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President: Mr. Corneliu MANESCU (Romania).

AGENDA ITEM 64

Question of South West Africa (continued)

1. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): As you are aware, the General Assembly has concluded the general debate on the question of South West Africa. A draft resolution with regard to that question has been circulated as document A/L.546.

2. I call on the representative of the United Republic of Tanzania so that he may introduce the draft resolution.

3. Mr. DANIELI (United Republic of Tanzania): During the past several weeks in which we have debated the question of Namibia, all of us who sincerely uphold the right of all peoples to freedom and dignity have condemned the fascist régime of Pretoria for its continued criminal and aggressive occupation of the Territory which is under the jurisdiction of the United Nations.

4. The events of the past few months have left no doubt—if doubt existed even among the most sceptical—of the aggressive designs of the Pretoria régime towards the Territory and people of Namibia. For over two decades that diabolical régime has systematically and ruthlessly extended its venomous and inhuman practices of apartheid to Namibia. Throughout those years the fascist régime has, consistently and with utter disregard, shown naked defiance for the authority of this Organization and the opinion of the world public, which has persistently called for the elimination of colonialism and racism in that part of the world.

5. We had expected that such defiance of the universal wish for the freedom of Namibia would be met with the most immediate and exacting measures, but it may be said with justification that the enslaved people of Namibia have come to us in vain. We had been hoping that the challenge to the international authority of this Organization would, without much debate, have been dealt with under the various instruments and Powers provided for in the Charter. Is it not the very universal wish, the very international authority and the very Charter, upon which this body was founded with the aim of attaining the liberation of man everywhere and the achievement of peace for all, that the fascist régime of Pretoria has sought and is seeking to

undermine? However, the people of Namibia and the world at large have once again witnessed that the lofty ideals enshrined in the Charter and the legal instruments of this Organization are meaningless and useless at critical moments when action rather than debate is called for. We pray that this Tower of Babel will not tumble down in the face of the inevitable wrath of those very people it was supposed to lift up to a new world of hope and happiness. Indeed the writing is on the wall.

6. What is most striking here is not the fact that this Organization has so far failed to take concrete steps against the criminal offenders, but the obvious fact that the concrete steps that the Organization has sought to implement have failed because apartheid in South Africa enjoys the active support and blessing of the nationals of influential States Members of this Organization—the so-called major Powers. The countless debates and studies undertaken by this Organization indicate that in its aggressive suppression of the African people of Namibia, South Africa has the full collaboration of the capitalist monopolies rooted in the capitals of such Western countries as the United States of America, the United Kingdom, Belgium and their allies.

7. Clearly, such a situation cannot be allowed to continue. We the peoples of Africa have a duty, moral as well as material, to liberate every inch of our mother continent from the rapacious clutches of racists, colonialists and imperialists. We the peoples of Africa and Asia, and our brothers from Latin America, have a duty to ensure the emancipation of man everywhere and the development of our peoples. We the peoples of the United Nations have the moral obligation and duty to uphold the Charter, justice and peace.

8. It is thus an honour for my delegation to present, on behalf of a group of African and Asian States, the draft resolution [A/L.546 and Corr.1] which is before the Assembly on the question of Namibia. Undoubtedly, the draft reflects all the aspects of the question and represents the very minimum recommendations for the action which we feel should be taken in order to achieve the independence of Namibia. I should like to point out, however, that the draft may not fully satisfy the "doves", let alone the "hawks", among us. We have, nevertheless, taken into account the views of those among us who are neither doves nor hawks in order to arrive at the widest and the most generally acceptable consensus.

9. The draft is clear and self-explanatory and it is not necessary for me to go into every detail here. It upholds the inalienable right of the people of Namibia to freedom and independence, recognizes the legiti-

macy of their struggle and calls upon all peoples to render them moral and material support for the achievement of that goal. It condemns the defiance of the fascist régime of Pretoria and its continued aggressive designs against, and occupation of, the Territory of Namibia, as well as the activities of those international forces of exploitation of man by man, against humanity. It reiterates the request that the United Nations Council for South West Africa should continue its efforts, which have hitherto been frustrated by the Pretoria régime. It calls upon the Council to fulfil its mandate and, with the assistance of the Secretary-General and the pertinent agencies and organs of the United Nations, to render assistance to the people of Namibia. More important, the draft recommends to the Security Council, urgently, to take all effective steps to ensure the implementation of the present draft resolution, and effective measures, in accordance with Chapter VII of the Charter, to ensure the immediate removal from Namibia of the aggressive forces of the fascist Pretoria régime.

10. It is our sincerest hope that all Member States of this Organization will unreservedly give their full support to this draft.

11. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): I call on the representative of the Philippines, who has also expressed the wish to introduce the draft resolution.

12. Mr. JIMENEZ (Philippines): The Philippines, as a founding Member of the United Nations, has been closely involved in the search for a solution to the question of South West Africa from its very inception. The interest we take in this problem, as well as in other colonial questions, is more than just a policy for us. Having undergone the travails of a colonial people for hundreds of years and having experienced what it is to be free from the colonial yoke, we feel it our bounden duty to extend a helping hand to peoples still struggling for their freedom. This is especially so in the case of the Namibians, who not only are deprived of their freedom but are also the victims of the detestable policy of apartheid.

13. The contributions of my delegation to the search for a solution of this problem are to be found in the official records of the United Nations, but we take special gratification in the fact that the Philippine delegation, through Ambassador Salvador Lopez, and in representation of the Asian group, took an active part in the negotiations that led last year to the elaboration, presentation and adoption of what is now General Assembly resolution 2248 (S-V).

14. The Philippines also had the privilege of presiding over the Afro-Asian group in May, when the group was able to consider and agree on draft resolution A/L.546 and Corr.1. It is the result of long and diligent deliberations in which energetic efforts were exerted to consider all views and inject a sense of realism and practicability. In arriving at compromises, we might perhaps have sacrificed beauty and precision of language. But I can assure you that all those who took part in the drafting of the document now before us were guided by one overriding consideration, which is the inalienable right of the Namibians to freedom and independence within the shortest possible time and in the best conditions.

15. This independence, however, will be far from being achieved as long as the South African authorities continue to occupy the Territory of South West Africa illegally, and to defy the United Nations. It is, therefore of the utmost necessity that this illegal occupation be put to an end at the earliest possible time, but within the framework of the United Nations Charter, because we are ardent believers in the rule of law.

16. My delegation feels gratified to second, on behalf of the Afro-Asians, the introduction of draft resolution A/L.546 and Corr.1.

17. The provisions of the draft resolution are generally self-explanatory and require little elaboration. With the able presentation of the draft resolution by the representative of Tanzania, my task has become simple. I shall endeavour only to refer to significant paragraphs of our draft.

18. Preambular paragraph 6 serves as a reminder that the United Nations has a special and direct responsibility towards the people and the Territory of South West Africa in accordance with resolutions 2145 (XXI) and 2248 (S-V). Preambular paragraph 7 stresses the fact that the Security Council itself, in its resolution 246 (1968), has taken cognizance of its own special responsibility towards the people and the Territory of South West Africa.

19. Operative paragraphs 3 and 4 condemn the Government of South Africa for its refusal to comply with the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council, its refusal to withdraw from South West Africa, its obstruction of the efforts of the United Nations Council for South West Africa to proceed to the Territory, and its actions designed to consolidate its illegal control over the Territory and destroy its territorial integrity and the unity of its people. We trust that with this condemnation, the Government of South Africa will now listen to the voice of reason and give up its intransigent and negative attitude.

20. In the general debate, many delegations have referred to the fact that South Africa has been encouraged to defy the authority of the United Nations by the continued diplomatic, political, military and economic collaboration of certain States with the Government of South Africa. Operative paragraph 5 reflects the feelings of the co-sponsors towards the actions of those States. We trust that this collaboration will soon come to an end.

21. In operative paragraphs 6 to 8, the United Nations Council for South West Africa is requested to continue its efforts to fulfil its mandate, and an appeal is addressed to all States to assist the Council in the discharge of that mandate. It is essential that all necessary assistance be extended to the Council in order to enable it to comply with its responsibilities.

22. In operative paragraphs 9 and 10, all States are called upon to ensure that their nationals and the companies registered in their territories desist from dealings with the Government of South Africa relating to the Territory of South West Africa and to take effective economic and other measures designed to secure the immediate withdrawal of the South African administration from the Territory.

23. Operative paragraph 11 supports the conviction expressed by the United Nations Council for South West Africa that the situation in the Territory constitutes a grave threat to international peace and security. We believe that the Security Council has the responsibility to avert such a situation. Therefore, in operative paragraph 13 the Security Council is urgently called upon to take all effective steps to secure the implementation of the present draft resolution and, in particular, to take effective measures under Chapter VII of the Charter to ensure the immediate removal of the South African authorities from the Territory.

24. We feel that the whole United Nations Organization is involved in this question and that all its organs, particularly the Security Council, which has the means to implement United Nations decisions, should take active part in dissuading South Africa from continuing its attitude of defiance and intransigence. Unless the South African authorities are removed from the Territory, the Namibians will continue to suffer and will not be able to achieve their ultimate goal of freedom and independence.

25. We commend the draft resolution to the entire membership of the General Assembly. We are, however, prepared to hear the views of other delegations, calculated not only to improve the text but also to ensure the widest support for our draft.

26. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): Since article 90 of the rules of procedure does "not permit the proposer of a proposal or of an amendment to explain his vote on his own proposal or amendment", I shall now give the sponsors of the draft resolution—and any delegation that may so desire—the opportunity to speak on the said draft resolution. Following that, the Assembly will hear explanations of vote.

27. Mr. ACHKAR (Guinea) (translated from French): Two anti-colonialist delegations have just preceded my own for the purpose of introducing draft resolution A/L.546. The Ambassador of Tanzania spoke forcefully and clearly; the Ambassador of the Philippines brought out some additional precise details. As co-sponsor of the draft resolution, my delegation would like—if it is still possible after the precise details we have just been given—to make its contribution to the explanations of the contents of the draft.

28. It will be noted that the sponsors of this draft resolution have attempted to set forth in a precise manner the real facts of the problem with which we must cope. In fact, that draft is a synthesis of the opinions and positions that were manifested here in the course of the general debate by almost all the delegations that spoke on the matter.

29. The draft resolution is the normal and logical sequel to General Assembly resolutions 2145 (XXI) and 2248 (S-V) and Security Council resolution 246 (1968). It derives also from the experience that has been accumulated by the United Nations Council for South West Africa and—why not say so?—the United Nations in general, when faced with the intransigent attitude of South Africa.

30. The problem with which we must cope is clear to all of us. United Nations responsibility in regard to South West Africa has never been questioned. The

General Assembly withdrew South Africa's Mandate over South West Africa; the South African usurpers must therefore be deprived of their control and have no right whatsoever to be in that Territory. Their actual presence there shows up as a rebellion against the international community—I should say, as an act of aggression against the United Nations.

31. Faced with that situation, the General Assembly adopted what my delegation would call two "maximum" resolutions. Those resolutions, especially resolution 2145 (XXI), indicated the path to be followed by that Territory in order to free itself from South Africa's clutches. Now, according to the terms of our Organization's Charter, the General Assembly can take certain actions, up to a certain point beyond which it cannot enforce its decisions. It is at that point, obviously, that the organ most competent to do so intervenes, namely, the Security Council.

32. It follows that we regard paragraph 13 of this draft resolution as the central pivot of all the efforts that must be made. Under the terms of that paragraph, the General Assembly entrusts the responsibility for the liberation of South West Africa, so far as the United Nations can still help towards that liberation, to the Security Council, which is requested to take decisions. My delegation hopes that the Security Council will convene as soon as possible after the adoption of the draft, and that it will take decisions—those which we hope to see taken under Chapter VII of the Charter. The attitude of the members of the Security Council will be decisive for the evolution of the South West African problem in the very near future, on the one hand, and of the relationships within the United Nations, on the other. Should the great Powers, especially within the Security Council, shirk their responsibilities, should they fail to take a firm stand in support of the peoples of South West Africa, that is to say, in support of the responsibility of the United Nations, then the General Assembly would have to draw the appropriate conclusions at its next session; and it is precisely by drawing those conclusions that the social relationships in this Assembly, the relationships between the forces that are disturbing the world today, can be evaluated and that a judgement can be made as to the chances for an harmonious, peaceful and progressive development of the international community.

33. The refusal of the members of the Security Council, that is, above all, of the great Powers, to help the United Nations to settle the question of Namibia, would very seriously shake the confidence and faith that all the peoples of the world place in the United Nations. We have already had evidence of this when the International Court of Justice shirked its responsibilities and sent the ball back, if I may use that expression, to the General Assembly. The confidence that had been placed in that highly important institution was seriously shaken as a result.

34. We might have to face a much more serious situation if tomorrow, when the Security Council will be seized of this problem, it fails to take the decisions that are called for. Of course, the General Assembly will still have the possibility of taking other actions during its next session. We have not yet exhausted all the opportunities for action within this Organization.

A short while ago, I said that the Assembly had already adopted "maximum" resolutions; however, when the Assembly finds that the United Nations—that is to say the General Assembly and the Security Council—is incapable of helping towards the liberation of South West Africa, we shall no doubt be left with nothing else to do but to have recourse to a decision that could be the proclamation of Namibia's independence, with all the ensuing consequences, among which are the recognition of a government, proceeding at the United Nations level to have that government admitted as a Member State, and, subsequently, all possible aid and assistance to enable that government to wage a legal war, an international war, if I may say so, against the South African usurper.

35. It follows that the decisions or lack of decisions the Security Council will take when it is seized of these problems will be of capital and vital importance for this Assembly and for the Organization itself, because certain precedents could thus be established in the face of that other precedent which South Africa has forced upon us by stealing an international territory, keeping it by force, and opposing the will of the international community through the most arrogant and intolerable methods, all because the great Powers in this Organization are quite willing that South Africa should behave in that manner.

36. Furthermore, in another paragraph we have condemned those actions of the great Powers. Several of the sponsors of the draft resolution would have liked the names of those Powers to be mentioned in the draft. Others felt that to be unnecessary. It would have been easy to mention those names: there is sufficient documentation, especially the documents of the Special Committee on the policies of apartheid of the Government of the Republic of South Africa, in which the names of South Africa's accomplices are clearly stated. They are very numerous. For the time being, out of concern for conciliation, it has not proved necessary to spell out those names, but since those countries know that they themselves are concerned, we ask them and appeal to them to do all they can so as not to go on humiliating the United Nations in the face of the utterly unjustifiable acts of one Member State which is not even worthy of being called a State, a State in which authority is monopolized by a small minority of exploiting and racist settlers. And it is that State that wishes to extend to the United Nations level the chaos it is in the process of creating at home, in order thereby to undermine the Organization and to destroy it, in other words, to undermine the evolution of the world, this young world, this world that is showing every day, in all countries, that it is irresistibly straining after greater progress and equality, this world that is in the process of proving that its future will not be decided by the old class that is governing South Africa today. That is the world that South Africa wishes to bury in the chaos it has created at home and that it wishes to extend to the United Nations level.

37. We ask those States not to go on humiliating the United Nations. If it is true that the United Nations is indispensable to the small States, it is no less true that it is equally indispensable to the large States which often make use of it to extricate themselves

from the hornets' nests in which they happen to get involved.

38. It is with a sharp sense of our responsibilities towards the South West African people, and also with the greatest firmness towards the South African impostors and their undercover allies, that we must prove to South Africa that it cannot steal that Territory with impunity, that it cannot keep it and continue to exploit it and its population under the very eyes of an impotent international community.

39. This resolution is not a cure-all. By itself, it will not provide the ultimate solution to the question of South West Africa. But it shows the way to that solution. We ask all Member States to take that way.

40. What is at stake in Namibia is far more than Namibia itself, far more than that international territory. There are principles at stake here. If through complacency or through fear of our responsibilities, we allow those principles to be flouted, we shall be extremely sorry, when we are faced with situations that may be much more dangerous than this one.

41. International democracy, which has been growing in strength day by day, will crush the South African oppressors. It will cast South Africa out of its stronghold. That must be accomplished with the support, the collaboration and the understanding of the United Nations, and not despite it.

42. The massive and rapid adoption of the draft resolution will be a decisive step in that direction and will show to the Pretoria authorities that they cannot get away with their booty, the spoils of their heinous crimes, and that they must return the territory of South West Africa to the South West African peoples, to the peoples of Namibia, so that they may attain the independence, freedom and social progress that cannot be realized under such a racial, dictatorial and contemptuous régime as that of South Africa.

43. Mr. PARTHASARATHI (India): I have asked to speak in order to join my colleagues from Tanzania, the Philippines and Guinea in supporting the introduction of the draft resolution [A/L.546 and Corr.1] co-sponsored by forty-four delegations from Afro-Asia and Yugoslavia. The previous speakers have spoken eloquently about various aspects of the draft resolution and they have quite rightly emphasized the importance that we, the Afro-Asian countries, attach to the achievement of meaningful results on this critical question at this resumed session of the General Assembly. Even at the risk of repeating some of the important points they made so effectively in appealing for wide support for the draft resolution, I should like to underline some aspects of the problem which the draft resolution seeks to resolve.

Mr. Shaw (Australia), Vice-President, took the Chair.

44. The draft resolution that is now before the Assembly represents the culmination of a conscientious effort to distil the essence of all constructive ideas and proposals that were made during the general debate which came to an end last week. The sponsors have been guided in drafting this resolution by their conviction that the problem of South West Africa is

an integral one and must accordingly be treated as such. In other words, in our view, the ancillary questions such as the illegal trial of Namibian freedom-fighters, the efforts of the South African Government to disrupt the territorial integrity of the Territory and the manifold requirements of the Namibian freedom-fighters in exile are undoubtedly important in themselves, but they are in fact the direct result of the one central aspect of the entire question, that is, the continued occupation by South Africa of a Territory which was placed under the direct responsibility of the United Nations nearly two years ago. In our view, these diverse aspects of the South West African problem cannot be isolated and they must all form the subject of a single resolution which deals with the substance of the problem, that is, South Africa's illegal presence in the Territory. As I said in categorical terms in my statement before the Assembly [1653rd meeting], it is the immediate removal of this illegal presence from the Territory which must concern all those States that are co-operating in this Assembly in a joint effort to bring long-awaited freedom and justice to the oppressed people of Namibia. The co-sponsors have proceeded from the factual premise that the sanctions, that it has been sought to apply against South Africa by decisions of the General Assembly, have failed to produce the desired results.

45. In our view, the time has come for the Security Council to take more decisive and effective measures under the relevant provisions of the United Nations Charter. We believe that such a course of action cannot but commend itself to those delegations which are seriously concerned with the freedom of the heroic people of Namibia. My delegation has been gratified to note that those delegations, whose co-operation is essential if the Security Council is to deal effectively with the problem with which we are faced, have not foreclosed the possibility of appropriate action by the Security Council. It is our earnest hope that as soon as the draft resolution under our consideration is adopted, the Security Council will take early steps to implement the recommendation contained in operative paragraph 13 of that draft resolution. In the Security Council my delegation will extend its full support to appropriate and urgent action on this question by that body.

46. I shall not dwell on other parts of the draft resolution at any length as previous speakers have introduced them most effectively. I should merely like to reiterate the view they have expressed that the Afro-Asian delegations in general, and the co-sponsors in particular, are convinced that any resolution on this important question must enjoy the widest possible support if it is to have meaningful results. We are accordingly ready and willing to undertake negotiations with all other groups and with individual delegations, with a view to making every possible effort to accommodate the points of view of other groups and delegations in order to secure the widest possible support for the draft resolution.

47. Mr. KABANDA (Rwanda) (translated from French): The Rwanda delegation abstained from taking part in the general debate on the question of South West Africa not because it was not interested in the problem, far from it, but because it was awaiting this

precise moment to associate itself with those Afro-Asian delegations that have just launched an appeal to the organs of the United Nations to take appropriate steps to put an end to the situation that has been created in the southern part of the African continent.

48. The General Assembly has adopted some resolutions of undeniable historical importance. The failure of those resolutions is doubtless due to the ill-will and obduracy of the colonialist and racist régime of Pretoria, but it is also due to the fact that we in this assembly have been unable to reach a consensus of views on that question, which puts at stake the prestige and future of the United Nations.

49. Ever since the adoption of resolution 2145 (XXI), which unequivocally established the direct responsibility of the United Nations, some Member States have clearly shirked their international obligations by interpreting the question in the light of their national interests, some of them sheltering behind the screen of stifling legalism, others showing an extreme caution, as though it were possible to reach an accommodation with the South African régime.

50. Another fact has helped to bring about the failure of General Assembly resolutions: some Members are not yet convinced that the racism and colonialism that are rampant in South Africa and that are being exported to South West Africa constitute threats to international peace and security. Yet those countries will recall that racist and colonialist aims have twice during this century led the world into unspeakable wars.

51. To be sure, the Charter that was signed at San Francisco did not foresee that the strongest methods would have to be used to combat racism and colonialism. The authors of the Charter did not trouble to provide for measures aimed at applying the principle that "desperate diseases call for strong remedies". However, the Charter itself indirectly recognizes that racism and colonialism are factors that do serious harm to freedom and to international peace and security, since it acknowledges the right to freedom, peace and dignity and provides for measures to protect those values.

52. As you know, the greatest difficulties being experienced by the United Nations today stem perhaps from a deeper source: from the fact that the General Assembly which—all things being equal—is the most important organ of the United Nations, has no means other than its moral authority whereby to command respect for its decisions and to ensure their implementation. In addition, Member States which have the obligation to use all the means which the Charter places at their disposal in order to ensure respect for order and for peace in the world are seeking excuses to let the problem drag on.

53. A further source of weakness which we deeply regret is the "double standard" policy which is becoming increasingly prevalent in this house. A situation that is of interest to some Members receives considerable attention, whereas another situation of equal importance that is of particular interest to another group of Members is considered negligible.

54. I wished to recall these facts because they constitute dangers to co-operation for the purpose of achieving the aims of the United Nations.

55. Once it has been adopted, the draft resolution [A/L.546] that has just been submitted by several Afro-Asian delegations, including my own, will be a forward step. That text condemns no one apart from the one that has already been condemned by international public opinion: the Pretoria régime. It asks all Members of the United Nations to join their efforts in order to obtain the liberation of South West Africa, for we are not going to sit back idly when faced with the agonizing situation of that people which has sinned against no one.

56. The draft resolution calls upon all United Nations bodies to take concerted action aimed at ensuring a minimum of well-being for that country which colonialism and oppression have left in a state of solitude and oblivion. It calls upon the Security Council to fulfil its responsibilities in the face of a situation that runs the risk of becoming, in the end, an explosive one. We believe that that draft resolution takes into account the opinions that have been expressed by those who wish to find a solution to that problem.

57. I do not wish to conclude my statement without drawing the Assembly's attention to a quite recent event, which we deeply regret. If I am to believe this morning's Press, the Government of South Africa has announced, only a few hours ago, measures designed to "establish a local administration in the territory of South West Africa". It is enlightening that the South

African Government should have announced those measures at the very time when the draft resolution was being submitted to the General Assembly. South Africa's intentions are too well known to need recalling. We know that that plan made public yesterday is designed to divide in order to rule. What purpose is served by taking steps condemned by the people for whom they are intended, unless it be to strengthen the régime of dictatorship and oppression? What purpose is served by announcing measures condemned by international public opinion, unless it be publicly to show contempt for the free world?

58. Are we going to stand idly by in the face of such a situation? The time has come for the General Assembly and the Security Council energetically to fulfil their responsibilities, for not only is United Nations prestige at stake, but international peace and security are also being threatened.

59. I take this opportunity, on behalf of my delegation and of all peace-loving and justice-loving delegations, to make an appeal to all the organs of the United Nations, to all Member States, to take appropriate steps to prevent the dismemberment of South West Africa and the dispersal of its peoples. We venture to hope that that Territory, which has on several occasions been recognized as being one and indivisible by the General Assembly, will preserve its territorial integrity thanks to urgent and decisive action on the part of all the Members of the Organization.

The meeting rose at 12.10 p.m.