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CONTENTS

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

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

*In the absence of the President, Mr. Kjartansson (Iceland), Vice-President, took the Chair.*

AGENDA ITEM 64

*Question of South West Africa (continued)*

1. Mr. MAYAKI (Niger) (translated from French): The delegation of Niger is well aware of the serious and complex nature of the situation confronting the General Assembly at its resumed twenty-second session.

2. On the one hand, we are exerting all our efforts to achieve the adoption of a draft treaty that falls far short of our expectations, and, in that attempt, we are employing formulae noteworthy only for their inherent contradictions. The arguments being put forward are weak, as are the safeguards we are justified in demanding in accordance with the provisions concerning the maintenance of peace and security enshrined in the Charter of our international community.

3. On the other hand, this is a dialogue of the deaf between nearly all the Members of this Assembly and one Member, South Africa, to call it by name, South Africa, reproved and castigated by almost everyone for its despicable, inhuman and absurd policy, South Africa, which we have condemned on many occasions in many of our resolutions, both in the General Assembly and in the Security Council, and which once again is characteristically refusing to heed us by denying the members of the United Nations Council for South West Africa access to that territory.

4. Most of the speakers who have preceded me on this rostrum have brilliantly and in great detail defined the problem before us and they have suggested, or rather they have proposed, concrete solutions, from which the Assembly will, I am sure, extract the essentials. My delegation considers that everything has been said and will therefore limit itself to a brief statement in which it would like to express its complete support for this collective task, the moral and actual responsibility for which falls henceforth on our Organization.

5. Our Organization must be supported and encouraged in its difficult and complex task by the

concerted action of all its Members. It is therefore comforting to note, in all the statements, a similarity of views and thinking on this human problem for which we must find a humane solution.

6. In the light of all those statements, my delegation feels that we must do our utmost to avoid a disastrous confrontation from taking place between the United Nations Council for South West Africa and South Africa, as also between the South West African freedom fighters and South Africa. We believe that the Security Council, or more precisely the four nuclear Powers in the Security Council, must exert all their influence to limit the damage and to avoid the worst.

7. That is why we consider that in looking for appropriate means to solve this crisis, the General Assembly must lay particular emphasis on the obligations of the four nuclear Powers in the Security Council in order to bring them to a more humane understanding of what is at stake. We are of the opinion that any economic, political or military considerations that might militate against a settlement of this problem must give way to the immediate implementation of resolution 2145 (XXI). Above all, we must make sure that no-one fails to see the wood for the trees—in other words, that the economic and financial relations maintained by some industrial countries with South Africa do not form a bottleneck, or even an obstacle, with serious and disastrous consequences which might very gravely jeopardize international peace and security.

8. Three days ago, the Secretary-General informed us of the Pretoria Government's new plans for dividing South West Africa into two distinct zones, one white and one black. These plans, unexpected to say the least, are another distinct challenge and a serious insult to our Organization. It is unnecessary at this time to add that our Assembly has at its disposal all the material on which to base a clear decision in full knowledge of the facts. We state, and we repeat, that the Assembly must take a forceful decision, calling on the Security Council to order the application of Chapter VII of the Charter as soon as possible. This is a serious moment; we must therefore act while there is still time; the situation is rapidly and seriously deteriorating and may well shatter once and for all the bare semblance of peace that exists in southern Africa. There can be no doubt that the results of such a break would be catastrophic and disastrous and that they would seriously compromise international peace and security.

9. We are hopeful that Africa's cry of alarm today will be heard and that everything will be done to bring that strayed Member, South Africa, to revise

its negative attitude in the light of the African and international aspects of the problem. We are among those who believe and who continue to believe that the solution to the problem is in the hands of the great Powers, and that those Powers are the only ones who can help reverse the situation in favour of the indigenous population of South West Africa, which is being subjugated and oppressed by the Pretoria authorities.

10. From this rostrum, therefore, we are making an anguished and anxious appeal that on behalf of freedom—that freedom dear to us all—and on behalf of international morality, the United Nations Council for South West Africa should be enabled to enter into contact with the South African authorities with a view to arranging ways and means for a transfer of the territory's administration with the minimum of disturbance, and that it should do everything in its power to ensure that the territory achieves independence in accordance with the nearly unanimous wish of our Organization, if not in June 1968—as provided for in resolution 2248 (S-V) of 19 May 1968—at least within one year.

11. Before concluding, my delegation would like to welcome the important contribution of the report submitted by the United Nations Council for South West Africa [A/7088 and Corr.1] and its attempt to secure application of resolution 2248 (S-V).

12. On this occasion, my delegation wishes once more to reaffirm the oft-repeated determination of the people and Government of the Niger to participate by every means in the struggle now being waged to bring about the total decolonization of the part of Africa still remaining under foreign domination. We are prepared to make our modest contribution to any step designed to bring an end to the tragic situation prevailing in South West Africa.

13. Mr. VRATUŠA (Yugoslavia): Mr. President, I should like, first of all, to join the preceding speakers in congratulating you cordially on the ability and competence with which you are conducting the proceedings of the General Assembly and to assure you of the whole-hearted support and co-operation of my delegation.

14. With the adoption of the historic resolution 2145 (XXI) at the twenty-first session of the General Assembly, the consideration of the question of South West Africa entered a new phase. We are no longer faced only with a colonial problem; now we are faced also with a foreign occupation of the Territory for whose security and administration the United Nations is directly responsible.

15. By refusing to implement decisions on the peaceful withdrawal from the Territory adopted by the General Assembly at its twenty-first session, its fifth special session and its twenty-second session, South Africa has assumed the role of an invader, and bears responsibility for all the grave consequences resulting therefrom.

16. The defiant policy of Pretoria towards the world Organization, as well as its persistent violations of its own international obligations, requires that the problem of South West Africa be treated within the context of a broader situation and the dangerous

developments in the southern part of the African continent, in which the policy of South Africa constitutes a most serious cause for concern. The link between the racist régimes of South Africa, the Government of Portugal and Smith's rebels in Southern Rhodesia is evident and it represents a direct threat to the independence and freedom of African people. The most recent manifestation of this is the presence of South Africa's forces in the Territory of Southern Rhodesia and the invasion of the Democratic Republic of the Congo by mercenaries from Angola some months ago. In the first instance, Pretoria troops came there to protect the illegal régime from the growing strength of the liberation movement of the people of Zimbabwe, while the second demonstrates a very dangerous form of a new kind of threat to the normal development of independent African States, Members of this Organization.

17. The ideology of apartheid is becoming, to an increasing degree, a bond drawing closer the forces of racism and neo-colonialism in the southern part of Africa. As a matter of fact, it represents a component part of the policy of pressure and interference in the domestic affairs of newly liberated countries, with far-reaching adverse effects, also, on international relations as a whole. To be more specific, the policy of pressure, the quelling of the progressive aspirations of independent States, and the violent suppression of movements of liberation of still dependent and colonial peoples, are all basic to the burning problems which, if they are not resolved, lead to crises and conflicts constituting a threat to peace and security in the world.

18. Many speakers before me have submitted the fact, and elaborated upon it in very eloquent and convincing fashion, that the arrogance of Pretoria and its stubborn defiance of the United Nations are possible, chiefly because of the economic and military support, and the political tolerance based upon solidarity among certain industrially highly developed countries, which South Africa, in its policy, in fact receives from some Western countries, as well as the lack of action on the part of certain Member States of the United Nations to implement the decisions of their Organization. So long as nothing is done to have the solemn declarations of general principles that are so frequently voiced in our debates reflected, as well, in practical national policies, South Africa will be actually encouraged to persist in its present orientation and to pursue its inhuman practices. Allow me to mention but one example.

19. A number of United Nations documents laboriously prepared for the Committee of Twenty-Four and the Special Committee on the Policies of Apartheid clearly show that, in spite of countless warnings contained in resolutions of the General Assembly, certain known economic partners of South Africa are not only continuing but also increasing their trade with South Africa and the volume of their investments in that country, and that the military co-operation is still going on.

20. It is to be hoped that the growing awareness of public opinion, in those countries themselves and elsewhere as well, concerning the moral and

political responsibility of those countries will contribute to a change in these practices, and lead to a concerted effort of the international community to undertake effective measures in this field and to put an end to South Africa's dangerous policy, the grave consequences and wide implications of which cannot be foreseen.

21. We are sometimes told that the adoption of comprehensive sanctions, especially in the economic field, or other measures against South Africa, with a view to reducing economic co-operation with that country, would hamper international trade and would constitute discrimination, and furthermore that it would also badly damage the national economies of some economic partners of South Africa. We realize this, and we do not underestimate the force of such arguments. However, we must ask ourselves in earnest what other alternative we may have to put a stop to the defiance of South Africa.

22. There are many examples and sufficient evidence of the real intentions of South Africa towards South West Africa. Most of them have been enumerated in detail in the report of the United Nations Council for South West Africa of 4 May 1968, [A/7088 and Corr.1]. Those intentions were also described at length by many delegations in their interventions. I should like now, therefore, to limit myself only to drawing the attention of this Assembly to some of the most glaring instances, in order to highlight once more the fact that we have really reached the point where the success of the activity of the United Nations concerning the Territory for which it is directly responsible depends, above all, upon the effectiveness of the Security Council's action.

23. First, the General Assembly has requested the Government of South Africa to refrain and desist from any action—constitutional, administrative, political or otherwise—that would in any manner, whatsoever, alter, or tend to alter, the present international status of South West Africa or undermine the unity of that Territory. However, Pretoria is proceeding with its illegal plans to enforce the establishment of the so-called separate homelands, with the obvious intent, as pointed out in the report of the United Nations Council for South West Africa, of destroying the unity and territorial integrity of the country and depriving the non-white inhabitants of the Territory of their own land. We are all witnesses to these proceedings, in spite of the fact that previous measures of this nature have been repeatedly condemned by this Assembly. We must undertake to apply every measure at the disposal of our Organization in order to prevent the execution of those plans, which constitute a flagrant violation of the Charter and of international law.

24. Further, on the initiative of eleven Member States, all of them members of the United Nations Council for South West Africa, the Security Council has examined the situation created by the illegal trial of certain Namibian patriots, and on 14 March 1968, in its resolution 246 (1968), requested that South Africa release and repatriate, forthwith to their homeland, the South West African patriots. However, regardless of representations and démarches of the Governments maintaining diplomatic relations

with South Africa and despite the countless appeals from international progressive public opinion, the Government of Pretoria, as we all know, is still keeping the convicted persons in prison.

25. This cannot be tolerated. Our efforts should result in the undertaking of concrete measures to secure the release and repatriation of the convicted patriots, and to ensure that the South African authorities desist forthwith from further persecution of the unfortunate people of the international Territory they illegally occupy.

26. Finally, the General Assembly has called upon the Government of South Africa to comply, without delay, with the terms of resolution 2145 (XXI) and to facilitate the transfer of the administration of the Territory of South West Africa to the United Nations Council for South West Africa. Not only has the Government of South Africa failed to show any readiness to co-operate with the Council, but it has also directly obstructed the Council's efforts to proceed to the Territory in fulfilment of the mandate entrusted to it by the General Assembly in resolution 2248 (S-V).

27. The United Nations, in order to counter such flagrant defiance, should censure South Africa and ensure its compliance with the decisions of the world Organization. Furthermore, it should give the United Nations Council for South West Africa all assistance so that that subsidiary body of this Assembly may fulfil its duty. In connexion with this, I should like to point out that, as a result of consultations initiated in New York and extended in direct contact with the political representatives of South West Africa during the stay of the Council in Lusaka and Dar es Salaam, it has already undertaken several initiatives concerning, inter alia, travel documents for Namibian nationals, and comprehensive programming of technical and financial assistance as well as education of refugees from South West Africa, and also with respect to the necessary training of cadres for an independent Namibia. It is clear that the Council needs the full support of Member States to be able to fulfil those aims. It is with this purpose in mind that the Council is now addressing itself to the General Assembly, with a recommendation that it be given the possibility to discharge, more effectively, its mission in this field as well. Yugoslavia is ready to co-operate in these efforts, both as a member of the Council and as a Member of the world Organization.

28. There is no longer any doubt that with its attitude of persistent defiance of decisions and obstruction of efforts of the United Nations, including its refusal to co-operate with the United Nations Council for South West Africa, South Africa has already prevented the attainment of the independence of the Territory this year.

29. It is likewise clear that South Africa will not withdraw from the Territory, nor will it desist from its present course, which is contrary to the general norms of international behaviour and the fundamental rights of man, unless effective measures are taken to induce it to comply with decisions of the United Nations and unless there is a concerted

effort by all Member States to ensure unreserved support for those decisions.

30. We feel, therefore—and in saying this we share the conviction of a large number of delegations which have taken part in the debate—that the time has come for the Security Council, acting in the spirit of its responsibilities under the Charter, to consider without delay the question of South West Africa in all its complexity. In fact, the Security Council is already seized of one aspect of the problem: the illegal arrest and trial of a group of South West Africans. In operative paragraph 5 of resolution 246 (1968) the Security Council decided that:

"...in the event of failure on the part of the Government of South West Africa to comply with the provisions of the present resolution, the Security Council will meet immediately to determine upon effective steps or measures in conformity with the relevant provisions of the Charter of the United Nations".

31. Further reluctance to act could be misunderstood; in fact, it would be welcomed only by the protagonists and supporters of the policy of apartheid and of violence against the people who are fighting for their independence and elementary human rights.

32. The Yugoslav delegation highly appreciates the fact that an overwhelming majority of delegations, including some members of the Security Council, have explicitly endorsed the idea of concentrating our present action on vital issues. We realize that the United Nations by assuming responsibility for the Territory has embarked upon an arduous road requiring time, unity of purpose, and the will to act.

33. The sad history of events and the urgency of the issue, as well as the responsibility incumbent upon the United Nations for the Territory, require that the Security Council examine, without delay, the problem of South West Africa in its totality and take effective measures for the unconditional withdrawal of South Africa from the Territory. Such action will represent the most effective assistance that the world Organization can give the people of Namibia in their just struggle for freedom, as well as the United Nations Council for South West Africa in discharging effectively its functions and responsibilities.

34. The Yugoslav delegation is ready to co-operate whole-heartedly in any initiative directed towards that end, because we are convinced that the aims of the struggle of the people of Namibia are identical with the fundamental principles upon which our Organization rests and with world peace.

35. Speaking on behalf of the United Nations Council for South West Africa, as its President for the month of May, may I now express our sincere gratitude to all delegations that participated in this debate and especially to those that endorsed the report of the Council and had words of appreciation for its efforts to fulfil the mandate entrusted to it by General Assembly resolutions 2248 (S-V) and 2325 (XXII).

36. The members of the Council have noted with satisfaction the understanding, expressed by many delegations, of the difficulties which the Council

had to face in its endeavours to contribute towards the attainment of the independence of Namibia. The Council appreciates, in particular, the request of many delegations that, in accordance with the Charter and having in view the responsibility of the United Nations towards the Territory under its mandate, the Security Council should consider the issue as a whole, and undertake effective measures in order to assist the people of Namibia to gain their independence and the United Nations Council for South West Africa to execute its functions.

37. The support given to the United Nations Council for South West Africa during the debate is a great encouragement for that body and will serve as a guide for its future work. We are confident that this stimulating attitude will also find adequate reflection in the draft resolution which we intend to adopt on this important issue during this resumed session of the General Assembly.

38. Mr. BERARD (France) (translated from French): Mr. President, allow me to express to you my pleasure at seeing you once more preside at our debates.

39. Once again, the General Assembly is discussing the serious and exasperating question of South West Africa.

40. The question is serious because it is of vital concern to the free countries of Africa. The attention of those countries is still very naturally focused on that part of the continent where injustice is being supported by a racist ideology condemned by the international community and radically opposed by my country.

41. I described that question as exasperating because, on our agenda for two decades without a solution having been found, it reveals those limitations of our Organization to which an African chief of State referred only a few days ago in addressing our Assembly [1658th meeting].

42. As a founder Member of the United Nations, France fully shares the feelings of the African countries, with which it is linked in a friendship sustained by a shared respect for the principles that inspire our Charter and have also for centuries inspired France's political philosophy. France firmly rejects any discrimination, oppression or violence, wherever they occur.

43. The French delegation has on many occasions joined with those who condemned apartheid, who deplored its inadmissible extension to South West Africa and who called for the liberation of the victims of an iniquitous system. Convinced of the importance for the Organization of the problem with which it is once again confronted, France has listened with the closest attention to the statements that have been made concerning that problem, and has carefully studied the various measures that have been suggested for solving it.

44. Several delegations have spoken of the atmosphere of disappointment and frustration which they say are characteristic of our discussions. Others, in going back over the unfruitful efforts the United Nations has made, have deplored its impotence. Although we understand the reasons for that pessimism, we feel



that the Organization has given in the past, and can give in the future, proof of its effectiveness if it can adjust its aims to its powers and its responsibilities.

45. That thought led the French delegation to voice its doubts as to the legal validity of the method that was being employed to terminate South Africa's Mandate over South West Africa, and as to the concrete results that might be expected from United Nations administration of that territory.

46. The same concern gave rise to the same reservations in connexion with the arrangements aimed at implementing resolution 2145 (XXI) which, moreover, many Powers did not endorse. Those arrangements, as we pointed out at the time, did not take sufficient account of a de facto situation, however regrettable.

47. Those doubts and reservations unfortunately proved to be justified. However, they in no way mean that we accept the perpetuation of a shocking state of affairs. For France it is indisputable that by extending the inadmissible doctrine of apartheid to South West Africa and by attempting to institute in that territory a policy aimed at destroying its unity and integrity, South Africa has failed in the obligations incumbent upon it under the spirit of the Mandate. It is the duty of the United Nations to ensure that the population of South West Africa can exercise its right to self-determination and independence.

48. My delegation hopes that the current discussion may enable the Organization to define the means of fulfilling that obligation.

49. Notwithstanding the generous intentions that inspired the members of the recent visiting mission of the United Nations Council for South West Africa, to which we pay tribute, we have seen the obstacles it encountered. In our opinion, this fact leads to the conclusion that it is preferable, and in the interest of the United Nations itself, to avoid in the future hasty or spectacular decisions when doubt exists as to the ability to translate them into facts.

50. We consider, on the contrary, that it is advisable to explore all the possibilities for effective action—without neglecting any—which are still open to the United Nations, and first of all those concerning economic, technical and financial assistance in conformity with suggestions made by some delegations.

51. It must be recognized that these are merely partial measures which, while improving the lot of the South West African people, can obviously contribute only indirectly to the political settlement we are seeking.

52. The basic problem, however, remains. In our opinion it is a matter of finding practical means to bring South Africa to take account of world public opinion, as clearly reflected here.

53. The United Nations has no constraining power except in certain limited contingencies. In the present case, would any plans in that direction that might be entertained by the United Nations help the South West African people? There is reason to doubt it.

54. There is also reason to wonder whether measures aimed at isolating South Africa would be likely seriously to embarrass a country whose own economic power is sufficient to ensure its independent existence.

55. It is perhaps rather dangerous to attempt, on the basis of somewhat abstract concepts of international relations, to ostracize countries with results which, as experience has shown, are merely a disappointment to those who advocate such a course. France, along with a number of African and third world countries, has shown on other occasions that it did not believe in that policy. Deeply convinced that isolation, far from solving problems, can only make them more unmanageable and aggravating, France has on several occasions tried to make Pretoria hear the voice of reason and international conscience. So far, it must be admitted, there has been no response to those appeals. We refuse to believe, however, that any human community can remain obstinately deaf to appeals to its wisdom and can continue indefinitely on a course running counter to the general evolution of peoples.

56. We also refuse to believe that a people can be eternally condemned to oppression, and we fully share the ardent conviction of those who have from this rostrum affirmed that the day of liberation will also dawn for South West Africa.

57. As General de Gaulle wrote to President Kaunda last February, France "undertook in 1963 to forbid, and has effectively forbidden, any shipment to South West Africa of materials capable of being used in repressive operations".

58. France will also welcome with satisfaction any wise measure adopted by our Organization which might hasten the advent of a long-awaited liberation. In particular, if such were the wishes of the majority, France would agree that the problem of South West Africa should be placed before the Security Council. At this stage it is impossible to prejudge the decisions that may be adopted by the Council, but France, open to any reasonable and practical suggestion, would certainly not withhold its support from decisions that appear to it capable of ensuring the triumph of justice and of human dignity.

59. Mr. VINCI (Italy): The question of South West Africa has become a matter of growing concern for our Organization as a whole and for the majority of its Member States, which are fully aware of the responsibility the United Nations bears towards the people of the Territory. Many speakers from this rostrum, and in particular many African representatives, have eloquently depicted the grave situation that the policies pursued in that Territory by South Africa have created, and they have expressed deep preoccupation with the ominous effects that the situation can have upon the peaceful development of Africa. We think that the warnings, and the assessment that our African colleagues give us of the situation prevailing in the southern part of Africa, must not be taken lightly. On the contrary, they deserve our full attention.

60. It is a shocking anachronism that when the process of decolonization is approaching its completion, when vast—and I should add, short-lived—African colonial empires have vanished, South West Africa should remain, with a few other Territories in that same part of the continent, under colonial rule—and, what is more, one of the most archaic colonial rules the world has ever witnessed, based

as it is on the manifold injustices of racial discrimination, economic exploitation and exclusion of the native population from the mainstream of international life and progress.

61. The situation is aggravated by the fact that it cannot be separated from the unfortunate and senseless colonial policies that are pursued in Rhodesia and in neighbouring territories by small white minorities which, defying the whole world, have dug in in the Southern part of Africa, in the last stronghold of colonialism, that colonialism which has been irrevocably condemned by history and which has no place and no meaning in the present international society. We realize that such a situation is unbearable, especially for the young and justly proud African countries, which based their independence on the principle of self-determination and on the well founded aspirations of all African peoples to shape their future in accordance with their own free will, to play a role in international affairs on an equal footing and to make their own, original contribution to the progress of mankind in all fields. The regressive policies of colonialism in Africa create a situation abhorrent to European civilization which is based on freedom and social equality, a civilization which has always been and is today abreast of the times. They create a situation seriously disturbing for the future life of the international community and they make the world poorer, depriving it of human resources and potentialities.

62. All this must be repeated on all suitable occasions because it is of paramount importance to reaffirm, tirelessly, our opposition to all policies of colonialism, lest the supporters of these outdated policies be induced by our silence to nurture the illusion that their endeavours have met a sort of acquiescence.

63. I have listened with great attention and interest to the statements made from this rostrum. Most of those statements were clearly intended, in our view, to take stock of the situation and to reconsider the whole problem with a view to finding the right answers to the several and complex questions which our Organization is now facing. I think that this approach to the problem may prove useful, especially if it is accomplished in a constructive spirit, with a clear understanding of the limitations of our Organization, and with minds free from any preconceived idea and from dogmatism. In the same spirit I should like to join the speakers who preceded me in considering the steps we should follow to reach our common goal, namely, to bring South West Africa to independence.

64. The majority of speakers have recognized that the action undertaken up to now by the United Nations has come to a dead end. That has been due partly to the fact that promises have been far short of achievements and partly to the fact that we have failed to promote the broadest consensus on our action, and we know by experience that consensus is for the United Nations a precondition of success. Those are the hard facts of international life at present. To ignore them leads us to disappointment, to frustration and to loss of prestige and authority for the United Nations.

65. The outcome of the studies made by the Committee of Fourteen<sup>1/</sup> has been usefully recalled to us by Ambassador Jakobson of Finland [1654th meeting], who presided over that body. There would be no point, therefore, in my dwelling upon the earnest discussions and consultations which took place in the Committee in a great spirit of co-operation and friendship. The representative of Somalia rightly pointed out that at this juncture it would not serve any purpose for us to go back over our tracks and to argue about the opportunities that other methods would have offered us.

66. May I be allowed to recall to those of my colleagues who apparently have forgotten about it, the active role played by the Italian delegation in the adoption of resolution 2145 (XXI), in setting up the Committee of Fourteen and in the meaningful work carried out by that body. We are willing to do the same in the future, despite a few, a very few, short memories. And as the voice of reason and wisdom invites us to look to the future, leaving aside the recriminations of the past, we are convinced that now we should rather rethink the whole problem from the beginning, namely—to use the words rightly used by Ambassador Makonnen of Ethiopia—from resolution 2145 (XXI), which was the point of departure of our action.

67. Resolution 2145 (XXI), which terminated the Mandate of South Africa over the Territory, obtained the nearly unanimous support of the Assembly. My country voted for that resolution and considers the decision taken with the adoption of that resolution as irreversible. We stand firmly by it. Following that decision, South West Africa came under the responsibility of the United Nations, and our Organization must endeavour, in accordance with the principles of the Charter and with resolution 1514 (XV), to bring the people of South West Africa to self-determination and independence on the basis of their freely expressed will.

68. On this objective we were, and we are, all united. We must now attain the same unity on the methods for achieving our goal. Unity has become even more imperative now in the face of the aggravation of the situation as a result of the policies pursued by South Africa in blatant opposition to the will of the international community. The Government of Pretoria must receive a crystal-clear demonstration of the unity of purpose of the international community, which will never abate until South West Africa is free from colonial rule.

69. This very necessary unity might easily be achieved, provided we get to the heart of the problem and, mindful of the limited capabilities of our Organization, avoid playing into the hands of Pretoria by our impatience and by any inclination to extremism that is only verbal or, even worse, by making a travesty of this dramatic question by turning it into an unworthy ideological quarrel.

70. I would suggest, on these lines, that we concentrate our attention on two main points and possible actions. In the first instance, it appears that for the people of South West Africa conditions

<sup>1/</sup> Ad Hoc Committee for South West Africa.

are rapidly deteriorating politically and socially because South Africa—not only contravening the decisions of the United Nations but also betraying the original obligations of the Mandate entrusted to it—is apparently pursuing the old policy of annexation of the Territory. We cannot find another logical explanation of what is happening now, with the extension in the Territory of repressive legislation which strengthens the colonial domination, and with the steps taken to partition the Territory into separate social units designed to prevent any progress of the people towards modern self-government and independence.

71. We have already expressed our opinion during the first part of this session, both on the extension of the so-called "Terrorism Act" to South West Africa [1635th meeting] and on the creation of tribal homelands for the population of the Territory [1628th meeting]. My delegation voted in favour of resolution 2324 (XXII) and supported the pertinent decisions taken by the Committee of Twenty-Four [A/6700/Rev.1, chap. IV, para. 232]. In accordance with the provisions of resolution 181 (1963) of the Security Council, which is the only body of the United Nations with the power to adopt the measures provided for in Chapter VII of the Charter, my country has enacted proper measures to prevent the sale of arms to South Africa and has consistently implemented this embargo. My Government will continue to do so.

72. In this connexion, I must emphasize that some allegations made from this rostrum, according to which Italy has sold to Pretoria "weapons of massive destruction", are unsubstantiated and have no grounds whatsoever. I believe it would not be too much to ask that charges with such far-reaching consequences should be more carefully considered before they are put forward. The matter is too serious to be played around with, in simple words.

73. Going back to the line of action followed by my Government, I should like to state that, in the purview of resolutions 245 (1968) and 246 (1968) of the Security Council, the Italian Government has on two occasions made representations to the South African Government urging it to abide by the decisions of the United Nations and to repatriate all the indigenous inhabitants of South West Africa who have been illegally imprisoned.

74. I should add that when the Italian Government was informed that on 5 April last, a bill had been introduced in the South African Parliament for the creation of a certain number of so-called homelands for the indigenous people, it formally and strongly protested to the Government of Pretoria on this illegal procedure, which violates the international status of South West Africa and resolution 2145 (XXI).

75. My Government has indicated, therefore, to the Government of South Africa, that it considers the legislative measures for the constitution of homelands in South West Africa as devoid of any legal validity.

76. It is the conviction of my delegation that, since the proposed bill is to be discussed in the next

few days in the South African Parliament, we would be well advised to take action at once. We should make quite clear to South Africa how the United Nations feels about this illegal attempt at partition of the Territory into tribal homelands, and do it with the full weight of the largest consensus possible. We trust that an interim measure of this kind, whether successful or not, would in any case help in rebuilding and widening the unity of 1966 and facilitate the agreement of the comprehensive final resolution to be adopted at the end of our deliberations on this item.

77. Turning now to the main subject, we feel that one of our first duties is to bring effective aid to the people of South West Africa so as to enable them to overcome the dramatic difficulties they are facing. I fully agree with the suggestions made by previous speakers that we ought to display all efforts to make the population of South West Africa aware of their rights and to bring them closer to the trends of international progress, to make them aware, in other words, of the options open to them.

78. My delegation is also in favour of the suggestions made by various African representatives to the effect that the United Nations should set up programmes to assist and educate the refugees from South West Africa.

79. Finally, we should explore the possibilities of getting in contact with South African public opinion in order to awaken it to the dangers that the narrow-minded and short-sighted colonial policies pursued by the Government of Pretoria today may produce, in the long run, for the South African people. I think that the representative of the Democratic Republic of the Congo gave a correct evaluation of the situation and expressed a truth worthy of meditation when he said, with reference to the South Africans, "they are today creating a very difficult future for their children"\* [1648th meeting, para. 85].

80. But we should also put some questions to ourselves. Have we done enough to open the eyes of the people of South Africa? What have we done to contact and influence the youth of that country? Apart from having "stockpiled", as an African colleague pointed out, seventy-nine resolutions on the question before us, I must say that we have done very little, or nothing at all, to reach the minds and the hearts of the younger generation in South Africa or to put them in touch with the realities of the world today and the realities of Africa.

81. The tragic truth before us is that South Africa is sinking into apartheid, separating itself from the rest of the world. Those who rule South Africa today are isolating the country from the rest of the world and keeping its people secluded in complete ignorance of the reality of the world. Our common duty and our common interest, the duty of the United Nations, is to break this dangerous isolation. I personally cannot believe that the youth of South Africa will not be sensitive and responsive to the ideals and aspirations fostered by the youth of the most enlightened nations. We must get in contact with the youth in South Africa through the universities, through

\*Provisional English version taken from the interpretation.

the unions and through the religious institutions. We have to convey to them, through the mass media of communication, television and radio, the ideas and principles we all cherish in our parts of the world, which means everywhere except in South Africa. I have dealt until now with what we consider our first task.

82. In the second place we must consistently prepare the ground for the more effective action of our Organization in order to bring South Africa to comply with resolution 2145 (XXI). Ambassador Solomon of Trinidad and Tobago, in examining the question before us [1650th meeting] with his usual insight and political perception, draws a revealing comparison between the debate on the treaty on non-proliferation and this debate, showing that in the first instance we have a basic agreement among the major Powers which is lacking in the latter. This remark casts a light on the main point of our effort; we must, with the same patience, which slowly led to positive results in the realm of non-proliferation, endeavour to create the conditions for a consensus of the major Powers on what action must be undertaken by the United Nations to free South West Africa.

83. We fully agree with the conclusions of the thorough analysis of the problem made by Ambassador Astrom of Sweden [1653rd meeting], namely, that we must envisage a global policy for the solution of all the colonial problems still distressing southern Africa. We must build up a constant unity of purpose to advance the solutions of these problems. In such a way we may prepare our Organization to bring the people of South West Africa to self-determination and independence as soon as possible. We realize that the problem of South West Africa has a character of urgency. But we know also—as the representative of Ghana remarked in his learned and comprehensive review [1646th meeting] of the question—that the real strength is on our side, on the side of the international community, not on the side of South Africa. Ideas have always been stronger than the best-trained armies. They have no frontiers to begin with, as some recent cases have again shown. We therefore have no doubt whatsoever that the decisions of our Organization will finally prevail.

84. It is with these considerations in mind that my delegation is ready to support all decisions that—avoiding issues foreign to our objective and in the end divisive—are intended to restore unity of purpose in order to pave the way for a final sure victory, a victory for the United Nations, for Africa and for peace.

85. Mr. EL-FARRA (Jordan): Mr. President, let me state at the outset my delegation's appreciation for the outstanding statesmanship and diplomacy with which you have handled our deliberations during this second part of our session.

86. Namibia, known as South West Africa, should have achieved independence two weeks from now, that is, in June 1968. For that was the wish and will of Namibia's indigenous people, backed by the wish and will of the international community at large. Had it not been for the repeated rejections,

the defiance and the intransigence of the Government of South Africa and the few countries or institutions supporting South Africa, the independence of Namibia would have come about peacefully and naturally. Instead, the Government of South Africa is not only defying the general will of the international community and increasing the racial tension in the area, but also establishing precedents that are shaking the authority of the United Nations and what it stands for, and dooming the area and the world at large to racial warfare unprecedented in history.

87. The General Assembly and the Security Council have endorsed one resolution after another on the question of South West Africa. By its resolutions 2145 (XXI), 2248 (S-V) and 2325 (XXII), the General Assembly terminated the Mandate of South Africa over South West Africa and established the United Nations Council for South West Africa to administer the Territory until independence was attained in June 1968. South Africa declared the resolutions "illegal" and continued to defy the authority of the United Nations.

88. In its resolution 2325 (XXII) of December 1967, the General Assembly requested the Council "to fulfil by every available means the mandate entrusted to it...".

89. We all know that the Council tried diligently to achieve that task. But the Government of South Africa put one obstacle after another in the way of the Council's mission. It refused landing clearance to the Council. It refused to render any assistance to it; and, above all, it openly announced its defiance of United Nations authority. This being the case, it continued with its annexationist policy and establishment of so-called separate homelands—Bantustans—against the will of the people of Namibia as expressed by different Namibian organizations and parties which the Council was able to meet.

90. The trials and oppression of the patriots, the freedom-fighters of Namibia, continued. This was in defiance of Security Council resolution 245 (1968) in which the Security Council, *inter alia*, condemned the refusal of the Government of South Africa to comply with the resolution which called upon it to discontinue these illegal trials forthwith and to release and repatriate the South West African patriots.

91. Following its contemptuous policy of lawlessness, the Government of South Africa did not comply with the resolution and again defied the will of the international community. The Security Council in its resolution 246 (1968) censured the Government of South Africa. It urged Member States in a position to contribute to the implementation of the resolution to assist the Security Council in order to obtain compliance by the Government of South Africa with its provisions.

92. One United Nations resolution after another has been rejected by the Government of South Africa. And it is this South African policy of defiance which encouraged other authorities, such as the Ian Smith régime and the Israeli régime, to do the same. The cases and the attitudes of the three Governments are the same.



93. The three régimes came as invader-colonialists and think in terms of archaic and colonialist policies. The three régimes practise discrimination. One differentiates between jew and gentile; the other two discriminate between white and non-white. All three régimes practise policies of expansion. All three have two scales for citizenship and believe in the supremacy of white Europeans. All three—the South African, the Israeli and the Ian Smith régimes—practise monolithic, exclusive and chauvinistic nationalism: apartheid in both South Africa and Rhodesia, and Zionism in Israel. The three believe in or practise nazi-like ideologies. The three régimes use force and coercion for the implementation of their immoral and discriminatory policies. They all depend to a great extent on foreign investments and/or foreign trade and aid to keep up their economies.

94. Because of all those similarities, a common interest exists among the three régimes. Their practices, policies and destinies go hand in hand. Therefore, when discussing any one of these cases of defiance, one cannot but associate it with the other two. The policies of South Africa, Israel and Rhodesia have too much in common, and they are all contemporary international issues of which the United Nations has been seized and for which it is searching for just solutions.

95. The United Nations Council for South West Africa has emphasized that the persistent refusal by South Africa to comply with the decisions of the United Nations will lead to the outbreak of violence and racial war. It has expressed its concern that this situation constitutes the gravest threat to international peace and security in the area. It is convinced that South Africa will not withdraw from the Territory unless forceful measures are taken for the removal of its presence. The United Nations Council for South West Africa has, therefore, recommended to the General Assembly that it should reiterate its request to the Security Council, to take effective measures to ensure the immediate removal of South Africa's presence from South West Africa with a view to enabling the Council to discharge all its functions and responsibilities effectively.

96. We pay tribute to the United Nations Council for South West Africa for its constructive work and

its valuable contributions. The report of the Council [A/7088 and Corr.1] shows that the cardinal question before us is that of seeking effective measures and ensuring their full implementation. As a pre-requisite, for such measures to be effective, all co-operation with South Africa, whether in the form of foreign trade and investment by a few countries or enhancement of European immigration, must stop. The super-Powers can use their influence and pressure for a constructive implementation of Chapter VII of the Charter. We associate ourselves with the hope expressed by the representative of Upper Volta:

"that those Powers to which our Charter has entrusted the primary responsibility for maintaining international peace and security will not fail to realize the extent to which this hotbed of tension constitutes a very serious threat to the work undertaken by our Organization."\* [1651st meeting, para. 80.]

97. Is it not time for this Organization, the hope of mankind, the organ determined to save future generations from the scourge of war, to check acts of aggression and continued defiance which, if permitted to continue, will bring about the end of hope in the United Nations? Is it not time for those Members of the United Nations that possess the means to enforce its will to put an end to the betrayal of the hopes of the peoples of the United Nations? Is it not time for the great values enshrined in our Charter, stemming from the spirit of equality and togetherness to become the guiding star for friendly relations among peoples and States, big and small? Should the United Nations continue to meet the challenge with inaction, or is it not in its interest to prove its effectiveness and its worth?

98. Mankind continues to have faith in the United Nations, but human endurance has a limit. When people begin to see the United Nations as another League of Nations, a debating club, an apple skin with no apple inside, then, I am afraid, the risk will be great and the price greater. Powers that are giving lip-service to peace should ponder that.

*The meeting rose at 12.15 p.m.*

\*Provisional English version taken from the interpretation.