferocious onslaughts of the United States imperialists. Peaceful States must bear in mind, however, the designs con-

cealed behind the sinister plan regarding United Nations forces and must draw the obvious conclusions.

77. It is becoming clear to everyone that the true aim of the two great Powers is to have at their disposal, in addition to their enormous war potential which they are ceaselessly and feverishly perfecting and augmenting an international police force which they can use, under the cover of the United Nations, to implement designs that are totally contrary to the fundamental principles of the Charter and the hopes of peaceful nations.<sup>o</sup> The people of the world understand full well that, by means of agreements or draft agreements such as those relating to the partial cessation of nuclear tests, the non proliferation of nuclear weapons, the establishment of United Nations armed forces, and other plans which we know of or which have been kept secret, the two Powers intend to disarm the freedom-loving peoples and nations and to place themselves in a privileged and monopolistic military position which would enable them, either overtly or covertly, according to what their plans call for, to stamp out the flames of popular revolutionary struggle, to put down the fight for freedom wherever it occurs, to subjugate the peaceful countries and to direct their strategy of counter-revolution and world domination against the People's Republic of China, that impregnable fortress, that invincible champion of the struggle of peoples for their freedom, sovereignty and independence.

78. Of course, the peoples will only fight all the harder for freedom and independence and will surely bring to naught the infamous designs and attempts of the imperialists and their collaborators. They will see to it that their enemies get their just desserts and will find ways and means to establish and organize international relations on a fair and sound basis. Nevertheless, it is the duty of the peaceful Member States to make their contribution to that cause, denounce and reject the dangerous plans of the two great Powers and, acting in concert, do whatever is necessary to defeat the great conspiracy against mankind.

79. The establishment of United Nations armed forces can in no way serve the cause of freedom or international peace and security, nor can it help to improve the situation in the United Nations, or to enhance and strengthen it. On the contrary, such a measure would be very dangerous to peace and would inevitably lead to the final transformation of the United Nations into an instrument of intervention and aggression in the hands of the United States imperialists and their collaborators. The imperialists are the oppressors and slaughterers of the peoples who are struggling for freedom. They bear the chief responsibility for all the conflicts among States. They are the authors or the instigators of all the acts of aggression and all the breaches of the peace and threats to peace and freedom in the world. Armed forces created at their instigation and under their control could only serve their interests to the detriment of peaceful peoples and nations.

80. What is important to the overwhelming majority of Member States is not that the United Nations should have a military force, but that it should regain its strength and resume its proper course, in confor-

mity with the purposes and principles of the Charter and the dearest hopes of peoples. It is now more imperative than ever for us to work together to prevent the United States from manipulating the Organization at will, to frustrate the attempts to bring it under the control of one or two Powers, to restore to full vigour the principle of the sovereign equality of Member States, and to establish the necessary conditions for a reorganization of the United Nations so as to enable it to satisfy the imperative requirements of the contemporary world in accordance with the fundamental principles of the Charter.

81. The delegation of Albania will spare no effort to make its modest contribution to that end, as it has done in the past. Guided by our policy of peace and of unstinting support for the struggle of peoples against imperialism and colonialism and for their sacred right to self-determination and independence, we vigorously oppose and reject any measure whatever leading to the establishment of United Nations forces. My Government's position on this question—a position which has been clearly stated here on many occasions—therefore remains unchanged. We have been and we remain firmly opposed to the establishment of such forces and we will never agree to contribute to the expenses relating thereto. The Albanian delegation will therefore vote against the draft resolution contained in the report of the Special Committee [A/6654, para. 153].

82. Mr. MATSUI (Japan): The report of the Special Committee which the Assembly is now considering embodies a consensus in the form of the draft resolution which is recommended to the Assembly for adoption. This consensus is a tribute to the tireless and devoted efforts of the Committee's Chairman, our eminent colleague, Mr. Cuevas Cancino, efforts that were greatly appreciated by my delegation.

83. As a member of the Special Committee, Japan supported the Committee's recommendation to the Assembly. We support it here, and we hope that the draft resolution contained in the Committee's report will be adopted by the Assembly. The Japanese delegation attaches special importance to the renewed appeal for voluntary contributions which is contained in the draft resolution. Prompt solution of this persistent problem would no doubt conduce to a much healthier atmosphere, would help break the present log-jam and, quite possibly, would unlock the door that now seems such a barrier to progress.

84. In this connexion, it should be noted that among those twenty-three countries which have so far made their voluntary contributions, we find, with the greatest respect and appreciation, quite a number of developing countries which are the least able to pay.

85. My delegation also attaches special importance to the continuation, without interruption, of the Special Committee's work. As the Committee's report indicates, many suggestions were made by different delegations, including my own, during the Committee's last session, and it is most desirable that these suggestions should be studied further and every effort made to reach agreement.

86. The Japanese delegation is fully prepared to continue its active co-operation with the other members of the Committee of Thirty-three if the draft resolution before us is adopted by the Assembly. We are convinced that adoption of this draft resolution will pave the way for further progress towards solution of the many vexing problems in the peace-keeping field.

87. The importance and the urgency of proceeding as swiftly as possible to find appropriate solutions for the problems of peace-keeping operations are markedly stressed, to cite one example, by the current regrettable build-up of serious tensions in the Near East. At the end of last week, just as the Assembly was about to embark upon its consideration of the question peace-keeping operations, one of the most successful of such operations, the United Nations Emergency Force, was suddenly terminated.

88. My delegation fully shares the deep concern expressed by the Secretary-General in his recent report to the General Assembly,<sup>5/</sup> with regard to the possible implications for peace of the latest developments in the Near East. We also note the Secretary-General's view stated in the following words in his report to the Security Council that "the current situation in the Near East is more disturbing, indeed, I may say more menacing, than at any time since the fall of 1956".<sup>6/</sup>

89. We ardently hope that the Secretary-General's current visit to the Near East will prove to be successful and help to alleviate the current tensions in that area. The present situation in that area may well have very important implications with regard to the question of peace-keeping operations as a whole, as well as to the future effectiveness of the United Nations with regard to its primary purpose, the maintenance of international peace and security. Perhaps the most important of these implications, as I see it, is the necessity of the United Nations being in a position of constant readiness, able at all times to move swiftly to establish effective peace-keeping machinery before a particular situation might deteriorate beyond the point of no return.

90. My delegation is convinced that the difficulties and obstacles that stand in the way of operable solutions of the problems of peace-keeping operations can be overcome by intensive effort and hard work, and we, for our part, are fully prepared to do all that we can to achieve results.

91. Mr. TARABANOV (Bulgaria) (translated from) French): At this advanced stage, when the work of the General Assembly's fifth special session is drawing to a close, my delegation hesitated to ask to speak in order to express its view on the agenda item entitled "Comprehensive review of the whole question of peace-keeping operations in all their aspects". However, we decided to address the Assembly because we heard several statements endeavouring, even at this late stage, to implant the idea that a solution to the question of peace-keeping is

<sup>5/</sup> *Ibid.*, Fifth Emergency Special Session, Annexes, agenda item 5, document A/6730.

<sup>6/</sup> *Official Records of the Security Council, Twenty-second Year, Supplement for April, May and June 1967*, document S/7896.

to be found, not by establishing conditions and an atmosphere conducive to a maintenance of world peace, but rather by converting our Organization into a sort of world policeman. As Bulgaria is not a member of the Special Committee, we felt that it would be helpful for us to state our views, even at this late hour, and perhaps thereby to shed some light on the question that will be discussed by the Special Committee when it resumes its work, in accordance with the draft resolution now before us [A/6654, para. 153].

92. We were very surprised to hear the United States representative refer, in his statement yesterday, to Realpolitik. Perhaps he did so as a diversionary tactic. We must say that we do not disagree with him when he says: "I do suggest that we are even less assured of success if we continue to rely on the so-called Realpolitik..." [1519th meeting, para. 49]. However, we are in complete disagreement with him on, and are vehemently opposed to, the implication of that remark, which equates the peace-keeping operations of the United Nations with Realpolitik, past or present. We were truly surprised to hear the United States representative say yesterday that: "Great Powers should not alone be responsible for policing trouble spots, settling quarrels and protecting weaker nations" [*ibid.*, para. 40]. Frankly, the audacity of such a statement on the part of the United States representative amazes us. Indeed, we are astounded to learn from Mr. Goldberg that someone—certainly not the United Nations—has instructed the great Powers to police the world. On the contrary, we have always wished and wished ardently, that some of the great Powers would desist from those acts of interference in the affairs of other States which they call "police operations". All peoples and all peaceful States would, we are sure, want to see an end to Realpolitik as manifested by the sending of the United States Sixth Fleet to the Mediterranean, where its presence creates a threat and danger of war and only breeds trouble and insecurity in the region. Indeed that threat is only too obvious from the provocative attitude adopted by some countries even today.

93. An end must also be put to the United States intervention and aggression against the heroic people of Viet-Nam who ask only to live in peace and to decide their own future. All opposition and all threats to the popular liberation movement must likewise cease. However, instead of putting an end to this policy of force and intervention in the affairs of others, we see from the statements of some representatives, and particularly of the United States representative, that there is a desire to make the United Nations function for the benefit of the imperialist and colonialist Powers. To endow the Organization with such functions would be tantamount to signing its death warrant.

94. We do not agree with those who pursue such a policy, any more than, in our opinion, other peaceful peoples and States can agree with it. On the contrary, we wish the United Nations to continue to carry out, and carry out successfully, the tasks and duties which it has assumed before all mankind.

95. It is in this spirit that the delegation of the Peoples's Republic of Bulgaria wishes to assure the Assembly that it shares the legitimate concern of

the majority of Member States as regards the role of the United Nations in the maintenance of international peace and security. Such an attitude is entirely consistent with the arguments I have just put forward. The ability of the United Nations to take preventative and enforcement measures for the maintenance of international peace and security is only one aspect, one of the diverse manifestations of the role it has to play in the maintenance of peace and the settlement of international problems in conformity with the principles of international law and justice. The effectiveness of the Organization in these matters is not due solely to its ability to have recourse to preventative and enforcement measures for the maintenance of peace, any more than its scope of action is limited to such recourse. The tasks and functions of the United Nations as defined in the Charter are, without doubt, much wider. That is why the effectiveness of the United Nations should also be considered in the light of its contribution to the peaceful settlement of international disputes, the elimination of colonialism in all its forms, the conclusion of agreements on matters of disarmament and the introduction and strengthening of rules governing international relations.

96. One of the most important pre-conditions for the successful solution of such problems in an atmosphere of peace and security is respect for the principles of the United Nations Charter and the rules of international law on the part of all States. The more respect is shown for law and justice in international relations, the less will it be necessary for the United Nations to take preventative or enforcement measures in order to eliminate threats to or violations of peace and tranquillity in any part of the world. In fact, the use of armed forces by the United Nations should be regarded as an extraordinary and extreme measure recommended by the Charter to that end. It follows that United Nations peace-keeping operations are a very serious action which may have strong repercussions, not only in inter-State relations, but also as regards the rule and functioning of the United Nations itself. There are some highly significant precedents in that respect.

97. The discussion of the question of peace-keeping operations which has taken place in various United Nations bodies in the last few years, and in this Assembly in the last few days, has shown that the way to eliminate the present difficulties and controversies is not by means of hasty improvisation but through a detailed examination of the entire problem; not by methods which violate the Charter, but rather by taking advantage of every opportunity it offers and by applying all the means it provides for the safeguarding of international peace and security. Any recourse by our Organization to preventative or enforcement measures, including the use of armed force, should not be based on innovations or assumptions that contradict the Charter, but on clearly defined Charter provisions which are binding on all Members of the Organization.

98. Consideration of all the legal, political, constitutional, financial and other aspects of the problem of United Nations peace-keeping operations should be based on the study of those provisions, with due

regard for their importance. All matters relating to the nature and aim of preventative and enforcement measures and the competent organs responsible for them and their implementation, like those relating to the obligations of Member States, must be settled in accordance with the Charter. The attempts to amend the Charter have always aimed at the respective functions and powers of the Security Council and the General Assembly and their interdependence. While hiding behind constitutional and legal arguments, those attempts have always been inspired by well defined political motives. The attack against exclusive competence of the Security Council to take preventative and enforcement measures for the maintenance of peace is in reality directed against the political and legal foundation on which our Organization stands. The attempt to transfer certain functions and power of the Security Council to the General Assembly is merely part of a not very ingenious scheme thought up by certain imperialist States which wish to be able to defend their own interests, by using armed force in the name of the United Nations, and thus carry out all their operations under the United Nations flag.

99. Representing as it does a small country, the Bulgarian delegation wishes to state that such attempts to curtail the powers of the Security Council and to impair the principle of unanimity of its permanent members may well transform the United Nations into an instrument of the policy pursued by the imperialist and colonialist Powers against the small countries and against the countries which have acceded to independence in recent years.

100. In this respect, we associate ourselves fully with the following statement from the Memorandum submitted by the USSR Government on 16 March 1967:

"If the rule of unanimity among the permanent members of the Security Council did not exist, the imperialists could without any difficulty use the United Nations for crushing the national liberation movements of peoples Z."

101. Since the Security Council is alone competent to undertake preventative and enforcement measures for the maintenance of peace and security, it is also entitled to resolve all questions relating to the preparation, execution and financing of such operations.

102. The note from the Permanent Mission of the People's Republic of Bulgaria to the United Nations, date 17 December 1964, categorically states:

"Under the Charter, the Security Council is competent to take preventative or enforcement measures to maintain or restore international peace and security. By virtue of those powers, it is within the competence of the Security Council to take decisions in all matters relating to the establishment of United Nations armed forces, the definition of their duties, their composition and strength, the direction of their operations the structure of their command, the duration of their stay in the area of operations and the financing of the expenditures involved 8/."

Z/ Ibid., document S/7841.

8/ Official Records of the General Assembly, Nineteenth Session, Annexes, Annex 21, document A/5839.

103. We continue to maintain that position of principle and we are of the opinion that the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations should take this as a starting point for its examination of means of financing and provision of facilities, so that Member States can make available to the United Nations the means to carry out peace-keeping operations, in conformity with the Charter.

104. With regard to how those operations should be financed the report of the Special Committee [A/6654/ contains a number of specific proposals, inter alia, that the cost should be borne by the aggressor, that a portion of the cost should be borne by the States directly concerned, and that voluntary contributions should be solicited and expenses shared among all Member States.

105. We believe that previous debates on these questions, allow us to hope that a just and acceptable solution, in keeping with the principles of international law and the United Nations Charter, can be found. No one can deny that, under the general principles of law and the tenets of international law, anyone who violates international law by threatening or causing a breach of the peace must assume full responsibility for his illegal acts and bear the cost of the damages he has caused, including the cost of operations undertaken to prevent or put an end to the aggression.

106. We are of the opinion that the Special Committee should also study the practical advantages of other methods of financing peace-keeping operations, and should make recommendations on the matter to the Security Council.

107. My delegation considers that special attention should be given to problems of the provision of facilities, and also to the application of those passages in the Charter that deal with these matters, in particular Articles 43 to 47. In the course of the recent discussion in the Special Committee and in the General Assembly, as well as during the past year, a number of delegations made constructive and useful proposals. In this connexion we would draw attention to a letter from the Permanent Representative of Czechoslovakia, dated 13 April 1967 [A/6652], which contains a number of considerations of principle and some carefully thought out recommendations. The report of the Special Committee also represents a useful basis for future debates on these questions.

108. As the representative of a country whose Government declared, as early as 1964, that it was prepared to place a contingent of its armed forces at the disposal of the United Nations in accordance with Article 43 of the Charter, I wish to reaffirm that declaration.

109. In conclusion, I should like to stress that the political, constitutional, legal, financial and technical problems I have mentioned should be examined in greater detail, with a view to making the best and most productive use of the opportunities offered by the Charter and the machinery of the United Nations, basing our actions on the provisions relating to the maintenance of international peace and security. This fully justifies the proposal that these questions should be discussed by the Special Committee until the

twenty-third session of the General Assembly, to which the Committee is to present its report.

110. We believe that the solution to the question must be sought along these lines, and not by trying to make the United Nations into a world policeman.

111. Mr. RICHARDSON (Jamaica): The views of the Jamaican delegation on the subject which is before the General Assembly this morning have been stated fully in previous meetings of this Organization, particularly in the 482nd meeting of the Special Political Committee in December 1965 and in the 527th and 529th meetings of that same Committee in November and December 1966. I have no intention, therefore, of inflicting on the Assembly a lengthy dissertation on the merits of the arguments and proposals which are recorded in the report of the Committee of Thirty-three [A/6654].

112. I have come to this rostrum to speak on two matters only, which, in my judgement, have not been given in the preceding exchanges either the attention or the emphasis which they deserve. I am not trying to present a comprehensive statement once more of our views, but simply to make reference to two disjointed matters which have been discussed before the Assembly.

113. The first of these matters has reference to the rival claims to the United Nations power of assessment. By this I mean the respective claims by the advocates of exclusive General Assembly competence and exclusive Security Council competence, respectively, to make levies or demand a financial contribution from Member States for the purpose of defraying expenditures of the United Nations for the maintenance of international peace and security.

114. I fear that there might be some weakening of resolve in this matter, and I wish to urge those of us who believe in and wish to safeguard the General Assembly's role in the maintenance of international peace to stand firm on the exclusive nature of the Assembly's power to make assessments upon Member States.

115. As Members know, Jamaica has always exhibited a scrupulous respect for the primary responsibility of the Security Council in the sphere of maintaining international peace. We know that when action to maintain or restore international peace is required, the Security Council has been given primary responsibility and competence by the Charter. The Council can determine the scale, the character and the duration of any military operation, whether such operation be of enforcement nature or otherwise. It can call upon Member States to take part in a joint exercise and, in consultation with the States concerned, of course, it can determine what share of the joint operation each State shall undertake with its own resources. It is competent to designate and organize the command. It can lay down areas of co-operation between Member States. It has even, I believe, the authority to receive and to dispose of voluntary contributions towards the common expense. What the Security Council has no authority to do is to levy any compulsory charges on any Member State to defray the expenses of such a joint operation. By Article 17 of the Charter, the power to make assessment on

Member States is exclusively committed into the hands of the Assembly, and no special interpretations, no inferences, no deductions—none of those can be used legally to maintain that the Security Council can assume or usurp this power.

116. We shall not be enhancing the prestige of the United Nations Organization or fortifying its capacity to maintain the peace if we seek to take away from the Security Council powers which are committed to it by the Charter. Neither, by the same token, will it reinforce the moral authority of the Organization or fortify its capacity to maintain the peace if we seek to deprive the Assembly of powers which are exclusively committed into its hands by that same Charter.

117. My second purpose in coming to the rostrum has to do with the subject-matter of today's discussion. I wish to say to the Assembly that the question of peace-keeping operations, no matter how comprehensive the review we undertake or how varied the aspects in which the question is considered, is still too narrow for the present time. It is still a part only of the broad subject of the maintenance of international peace and security, which, we are sure, involves much more. In the present state of world political relations, it must involve establishing machinery and laying down procedures for settling disputes peacefully; it must involve a readiness, on the other hand, to take enforcement or coercive action where necessary, as well as the type of effort which has come to be known as the peace-keeping operation. I am concerned that the distinct but complementary roles of the Assembly and the Security Council should be recognized and respected; but I am equally concerned at the conclusion we seem to be arriving at almost by agreement or by default. We seem to be reaching the conclusion that the limit of the United Nations future role in maintaining world peace is to be the peace-keeping operation, the exercise which can be carried out only with the consent of the parties involved.

118. Perhaps recent events in the Middle East have reminded us how precarious is the status of a United Nations operation which depends for its very continuance, not to mention its effectiveness, on the will of the parties to the dispute.

119. When questions affecting international security are debated in this Assembly, Jamaica speaks as one of many small Powers, as a country which desperately wants to rely on the United Nations for the protection of its security. Being genuinely peace-loving people, having no intention at any time of committing acts of aggression, seeing ourselves only as the potential victims of aggression, we are naturally concerned to see the United Nations establish and maintain arrangements under which protecting forces can be interposed between us, or any other potential victim, and aggressors. We are concerned, of course, that these United Nations forces should be interposed by the appropriate authority, legitimately interposed by the full authority of the whole international community. We regret to say that we cannot find this sort of protection or this sort of promise of protection in the peace-keeping operation as it has evolved. It is natural, therefore, that we

should be less than enthusiastic about procedures in the United Nations which decline to name aggressors, which decline even to state who was attacked or who it was that first resorted to force.

120. It was with these considerations in mind that at the last session of the Assembly the Jamaican delegation moved, in the Special Political Committee, that certain decisions should be taken by the Assembly. The Special Political Committee adopted, and then transmitted to the plenary session, three draft resolutions, from one of which I wish to quote. It is draft resolution C in the report of the Special Political Committee to the Twenty-first session, under which the Assembly would have requested the Security Council—or, in the appropriate language of the draft resolution, would recommend to the Security Council—that, *inter alia*:

"it proceed to negotiate arrangements with Member States or groups of Member States under which armed forces, assistance and facilities would be made available to the Council, at its call, in accordance with the provisions of Article 43 of the Charter".<sup>2/</sup>

121. The Assembly would have assured the Security Council of its full co-operation, if the Council required it, in the negotiation of the arrangements mentioned above. This draft resolution was available to the Committee of Thirty-three. The Committee has been unable to make any recommendation in the matter. This is regrettable, and it is a matter of regret to my delegation that the draft resolution which the Special Committee has proposed that the Assembly should now adopt ignores entirely the resolution of the General Assembly, resolution 2220 (XXI), of 19 December 1966, which referred that matter to this special session.

122. Unless the Committee succeeds in reaching a consensus on this particular proposal, which is of special interest to States in our position; unless the Special Committee manages to make a recommendation in the matter for consideration by the Assembly at the twenty-second session, the Jamaican delegation may find itself obliged to reintroduce at the twenty-second session a proposal to the same effect as that which the Assembly failed to adopt last year.

123. The PRESIDENT: We have now come to the final stage of the Assembly's consideration of agenda item 8. It is my understanding that Members would wish first to take a decision on the recommendation made by the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations. That recommendation is that the Assembly adopt the draft resolution contained in the report of the Special Committee [A/6654, para. 153] I now put that draft resolution to the vote.

*The draft resolution was adopted by 90 votes to 1, with 11 abstentions.*

124. The PRESIDENT: By the vote just taken the General Assembly has decided to request the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations to continue its work and to report on the progress thereof to the General Assembly at its twenty-second session.

<sup>2/</sup> *Ibid.*, Twenty-first Session, Annexes, agenda item 33, document A/6603, para. 25.

The Assembly must now decide on how to deal with the report which the Special Political Committee submitted during the twenty-first session of the General Assembly and which was referred to this special session. The Chairman of the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations proposed, during his statement yesterday morning, that the General Assembly should decide to transmit the report, with the draft resolutions it contains, to the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations so that the Special Committee may study it and take it into account as its work proceeds. As members are aware, that proposal was made at the outset of the 1519th plenary meeting, held yesterday.

125. In the statements which have been made in the debate on this item, no objection has been raised.

I personally have had some contacts with a number of representatives and have not heard any objection to the proposal. It seems indeed that the general feeling among Members of the General Assembly is towards supporting that proposal made by the Chairman of the Special Committee.

126. Therefore, if I hear no objections at this stage, I shall take it that the Assembly approves the proposal to transmit the report of the Special Political Committee to the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations.

*It was so decided.*

*The meeting rose at 12.45 p.m.*





United Nations  
**GENERAL  
ASSEMBLY**

Official Records



FIFTH SPECIAL SESSION

**1522nd  
PLENARY MEETING**

Tuesday, 23 May 1967,  
at 3 p.m.

**NEW YORK**

**CONTENTS**

	Page
<i>Agenda item 9:</i> <i>Question of the postponement to 1968 of the United Nations Conference on the Exploration and Peaceful Uses of Outer Space . . . .</i>	1
<i>Agenda item 3:</i> <i>Credentials of representatives to the fifth special session of the General Assembly (concluded):</i> <i>(b) Report of the Credentials Committee. . . .</i>	9
<i>Agenda item 7:</i> <i>Question of South West Africa (continued) . . . .</i>	13
<i>Adjournment of the session. . . . .</i>	13

**President: Mr. Abdul Rahman PAZHWAK**  
**(Afghanistan).**

**AGENDA ITEM 9**

Question of the postponement to 1968 of the United Nations Conference on the Exploration and Peaceful Uses of Outer Space

1. The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will now consider agenda item 9, entitled "Question of the postponement to 1968 of the United Nations Conference on the Exploration and Peaceful Uses of Outer Space". In this connexion a draft resolution has been submitted by twenty-three Members [A/L.518 and Add.1-2], and the Secretary-General has prepared a note on financial implications [A/6645]. I give the floor to the representative of India, who wishes to introduce the draft resolution.

2. Mr. PARTHASARATHI (India): I should like, first of all, to express on behalf of my delegation our sincere sympathies to the United States and Soviet delegations on the accidents which involved the deaths of outstanding and brave astronauts. Those astronauts sacrificed their lives in their pioneering activities so that humanity might benefit from the new discoveries made in outer space.

3. My delegation has the honour to move draft resolution A/L.518 and Add.1-2 on the question of the postponement of the United Nations Conference on the Exploration and Peaceful Uses of Outer Space. The resolution would have the General Assembly decide that the Conference should now be held in Vienna from 14 to 27 August 1968, dates which are convenient to the host country.

4. The General Assembly, by resolution 2221 (XXI), had unanimously decided to hold this Conference in September 1967. That was the result of extensive

deliberations by the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space and by the First Committee. However, the need for and desirability of postponement of this Conference by approximately one year was brought up at the first meeting in February of this year of the panel of experts, which was set up by General Assembly resolution 2221 (XXI) to discharge certain necessary tasks in connexion with the preparation and conduct of the Conference.

5. The panel of experts, after careful deliberation under the Chairmanship of Dr. Vikram Sarabhai, recommended to the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space that it consider the suggestion that the postponement of the Conference by a period of one year might allow for a better preparation of the Conference.

6. The Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space considered the recommendation of the panel of experts at its meeting on 13 February 1967, and unanimously agreed to recommend to the General Assembly the postponement of the United Nations Conference on the Exploration and Peaceful Uses of Outer Space by approximately one year.

7. Now, the General Assembly has to take a decision on the postponement of the Conference to 1968. My delegation would commend to the General Assembly the acceptance of this unanimous decision of the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space and the approval of the draft resolution, which has been tabled by my delegation, together with twenty-two other delegations, to postpone the United Nations Conference on the Exploration and Peaceful Uses of Outer Space from the planned date of September 1967 to 14-27 August 1968.

8. My delegation would urge the participants, particularly the countries which by virtue of their experience, have most to contribute to the deliberations of the Conference, to take the postponement of the proposed Conference in terms of the additional time available to them for fuller and better participation in the Conference. We also hope that this postponement will provide an opportunity for better preparation for a conference of such great importance and magnitude, thereby improving the results of the Conference for all participants. We would, therefore, request all Member States to redouble their efforts and start preparing for the Conference in right earnest to ensure the maximum benefit to the participating countries.

9. The Conference would examine the practical benefits to be derived from space research and exploration on the basis of technical and scientific achievements and the extent to which non-space countries, especially the developing countries, may enjoy these benefits, particularly in terms of education and de-

velopment, as well as the examination of the opportunities available to non-space Powers for international co-operation in space activities. It is the view of my delegation that the proposed Conference will be of use to all participating countries, irrespective of the size of their outer space programmes or the effectiveness of the research conducted by them. History has demonstrated that the real social and economic fruits of technology go to those who apply them through understanding. Therefore, a significant number of citizens of every developing country must understand the ways of modern science and of the technology that flows from it.

10. India, as one of the developing countries deeply interested in the results of the peaceful exploration of outer space and in an examination of the opportunities available to non-space Powers for international co-operation in space activities, has been looking forward to participating in the proposed Conference. The Indian delegation would appeal to all Member States, in view of the significance and importance this Conference will have on the development of science and technology, to participate as effectively as possible in the proposed Conference.

11. The United Nations has made efforts for meeting the challenges posed by the great advances made in this field in a short time, for harmonizing the interests of the countries concerned and also for providing opportunities to all countries to benefit from the exploration and peaceful uses of outer space. The proposed Conference is a notable effort in this direction by the United Nations. The Conference would be unique in its history. My delegation is confident that the developing countries are looking forward to the tremendous opportunities the Conference would afford them.

12. Mr. ADAMS (United States of America): The United States was a co-sponsor of the draft resolution setting the dates for the United Nations Conference on the Exploration and Peaceful Uses of Outer Space. We see this conference as an opportunity—one opportunity among many, but a very important one—for the countries with major space programmes to share some of their experience with other nations. The United States proposes just that. We plan to share our knowledge, and to make a contribution commensurate with our experience. We have already given much thought to this conference, with emphasis on the benefits which the developing countries may expect from the rapid development of space technology.

13. If we are able to hold to a firm date for this conference, and continue from today with energetic preparations for it, the outer space conference should be one of the most successful the United Nations has ever sponsored. Through this conference, we will be able to work to give concrete effect to Article 1 of the outer space Treaty [resolution 2222 (XXI)], which provides that: "The exploration and use of outer space . . . shall be carried out for the benefit and in the interests of all countries".

14. Neither inertia nor political problems must be allowed to hamper this conference. Allow me to put on record again something of the history of the planning for this event.

15. When a 1967 space conference was first proposed in 1964,<sup>1/</sup> the United States had two reservations. We recalled the history of a similar event which had been planned for the early sixties, but which was never held. And second, we recalled that a great many space conferences and symposia are already being held by the various organs of international scientific and engineering communities. Many of these conferences enjoy the support of United Nations agencies. We saw no need for the United Nations to provide a forum which would only duplicate what already is being done.

16. I have spelled out these reservations so that it will be clear why they were overcome when the United States delegation to the conference working group saw the subject matter desired by the developing nations and the non-space Powers. While there is no need for another scientific meeting, there is indeed justification for a conference focused on practical benefits and co-operation. Although meetings on this subject are not unknown, only the United Nations could assure the interest and the broad participation necessary to give the conference results wide circulation in the developing countries. Our reservation as to the usefulness of a conference vanished when practical benefits and co-operation emerged as its themes.

17. There have been inordinate delays and political problems involved in the conference planning, but this is a problem we are prepared to accept, up to a point, in order to achieve something genuinely valuable. And I wish to emphasize that the United States believes that it can make a significant contribution to this conference.

18. Although the space conference will not take place until August 1968, the development of space technology has not been slowed. Indeed, it accelerates. Each new launching strengthens man's knowledge and capabilities. We are pleased by the large number of nations participating in the development of space technology and equipping themselves to utilize its benefits. We welcome wider and more effective participation.

*Mr. Solomon (Trinidad and Tobago), Vice-President, took the Chair.*

19. We are building on a recent but firmly established base of experience in discussing the practical benefits of space. Probably the most advanced progress has been achieved in the field of satellite communications. The experimentation of many nations contributed to the testing of these satellites. A global communications system now exists. Four operational satellites give us a communications link which spans both the Atlantic and the Pacific.

20. But communications satellites are still in their infancy. We are working to assure the development of the technology needed for better communication. The space conference will provide a useful opportunity for reporting on the state of the art and on future prospects.

21. Weather satellites have also moved from experimental to operational assignments. Research continues on special sensors and cameras, even while

<sup>1/</sup> See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Nineteenth Session, Annexes, annex No. 10, document A/5785, para. 13, G.*

working satellites are in orbit. In 1966, the United States launched one research and three operational weather satellites. Two more satellites were orbited in 1967 to collect and relay meteorological data to earth.

22. The United States has invited weather observers throughout the world to equip themselves with the automatic picture transmission sets we developed to receive the pictures of cloud cover transmitted by these satellites. More than thirty countries, including Canada, Chile, Hungary, Poland, Kenya, Pakistan, India, Australia and Japan, have acquired or constructed these inexpensive and easily assembled sets.

23. At its conference last month, the World Meteorological Organization approved the first phase of the world weather watch, in which meteorological satellites and automatic picture transmission sets will be used in a world-wide weather-forecasting network. We expect that these receiving sets will become standard equipment in all countries within the next few years.

24. Automatic picture transmission sets can also be used to receive weather information transmitted from one country to another via satellite. Stations on the Pacific shores of Asia, Australia, and North America now participate in a weather communications experiment using the first of a series of five applications technology satellites launched by the United States. Processed weather data—including charts, tabulations, and satellite photographs—pass from a central broadcasting point to all receiving stations located within the satellite's area of coverage.

25. The better weather forecasts made possible by space technology have an immense value to all nations, developed or developing. Advance warning of natural disasters is one important example. And because of the importance of agriculture to their economies, this new technology should be of particular value to the developing countries.

26. The value of satellites for more precise mapping of the features of the earth has already been demonstrated. GLOS-I, the United States satellite orbited in November 1965, serves more than twenty stations located around the world. PAGEOS, launched almost a year ago, is being used to develop a unified global geodetic control reference system. Twenty-one countries participate in this study.

27. The increasing volume of air and marine traffic and the prospective development of supersonic aircraft has added new pressure on our present means of navigation and of communication between ships, planes, and ground control stations.

28. The Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space is forming a working group to undertake a special study of the need, feasibility, and implementation of a navigation-services satellite system. Studies of this question within our own Government lead us to believe we can contribute significantly to the work of this group.

29. The United States is also working to determine if instruments on space craft can survey the natural resources of our earth more cheaply and more easily

than surveys on the ground or by aircraft. Using aircraft, we are experimenting with equipment and techniques over selected sites in the United States. While this work is still in its early stages, we expect that satellites will eventually be used for such practical applications as finding and measuring geological resources, locating fishing grounds, surveying fresh water supplies, and controlling sedimentation and pollution of harbours and rivers. These resource-survey techniques suggest important contributions to man's ability to cope with his environment and to use the bounty of the earth for all mankind. The continuing development of space programmes and of operational systems to put technology to practical use has led to growing interest in the education and training needed to share in the benefits of this technology.

30. The United States has often reported to the United Nations on the extensive opportunities for practical education and training offered to scientists and technicians from other lands by our National Aeronautics and Space Administration. As part of joint international projects, almost 400 scientists and technicians from nineteen countries and from the European Space Research Organisation have been trained at NASA centres in payload engineering, radar, meteorology and launch-range operations. In our view, this is the best sort of training. It is related to specific projects and gives the nationals of co-operating countries an opportunity to "learn by doing" in support of objectives defined by their own countries. But there is also a place for more general training, and last year alone 115 scientists from twenty-eight countries carried out post-doctoral research programmes at NASA centres. In addition, fifty-three NASA international fellows from abroad studied at American universities during 1966 under the co-sponsorship of their national space agencies.

31. We also conduct extensive programmes in space education within our own country. We believe it is important for teachers, students and the public to understand space science and its related technologies. These programmes include teacher-education institutes, adult education and a programme of instructional materials for elementary and secondary school courses in space-related subjects.

32. We look forward to the United Nations space conference as an opportunity to share our experience in space education with others. The practical benefits of space depend upon education. It is not necessary for all nations to invest in the extremely expensive technology required to develop satellites for weather observation, navigation, communications, resource surveys or other purposes. Nor is it necessary for each nation to expend its own resources on the launch facilities to put those satellites into orbit. And in many cases the equipment needed by each nation to receive satellite information, such as our automatic picture transmission set to receive weather data, will cost very little and can be easily obtained.

33. But world-wide use of space technology will also require people in every country with the specialized training to determine what information their countries need—and then to put this information to use. For example, after we receive picture of cloud cover from

a satellite, a meteorologist must translate the picture into a forecast. Technicians must determine the effects of the weather outlook on water supplies, on construction projects, perhaps on the timing of the local harvest. The men and women who do this work need not be experts in electronics or inertial guidance. But they will need practical training and background in their fields. We hope that the space conference will define the opportunities which are ahead—and help the people of our earth to realize those opportunities.

34. The second theme of the United Nations space and conference is international co-operation in the exploration of space. We in the United States take special pride in what we have done to promote international co-operation in the peaceful uses of space. Well over half of the Members of this Assembly have joined with us in some form of mutually rewarding co-operation. Joint projects have ranged from ground-based studies with NASA satellites to actual programmes of space flight.

35. I have already mentioned several projects in which other countries have joined with us in the practical uses of satellites. In addition, we have co-operated with a number of countries in joint projects of space exploration.

36. Just last month Italy, using a booster contributed by the United States, launched the San Marco research satellite into orbit from a platform at sea off the coast of Kenya. On 5 May, NASA launched the third in a series of United Kingdom satellites. This brings to eight the number of satellites launched successfully in co-operative international projects. Within the next ten days, we expect to launch the first of a series of satellites for the European Space Research Organization.

37. Co-operation in space research, moreover, is not limited to countries with the resources to engage in relatively expensive satellite projects. Nineteen countries have co-operated with us in launching almost 300 sounding rockets, largely for such practical purposes as the study of local ionospheric and meteorological conditions. One of the most exciting and significant developments in this field is the Inter-American Experimental Meteorological Rocket Network. This network, which at present includes Argentina, Brazil, and the United States, began active operations in 1966 with fifty-three meteorological rocket launchings.

38. The United States also regularly invites members of the international scientific community to prepare scientific experiments for installation on United States satellites. Eighteen foreign experiments have thus far been selected for orbital flights, and another thirteen are under consideration. In addition, we have accepted proposals from twenty-seven foreign scientists for more than thirty experiments on the lunar materials which will be brought back by returning astronauts.

39. I have attempted to give our views on the importance of the United Nations space conference. My remarks should make clear why we have joined in co-sponsoring the pending resolution, which will set a firm date for this conference. We believe that genuine international co-operation opens the way to a full realization of the potential of space exploration. It

enables all who are willing to play an active role—whether large or small—to share in the adventure of confronting the rigorous challenge of this new environment. The rewards lie not only in the search for knowledge and the satisfaction of achievement, but also in practical benefits for all countries here on earth, including the developing countries as well as those already developed.

40. We in the United States have had experience with both co-operation and the practical benefits of space technology. We welcome the opportunity to discuss what we have learned. The new technology is here. Further benefits are already in prospect. There are no technical obstacles to co-operation. Delay in holding the conference could only defer full investigation of those prospects by the countries of the world for whose benefit the conference was called.

41. We would have preferred that this conference be held on the originally scheduled date of September 1967. When it became too late to make adequate preparations for this date, we suggested May 1968. This too has not worked out, and we have agreed on August 1968, which appears to be the best date for some other Members. Even now, the time for preparation of abstracts is short. The scientific community must know with certainty what the target date is, and we must know that that date will not shift.

42. The United States will contribute to the United Nations conference on the exploration and peaceful uses of outer space on the scale that other States have a right to expect from our major space programme. In return, we ask for an understanding which seems to us eminently fair: that other Members will remain firmly committed and that the conference will stay on schedule regardless of other contingencies. We are prepared to begin work at once. The subject matter is urgent.

43. Mr. WALDHEIM (Austria): The General Assembly, at its twenty-first session, adopted a number of constructive recommendations aimed at bringing about more intensive international co-operation in the field of outer space. The most important element of the relevant resolutions lies, in the opinion of my delegation, in the recognition of the fact that the activities of outer space research and of its practical applications are essentially of global concern and that they require to an ever increasing degree the co-operation of all nations. This belief found its expression in the unanimous recommendation to hold a United Nations Conference on the Exploration and Peaceful Uses of Outer Space.

44. My delegation has in the past repeatedly stressed the necessity and advantages of broad international co-operation in the field of outer space. We have on many occasions expressed our conviction that it would be in the interest of all countries, and of the non-space Powers in particular, for knowledge and understanding of the achievements of space science and technology to be more widely disseminated and for the applications of space technology to be actively promoted.

45. My Government is therefore convinced that the decision taken by the twenty-first session of the General Assembly to hold a United Nations Conference on the Exploration and Peaceful Uses of Outer Space

represents a decisive step towards fuller and more extensive co-operation in the field of outer space.

46. That Conference as conceived in resolution 2221 (XXI) has indeed an important task to fulfil. It is to examine the practical benefits of space programmes on the basis of scientific and technical achievements and the opportunities available to non-space Powers for international co-operation in space activities, thus ensuring that outer space research and space technology do not become monopolies of the scientifically and technically advanced countries.

47. The purpose of the Conference is to further co-operation in the application of space technology in such fields as biology, medicine, communications, meteorology and navigation, and it should give an impetus to the establishment of programmes for the education and training of specialists in order to assist the non-space Powers, and in particular the developing countries, in the peaceful uses of outer space.

48. These objectives are of particular importance with regard to the great prospects which are opening up before mankind in the fields of communications, meteorology and navigation. There can be no doubt that the use of satellites for these purposes would greatly improve intercontinental and transoceanic communications by telephone and television and offer hitherto unknown possibilities for data and facsimile transmission. It would provide the developing countries with new opportunities to broaden the standard of education and training, and thus their standard of living. An improved weather forecast system would be of interest not only to the highly industrialized countries having growing problems in the management of water resources, but in particular to all those countries with a predominantly agricultural economy. It has also become obvious that the growing transport and traffic by sea and air requires improved navigational methods which would ultimately be in the interest of every one of us.

49. Apart from these practical goals designed to make all countries benefit from the spin-off of outer space research and technology, a number of other reasons exist why the holding of this Conference is timely and appropriate.

50. Smaller countries which do not have the human and material resources for developing an independent space programme have made, and are still making, important scientific contributions in the field of outer space. Those countries, if given an adequate opportunity, could not only help to advance the theoretical understanding of the universe and the technological conquest of outer space, but could, within the framework of organized international co-operation, play a role commensurate with their interests and capacities.

51. The applications of outer space research, in particular in the fields of communications, meteorology and navigation, can be used to the full extent only if deployed on a world-wide scale. A broad understanding of those opportunities will undoubtedly prepare the ground for the elaboration and adoption of international programmes in those fields.

52. Finally, and this is a factor which should not be underestimated, broad international co-operation in outer space research and its manifold practical appli-

cations could help to overcome the still existing mistrust with regard to the potential applications of outer space technology and could thus strengthen our common endeavour to reserve outer space for peaceful purposes only.

53. The Austrian Government is therefore convinced that the decision to hold a United Nations Conference on the Exploration and Peaceful Uses of Outer Space will not only be to the benefit of the non-space Powers, and in particular the developing countries, but ultimately also to the advantage of the space Powers. We consider that decision as a step in the right direction, and Austria is proud to act as the host country to this important conference.

54. In this connexion, I should like to thank all delegations for their support in convening this conference in the Austrian capital, and I should like to assure the Members of this Organization that my Government will not only assume the obligations set out in resolution 2116 (XX), but in addition will spare no effort in order to contribute to the success of the Conference.

55. The representative of India, in introducing the draft resolution contained in document A/L.518 and Add.1-2, in which a new and definite date is suggested for the United Nations Conference on the Exploration and Peaceful Uses of Outer Space, stressed the importance which the non-space Powers, and in particular the developing countries, attach to this Conference. I should like to pay a tribute to the delegation of India, which has already been entrusted with an important role in the preparation of the Conference, as well as to the delegation of the United Arab Republic, for their initiative and constructive efforts in this respect. I also wish to thank the space Powers—which during the past months have again achieved remarkable results in the exploration of outer space, but which also suffered the tragic loss of brave astronauts, whose death was deeply mourned by the whole international community—for their spirit of co-operation which enabled us to submit to this Assembly the concrete proposal for the Conference contained in document A/L.518 and Add.1-2. As a sponsor of that draft resolution, my delegation trusts that it will find the unanimous support of this Assembly.

56. Mr. FEDERENKO (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (translated from Russian): The Soviet Union was one of the countries which actively supported and upheld the idea, put forward by the representatives of several countries in the United Nations Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space, of holding, under the auspices of the United Nations, a large-scale international conference on the exploration and use of outer space.

57. In February of this year, at the meeting of the panel of experts for the preparation of that Conference, the Soviet experts and those of some other countries put forward a number of considerations in the light of which it would be advisable to postpone the Conference, originally scheduled for September 1967, by approximately one year. The Committee on Outer Space decided that the exact date of the Conference would be agreed upon in consultation with Member States and the Austrian Government, which had kindly agreed to the holding of the Conference at Vienna, taking into

consideration the interest of the developing countries in other international conferences during 1968.

58. As a result of the consultations, in the course of which the various considerations put forward by experts and the views expressed by the members of the United Nations Committee on Outer Space were taken into account, it was decided that the Conference on Outer Space should be held from 14 to 27 August 1968.

59. We hope that the General Assembly, in considering the question of the international Conference on Outer Space, will take all the circumstances into account, particularly the interests of scientific and technical progress in the field of exploration and exploitation of outer space for the benefit of all peoples. The position of the Soviet Union on this matter is based on the conviction that the first international Conference on Outer Space will be of great importance. Soviet scholars and scientific organizations therefore hope that the Conference will be very carefully prepared and will be of the utmost value to all the participants.

60. We feel sure that the United Nations Conference on Outer Space will lead to further progress in the exploration and use of outer space for peaceful purposes and will be of great scientific and practical benefit to all its participants. We take the view, as we did when we spoke in favour of holding the Conference, that the latter will constitute a step forward in the expansion of the programme of outer space research throughout the world and will contribute to the further development of international co-operation.

61. In our view, the Conference will enable scientists of many countries to take stock of an important stage of outer space research, to exchange experiences gained in the field of outer space science and technology from the beginning of the space age, and to consider the prospects for future work in that field.

62. The Conference will be of undeniable importance for the developing countries, which can gain both scientific knowledge and practical benefit from it and thus accelerate their economic, scientific and technical development on the basis of scientific and technical advances in the field of space research.

63. We believe that the Conference will make possible an objective analysis and evaluation of the opportunities for associating the developing countries to a greater extent with existing space research programmes and for enabling those countries to take advantage of space technology for meteorological, communications, navigational and other practical purposes.

64. The Soviet Union regards its successes in the study of outer space not as something accomplished by the Soviet people alone but as the achievement of all mankind, and it is prepared to share the scientific knowledge so obtained with the scientists and experts of other countries, especially those of the developing States, which are rightly showing interest in the possibilities of the practical application of scientific and technical achievements in space to their own countries' requirements in economic and cultural development.

65. Adoption by the General Assembly of the recommendation made by the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space (A/6639, annex) that a new date

should be fixed for the conference on outer space will give the scientists and experts of all the participating countries the time needed to make the required preparations, bearing in mind the tasks which are to be dealt with in that important scientific and technical form.

66. The scientific organizations of the Soviet Union, in their desire to further the progress of science in space research, will, of course, take the necessary steps to ensure the success of the United Nations Conference on Outer Space.

67. In conclusion, may I convey to the distinguished representative of India our appreciation of the condolences which he expressed in this forum in connexion with the death of the Soviet cosmonaut Komarov, the pilot of the space craft Soyuz.

68. Mr. SCHUURMANS (Belgium) (translated from French): The astounding feats of the astronauts who are endeavouring to conquer outer space and the planets must inevitably bring to mind the valour and daring of those explorers of four centuries ago whose exploits were immortalized by José-Maria de Heredia in one of his most famous sonnets.

69. Like their illustrious predecessors, the mariners of outer space intend to push back ever further the boundaries of the universe accessible to man. But this ambitious enterprise, too, has unfortunately claimed some lives. Four names are already inscribed on the roll of martyrs of this new science; they come from the two nations which have thus far made decisive contributions to its progress.

70. The heroic deaths of these men plunge us all into a common grief, for beyond their national allegiance they belong to the entire human race, to which a treaty recently concluded in this very hall [resolution 2222 (XXI), Annex] has assigned outer space, as a pledge of its peaceful development for the good of all the peoples of the earth.

71. In expressing from this rostrum our deep emotion at their tragic death, we can also say that there is no better tribute that we could pay to their memory than to undertake to continue the task to which they dedicated themselves and for which they willingly laid down their young lives.

72. Thus far, our attention has been focused on the achievements in space which we have been privileged to witness, and on the no less magnificent plans which are to be carried out in the years to come.

73. The placing in orbit of earth satellites has become almost a routine operation; sending a man into outer space is no longer considered a sensational event; the manoeuvre known as the "space rendezvous" has been carried out a number of times; and after veritable flying laboratories have been landed on the moon, there is no doubt in anyone's mind that before long the first human beings will walk on that planet.

74. In the meantime, other aspects have been neglected and almost overlooked. I refer to the concrete results and practical advantages of the experiments, without which these costly undertakings, whose number increases daily, would have no point or justification.

75. In an article which appeared in the March 1966 issue of the magazine Industrie entitled "Belgium and



Space Research", a compatriot of mine, Mr. Joseph Heymans, Director of Belgospace, drew attention to this. Speaking of earth satellites, he wrote:

"Why have 500 of them been launched, why are several now being launched every week? It is because, as has happened with the motor car, the airplane and television, once a new instrument has been invented and perfected we find it increasingly useful."

76. Everyone will agree that the exploitation of outer space should not remain the monopoly of those great Powers which thus far alone possess the resources essential for such gigantic programmes.

77. The United Nations itself has been concerned to discover the means whereby the whole of mankind can benefit from the uses to which these prodigious experiments may be put: indeed, that was the theme chosen for the "Conference which the United Nations had decided, by a unanimous vote of the General Assembly [resolution 2221 (XXI)], to hold in September 1967 and which the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space has now recommended to be postponed for a year or so.

78. When the matter was discussed in the Committee, the Belgian delegation expressed its great regret at that procedure. Today, we are happy that an agreement seems to have been reached to set 14 August 1968 as the opening date of this important international meeting. We believe that we now have the assurance that this new date will be adhered to.

79. The Belgian delegation would be pleased if this additional delay were put to good use in making careful preparations for the Conference and in particular in seeing to it that the recommendations regarding its terms of reference, its objectives, its provisional agenda and its organization are scrupulously carried out.

80. It is in this spirit and for these reasons that we support the draft resolution now before the Assembly [A/L.518 and Add.1 and 2].

81. Mr. McKEOWN (Australia): Over the past year or two the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space, through its working group of the whole, has been actively engaged in preparing an outline for an international conference on the Exploration and Peaceful Uses of Outer Space. Notwithstanding some difficulties which have been encountered, not least in adhering to a final date for the holding of the conference, my delegation is pleased that these efforts have borne fruit and that we are preparing for a conference which should make a constructive contribution to international understanding of the prospects and possibilities offered to many countries by the discoveries of the last decade of space research. It is in this spirit of support for an initiative which offers to bring benefits to many countries that the Australian delegation has been happy to join as a sponsor of the draft resolution in document A/L.518 and Add.1-2.

82. We are all aware that the United Nations conference programme over the next year or two is a very full one and delegations are entitled to ask what useful purpose will be served by yet another international conference, particularly one devoted to a field in which a comparatively small number of countries is

able to play a really leading role. Indeed, it was questions of this sort which occupied the attention of my delegation when the proposal for the conference was first considered in the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space. However, as the planning for the conference proceeded and as the working group of the Committee, in which we were happy to participate, was able to formulate proposals covering the objectives to be attained by the conference, we have been persuaded that such a conference would indeed make a contribution to international understanding of the actual and potential benefits to many countries resulting from the space age. It was to this aspect that the report of the working group on the international space conference directed itself, when it recommended that the objectives of the conference should be:

(1) An examination of the practical benefits to be derived from space research and exploration on the basis of technical and scientific achievements and the extent to which non-space Powers, especially the developing countries, may enjoy these benefits, particularly in terms of education and development;

(2) An examination of the opportunities available to non-space Powers for international co-operation and space activities, taking into account the extent to which the United Nations may play a role.

83. My delegation believes that it is precisely this emphasis on the extent to which the middle and the smaller countries, those that are not major space Powers and indeed may have no space programmes of their own, that should be the keynote of the proposed conference. With so many scientific specializations in space science and with the help of the voluminous literature on the subject, we do not believe that a large-scale conference devoted to publicizing the exploits of the space age is what is now required. Indeed, if the public opinion in all countries has been focused on any single subject over the last decade, it has been on the achievements and, in the last few months, regrettably also on the hazards of the exploration of space.

84. Yet we do not need a United Nations conference to tell us about the achievements of the space age. What is perhaps not quite so well publicized is the extent to which space technology has applications in so many directions of practical concern not only to the major space Powers but also to the smaller countries. The enormous progress made in the technology of communications satellites and the participation of the majority of the countries represented in this General Assembly in the benefits of this revolution in communications is but one example of that progress.

85. As a country which cannot itself hope to mount a large independent space programme, Australia is fully alive to the need for smaller countries to seek, through international co-operative arrangements, to play a role in this rapidly expanding field of technology. Australia has sought through a variety of bilateral and multilateral programmes to share in these developments. Applications of existing knowledge are already proving of potential benefit to countries in fields as diverse as whether forecasting and communications. In the future, one may venture to predict that no country, whatever its stage of development, will

be able to ignore or will wish to ignore the benefits which advances pioneered by space technology will be able to bring to their peoples. A conference on outer space which would bring together eminent people from many countries and from many disciplines associated with space technology may well help to advance this process.

86. My delegation regrets that it was not possible for all delegations to adhere to the original date in 1967 for the holding of the conference on outer space. For our part, we would have been as happy to accept the original date as we are now happy to accept a postponement to a date in 1968 which should ensure that all countries will have an adequate opportunity to prepare for the conference.

87. We welcome the fact that the draft resolution in document A/L.518 and Add.1-2 reaffirms the terms of reference and objectives of the conference which were already laid down in resolution 2221 (XXI). We are pleased that the Austrian Government has been able to make facilities available in Vienna for the new date. We hope that, following our adoption of the new date for the conference, the panel of experts will renew its work with renewed vigour. In pursuing its work, we hope that the panel may now be assured that the date we have set for the conference will be firmly adhered to. We are confident that, with the good will of all, we shall have a successful conference which will further the objectives of the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space in acting as a focus for international co-operation in a field which symbolizes the spirit of our age.

88. Mr. COX (Canada): In participating in the deliberations of the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space and its working group of the whole, it has been Canada's belief that the United Nations conference on the exploration and peaceful uses of outer space will fill a certain void. The accomplishments of the major space Powers have inspired all Member States, but these extraterrestrial achievements have often seemed somewhat remote from the practical problems and struggles of the developing world. By emphasizing the practical benefits of space programmes in meeting the immediate needs of the developing countries, the conference should serve to remove this sense of remoteness and to make abundantly clear to non-space Powers the opportunities available in applying the technological advances of space research to the pressing problems of development. In the anticipation that the postponement of the conference until August of 1968 will enable these objectives to be realized more effectively, Canada is pleased to co-sponsor the draft resolution [A/L.518 and Add.1-2] which has just been introduced by the representative of India.

89. In the perspective of past technological breakthroughs, it is obvious that the practical applications of space research will contribute to the transformation of our earthbound lives in the years to come. The wide spectrum of fields covered in the agenda of the conference, approved unanimously in resolution 2221 (XXI), provides an indication of the future impact of space research in solving practical problems.

90. Addressing the Canadian Association of Broadcasters on 19 April of this year, the Prime Minister of Canada dealt with one application of space research

which is included in the agenda of the conference, namely, the recent development of communications satellites. Mr. Pearson said:

"It is my Government's belief that the economic, cultural, social, scientific and historical impact of the introduction of communication by satellite will be as important in our next century as the development of railways, air travel, broadcasting and telephone communication has been over the last one hundred years. The telegraph cable, the radio, the telephone cable and the microwave relay each enormously extended the range of men's views and thought. The cost of sending a message using these technicalities, however, always varies more or less proportionately with the distance travelled. In communications through the use of satellites, the cost is likely to be almost independent of distance."

91. From Mr. Pearson's remarks, it is clear that the practical application of space research in the area of communications satellites has potential benefits for all Member States; and, viewed in a broader context, it is not too presumptuous to hope that it may provide the diplomat with a more responsive instrument. This is one more important field to be discussed at the conference to which my Government attaches importance.

92. The success of the conference will depend to a large extent on the efforts of the scientists of participating States who will be called upon to prepare meaningful abstracts and papers. I pledge the support of my Government to the Secretary-General, to the panel of experts charged with the preparation of the conference, and to the host State of Austria in co-operating to produce a conference which will entirely fulfil the expectations of Member States.

93. Mr. VINCI (Italy): I wish to avail myself of this opportunity to make a few brief remarks concerning the United Nations conference on the exploration and peaceful uses of outer space.

94. Since the conference is an important United Nations enterprise, my delegation, together with many other delegations which took part in the work of the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space, feels that it should be placed firmly on the solid basis on which all the activities of the Organization must be grounded; that is, on a deep spirit of co-operation and with the common purpose of attaining practical results.

95. We do not lack experience in this regard in the organization of scientific conferences. I am convinced that among other examples, the recent United Nations Conference on the Applications of Science and Technology could set a good pattern for a Vienna conference on outer space. The Committee has already shown a very promising orientation in this direction, and I wish, therefore, to express the appreciation of my delegation for the work done and the recommendations put forward by the Committee to the effect that the main objectives of the conference should be: (a) the study of practical benefits to be derived from space exploration and of the extent to which non-space Powers, particularly the developing countries, may receive these benefits; (b) the study of the opportunities available to non-space Powers for international co-operation in space activities.

96. Let me stress that, in our opinion, the conference should endeavour to produce results useful both for the countries already carrying out programmes of research in outer space and for the developing countries with little or no experience in the field. On the basis of these guidelines and aiming fundamentally at an effective development of international co-operation and mutual exchange of information, the complex work of organization and the expenses the United Nations will incur for the conference will be, in our view, fully justified.

97. I wish to assure all my fellow representatives that my country has followed and will continue to follow with keen interest and a spirit of co-operation the organization by the United Nations of the Vienna conference. Italy has begun in recent years to develop a certain amount of activity, both national and international, in outer space. The Italian National Council of Scientific Research is at present conducting numerous experiments, chiefly in astrophysics, and the Italian Government is devoting increasing amounts to the financing of programmes for launching and operating satellites and for expanding the Italian space research centres and the Italian space telecommunication stations. A comprehensive report on the Italian space activities and achievements has recently been transmitted to the Secretariat of the United Nations.

98. With your permission, I should like to single out, among those achievements, the San Marco launching of a satellite by an Italian crew, from a platform at sea off the coast of Kenya. That, I believe, is a good example of international co-operation in this new field of human venture and fully consistent with the provisions of the space treaty. It was in fact a first experiment in the launching of satellites carried out in the framework of the activities of an international body—the European Space Vehicle Launcher Development Organisation [ELDO]. It was, from the technical point of view, an interesting experiment on account of its novelty, as the satellites were launched from an artificial platform built on the sea, and it was a very promising example of co-operation with a developing country, inasmuch as the scientific laboratories placed on the platform could avail themselves of the services and facilities of the Mombasa relay station. I believe that this is the best evidence we can give of the spirit and purpose guiding us in our outer space operations. Let me add that my country is also taking part in the carrying out of space programmes established by international agencies such as ELDO, the European Space Research Organisation, the International Telecommunications Satellite Consortium and the Conférence européennes télécommunications par satellites. I hope that these short references will indicate that Italy is greatly interested in the practical work of the United Nations Conference and is willing to contribute fully to its success.

99. Allow me to conclude with a comment on the date suggested for the Conference. My delegation, which has from the beginning been in favour of a longer term, believes that the time now afforded will meet the main requirements. In fact the nature and purposes of the conference and the complexity of the subjects that will be dealt with require very careful preparation of the conference and a clear and effective definition of its

programme. The time that the Assembly will give the Secretariat will, I think, not fall short of the need. We are confident that, with the effective co-operation of Austria, the host country, the services responsible for the organization of the conference will now be better enabled to cope with all the problems it entails. The experience of other international agencies in this field is precious and significant: we know that some of the most important international scientific associations customarily plan their conferences and establish the programmes relating to them years in advance. Let us hope that the fourteen months ahead of us will prove very fruitful for the preparation of the conference.

100. For the reasons I have mentioned, my delegation is very happy to associate itself with the other sponsors of draft resolution A/L.518 and Add.1-2 relating to the United Nations Conference on the Exploration and Peaceful Uses of Outer Space, which has been unanimously recommended by the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space. We are grateful to the representative of India for introducing this draft resolution, and we hope that the response of the General Assembly will be equally unanimous.

101. The PRESIDENT: That concludes the list of speakers on the draft resolution. The Assembly will now proceed to take a decision. In the absence of a request for a vote, may I take it that the Assembly adopts the draft resolution contained in document A/L.518 and Add.1-2?

*The draft resolution was adopted without objection.*

### AGENDA ITEM 3

Credentials of representatives to the fifth special session of the General Assembly (concluded):\*  
(b) Report of the Credentials Committee

102. The PRESIDENT: A revised text of the report of the Credentials Committee, containing a rewording of paragraphs 15 and 20, has just been circulated [A/6655/Rev.1]. I request Mr. Waldheim of Austria, Chairman of the Credentials Committee, to present the report of that Committee to the Assembly.

103. Mr. WALDHEIM (Austria): The report of the Credentials Committee to the fifth special session of the General Assembly, contained in the document to which you have just referred, Mr. President, contains a number of elements on which I should like to make some brief comments.

104. The delegations to this Assembly will have noted that the credentials submitted by a number of delegations are not in conformity with rule 27 of the rules of procedure. The credentials of some representatives, although emanating from the proper authorities, were submitted in the form of cablegrams and thus did not conform with the established practice, according to which they should be drawn up in the form of written documents bearing the signatures of the issuing authorities.

105. In the report of the Credentials Committee it is further stated that, in a number of instances, the names of representatives were communicated to the Secretary-General in notes verbales or letters ema-

\*Resumed from the 1502nd meeting.

nating from the permanent representatives or the permanent missions to the United Nations, but no credentials for those representatives had yet been submitted to the Secretary-General.

106. In the circumstances the Credentials Committee decided, as an exceptional measure, pending the receipt of the proper credentials, to accept instead the communications received by the Secretary-General and to request the latter to inform the Credentials Committee of the twenty-second session of the General Assembly of the status of those credentials. The Credentials Committee has, in addition, stressed the necessity for all Member States to comply with the requirements of rule 27 of the rules of procedure, which provides *inter alia* that credentials of representatives shall be submitted to the Secretary-General if possible not less than one week before the date fixed for the opening of the session.

107. The delegations will have further noted that some members of the Credentials Committee expressed reservations as to the validity of certain credentials. These reservations have been recorded in the report of the Credentials Committee. In this connexion, I wish to inform the Assembly—and this has already been done by the President—that the revised text of the report has just been distributed. The revision relates to some drafting changes which in no way alter the substance of the report or the recommendations of the Credentials Committee.

108. Finally, the Committee adopted the resolution contained in document A/6655/Rev.1, para. 23. As a result of this resolution, the fifth special session of the General Assembly has before it the recommendation to approve the report of the Credentials Committee.

109. Mr. PLAKA (Albania) (translated from French): The Credentials Committee, which has just submitted its report [A/6655/Rev.1] to the present session of the General Assembly for approval, has once again accepted the credentials of the Chiang Kai-shek clique, which represents no one, thus leaving this band of renegades in occupancy of the seat of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations. The Albanian delegation strongly protests against this illegal decision, which is a flagrant violation of the United Nations Charter and of the General Assembly's rules of procedure, and which is but one more of the pernicious acts of the United States imperialists that do serious harm to the prestige and authority of the United Nations.

110. The Chinese people, by their triumphant revolution eighteen years ago, proclaimed the People's Republic of China, which is one and indivisible. The fact that the Chinese province of Taiwan is at present under the military occupation of the United States of America in no way changes its legal status as undeniably an integral part of the People's Republic of China and does not justify the absurd attempt to have 700 million Chinese represented here by a clique of traitors who have been driven from the country and have sold out to the United States imperialists. The Government of the People's Republic of China is the only lawful Government of China and is alone entitled to represent the Chinese people in international relations, in the United Nations and in all international organizations. The puppet clique of Chiang Kai-shek

has therefore no place in the United Nations and must be expelled.

111. People's China, which has made remarkable progress in both internal and external affairs, is resolutely defending the sacred struggle of the world's peoples for national and social liberation and is waging an unremitting fight against colonialism and imperialism, headed by United States imperialism. It is a great Power, without which no important international problem can be solved. The denial of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations—a direct consequence of the manipulation of the United Nations by the United States—is harmful only to the Organization, its prestige and its ability to discharge its duties in promoting international peace and security, in accordance with the purposes and principles of the Charter. We have emphasized here on many occasions, that as long as the United States continues to exercise its nefarious influence on the United Nations, the latter will be unable to make any contribution to the settlement of important international problems relating to peace and the liberation of oppressed peoples and will therefore continue to decline until it is no more.

112. For the reasons I have just given, and also for those we stated at the last session, my delegation will abstain in the vote on the recommendation of the Credentials Committee [A/6655/Rev.1, para. 23].

113. Mr. TOMOROWICZ (Poland): The position of my delegation regarding the report of the Credentials Committee is as follows. First, in our opinion, the so-called credentials of the usurpers who claim to represent China in this Assembly can by no means be recognized as valid, despite the suggestion in the report. The prolonged absence of People's China from our midst not only prevents a settlement of urgent international problems, but also impairs the interests and the effectiveness of the United Nations.

114. Secondly, since the racist Government of the South African Republic represents only a small minority of its population and maintains the reins of colonial oppression based on an inhuman policy of *apartheid*, the documents presented by the representatives of that country also cannot be recognized.

115. For those reasons, the Polish delegation is unable to support the report of the Credentials Committee [A/6655/Rev.1] and will abstain.

116. Mr. ACHKAR (Guinea) (translated from French): My delegation is a member of the Credentials Committee for the fifth special session of the General Assembly. In that capacity it has vigorously stated the well-known position of the Republic of Guinea regarding the two delegations which we consider to be illegally present here: the delegations of Taiwan and of South Africa.

117. The first of these does not and cannot represent the great Chinese people, but rather a régime that has taken refuge in an island under the protection of the United States fleet and cannot possibly claim to have set up any sort of Chinese Government. Consequently, we have entered express reservations regarding its credentials, and we consider that this delegation is illegal.

118. As to the representatives of the colonial minority racist apartheid régime in Pretoria, we have likewise repeated that this delegation represents a minority of oppressors and certainly not the country which we know as South Africa. We have entered express reservations with regard to this delegation also.

119. I have therefore come to this rostrum in order to reiterate our reservations in the strongest possible terms. We trust that the true representatives of the countries now represented by usurpers will soon be joining us.

120. Mr. KUTAKOV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (translated from Russian): The USSR delegation wishes to make the following comments with regard to the recommendations submitted by the Credentials Committee to the General Assembly.

121. My delegation, like the delegations of many other Member States, does not regard as valid the credentials of Chiang Kai-shek's men who have arrogated to themselves the title of representatives of China in the United Nations. The credentials they have submitted do not meet the requirements of rule 27 of the General Assembly's rules of procedure.

122. The Soviet Union's position on this matter, a position based on principle, has been stated repeatedly in the United Nations and all Member States are familiar with it.

123. We adhere to the principle that only the Government of the People's Republic of China can represent China in the United Nations.

124. For this reason, the USSR delegation submitted a draft resolution in the Credentials Committee to the effect that the credentials of persons who style themselves representatives of the Republic of China should be deemed invalid.

125. As to the credentials of the representatives of the Pretoria régime, my delegation fully associates itself with the reservations made by the representatives of African States in the Credentials Committee and at the present meeting of the General Assembly.

126. Members of the United Nations are well aware that the overwhelming majority of the population of the Republic of South Africa—the true masters of the country—continue to suffer colonial oppression, racial discrimination and naked terror at the hands of the Pretoria authorities.

127. The shameful policy of apartheid, which denies to the indigenous population all human rights and freedoms, has been repeatedly condemned by the United Nations, which has rightly called for an immediate end to it.

128. However, these appeals have gone unheeded. Worse still, the South African racists have been extending their system of colonial oppression to other peoples, in particular the long-suffering people of South West Africa, which they continue to oppress in disregard of United Nations resolutions.

129. As we all know, the refusal of the Pretoria régime to comply with United Nations resolutions was the reason for the convening of this special session of the General Assembly.

130. My delegation shares the view expressed by many States that the Pretoria régime, which tramples underfoot the fundamental rights of many millions of the country's population, cannot be said to represent that population.

131. Since the considerations it put forward were not taken into account by the Credentials Committee and were not reflected in its decisions, my delegation is unable to support the Committee's recommendation and will abstain in the vote.

132. Mr. ANWARZAI (Afghanistan): The Government of Afghanistan has always maintained that the only lawful representative of China is the Government of the People's Republic of China and that, consequently, it is the only legitimate party entitled to occupy the seat of China at the United Nations. Accordingly, any credentials which come from sources other than the Government of the People's Republic of China cannot be recognized by my delegation as being valid. It is with this reservation that my delegation will vote for the report of the Credentials Committee [A/6655/Rev.1].

133. Mr. CHAMMAS (Lebanon): Regarding the report of the Credentials Committee, my delegation, on behalf of the Arab States, members of the Arab League, and pursuant to a decision taken by the Arab League on the subject, wishes to put on record their reservations, as well as its own, and to state that we do not recognize the State of Israel, a racist State built on the blood of and on threats to a gallant people, the Palestine people.

134. Mr. DIACONESCU (Romania) (translated from French): Romania's position on the question of the representation of China in the United Nations has been stated on more than one occasion in this Assembly. Like a number of other countries, Romania has proved time and again that the only Government which is entitled to represent China in the United Nations is the Government of the People's Republic of China. In view of the fact that the credentials of Chiang Kai-shek's representatives were not issued by the lawful Government which represents the Chinese people, they are not in accordance with the provisions of rule 27 of the General Assembly's rules of procedure and should consequently be regarded as null and void. The Romanian delegation denies that the credentials presented to the Secretary-General by an authority which arbitrarily and illegally claims to represent China in the United Nations have any validity.

135. My delegation fully shares the reservations expressed by a number of delegations regarding the credentials presented by the Pretoria régime.

136. For these reasons my delegation will abstain in the vote on the Credentials Committee's report [A/6655/Rev.1] as a whole.

137. Mr. YUNUS (Pakistan): With reference to the draft resolution recommended by the Credentials Committee [A/6655/Rev.1, para. 23], the delegation of Pakistan wishes to place on record three reservations.

138. First, we do not recognize the credentials presented by those who style themselves as the representatives of China in the United Nations. We maintain that the Government of the People's Republic of China

is the only authority entitled to represent the Chinese people in the United Nations and elsewhere in the world.

139. Secondly, we do not recognize the credentials presented by the delegation of South Africa, representing as it does a racist minority régime which has imposed its rule by force on the majority of the people in South Africa. Moreover, that régime consistently violates United Nations resolutions and continues to foster its inhuman policies in the face of universal opposition.

140. Thirdly, Pakistan does not recognize the credentials presented by the representatives of the so-called State of Israel.

141. U MAUNG MAUNG GALE (Burma): For reasons which have been explained on a number of occasions, the delegation of Burma would like to reserve its position in so far as the credentials for the representation of China are concerned. With this reservation, my delegation will vote for the report of the Credentials Committee [A/6655/Rev.1] which is before us.

142. Mr. LIU (China): If the representative of Albania alone had spoken as he did I would have remained silent, for he is only the mouthpiece of Mao Tse-tung. But I was somewhat surprised that other delegations found it necessary to reiterate at this closing of our session the positions which are already widely known in respect of the so-called question of China's representation.

143. I would not for a moment impose on this Assembly any lengthy reply to some of the statements that have been made. I do want to point out that only five months have passed since the Assembly pronounced itself on this question in a clear and unequivocal manner.

144. In the months that followed, if any lesson is to be drawn from the turmoil and chaos that have been taking place throughout the length and breadth of the Chinese mainland, it is that the Chinese Communist régime is totally unfit to speak for the Chinese people in the international community. The only Government that can truly articulate the wishes and aspirations of the Chinese people is the Government of the Republic of China, which my delegation has the honour to represent.

145. The PRESIDENT: Since there are no other representatives who wish to explain their vote before the voting, the Assembly will now vote on the draft resolution recommended by the Credentials Committee. [A/6655/Rev.1, para. 23].

*The draft resolution was adopted by 89 votes to none, with 17 abstentions.*

146. The PRESIDENT: I shall now call on those representatives who have asked to speak in explanation of their vote after the voting.

147. Mr. SHAH (Nepal): Despite the affirmative vote of my delegation on the report of the Credentials Committee, I wish to make it clear that my delegation has a very serious reservation with regard to the credentials of the so-called representatives of China. It is the view of my delegation that those representatives, accredited as they are by a group of self-exiled anti-

national elements which manage to maintain an appearance of a so-called government at the instigation and with the support of a foreign Power, cannot, in law and in fact, represent the people of China.

148. The Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China alone represents the Chinese people, and that Government alone is entitled to represent those 800 million people in the United Nations and elsewhere.

149. Therefore, I should like the record to show that our vote in favour of this report does not affect the position of my delegation as set forth above on the question of the proper representation of China in the United Nations.

150. By refusing to restore the legitimate rights of the People's Republic of China, the General Assembly has long been taking the shadow for the substance. By consistently goading the Assembly into this delusion, certain major and interested Powers have been perpetuating a great disservice to the cause of peace. That is a great misfortune, and I think that this misfortune assumes a greater proportion in the present-day world situation.

151. Mr. MISHRA (India): I wish to say a few words to explain our vote, which we recorded a few minutes ago. Our vote in favour of the adoption of the report of the Credentials Committee does not derogate from our well-known position regarding the right of the People's Republic of China to be represented in the United Nations.

152. Mr. BOTHA (South Africa): In explaining my delegation's vote, I do not intend to reply to the statements regarding my Government which were made this afternoon, except to reject them in their entirety. The South African delegation has previously recorded its arguments on the validity of its credentials, and it is not necessary to repeat them today.

153. The South African delegation voted for the adoption of the report of the Credentials Committee. This does not, of course, imply concurrence with the views expressed by individual members of that Committee as contained in the report.

154. Mr. AZZOUT (Algeria) (translated from French): The delegation of Algeria would like to express some reservations with regard to the recommendations which have just been introduced by the Chairman of the Credentials Committee.

155. First of all, in no case does the Algerian delegation recognize the right of the representative of Taiwan to represent the lawful Government of the great People's Republic of China, and considers that its seat in the United Nations, and in all other international organizations, continues to be illegally occupied.

156. Furthermore, no matter what the representative of South Africa may say, neither can the fascist Pretoria régime possibly represent the people of South Africa, who continue to groan under the yoke laid on them by their racist exploiters, supported by international imperialism.

157. Our attitude with regard to the artificially maintained pseudo-State known as Israel is well known in

this Assembly and has been brilliantly set forth on our behalf by the representative of Lebanon.

158. Mr. EPERVRIER (France) (translated from French): With reference to the examination of the Credentials Committee's report, the French delegation wishes to remind the Assembly that, while it did not object to the adoption of the report, it continues nevertheless to believe that only the People's Republic of China is entitled to occupy the seat of China in the United Nations.

*Mr. Pazhwak (Afghanistan) resumed the Chair.*

#### AGENDA ITEM 7

##### Question of South West Africa (continued)

159. The PRESIDENT: There is one matter which requires a decision of the General Assembly in accordance with resolution 2248 (S-V) adopted by the Assembly at its 1518th plenary meeting, on the question of South West Africa. Section II, paragraph 1 of the resolution provides that a United Nations Council for South West Africa, consisting of eleven Member States, should be elected during this session. A request for more time has been made by those Members who are still engaged in consultations on the question of the membership of the United Nations Council for South West Africa. I was informed of this request during my absence this afternoon from the Assembly Hall, and I have consulted with the representatives of various groups from the entire membership. As a result of these consultations, I shall give the Assembly my impression of the understanding which the membership has reached on this question.

160. Section II, paragraph 3, of the resolution adopted by the Assembly provides that

"the Council shall entrust such executive and administrative tasks as it deems necessary to a United Nations Commissioner for South West Africa... who shall be appointed during this session by the General Assembly on the nomination of the Secretary-General".

161. In view of the situation in the Middle East which has made it necessary for the Secretary-General to leave for Cairo at short notice, the Secretary-General has informed me that he has not been able to undertake all the consultations he deems necessary prior to nominating the United Nations Commissioner for South West Africa. He has requested that he be given until Tuesday, 6 June, to submit the nomination to the Assembly. In those circumstances, and in modification of the decision taken by the Assembly at its 1517th plenary meeting regarding the closing of this session, I propose that, after completing its work today, the Assembly adjourn until the afternoon of Tuesday, 6 June, when it will take up the election of members of the United Nations Council for South West Africa and the appointment of the United Nations Commissioner for South West Africa.

162. As I have already indicated, that is my impression of the understanding which generally prevails among the membership of the Assembly. If I am correct, and if there is no objection, I shall take it that the Assembly agrees to the proposal.

*It was so decided.*

163. The PRESIDENT: It is clearly understood that the matters to which I have referred are the only matters pending at this special session, and that the plenary meeting to be held on 6 June will be devoted exclusively to them.

164. I hope that the Secretary-General and the various groups involved will succeed by that time in their efforts to bring to a fruitful result the tasks entrusted to them by the General Assembly resolution.

#### Adjournment of the session

165. The PRESIDENT: We have now completed for the time being the business of this special session of the General Assembly. This is therefore the appropriate moment for me to express in a very few words my deep sense of gratitude both for the honour and confidence bestowed on me by the entire membership and for the unfailing co-operation and understanding extended to me throughout this session by every one of our Members.

166. Our agenda, although a short one, has comprised issues of the greatest complexity and urgency. Indeed, it is in the nature of a special session to be seized of problems of such wide concern that the membership decides it necessary to convene in order to consider them outside the pattern of the Assembly's regular annual sessions.

167. I believe it would be true to say that the complexity of the issues we have considered over the past month has been matched only by the striking degree of co-operation and the frankness of the exchange of views which marked the negotiations during this session. The measure of agreement which has resulted from these formal and informal negotiations is the fruit of extremely intensive and painstaking thought and discussion. It is very clear, irrespective of the particular positions, that the General Assembly has taken a most important decision on the question of South West Africa, a decision which carries forward in a deliberate and logical step the decision reached by the General Assembly at its twenty-first regular session. I hope that the United Nations Council for South West Africa, which this Assembly has established in order to administer South West Africa until independence, will fulfil its task—when it is able, through the co-operation of all Members, to start its work—in the interests solely of the peoples of South West Africa. Certainly, there is an obligation placed upon all Members, irrespective of the particular position they may themselves have taken previously, to implement United Nations resolutions. In this connexion, it is appropriate to recall here the very profound and binding nature of the commitment of this General Assembly as a whole to the granting of independence to colonial peoples and territories.

168. The item on our agenda entitled "Comprehensive review of the whole question of peace-keeping operations in all their aspects" has also been the subject of very intensive negotiation in a spirit of realism and understanding. That has made it possible for the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations to present the General Assembly with a constructive report which reflects the achievement of a certain measure



of progress and holds promise of further advance on this major issue.

169. It is satisfying to be able to report that, also on the third item on our agenda, the question of the postponement to 1968 of the United Nations Conference on the Exploration and Peaceful Uses of Outer Space, a consensus has been reached and a date acceptable to all Members has been established.

170. I trust Members will bear with me if I recall at this juncture my statement at the beginning of the twenty-first regular session of the General Assembly that we cannot expect immediate overnight solutions to long-standing problems. Yet history proves that while there are some major problems which time alone can solve, there are others which should not be allowed to linger untended for lack of decisiveness or a sense of urgency. I hope it may be said of this session that it has sought and found a constructive balance between a sense of urgency and of history which will enable the Assembly at its next regular session to make further and rapid progress in resolving the issues we have considered here.

171. I am sure that each one of us recognizes that this session adjourns at a time when the international situation remains as critical as ever and peace is gravely imperilled. The situation in Viet-Nam has not changed in the past weeks, and we see no sign of improved chances of peace. To this must be added the very general concern felt by all regarding conditions in the Middle East. As a world body, the United

Nations cannot remain aloof from matters of peace and war. This is particularly true of situations in which the United Nations has been very closely involved and for which it has a direct responsibility.

172. I feel sure that I am expressing the views of all Members in wishing full success to the peace-keeping efforts of the United Nations as a body and of the Secretary-General personally. I am certain that this General Assembly in its entirety shares the hope that there will be no further worsening of the situations threatening peace around the world and that the many efforts being made to achieve peaceful solutions will prove successful.

173. On the part of all speakers in our debates here, there has been a very notable and, if I may say so, a very wise and far-sighted restraint in the comments made on the dangers to peace which are in the forefront of all our minds. At a time when calm and responsible efforts are being made in the hope of lessening the atmosphere of high tension, it is indeed wise for everyone within the General Assembly, as well as elsewhere, to refrain from any word or action which could possibly aggravate the present situation and thereby diminish the prospects of a peaceful solution.

174. In accordance with the decision of the General Assembly, I declare that the fifth special session is adjourned until the afternoon of Tuesday, 6 June.

*The meeting rose at 5.40 p.m.*



CONTENTS

	<i>Page</i>
<i>Agenda item 7:</i>	
<i>Question of South West Africa (continued) . . . . .</i>	<i>1</i>

*President: Mr. Abdul Rahman PAZHAWAK (Afghanistan).*

AGENDA ITEM 7

Question of South West Africa (continued)

1. The PRESIDENT: In accordance with the decision taken by the General Assembly at its last meeting, on 23 May 1967, this meeting has been convened to take up the election of members of the United Nations Council for South West Africa and the appointment of the United Nations Commissioner for South West Africa. At the meeting on 23 May I expressed the hope that the Secretary-General and the various groups would succeed by 6 June in their efforts to bring to a fruitful result the task entrusted to them by resolution 2248 (S-V) adopted by the General Assembly on the question of South West Africa.

2. I have been informed, after consultations with the representatives of various groups from the entire membership, on the one hand, and the Secretary-General, on the other, that more time is deemed necessary for further consultations. I understand that Members will be ready by Tuesday, 13 June 1967. If my understanding is correct, and if there is no objection, I shall take it that the meeting will stand adjourned until the morning of Tuesday, 13 June.

*It was so decided.*

*The meeting rose at 3.25 p.m.*



United Nations  
**GENERAL  
 ASSEMBLY**

Official Records



**1524th  
 PLENARY MEETING**

(Closing meeting)

Tuesday, 13 June 1967,  
 at 10.30 a.m.

FIFTH SPECIAL SESSION

**NEW YORK**

**CONTENTS**

	Page
<i>Agenda item 7:</i>	
<i>Question of South West Africa (concluded) . . .</i>	1
<i>Agenda item 2:</i>	
<i>Minute of silent prayer or meditation . . . . .</i>	2
<i>Closing of the session . . . . .</i>	2

**President: Mr. Abdul Rahman PAZHwak**  
 (Afghanistan).

**AGENDA ITEM 7**

**Question of South West Africa (concluded)**

1. The PRESIDENT: The General Assembly meets this morning to elect eleven members of the United Nations Council for South West Africa, in accordance with Section II, paragraph 1, of resolution 2248 (S-V) of the fifth special session, adopted by the General Assembly on 19 May 1967.

2. Pursuant to rule 94 of the rules of procedure, the election shall be held by secret ballot and there shall be no nominations.

3. The ballot papers will now be distributed. I would ask representatives to be kind enough to write down the names of the countries for which they wish to vote. Those Members receiving a majority of the votes cast will be declared elected.

4. Since the counting of the ballots will take some time, I suggest that we suspend the meeting for about forty-five minutes while the tellers count the votes in the office behind the podium.

*The meeting was suspended at 11.15 a.m. and resumed at 12.20 p.m.*

*At the invitation of the President, Mr. Huneeus (Chile), Mr. Tan (Singapore), and Mr. Romare (Sweden) acted as tellers.*

*A vote was taken by secret ballot.*

<i>Number of ballot papers:</i>	103
<i>Invalid ballots:</i>	1
<i>Number of valid ballots:</i>	102
<i>Abstentions:</i>	18
<i>Number of members voting:</i>	84
<i>Required majority:</i>	43

<i>Number of votes obtained:</i>	
Nigeria . . . . .	78
Pakistan . . . . .	78
United Arab Republic . . . . .	78
Yugoslavia . . . . .	78
Colombia . . . . .	77

Zambia . . . . .	76
Turkey . . . . .	75
Guyana . . . . .	74
Indonesia . . . . .	74
India . . . . .	70
Chile . . . . .	50
Union of Soviet Socialist Republics . . . . .	11
United States of America . . . . .	6
Ethiopia . . . . .	5
Morocco . . . . .	5
Algeria . . . . .	4
Czechoslovakia . . . . .	4
Guatemala . . . . .	4
Mexico . . . . .	4
Romania . . . . .	3
Spain . . . . .	3
Tanzania . . . . .	3
Cambodia . . . . .	2
Denmark . . . . .	2
Ghana . . . . .	2
Guinea . . . . .	2
Japan . . . . .	2
Mali . . . . .	2
Mongolia . . . . .	2
Philippines . . . . .	2
Afghanistan . . . . .	1
Albania . . . . .	1
Australia . . . . .	1
Austria . . . . .	1
Burma . . . . .	1
Canada . . . . .	1
Cuba . . . . .	1
Finland . . . . .	1
Gambia . . . . .	1
Greece . . . . .	1
Ivory Coast . . . . .	1
Liberia . . . . .	1
Niger . . . . .	1
Norway . . . . .	1
Sudan . . . . .	1
Sweden . . . . .	1
Tunisia . . . . .	1
Uruguay . . . . .	1

*Having obtained the required majority, Chile, Colombia, Guyana, India, Indonesia, Nigeria, Pakistan, Turkey, the United Arab Republic, Yugoslavia and Zambia were elected members of the United Nations Council for South West Africa.*

5. The PRESIDENT: I thank the tellers for their assistance in this election.

6. We turn now to the appointment of a United Nations Commissioner for South West Africa. Section II, paragraph 3 of resolution 2248 (S-V) adopted by the General Assembly at its 1518th plenary meeting, provides "that the Council shall entrust such executive

and administrative tasks as it deems necessary to a United Nations Commissioner for South West Africa... who shall be appointed during the present session by the General Assembly on the nomination of the Secretary-General".

7. The Secretary-General has informed the General Assembly [A/6656] that, despite the additional time given him by the Assembly, he has not been able, in view of the situation in the Middle East, to undertake all the consultations necessary prior to nominating the Commissioner. The Secretary-General will nominate a Commissioner to be appointed by the General Assembly at its twenty-second regular session. Pending that, and as an interim arrangement, the Secretary-General proposes that, in addition to his duties as the Legal Counsel of the United Nations, Mr. Constantin A. Stavropoulos be appointed as Acting United Nations Commissioner for South West Africa.

8. If there is no objection, I shall take it that the Assembly agrees to the proposal made by the Secretary-General.

*It was so decided.*

9. The PRESIDENT: I declare Mr. Constantin A. Stavropoulos appointed Acting United Nations Commissioner for South West Africa.

10. I offer my best wishes to the members of the United Nations Council for South West Africa and to the Acting United Nations Commissioner for South West Africa. May I once again express my hope that the Council which this Assembly has established in

order to administer South West Africa until its independence will fulfil its task, when it is able, through the co-operation of all Members, to start its work, in the interest solely of the peoples of South West Africa.

11. The representative of South Africa has asked to make a brief statement, and I now call on him.

12. Mr. BOTHA (South Africa): I wish to place on record that the South African delegation, which did not vote in favour of General Assembly resolution 2248 (S-V) of 19 May 1967, did not participate in the election of the Council or the appointment of the Acting Commissioner.

13. The PRESIDENT: I wish to thank all Members for their co-operation during the fifth special session.

## AGENDA ITEM 2

Minute of silent prayer or meditation

14. The PRESIDENT: I invite representatives to stand and observe a minute of silent prayer or meditation.

*The representatives, standing, observed a minute's silence.*

## Closing of the session

The PRESIDENT: I declare closed the fifth special session of the General Assembly.

*The meeting rose at 12.30 p.m.*

