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President: Mr. Corneliu MANESCU (Romania).

AGENDA ITEM 64

Question of South West Africa (continued)

1. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): Before calling on the first speaker on my list for this morning, I should like to explain to the General Assembly that the meeting scheduled for 3 o'clock yesterday afternoon had to be cancelled following consultations with the representatives of the African States and the Afro-Asian Group, because the representatives due to speak at that meeting preferred to make their statements today.

2. Mr. OULD DADDAH (Mauritania) (translated from French): Mr. President, the delegation of the Islamic Republic of Mauritania, like all other delegations, is most appreciative of the firmness, intelligence and tact with which you have presided over the difficult work of the twenty-second session from its very beginning. We are sure that, under your wise guidance and thanks to your outstanding qualities of statemanship, work during this second part of the twenty-second session will go forward in the same atmosphere of courtesy and efficiency that characterized our previous meetings.

3. I should also like, on behalf of the delegation of the Islamic Republic of Mauritania, to offer thanks to the members of the United Nations Council for South West Africa. The people and Government of the Islamic Republic of Mauritania wish once again to express their admiration and their unreserved support for the Council in carrying out its noble and difficult mission.

4. On 27 April 1967, during the debate in the General Assembly on the question of South West Africa, my delegation drew attention to the serious consequences which would result from failure to apply the resolution terminating South Africa's Mandate over the international territory of South West Africa:

"...Resolution 2145 (XXI) must not suffer the same fate at the hands of the Pretoria régime as did all the previous recommendations and resolutions of the United Nations... . It goes without saying that failure to apply, or to apply correctly, resolution 2145 (XXI) would be a serious blow to the prestige, the authority and the very meaning of the United Nations." (1507th meeting, paras. 32 and 33.)

5. Since the adoption of that resolution, every day that has passed has shown that our fears were well founded. What has in fact happened in South West Africa? Our Organization had only to invite the South African Government to refrain from any action tending to alter the international status of South West Africa for the Pretoria authorities to embark on a whole series of measures implementing the recommendations of the so-called Odendaal Commission^{1/} by proceeding to set up "homelands" based on racial groups. In addition, on 30 April 1967, Mr. Vorster clearly stated that South West Africa would be governed as an integral part of South Africa. That was quite a definite answer to the provisions of paragraph 2 of resolution 2145 (XXI) in which the General Assembly reaffirmed "that South West Africa is a territory having international status and that it shall maintain this status until it achieves independence".

6. It was then not surprising that the Pretoria racists should have dared to deport and bring to trial thirty-seven South West African nationals whose only crime lay in expressing their desire to help to liberate their country and thus acting in conformity with resolution 2248 (ES-V) in which the General Assembly had decided that everything should be done to enable South West Africa to accede to independence by June 1968 at the latest.

7. The situation became unmistakably clear when, following the Security Council's adoption of resolution 246 (1968) on 14 March 1968, the chief diplomatic spokesman of the racist authorities at Pretoria replied that his Government refused to accept General Assembly resolution 2145 (XXI) as having any legal force. He added—perhaps in order to settle the matter once and for all—that "his Government's views applied with equal force to all resolutions, including resolutions of the Security Council". [A/AC.109/L.460, para. 27.]

8. Such arrogance on the part of the Pretoria authorities has just been demonstrated once again. The authorities of the apartheid system have categorically refused to allow the United Nations Council for South West Africa, which was appointed and given responsibilities by our Organization, to enter the international territory of South West Africa. Indeed, the practitioners of apartheid make no secret of their firm intention to extend to the people of South West Africa the brutal policy of racial segregation that they have forcibly imposed on the indigenous inhabitants of the Republic of South Africa.

^{1/} Republic of South Africa, Report of The Commission of Inquiry into South West Africa Affairs, 1962-1963, Pretoria, Government Printer, 1964.

9. My delegation remains convinced that our Organization must take steps to ensure that the right of the people of South West Africa to independence is respected and given effect to. Where South West Africa is concerned, the United Nations cannot at present allow itself the slightest withdrawal or weakness without doing great damage to its authority, its significance and its prestige.

10. Already, in other parts of the world, particularly in the Middle East, we see the resolutions of the United Nations being treated with the same insolent contempt which the Pretoria authorities had the dubious privilege of being the first to display.

11. How can the United Nations, while earnestly attempting to establish a human society free from the threat of war and respectful of the sacred rights of man, expect to inspire in the peoples of the world the trust it needs to carry out that noble enterprise, when the great Powers, influential Members of our Organization, still hesitate to give their unreserved support to the concerted action which must be taken if we are to put an end to the intolerable, inhuman and unlawful situation which obtains in South West Africa, in Rhodesia and in the occupied Arab territories?

12. The people and Government of the Islamic Republic of Mauritania, who have no taste for violence and are deeply attached to the ideals of the Charter, consider it unrealistic to pretend to believe that the peoples and nations of the world can trust and support any decision of the United Nations so long as its Members, and especially the members of the Security Council, hesitate to commit fully their power and their influence to change the intolerable situations in respect of which the United Nations has thus far given the world a disappointing impression of impotence and inertia. Only if all Member States take practical and determined action to restore justice and the rule of law can the great hopes and confidence which the peoples of the world placed in the United Nations during the first years of its existence be revived.

13. My delegation is convinced that the solution of such serious problems as disarmament and the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons depends on those hopes and that confidence. How can Africa, Asia and Latin America have any real interest in what we are doing here while South Africa, in contempt of international law and in flagrant violation of our Charter, is setting such a sinister example in the international territory of South West Africa—an example being followed by other States in other parts of the world—without such illegal actions, which are fraught with danger for the world's security, leading to anything more in the United Nations than the adoption, often with great difficulty, of a text which from the outset is undermined by abstentions and reservations?

14. From this very rostrum my delegation stated a year ago: "Every one of the Members of our Organization is in duty bound to assist the United Nations to discharge with dignity and justice its heavy responsibilities towards the peoples of South West Africa..." [1507th meeting, par. 33], exposed as they are to the whims of the practitioners of apartheid.

15. Now more than ever, my delegation believes that there is an urgent need for the United Nations to find some means of keeping its just promises: its promise to the indigenous people of South West Africa to free them from the domination and tyranny of apartheid; and its promise to the world to do everything possible to restore justice and respect for the fundamental rights of men and nations.

16. The challenge flung at our Organization by the Pretoria authorities has remained unanswered for too long. That challenge, which has been repeated by a number of other States, represents a great threat to the security of peoples and to the harmony of international relations. The time has come for our Organization to react. It will be remembered that the Security Council, in its resolution 246 (1968) of 14 March 1968, decided that if the South African Government did not comply with the provisions of that resolution it would decide on "effective steps or measures in conformity with the relevant provisions of the Charter of the United Nations".

17. My delegation feels that the time has come to take such steps. What we have seen of the sinister behaviour of the Pretoria authorities in South West Africa makes it sufficiently clear that the practitioners of apartheid will yield only to force. The United Nations must therefore take enforcement measures against South Africa in accordance with Chapter VII of the Charter. That is the only way it can discharge its direct responsibility towards South West Africa.

18. My delegation reserves the right to speak again if that should prove necessary after it has studied the report of the United Nations Council for South West Africa.^{2/}

19. Mr. DANIELI (United Republic of Tanzania): Mr. President, permit me to reaffirm the confidence which my delegation felt encouraged to repose in you upon your assumption of the high office of the Presidency of this august Assembly. You presided over the first part of this session of the Assembly with such mastery and dispatch that we feel assured of the ultimate success of this resumed session under your expert guidance.

20. The question currently before the Assembly is the vexed question of South West-Africa, a Territory under the direct administration of the United Nations. The General Assembly, in its wisdom, divested the Republic of South Africa of the responsibilities entrusted to it to administer the Territory of South West Africa. The Assembly assumed direct responsibility for the administration of the Territory, and accordingly set up the United Nations Council for South West Africa to make recommendations concerning the mechanics of that administration.

21. The Council has met with but limited success in its efforts, because of a number of factors. Indeed, there are some who would say that the exercises of the Council have been largely academic. Yet it is fair to say that the Council has tried, in a practical way, to assert the authority of the United Nations over the Territory and to review, in situ, the best

^{2/} Subsequently circulated as document A/7088 and Corr.1.

modalities for the proper administration of the Territory by the United Nations leading to independence. The Council was prevented from demonstrating the authority of the United Nations over the Territory by the deliberate refusal of the Pretoria régime to facilitate safe and tranquil passage of the members of the Council to that Territory.

22. That action by the fascist Pretoria régime was yet another open demonstration that it has no intention of abiding by the United Nations resolution [2145 (XXI)] revoking its Mandate over South West Africa. The Pretoria régime has not only continued its criminal hold over the Territory but has systematically increased its suppression of the African people by brutal force. It has transplanted the evil doctrine of apartheid in South West Africa. Steps have been taken to partition the Territory into several tribal concentration camps. The purposes of this obnoxious plan are very clear. Once the large mineral-rich and arable areas have been given to the white minority, the African population will have no alternative except to seek employment in the white-owned mines and plantations. This will not only provide ready-made slave labour camps for the white racists but will also effectively suppress any African political activities.

23. Recording his observations after a recent visit to South West Africa, Dr. Allard Lowenstein wrote the following in his book, Brutal Mandate:

"With fantastic thoroughness, the government goes about the task of codifying racial stratifications that will make permanent the economic and other disparities. Here in the name of 'separate development' the government determines everything about everyone by his race and determines as well what that race is; the undertaking is of an enormity that dwarfs even the Nuremberg decrees. Once a man has been investigated and categorized as 'white', 'black', or 'other', the Government tells him where he may live, what kinds of jobs he may hold, what schools he may attend and what he will be taught there, if and where he may travel, whom he may marry or sleep with, and what, if any, political rights he is to have."^{3/}

Such is the situation currently obtaining in South West Africa, and it has been so for countless years.

24. As is the case with classical colonialism, the essential reason for pursuing an aggressive imperialist policy is the insatiable greed for seizing, for exclusive use, the natural wealth to be found in that Territory. As is well known, South West Africa has a vast reservoir of natural resources, particularly in its subsoil. That vast natural reservoir, which should provide greater material blessings for its legitimate owners, has now become the chief cause of their daily misery and inhuman degradation. With fantastic thoroughness the apartheid régime of South Africa has for decades been alienating and dispossessing the African people of their land. And in continuation of this gross exploitation, where it has not itself taken direct hold of the resources, the South African régime has granted vast land leases for

exploitation to a hard core of monopolies located mainly in the major capitals of Western Europe. In its efforts to find concrete solutions to this critical problem, the Assembly might consider what appropriate action of a specific nature it should take with respect to those Member States which pursue such action, directly against the efforts of the United Nations in this matter.

25. During a series of debates within and outside the Assembly, we have heard loud and passionate condemnation of South Africa. We all—at least those of us who sincerely uphold the principles of equality, freedom and the brotherhood of man—condemn, without reservation, the abhorrent and inhuman policies of apartheid. But empty condemnation fails to suffice when we find that nationals of influential States continue to collaborate actively with the outlaw authorities in South Africa and give material support and incentives to the perpetrators of apartheid.

26. We salute the gallant African people of South West Africa. We support them in their struggle. We urge them to rise up and face the challenge in the name of freedom and expel the hated invaders from their country. The Assembly, which has set itself up as the trustee of the Territory, must assert its authority. It must support the heroic liberators who are fighting daily to regain their freedom. The people of South West Africa have themselves now set the tone of that struggle. Let me quote briefly from the statement made during the recent sham trial by one of the nationalists abducted by the Pretoria régime:

"Is it surprising that in such times my countrymen have taken up arms? Violence is truly fearsome, but who would not defend his property and himself against a robber? And we believe that South Africa has robbed us of our country."

27. I have referred to those Powers which are loudest in their empty condemnations of apartheid, those Powers which make the most moving hypocritical statements denouncing the South African Government in this Assembly and the Security Council. Yet it is those same Powers which continue to sell arms to South Africa and trade with it in general commerce.

28. The Assembly and the Security Council have called for an embargo on the sale of arms and military material to South Africa. The Assembly has equally called for the breaking off of diplomatic relations with South Africa and a total ban on trade with it, as well as a refusal of landing and passage facilities to all aircraft belonging to the Government of South Africa and companies registered under its laws [resolution 1761 (XVII)]. Afro-Asian States—with the significant exception of Japan—have complied with these resolutions. And here, in our considered view, Japan must undertake to be loyal to the traditions of the Afro-Asian Group of States or must cease to share in our deliberations. Japan must decide which road it wants to follow. Eastern European States and some Latin American countries have complied with these resolutions, but the NATO Powers have refused to comply with them. The senior States in NATO have placed trade and commercial considerations above humanitarian and treaty obligations. They have de-

^{3/} Allard K. Lowenstein, Brutal Mandate - A Journey to South West Africa, (New York, The Macmillan Company, 1962), p. 17.

cided to sell their souls for thirty pieces of silver. That is the problem; that is the crisis which this Organization and the world at large are facing—a situation in which human values and the lives of men are counted for nought in the scales of expediency, bigotry and selfish considerations. How many Albert Luthulis must die before we take significant and positive action? How many freedom fighters and liberators must be hanged by the hangman and traitor Ian Smith before we take action? How many more South West Africans must be kidnapped and put into South African prisons, which are the most inhuman and severe in the world? How much longer must we fiddle while Africa burns? Time is running out in Africa; time is running out for this Organization. For just as the League of Nations foundered on the critical rock of Ethiopia, so will the United Nations founder on the bloody shores of southern Africa. We must stop South Africa now, before it is too late.

29. It has been urged upon us that the first priority, the first necessity in the world today is the signing of a treaty on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons. Why? Because certain politicians on the eve of their departure from office desire this treaty for their own vainglory; because certain Powers, acting in concert against the interests of certain other States—and, more precisely, in their own interests—feel that this is the most urgent question. Because certain Powers say that non-proliferation is urgent, does that, ipso facto, make it urgent?

30. Where are these same Powers—who urge this burning necessity upon us—when we ask them to support us, this Organization and the international community, in bringing an end to the brutal, murderous and inhuman practice of apartheid? Where were those Powers, acting in concert, when we invited the Assembly [resolution 2248 (S-V)] to set up a United Nations Council for South West Africa to administer the Territory for the United Nations and bring it eventually to independence? They abstained, the United Kingdom, the United States, the Soviet Union and France. Where will those Powers be when we invite the Security Council to take decisions which will enable the Council for South West Africa and the United Nations Administrator to enter South West Africa without let or hindrance from South Africa? We shall see that they will vote against—they will use their veto—or at best they will abstain. Those Powers are notorious for their attitude in abstaining and refraining from decency and from doing what is right in a correct way to help the Africans or peoples of African descent. They demand that we should first become martyrs. We must lay down our lives before the milk of human kindness can flow. They demand of us Martin Luther Kings, Lumumbas and Luthulis. We pay a very high price for freedom. The history of our liberation is written in rivers of blood. How long must we cry out from the womb of Mother Africa, "Stop! In the name of humanity, stop; no more."

31. There is no longer any urgency surrounding the non-proliferation treaty. Time and reflection are on the side of non-proliferation of nuclear arms. But there is a burning, immediate and compelling urgency about the problems of southern Africa. This is a

powder keg, a sweltering volcano. Time has run out for that area. In southern Africa we are living on borrowed time. When this volcano erupts, when the fuse has burnt its course, we shall all—the whole world—be caught up in the lava of hate, bloodshed and the nastiest racial war in human experience. My brother, the Ambassador of Ghana, is quite correct; we the Africans have an appointment with destiny—our destiny—and we intend to keep that appointment. For we too have gone up to the mountain top, and we have seen the glory of the coming of the total liberation of Africa. The leviathan of Pretoria or the traitorous monster of Salisbury cannot be strong or formidable enough to stand in the way of the freedom of our people forever. Algeria has shown the way. The people of Viet-Nam have shown the way. The so-called Mau Mau people of Kenya have shown the way. We shall fight Pretoria and Salisbury in this forum; we shall fight them everywhere until we have spent our last energies, until we have all fallen on the field of battle and on the field of honour. We shall fight until Africa has sacrificed its life for freedom or until total freedom is won at last on our continent. And when the fight is done, we shall be able to say that we have fought the good fight, that we have finished our course and that we have done our inescapable duty for Mother Africa. We shall have kept our commitment to the conditions of our birth. Africa is entitled to demand of its sons, wherever they may be, that they stand up at all times in defence of its causes and its tragedies. We stand always ready to do so, for all Africans are men of sorrows and acquainted with grief.

32. My Government is sometimes assailed by some of our colleagues for our persistence in advocating the overthrow of fascism, the indignity and the brutality in South Africa and Rhodesia. We have been castigated for the eagerness and zeal with which we pursue the dethronement of imperialism and the establishment of justice and human dignity in southern Africa and the world at large. But we offer no apologies for the consistency with which we advocate eliminating apartheid in South Africa and liberating the people of South West Africa. We have never advanced the proposition of the use of force as the first line of attack upon these problems. We do not flinch from force when all the avenues of pacific settlement have been exhausted. We submit that we have now reached that stage in southern Africa. Like Cato the Elder, who refused to yield the floor in the Roman Senate until he had made the case again and again for the destruction of Carthage, my Government will refuse to yield the floor of this august Assembly until we have made the case again and again for the destruction of imperialism, apartheid and the exploitation of the African people in southern Africa. Just as Cicero postulated in the Roman market-place that the best line of defence was attack, my Government will postulate from the lecterns of the United Nations that the best means of defending South West Africa and peace in southern Africa is to attack South Africa and its odious policies of apartheid and usurpation of African homelands. There can be no compromise with freedom and justice. The virtues of human freedom and justice can never be tarnished by expediency and transparent hypocrisy.

33. We concur in the view of our other colleagues, and support the proposition, that the Assembly should take a direct position in the administration of South West Africa—a Territory under its direct administration—and in supporting and training the nationals within and outside that Territory with a view to advancing their welfare and competence in the management and government of their own country. The Assembly must place such dispositions upon the regular budget of the General Assembly, for this is a natural and logical consequence of our decision of October 1966 [resolution 2145 (XXI)] to bring the Territory under the direct administration of the Assembly.

34. Finally, I should like to stress the point I made earlier that the authority of the Assembly must not remain an empty legal fiction. The United Nations cannot administer South West Africa from New York. It must administer South West Africa from South West Africa. At an appropriate time during this debate my delegation, together with others, intends to propose positive steps which this Assembly must take in this matter.

35. Mr. BARNES (Liberia): Mr. President, your election to the high and important office of President of the twenty-second session of the General Assembly was indeed a testament to the faith and confidence in your ability to preside over, and give effective guidance to, the work of the Assembly. Your statesmanship, straightforwardness, impartiality and other good qualities have proved the wisdom of that choice.

36. In the first instance, the delegation of Liberia would wish to express its warmest appreciation to the United Nations Council for South West Africa for its labours and efforts to fulfil the Mandate conferred upon it by the General Assembly.

37. The question is often asked, perhaps without any ulterior motive, whether the white man has a future in Africa. But judging by conditions which are moulding and shaping the course of events in South West Africa, in South Africa, in Southern Rhodesia, Mozambique, Angola and other areas in Africa where about 24 million Africans are under the grinding heel of about 4 million whites, it would seem that the proper question to be asked is whether the African has a future in these his natural homelands or whether, for the rest of his natural life, he must continue to pass through rivers of sorrow and drink from the cup of affliction and degradation.

38. One would like to think that the ideals of human equality, of human worth and of human dignity are the basis of our civilization, and that hope, compassion and love move the hearts and minds of men everywhere. Surely, then, a deep sadness must strike at the very root of the hearts of decent men and women everywhere to be silent witnesses to this tragic spectacle unfolding in southern Africa—a spectacle of the worst example of man's inhumanity to man, a spectacle of oppression of one's fellow man because of the mistaken notion, sanctified by law and formalized by official acts, that this course is necessary to ensure the prosperity and survival of his tormentor. The situation prevailing in southern Africa is, like Naaman's leprosy, a curse, the curse of the world.

39. Previous speakers in this debate on the question of South West Africa have underlined the fact that this question is as old as the United Nations itself. But I believe it is quite true to say that, as far back as 1920, issue was joined between the international community, on the one hand, and South Africa, on the other, over the international status of South West Africa when General Smuts, then Prime Minister of the Union of South Africa, stated that the Mandate for South West Africa gave to South Africa "such complete power of sovereignty not only administrative but legislative that we need not ask for anything else". After numerous years of efforts at diplomatic negotiations and judicial settlement of this question, the General Assembly decided [resolution 2145 (XXI)] to terminate South Africa's right to administer the Territory and to assume direct administration leading to the eventual freedom and independence of the inhabitants of South West Africa.

40. As evidenced from the preliminary report of the President of the Council for South West Africa submitted to the General Assembly on 26 April 1968 [1644th meeting], the United Nations is again faced with yet another example of South Africa's truculence and defiance in rejecting the authority of this international Organization over the Territory of South West Africa. South Africa, without a scintilla of authority, continues to maintain its stranglehold over this Territory, while at the same time applying its despicable policy of apartheid to the inhabitants of South West Africa.

41. South Africa's rights in the Territory were mere tools given it to fulfil its obligation under the Mandate, and its breach and disavowal of its undertaking and obligations as a Mandatory necessarily led to taking back these tools from it. South Africa's continued presence in South West Africa therefore places it in the category of a usurper, a trespasser and, moreover, an aggressor. The rights of the inhabitants of South West Africa remain a charge upon and a responsibility of the United Nations. Such a charge and responsibility, by the clear terms of General Assembly resolution 2145 (XXI) as authoritatively interpreted, is placed upon the United Nations until the Territory achieves independence.

42. General Assembly resolution 2145 (XXI) by which the Assembly terminated South Africa's right to administer South West Africa and assumed direct administration of the Territory was not the outcome of the caprice of well-meaning delegations. This resolution emerged as a historic necessity, from facts, struggles and aspirations which have been piling up for years and for which human beings have toiled and even sacrificed their lives. This resolution is irreversible, its terms are inescapable, and it, of course, does South Africa no good to continue to take upon itself the heavy burden of responsibility for adding another factor to upsetting the delicate balance of peace in an already troubled world.

43. Developments in South West Africa must be viewed in the light of all those events which have been taking place in southern Africa. The inhabitants of South West Africa have a right—an inherent right—to exercise and improve those faculties which impart his dignity to man. They have a right to evince that

they too have a common nature with all men and are capable of equal advancement in all that adorns and dignifies man.

44. A man's freedom, a man's independence, is not subject to the political caprice of other men. Whatever fortuitous deprivation of his liberty he must endure is, by the very origin of man, a temporary and limited ordeal. It is therefore neither wise nor just for South Africa to perpetuate its cruel efforts to impede the final reckoning of history's inalienable laws.

45. The delegation of Liberia fully shares the view that the continued occupation of South West Africa by

the South African Government is an act of international aggression and that the General Assembly should so express this opinion. The Security Council should then be called upon to assume its responsibilities and obligations under the Charter, determining that South Africa is an aggressor, and to take the necessary measures to remove this aggression, thus enabling the United Nations to exercise its authority for administration that will lead to the independence of South West Africa. Having made this brief, preliminary statement, my delegation reserves its right to intervene again in this debate at a later stage.

The meeting rose at 11.45 a.m.