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Chairman: Mr. Adnan M. PACHACHI (Iraq).

1. Mr. LANZA (Uruguay) thanked the Committee for the expression of its sympathy expressed at the preceding meeting on the death of the mother of Mr. Rodríguez Fabregat, which his delegation would convey to her son.

Requests for hearings (continued)

REQUESTS CONCERNING AGENDA ITEM 43 (QUESTION OF SOUTH WEST AFRICA) (A/C.4/443/ADD.2) (continued)

2. Mr. FOURIE (Union of South Africa) said that his delegation's objection to the grant of oral hearings had many times been stated. As already indicated, it would not be participating in the discussion of the item; but the Committee was now preparing to grant a further oral hearing on a matter which was pending before the International Court of Justice. If the Committee did so, it would clearly be violating the sub judice rule and his delegation wished to record its objection to such a procedure.

3. Mr. WEEKS (Liberia) observed that the question before the International Court of Justice was one between Ethiopia and Liberia on the one hand, and the Union of South Africa on the other.^{1/} The reference to the sub judice rule introduced the question of evidence. The purpose of the Committee was to receive information from the petitioners about events in the Territory; the Committee was concerned with the humanitarian aspects of the question, while the International Court of Justice was concerned with its legal aspects. He could not see, therefore, that there was any justification for the South African attitude.

4. Mr. CUEVAS CANCINO (Mexico) said that the point raised by the South African delegation was of the utmost importance and it had much exercised his delegation. Rule 117 of the rules of procedure had been invoked and the Committee had set a precedent, almost without discussion; the United Kingdom repre-

^{1/}I.C.J., *South West Africa Case, Application instituting proceedings* (1960, General list, No. 47).

sentative had subsequently pointed out certain very important consequences which might arise.

5. On behalf of the delegations of El Salvador and Venezuela as well as of his own, he wished to put four questions to the South African representative: First, whether, by invoking the fact that the matter was sub judice, the Union Government accepted the jurisdiction of the International Court of Justice; secondly, whether, by entering that plea, the Union Government also accepted the Advisory Opinion of the International Court of Justice of 11 July 1950;^{2/} thirdly, whether, by entering that plea, the Union Government undertook to comply with any judgement which might be delivered by the International Court of Justice in the proceedings instituted by the Governments of Ethiopia and Liberia; and fourthly, whether, by entering that plea, the Union Government agreed not to invoke the restriction established by Article 59 of the Statute of the Court and was ready to accept the Court's judgement as being binding on all Member States.

6. The CHAIRMAN said that, by its vote at the 1049th meeting, the Committee had already decided to proceed with the item. Unless it wished to reverse that decision, he could not allow any further discussion of the point; he would, however, permit the South African representative to answer the questions put to him by the representative of Mexico, if he so desired.

7. Mr. FOURIE (Union of South Africa) said that any answer which he might give would constitute a violation of the sub judice rule.

8. Mr. VITELLI (Italy) asked at what stage it would be proper for his delegation to present its views or reservations with regard to the Committee's decision on the matter at its 1049th meeting.

9. The CHAIRMAN said that it would be open to the representative of Italy to refer to the matter in the course of the general debate.

10. He assumed that the Committee having taken note of the objection of the Union of South Africa, agreed to grant the request for an oral hearing (A/C.4/443/Add.2).

It was so decided.

AGENDA ITEM 43

Question of South West Africa (continued):

- (a) Report of the Committee on South West Africa (A/4464);
- (b) Report on negotiations with the Government of the Union of South Africa in accordance with General Assembly resolution 1360 (XIV)

HEARING OF PETITIONERS (continued)

At the invitation of the Chairman, Mr. van Ismaël Fortune, Mr. Mburumba Kerina, the Reverend Markus

^{2/}International Status of South West Africa, Advisory Opinion: I.C.J. Reports 1950, p. 128, Transmitted to Members of the General Assembly by a note of the Secretary-General (A/1362).

Kooper, Mr. Jariretundu Kozonguizi, Mr. Jacob Kuan-gua, Mr. Sam Nujoma, the Reverend Michael Scott and Mr. Oliver Tambo took places at the Committee table.

11. The Reverend Michael SCOTT said that he had been asked by Chief Hosea Kutako to request a hearing in order to explain certain matters which had become very confused as a result of the violence which had taken place at Windhoek in December 1959 and of the report of the commission of inquiry conducted single-handed by Mr. Justice Hall (A/4464, Annex V). Chief Hosea Kutako did not regard it as a question of one race against another but as one of humanity and of the interpretation of international law of which the United Nations was the custodian. The blame for those disturbances had been attributed by Mr. Hall to some of the petitioners and to their advocacy of violence. Mr. Louw, the South African Minister for External Affairs, had gone even further and had attributed part of the blame to the United Nations itself and to the Committee for granting hearings and attaching credence to what petitioners had said. Mr. Louw had sought to represent the matter as a question of Communism versus Western civilization and, in his statement at the 1004th meeting, had even referred to his (Mr. Scott's) own past association with Communism in the period up to 1939 as though that were evidence that he still had Communist connexions. His sympathy with Communism had been due to a belief that it was a force against poverty, imperialism, racial hatred and Nazism. Yet Mr. Louw must know that, since enlisting in 1940 in the war against Nazism, he had had basic disagreements with the Communists and had continued to have them since his return to South Africa in 1943. He did not apologize for those past associations, though they were constantly brought up by the South African Minister for External Affairs in order to confuse the issues which confronted the Committee.

12. Hidden persuaders were at work denigrating members of his generation, who were as much aware of the wrongs of Communism in the contemporary world as they were of the wrongs of their own society. The former friends of Nazism in Germany who were to be found in the existing Government of South Africa had joined those persuaders, and it was they, the advocates of "apartheid", who now appeared in the guise of champions of Christian civilization against barbarism, "black racialism" and the supposed paganism of its African-Asian challengers. That polarization of the races was utterly false and dangerous.

13. Africa was witnessing a gathering of the forces of white racialism; the familiar pattern of white supremacy and "divide and rule" was beginning to emerge from the Cape to the Congo and from Angola to Mozambique. That was a most dangerous development for the whole future of "black" and "white" relations in Africa and for the future peace of the world, as had been made manifest in the Congo. It was disastrous to identify those relations with "East versus West" in Africa, or with Communism versus non-Communism. Members of the Committee could appreciate the hollowness of the claim of the South African Minister for External Affairs to be the defender of the free world in Africa, since they had closely studied the question of South West Africa and its tragic development over the previous fifteen years. The work of the Secretariat and the Committee on South West Africa had revealed in every brutal detail how the

sacred trust of civilization was being used in an attempt to cloak the oppression of the African population—the very people which it was desired to protect.

14. The writer of a letter to the editor of *The Times* of London on 13 September 1960, after pointing out that, at the time of the referendum among the Africans of South West Africa on the question of incorporation into the Union, the "overwhelming majority" claimed for incorporation in the Union had in reality been in favour of remaining within the Commonwealth or under some kind of protection by the United Kingdom, had gone on to say that the indictment of South Africa was on account of its neglect of its own obligations, both political and moral, and of its dispossession of the lands and rights of the African people. The writer had concluded by saying that the time had come for the Mandate to be revoked and for the United Nations to prepare to assume itself the responsibility of administering the sacred trust of civilization and of bringing justice to a people which had for so long been oppressed. In a leading article in its issue of 14 September, *The Times*, which was not normally given to the use of strong language, had stated that no amount of ingenious chicanery could obscure the simple basic facts about South West Africa: a Mandate had been stolen and the thieves were vainly protesting their innocence.

15. The fact could no longer be evaded that the history of the Mandate, first under the League of Nations and then under the United Nations, was a reproach to the whole world and a challenge to the whole concept of international law and the principle of trusteeship.

16. After fourteen years of debate and procrastination, it was hardly surprising if Africans were turning towards those who had always been held up to ridicule and hatred by their oppressors. It was natural that Mr. Kozonguizi should have gone to Peking in search of what he had sought in the West and through the United Nations; it was equally natural that Mr. Kerina should look to the United States and to the United Nations for his people's deliverance. It was natural, too, that he should urge his own people to resist—non-violently, as the Reverend Markus Kooper had done—their removal from their homes and livelihood by a Government in which they had no say and when they had no means of redressing the wrongs that were being done to them.

17. He had just received a communication dated 1 November 1960 from Chief Hosea Kutako bringing certain facts to his attention. On 1 October 1960, a young African woman had been murdered at the farm of a certain Mr. Dannie Holstuyzen near Buurman School: she had been walking with her two sisters when three Europeans had approached and one of them had shot her through the head. The matter had been reported to the Kamanjab police station and the body had been taken to Otjikondo police station for a post mortem, but, so far as Chief Hosea Kutako was aware, the event had never been brought before any court; the public knew nothing about that cold-blooded murder and no compensation had been given to the woman's father or to her baby. The same Europeans had threatened to shoot the father of the deceased some days before the murder. In the same letter, Chief Hosea Kutako had reported that on 23 October 1960 two Africans working on a farm called Erindiroura belonging to a European named Mr. Jappie Smit in the Otavi District had approached their employer with a request

for the payment of arrears of wages due to them. The employer had been very angry and, having locked them up, he had gone to the cottages where their womenfolk were watching. The farmer had fired at them and the women had fled into the bushes, leaving their children behind. The husbands had later discovered that two of the babies had died of thirst in the field where the mother had left them. The incident had been reported to the police at Grootfontein, but neither the public nor the Press had known anything about it, despite a boast by an officer of the Criminal Investigation Department that nothing could be done which the South African police would not report to the Press for publication.

18. Chief Hosea Kutako had described other incidents involving indigenous inhabitants which had not been reported in the Press. For example, on 21 October 1960 a European employer had fired at a number of African women at the FUCU firm in Windhoek simply because they had been making too much noise. On 28 October 1960 a Herero woman had been raped by a European near the Windhoek-Okahandja highway not far from the Teufelspach railway station.

19. Chief Hosea Kutako had expressed the fear that there might be something behind the talk among irresponsible European elements to the effect that the Africans would be exterminated before the United Nations took over the territory. He had therefore requested the United Nations to send a supervisory commission to South West Africa while its case was pending before the International Court of Justice and was being discussed by the United Nations.

20. In an earlier letter, dated 14 September 1960, Chief Hosea Kutako had reported that an African woman and her two children had been shot and killed by a European farmer between Abenab and Tsumeb in the north of South West Africa and that an African prisoner who had escaped from the Windhoek prison had been killed by the police who had pursued him. He wanted the United Nations to understand that South West Africa was administered by people who had grown up in an atmosphere of racial discrimination and colour prejudice, and that resolutions condemning the brutality of such people would have little or no effect. Chief Hosea Kutako had further declared that the Government of the Union of South Africa did everything in its power to ensure that no African and no dark-skinned person should have the vote or a share in the administration of the land, and that that policy was being intensified by the introduction of Bantu Education which was designed to make Africans accept their status of inferiority. He had stressed that the situation demanded effective measures which could only be realized by bringing the United Nations presence to South West Africa.

21. The petitioner appealed to the Committee to understand the state of mind of the indigenous inhabitants of South West Africa, who had been grievously hurt and were becoming angered and impatient. A young African who was deprived of the right to voice a protest at a public meeting should not be blamed for wishing to see for himself what life was really like behind what his gaolers described as the Iron Curtain. This resentment might well be aroused by the sufferings of his people and the delay and unwillingness of certain Powers to help them in their just struggle against the wrongs inflicted upon them.

22. The problem of South West Africa was in a sense a microcosm of the whole problem of Africa. From the struggle between rival ideologies, which embraced not only political but also philosophical, economic and ethical concepts, a new world was being born, a world from which must be removed, once and for all, the resort to force on a massive military scale. If it was true that the great Powers did not want to find themselves in situations which might lead to a conflagration on a world scale, it was in their interest to find rational and judicial means for settling conflicts. The African States and other neutral Powers would have earned the gratitude of mankind if they insisted that such conflicts and problems should be dealt with by judicial procedures, which would, however, have to be more effective than mere debates and pious resolutions. It was a matter for profound satisfaction that two African States had decided to place the problem of South West Africa before the International Court of Justice. Such a course of action had been advocated by Chief Hosea Kutako as far back as 1950, on the advice of Professor Lauterpacht. It was to be hoped that the countries of both East and West would pledge themselves to support the International Court, to accept its judgement and to ensure that it was carried out.

23. Meanwhile, there was much that the United Nations could do. It could endeavour to bring the enfranchised minority in the country to their senses by means of sanctions and an organized boycott which would confront the rulers of South Africa with the necessity of changing their policies towards the indigenous inhabitants as a condition of their own survival. That would be to anticipate by peaceful economic means what would otherwise become a race conflict. Preparations should be made for a situation in which the United Nations might have to assume the Mandate and establish some form of direct administration in South West Africa. If the United Nations was called upon in an emergency to enter the Territory in order to restore confidence and stability, trained administrative personnel would be needed in addition to a military force or an international police force. The General Assembly should appoint at the present session a board of experts to act in close consultation with the Committee on South West Africa, the petitioners from that Territory and representatives of the specialized agencies. The board should be entrusted with the task of drawing up detailed plans for the economic, social, educational and political reconstruction of South West Africa. Besides approving a resolution welcoming recourse to the International Court of Justice, the Fourth Committee should draw up a further resolution outlining the tasks to be entrusted to such a board and the reforms that were needed, the aims of which should be:

1. The active promotion of freedom, self-government and social security among all the people of South West Africa. The board could prepare legislation to provide for the equitable distribution of land, the stabilization of population in town and country in order to obviate the evils of migratory labour and to give security of land tenure and use to the indigenous inhabitants, and the removal of restrictions on freedom of movement and on the employment of Africans and other non-Europeans.

2. The provision of social, educational and recreational amenities for the whole population. The Technical Assistance Board should be empowered to

study local conditions and make recommendations to the Committee on South West Africa for a programme of community development. WHO should recommend measures for the immediate extension of health services to the most needy sections of the population. The help of FAO should also be enlisted. In the fight against malnutrition stocks of food could be built up, as also of equipment such as drilling and pumping machinery. Consideration should be given to the use of modern techniques, such as television, for extending education to people scattered over thousands of square miles.

3. Plans should be made for the permanent urban settlement of Africans in housing projects suitable to local climatic and other conditions. Legislation should be drawn up to facilitate the free access of Africans to commerce and other skilled and professional occupations.

4. All sections of the population should be trained in politics and administration.

24. It had been suggested to the United Kingdom Government that the Territories of Bechuanaland, Basutoland and Swaziland might be placed under the International Trusteeship system.

25. Mr. KIMBER (United Kingdom), intervening on a point of order, said that the petitioner was wandering rather far from the subject under consideration.

26. The CHAIRMAN requested the petitioner to confine his remarks to the question of South West Africa.

27. The Reverend Michael SCOTT, continuing his statement, appealed to the United Kingdom Government to abandon its policy of the past fifteen years towards South West Africa.

28. Mr. KIMBER (United Kingdom) requested the Chairman to instruct the petitioner not to discuss the policies of the United Kingdom.

29. Mr. ZULOAGA (Venezuela) said that, while he agreed with the first point of order raised by the United Kingdom representative, he could not agree with his second intervention. The position of the United Kingdom could not be dissociated from the origin of the Mandate and the petitioner was therefore entitled to mention the policies of the United Kingdom with regard to the Territory.

30. Mr. CUEVAS CANCINO (Mexico) agreed with the representative of Venezuela. The terms of the Mandate, with the mention of His Britannic Majesty, and the status of the Commonwealth at the time were problems closely connected with the status of South West Africa.

31. The CHAIRMAN ruled that the petitioner was entitled to discuss the question of South West Africa from many angles and to refer to its various aspects. He should not, however, comment on the policies of Member States not directly concerned with the administration of South West Africa and its international status.

32. The Reverend Michael SCOTT, continuing his statement, recalled that many former African petitioners and leaders who had been in gaol for subversive activities now held high office in their countries. Yet Chief Hosea Kutako, one of the greatest of Africans, was still refused the right to make an oral petition before the United Nations. It was regrettable that it had been an Attorney-General of the United

Kingdom who had argued the South African case against Chief Hosea Kutako's right of oral petition at The Hague at the time when that right had been upheld by many Governments, including that of the United States. He appealed to the Government of the Netherlands to invite the aging Chief to hear at least a part of the proceedings at The Hague.

33. He urged the Committee to provide some imaginative lead on South West Africa which would give new life and hope to all its people and might determine whether the future of that area was to be peaceful co-operation or a terrible racial war.

34. In conclusion, he reiterated his earlier request to be allowed to return to South West Africa to report to the Chiefs and the people who had asked him to appear before the United Nations. As a cleric, duly recognized by the Anglican Church, he felt that he was entitled to return under article 5 of the Mandate, even if it should prove necessary to invoke that article before the International Court.

35. Mr. EDMONDS (New Zealand) recalled that in previous years a number of delegations had been reluctant to begin questioning the petitioners before studying the written text of their statements. In order to avoid delay he suggested that the full text of the petitioners' statements should be distributed as working papers as soon as possible.

36. The CHAIRMAN stated that if the Committee so agreed, the statements of the petitioners would be circulated in accordance with the usual procedure.

It was so decided.

37. Mr. KERINA thanked the members of the Committee for allowing the petitioners to address it on behalf of their people.

38. The people of South West Africa were deeply indebted to the Governments and people of Liberia and Ethiopia for the action they had taken, which was in conformity with the provisions of the Mandate, of General Assembly resolution 1361 (XIV) and of the decision taken by the Second Conference of Independent African States at Addis Ababa in June 1960.

39. Despite their misfortunes, the leaders and the African people of South West Africa had not completely abandoned hope in the United Nations; had they done so, the petitioners would not have been addressing the Committee. The oral testimonies the petitioners would give and the written petitions that had been received were abundant evidence of a genuine desire to resolve the problem peacefully. The time was fast approaching when the Union Government would be forced to answer for its long record of atrocities and criminal acts against the people of South West Africa. The application of legal processes to the country and its people, who had been deprived of justice for so long, might be the beginning of the end of South Africa's rule over the Territory.

40. The entire international community had direct responsibility for South West Africa's welfare and its future. Certain countries, however, were peculiarly involved in the case. Thirty-five years before the Berlin Conference of 1885, fifty-eight chiefs and elders of South West Africa had petitioned the British Crown for protection, in exchange for which they had offered territory. The Crown had, however, failed to respond to the appeal. Subsequently South West Africa had been threatened by German military force and

had been forced to take up arms in self-defence. A comparable situation existed today. The continued existence of the inhabitants of the Territory as African peoples was threatened by the Union Government, their sovereignty had been stolen and the nations which had so high-handedly relieved them of their responsibility for themselves had repudiated their own share of responsibility. The struggle of the people of South West Africa had been to regain their sovereignty so that they could develop their institutions in peace and tranquillity and contribute to world progress. They did not wish to be governed either by the United Kingdom or by the Union of South Africa. They were not asking the United Kingdom Government for technical or any other assistance. They were looking forward to the establishment of a new relationship between themselves and the people of the United Kingdom and they asked the United Kingdom Government to join forces with all those who genuinely supported their struggle for freedom.

41. The people of South West Africa were being ruthlessly oppressed by the Union Government because they dared to demand their right to be free to determine their own destiny. That would never be possible as long as the Union Government had any say in their affairs, and the Union Government would never relinquish any of its authority without the direct intervention of the United Nations. The best possible demonstration of the manner in which the Union Government dealt with African opposition was the Windhoek massacre of December 1959. He would not recall all the details of that incident but would refer members to petitioners' statements before the Committee on South West Africa, the report of the so-called judicial inquiry and the statements which would shortly be made by Mr. Jacob Kuhangua and Mr. Sam Nujoma. An account of the incident would also, no doubt, be given by Mr. B. Blignaut, a ringleader in the massacre, who was a member of the South African delegation.

42. At the 1004th meeting of the Committee, Mr. Louw, the South African Minister for External Affairs, had asserted that one professional agitator—Mr. Kerina himself, who had then been thousands of miles away from South West Africa—had succeeded in instigating and conducting a revolt by the African population of Windhoek. The Minister's statement had been one more example of the inability of the Union Government to realize that Africans had minds of their own and were capable of making and carrying out collective decisions. The people of South West Africa were resolved to be free and to decide their own destiny for themselves; they meant to replace the habits, the concepts and the ways of action of their oppressors with African formulae, thought out by the African people and adapted to their conditions, means and aspirations.

43. The South African Government had committed repeated crimes against the people of South West Africa and against humanity. Those atrocities would continue until the United Nations intervened to protect the lives of the people.

44. The developments in Central Africa should be taken as a serious warning by the Union Government. The germs of violence, racial hatred and disintegration that prevailed in Central Africa were endemic in South West Africa. Petitioners had repeatedly stated that the demand that South West Africa should be

placed under United Nations trusteeship as a first step towards independence would in no way prejudice the presence of the European settlers provided they would understand that the people of the Territory wished for genuine democratic government by a majority and could recognize the fact that the avoidance of racial hatred and violence would largely depend upon the capacity of the various peoples of the Territory to co-operate with each other in a spirit of complete equality and mutual respect.

45. He went on to quote from a statement made by Mr. Goldblatt, a European lawyer in Windhoek, which had appeared in the Afrikaans newspaper Die Suid-west Afrikaaner on 5 August 1960. Mr. Goldblatt had strongly emphasized that not only the African-Asian bloc in the United Nations but also the majority of white Europeans were opposed to South Africa. He had said that in the event of the Union's becoming a republic South West Africa would not be a part of that republic. He had declared that, not being a member of any political party, he would refrain from political statements and would try to paint the picture as it really was, because he knew by experience that most people were ill-informed about the case. For example Mr. Louw, the Minister for External Affairs, when returning from the fourteenth session of the General Assembly, had told newspapermen in Cape Town that with a few exceptions the Members of the United Nations were more friendly than hitherto to South Africa and that his speech about Bantustans had been well received by the United Nations. In May 1960, however, only a few months later, the Security Council had decided to ask South Africa to ban "apartheid" and not a single member of the Security Council had been prepared to defend South Africa.

46. Mr. Goldblatt had emphasized that there was a European and a non-European population which together formed the inhabitants of South West Africa and that that fact must always be taken into account in planning for the future. He pointed out that South West Africa had never been part of the Union as a result of conquest. In 1946 General Smuts had attempted to annex the Territory, but the General Assembly in its resolution 65 (I) had refused to countenance annexation and had requested the Union Government to submit proposals for a Trusteeship Agreement. No delegation had voted against that decision and the resolution had been supported by the Western countries. It was therefore quite untrue to state that only the African-Asian bloc opposed South Africa. Countries that had abstained in the vote had been mainly countries administering Trust Territories and the members of the Commonwealth had shown a tendency to stand together. General Smuts, though disappointed by the decision, had undertaken that voluntary reports about the administration of the Territory would be sent to the United Nations. Subsequently the question had arisen whether the Union Government was really compelled to place the Territory under trusteeship. The International Court of Justice, asked by the United Nations for an advisory opinion, had decided unanimously that South West Africa was a mandated territory under the Union of South Africa and, by a majority of twelve votes to two, that the Union was in duty bound to send reports to the United Nations. The Court had also ruled that the Union was not compelled to place the Territory under trusteeship and could not alter its status without the consent of the United Nations. The Union

Government had, however, rejected the opinion of the Court and had adopted the attitude that the Court was legally wrong.

47. Mr. Goldblatt had emphasized that it was useless to argue that the opinion of the Court was only an advisory opinion. The Union Government contended that the Mandate had been entrusted to South Africa by the League of Nations and that because the League of Nations had ceased to exist the Mandate had lapsed, but that argument had been rejected by the Court. Nevertheless it had frequently been reiterated. The Court's advisory opinion of 1950 had been accepted by the General Assembly by its resolution 449 (V) with a majority of forty-five votes to six, with five delegations abstaining.

48. In conclusion Mr. Goldblatt had suggested that by placing South West Africa under trusteeship the Union Government would diminish the hostility of world public opinion.

49. The people of the Territory, however, vehemently rejected Mr. Goldblatt's idea that South West Africa should be placed under United Nations trusteeship with the Union of South Africa as the Administering Authority. The Union Government had abused its international obligations under the Mandate and would be unlikely to respect a Trusteeship Agreement.

50. If the Union of South Africa changed its constitutional status it would obviously forfeit any existing

rights to administer South West Africa on behalf of the international community. Its obligations would therefore revert not to the Government of the United Kingdom but to the United Nations as heir to the League of Nations, in accordance with the advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice of 1950.

51. The situation in South West Africa had become very serious. It was imperative that the presence of the United Nations should be established in the Territory in order to protect the lives of the people who were being victimized by the Union Government following the legal action taken by the Governments of Liberia and Ethiopia on behalf of the African States. He therefore urged the United Nations to send a special team of observers to South West Africa consisting of representatives of ten countries such as Ethiopia, Ghana, Guinea, Iraq, Liberia, Nigeria, Norway, the United Arab Republic, Uruguay and Yugoslavia.

52. In conclusion he stressed that, no matter what the price might be, the people of South West Africa would achieve freedom. They would prove to the world, and to the Union of South Africa in particular, that they, like others, were endowed with a sense of responsibility and with political imagination and that they were determined to build a new country in their own image.

The meeting rose at 12.55 p.m.