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

*In the absence of the President, Mr. Molina Urena (Dominican Republic), Vice-President, took the Chair.*

AGENDA ITEM 64

Question of South West Africa (continued)

1. Mr. LIU (China): The position of my Government in respect of South West Africa has been made abundantly clear. At the very beginning of the United Nations, the Chinese delegation maintained that South West Africa as a mandated territory should be placed under the International Trusteeship System and that the mandatory authority concerned did not possess the attributes of sovereignty over the Territory. Since then, the Chinese delegation has time and again declared that the people of South West Africa are entitled to freedom and independence and should be enabled to exercise their right of self-determination. These views are well known, and I need not now elaborate on them.

2. On 27 October 1966 the General Assembly, in resolution 2145 (XXI), took a historic decision on South West Africa. Under that resolution the General Assembly decided that the Mandate over South West Africa was terminated, and that thenceforth South West Africa would come under the direct responsibility of the United Nations. That historic decision, taken by the General Assembly after twenty years of deliberation, was supported by the overwhelming majority of the Members of the United Nations. Subsequently, on 19 May 1967 the General Assembly, by resolution 2248 (S-V), decided to establish a United Nations Council for South West Africa and entrusted to it the task of administering South West Africa, until independence, with the maximum participation of the people of the Territory.

3. The Chinese delegation supported both of these resolutions. In common with other delegations, we expressed the hope that the Government of South Africa would find it in its own interest to co-operate with the United Nations so as to enable the only remaining Territory, of all the former mandated Territories in Africa, to achieve independent statehood in an orderly and peaceful manner.

4. It is a matter of profound disappointment that the Government of South Africa has thus far refused to co-operate with the United Nations Council for South West Africa and with the United Nations. Furthermore,

it has meted out harsh sentences to more than thirty South West Africans under a law that is repressive in character and retroactive in application; and it has taken steps to establish separate homelands which would inevitably undermine the territorial integrity of South West Africa. By these acts the Government of South Africa has vastly heightened the political and racial tension on the African continent.

5. The Chinese delegation has in these past weeks studied the report of the Council [A/7088 and Corr.1] and has carefully considered all the statements that have so far been made in the current debate. It is clear that Members of the United Nations are practically unanimous in supporting the objective in view, namely, the freedom and independence of South West Africa as a nation. It is also evident that there is as yet no general agreement as to the methods and processes by which this objective may be achieved.

6. The General Assembly, therefore, must search for practical and effective means to achieve this objective, and must search for such means as will command the widest support of Member States, and particularly those which are in a position to exert maximum influence on the course of events in South Africa. Any measure or any approach, within the framework of the United Nations Charter, that may contribute to the resolution of the present dilemma or impasse should be considered. The Chinese delegation is prepared to consider and support such constructive proposals as are designed to carry out the historic decision of the General Assembly in resolution 2145 (XXI) so that the people of South West Africa may be enabled to exercise the right of self-determination and choose their own path into the future.

7. Mr. PACHACHI (Iraq): Few problems have engaged the attention of this Organization as long as the question of South West Africa. I know of no other question on which so many resolutions have been passed and to which so many meetings have been devoted. It is clear that the time for speech-making is over. Our main task is to devise ways and means for securing the full and unconditional implementation of the numerous United Nations resolutions on South West Africa.

8. In its recent report [A/7088 and Corr.1], the United Nations Council for South West Africa has expressed the view that the persistent refusal of South Africa to comply with the decisions of the United Nations will inevitably lead to an outbreak of violence and racial war. The people of Namibia and other African nations and, indeed, the overwhelming majority of mankind are determined, one way or another, to end the illegal régime maintained in defiance of the United Nations in South West Africa.

9. Over the last twenty years, scores of resolutions have been adopted by this Assembly. They have dealt with every conceivable aspect of the problem and proposed a variety of solutions, but, in the face of the adamant refusal of the South African Government to co-operate with the United Nations, these decisions have so far been ineffective. After twenty years of patient effort, the General Assembly adopted resolution 2145 (XXI), which is indeed a historic landmark in the long and arduous road which this world Organization has travelled since it first faced the arrogant defiance of the Pretoria régime in 1946. This resolution represents the firm and irrevocable policy of the United Nations. Our problem today, as it has been for nearly a quarter of a century, is how to implement decisions adopted by overwhelming majorities of this Assembly and how to translate the hopes and aspirations we have kindled in the people of Namibia into living and meaningful reality.

10. A special responsibility falls upon the countries which have not only maintained, but strengthened and expanded, their relations with the Republic of South Africa during that long period. If the same tenacity and obduracy which they have shown in trying to prevent the United Nations from taking effective action had been displayed in supporting the decisions of this Organization, the situation would have been vastly different. Even at this late hour, and despite the years of frustration and lost opportunities, we hear the same voices of timidity and misguided caution advising us to go slow and try again to come to terms with the racist régime of South Africa. But too much unnecessary suffering has been inflicted on the people of that Territory by our inaction, and we would be abdicating our responsibilities and making a mockery of all the principles and ideals we have proclaimed and expounded if we continued chasing that illusion of understanding with South Africa.

11. The facts are there. South Africa has refused to accept resolution 2145 (XXI), which declared the termination of its Mandate over South West Africa. It has refused to accept General Assembly resolution 2325 (XXII) of last December, which called for its unconditional withdrawal from the Territory, the release of all political prisoners, and the return of all native refugees.

12. This is not only a colonial problem made worse by the unco-operative attitude of the colonial Power; it is not only a situation fraught with the gravest dangers for international peace and security; it is a situation the continuance of which will have the most adverse effects on the civilized world order which the Charter envisaged and which this Organization is attempting to establish. This is a situation in which neutrality by any State cannot be justified or tolerated, for passivity will only encourage the South African régime to continue and intensify its disastrous policy. The cause of freedom is indeed indivisible, and we cannot uphold it in some areas and neglect it in others. Many African countries have already paid dearly for their stand against the blind forces of racism and prejudice. The brave Republic of Zambia provides a remarkable example in this regard, and the Organization can do no less.

13. The time for effective remedial action is here and now. What has been done so far has proved to be woefully inadequate. A start must be made by putting into effect the elaborate punitive and coercive procedures provided in the Charter. The Security Council, which is the organ entrusted with such tasks, must now be asked to consider the question in its entirety with a view to taking action in accordance with Chapter VII of the Charter. This should in no way affect the inalienable right of the people of the Territory to defend themselves and resist by all the means at their disposal the policies and activities of their racist oppressors.

14. I cannot end my statement without paying a tribute to the United Nations Council for South West Africa, particularly for the courageous attempt of its members to enter the Territory in pursuance of their duties. We are sure they will continue to discharge the tasks entrusted to them with the same selfless devotion and dedication to the ideals of the Charter which have characterized their efforts so far. Finally, my country is ready to support any and all measures which may be proposed in order to secure the full implementation of the decisions of this Organization and to enable the people of Namibia to realize their long-cherished goal of independence, freedom and dignity.

15. Mr. KANTE (Mali) (translated from French): As you are well aware, this second part of the twenty-second session of the United Nations General Assembly is beginning under the sign of disillusion, disenchantment, bitterness and weariness.

16. I say disillusion, disenchantment, bitterness and weariness because for more than twenty years our Organization has impotently looked on as the crises shaking the world grow worse, although it has solemnly taken upon itself the role of safeguarding international peace and security.

17. I say disillusion, disenchantment, bitterness and weariness because the Third World dramatically continues to be the theatre and the victim of those upheavals to which it has been and to which it is continuing to be subjected, arbitrarily and unilaterally, by the forces of evil, headed by international imperialism, for the purpose of hegemony. We can mention, in passing, the crises of Korea, of Viet-Nam, of the Middle East, Zimbabwe, the Caribbean islands, Cyprus, Mozambique, Angola, the Democratic Republic of Congo, Guinea (Bissau), Namibia, and so on.

18. Disillusion, disenchantment, bitterness and weariness because for twenty years the same questions keep coming before our Assembly having become more rather than less critical.

19. Disillusion, disenchantment, bitterness and weariness because some Powers of the Third World and of the so-called "free" world, including some of the founding Members of the United Nations, by lending economic, political and military support—despite our joint decisions—to the fascist régimes holding power in southern Africa, have strengthened the latter in their negative and insolent attitude towards the international community.

20. Disillusion, disenchantment, bitterness and weariness because fewer than ten Members of our Organization, out of more than 120, have blocked our

joint decisions. What hope remains to our peoples to see the reign of peace with justice?

21. Disillusion, disenchantment, bitterness and weariness because the United Nations Charter is constantly and arrogantly being violated by most of those very Members who sponsored its birth.

22. Disillusion, disenchantment, bitterness and weariness because the division of the world was sadly confirmed at the second session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development,<sup>1/</sup> by the developed countries' categorical refusal to lend their co-operation in bringing about the advent of a better and more just world.

23. Finally, disillusion, disenchantment, bitterness and weariness because the rules of law and international morality seem dramatically to be vanishing from our Organization. There is a danger of the rule of the strongest becoming established in it.

24. Such is the state of mind with which the majority of the Members of the United Nations have begun the second part of this twenty-second session of the General Assembly.

25. We therefore have no illusions about the outcome of our discussions. We shall undoubtedly be led to adopt a new compromise resolution that will be "balanced" and "realistic" in the best tradition of our Organization, a resolution that we have no doubt will in its turn disappear into the files of the United Nations and of chanceries, along with the eighty previous resolutions adopted on the subject of Namibia and apartheid.

26. The settlement of those problems suffers less from lack of decision than from the conspiracy of international imperialism against our decisions. Indeed, are eighty General Assembly and Security Council resolutions required in order to settle those questions? The answer would surely be "no", if only some Members of our Organization would not persist, like snipers, in shattering our joint decisions.

27. The delegation of the Republic of Mali therefore considers that these discussions are justified only insofar as their purpose is to denounce the obstructive action of those Powers to the public opinion of their own people, and to world public opinion. Moreover, they recently threw off all disguise at the International Conference on Human Rights held at Teheran<sup>2/</sup> by voting against resolution III, which charged South Africa's trading partners with violations of United Nations decisions.

28. The procrastinations those Powers have forced on us in the name of "co-operation", "reality", and "balance", and the slow-moving process they succeeded in imposing for the settlement of our problems, had no other purpose than to provide time for the usurpers from Pretoria.

29. The latter, of course, used that time to strengthen their positions. Thus, since the General Assembly adopted resolution 2145 (XXI) on 27 October 1968, the rabid racists of Pretoria, taking their inspiration from the most advanced fascist methods, put into

effect a number of crafty and Machiavellian measures designed to break the Namibian people's will to independence. Let us mention, inter alia:

(1) The "Terrorism Act" of June 1967, by virtue of which a number of patriots have unjustly lost their lives for having proclaimed their faith in freedom.

(2) The immigration law. Under the provisions of this iniquitous law, diplomatic personnel stationed in South Africa must request renewal of their permissions to reside every six months. In addition, permissions to reside can be cancelled on a yearly basis.

(3) The law of 3 March 1967, which definitively deprives coloured peoples of their pseudo-representation in the Assembly and institutes a separate parliament for them.

(4) The recent law forbidding the interference by any representative of a given racial group in the political affairs of another racial group. As a result of that measure, the South African Liberal Party, a multi-racial political organization, scuttled itself in the following words:

"The Liberal Party, founded in 1952, reaffirms its conviction that a just solution to the problems in South Africa can be found only through the joining of the members of the two races working together and in complete equality."

Multiracial trade unions are being threatened with prosecution.

(5) The extension this year to Namibia of the so-called regional groupings law, in force in South Africa since 1950. That criminal law sanctions the breaking up of Namibia into seven pseudo-nations, cynically organized on the basis of the ethnic groups comprised in it.

30. Those sinister exploits of the Pretoria usurpers have been added, of course, to the eighty or so acts of defiance to which they have subjected the international community.

31. The crisis in the United Nations has left the people of Namibia with no other choice than to take up arms and engage in an unequal combat for survival against the racist South African settlers. Racial war has begun in Namibia, just as it has in Zimbabwe. It can become atrocious if we do not stop it.

32. The hope for peaceful coexistence between the races in southern Africa is in the process of fading away through the fault of some of those very people who have, at this very session, taken pleasure in pointing out and in extolling the perfect coexistence of the races achieved by the people of Mauritius. South Africa's racist partners bear the entire responsibility for this drama.

33. The international community owes it to itself to reply to the challenges South Africa continually hurls at it, by force if need be. Should violence triumph in that part of Africa, it would be very hard for us to command respect for the virtues of non-violence, even within our own borders, and even the most powerful countries would not escape the bloody explosions that might break out in our countries.

<sup>1/</sup> Session held from 1 February to 29 March 1968.

<sup>2/</sup> Conference held from 22 April to 13 May 1968.

34. It is no longer a matter of intoning hymns to peace, but of acting to preserve the authority of the United Nations which, in spite of everything, is still the hope of mankind.

35. It is no longer a question of verbiage or of money-making and heartless paternalism, but a question of saving the people of southern Africa who are being threatened in their life and in the land of their forefathers by usurpers.

36. Today it is not a matter of preventing war, but of re-establishing in southern Africa the peace that is not threatened, but violated and broken indeed. The escalation began in Zambia, where some white South African mercenaries were recently captured and put out of action.

37. While wild game is being protected in southern Africa for the benefit of tourists, the black man in southern Africa is being hunted and tracked down.

38. The accomplices of the fascist Pretoria régime, Members of our Organization, owe it to themselves to revise their negative attitudes and to co-operate with the forces of peace to restore the legitimate rights of the Namibian people. Their behaviour is neither politically nor morally justifiable. By continuing to strengthen the abject Pretoria régime's ability to resist, they are at the same time losing the friendship and respect of the African peoples.

39. As we stated before the Committee of Twenty-four on 9 February last, it is time that the Powers responsible for the obduracy of the régimes in power in southern Africa prove to us that their co-operation with those régimes is not inspired by racism. We are still awaiting an answer to that question.

40. In any event, the fascist philosophy of racial superiority will no longer be tolerated in Africa. The just struggle of the peoples of southern Africa for liberation will undoubtedly be a long one, but we are sure of its victorious outcome. In this connexion, the example of the heroic Viet-Nameese people, who have bogged down in the swamps of South-East Asia one of the greatest military and economic Powers of our era, despite its heavy weapons and its highly equipped forces, is rather enlightening.

41. In the opinion of the delegation of the Republic of Mali, the illegal occupation of Namibia by the racist settlers of Pretoria is a typical breach of the peace.

42. It is therefore for the Security Council to take, under Chapter VII of the Charter, firm political, economic, military and diplomatic measures against that régime which has for years been in open rebellion against our Organization.

43. The United Nations cannot shirk its responsibility by proclaiming a fictitious independence for Namibia, which is still being illegally occupied by the troops of the Pretoria fascists.

44. My Government hails the patriotic and courageous struggle being waged by the Namibian people for their right to independence, and I take pleasure in proclaiming here on behalf of the people of Mali our total

support for the freedom fighters in their just national struggle.

45. The delegation of the Republic of Mali is convinced that our Assembly will, in its wisdom, reject all the hackneyed and dilatory formulas that some will cleverly attempt to submit for its approval.

46. Mr. AL-MUDHAF (Kuwait): My delegation takes this opportunity to commend the President of the Assembly on the manner in which he has conducted our proceedings during the first part of this session. We believe that his statesmanship, wisdom and tact will continue to guide our deliberations.

47. The question of South West Africa has two broad aspects. In one respect the Mandate had been used by South Africa, as a veil, to impose an oppressive colonial régime on the people of that Territory. Moreover, South Africa extended to that Territory the odious practices of apartheid which are a crime against humanity.

48. My Government had welcomed the historic resolutions passed by the General Assembly [2145 (XXI) and 2248 (S-V)], which terminated the mandate of South Africa over South West Africa and established the United Nations Council for South West Africa to administer the Territory until independence, to be attained by June 1968.

49. We had hoped that those resolutions would put an end to the suffering of the people of that Territory and mark a new era in launching them on the path of freedom and self-determination. The record of colonialism in Asia and Africa shows that freedom is a prerequisite of economic and social development. We must say that we always had doubts about the readiness of South Africa to co-operate with the United Nations in arranging peacefully for the transfer of the administration of the Territory. Nevertheless, we gave South Africa the benefit of the doubt.

50. However, by refusing to relinquish its control over that Territory, South Africa has placed itself beyond the pale of the law and has thrown the gauntlet in the face of the international community. The question now is how the United Nations will act to meet this new challenge.

51. Inaction is fatal. The United Nations has assumed full responsibility for the fate of the people of South West Africa. Are we to stand idle while South Africa is taking measures to consolidate its sway over South West Africa and to isolate it completely from the international community? The object of South Africa is, of course, clear. In spite of the repeated appeals of the General Assembly that South Africa refrain and desist from any action which would alter the international status of South West Africa, South Africa is moving towards the virtual annexation of that afflicted Territory.

52. My Government has no political, economic or other relations with South Africa and is therefore unable to use its influence to dissuade South Africa from pursuing its illegal course. Moreover, my Government does not believe that such attempts are worth making. After all, South Africa never made any secret of its defiance and has consistently refused to

recognize the jurisdiction of the United Nations in this matter.

53. I should like to pay a tribute to the United Nations Council for South West Africa, and expressed the appreciation of my Government for the gallant efforts it has been making to fulfil the mandate entrusted to it by the General Assembly. My Government agrees with the conclusions of the Council that "South Africa will not withdraw from the Territory unless forceful measures are taken for the removal of its presence from the Territory" [A/7088 and Corr.1, para. 63]. These measures can only be taken by the Security Council under Chapter VII of the Charter. The permanent members have been given special rights under the Charter. These rights connote very serious obligations. The Security Council has no alternative but to take the necessary forceful measures for ousting South Africa from the Territory. Time is of the essence. The date set for the independence of the Territory is near at hand. The people of South West Africa look to us now, in this decisive moment of their history, when they should be led peacefully by the United Nations along the path of freedom and independence. The people of South West Africa have been subjected for a long time to oppression, suffering and neglect. If we fail them now, the only path left to them would be that of violence and racial war. Indeed, a very grave responsibility rests on our shoulders. Let us all work together to uphold the

rule of law and international order established by the Charter of the United Nations.

54. The example of South Africa has encouraged others to follow its lead in rendering resolutions of the United Nations nugatory and in scoffing at the authority of our Organization. The most brilliant follower of South Africa is indeed Israel, which has made of apartheid a doctrine of racial exclusiveness which is embodied in the concept of the State and is the basic active element in its domestic and foreign policy. Coupled with Israel's policy of territorial expansion, its colonial racist policy is reflected in endless terrorism and aggression. This new brand of racist colonialism aims at depopulating Arab territories to make way for Zionist racist settlers.

55. Let all those who cherish the ideals and principles enshrined in the Charter of our Organization act together to fulfil its purposes. There can be no alternative or intermediate solutions. If we fail to act now, our Organization will be paralysed and will become merely a forum of debate without effectiveness in the maintenance of international peace and security. Moreover, such failure will result in disappointment among the nations of the world with the work of our Organization and its capacity to uphold the principles of the Charter.

*The meeting rose at 11.50 a.m.*