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Chairman: Mr. Guillermo FLORES AVENDAÑO
(Guatemala).

AGENDA ITEM 57

Question of South West Africa (A/5238, chap. IX; A/C.4/572, A/C.4/574) (continued):

- (a) Report of the United Nations Special Committee for South West Africa (A/5212 and Add.1-3);
- (b) Special educational and training programmes for South West Africa: report of the Secretary-General (A/5234 and Add.1)

GENERAL DEBATE (continued)

1. Mr. NGANDO-BLACK (Cameroon) pointed out that a deadlock had been reached in the problem of the South African Government's refusal to consider either the claims of the African masses or the resolutions of the General Assembly. That Government's reservations regarding the applicability of the provisions of the United Nations Charter to the Mandate, its implicit proposal in 1946 to annex the Territory, and the steps it had taken with a view to the gradual incorporation of South West Africa in South Africa by allowing the European population of the Territory to be represented in the South African Parliament, by merging the Native administration with the corresponding service in South Africa, by placing the Native reserves under the authority of the South Africa Native Trust and by consolidating the magistrature and the police, all provided irrefutable proof that South Africa was aiming at the annexation of the Territory.

2. His delegation did not endorse the South African Government's interpretation of the purposes of the Mandate conferred on it by the League of Nations. It had been shown by members of the Committee that South West Africa could not be deprived of its inalienable right to self-determination and independence, and the Committee had espoused that conclusion. Moreover, the policy of apartheid which the South African Government applied in the Territory seriously reduced the chances of that aim being achieved: the concept of the separate development of ethnic communities was calculated to jeopardize any possibility of interracial co-operation and to provoke conflicts which it would

be difficult to restrict to that part of Africa alone. In one of its reports (A/4926) the former Committee on South West Africa had considered the political, economic and social consequences of the application of the policy of apartheid to South West Africa. The indigenous inhabitants had no political or civil rights. In the economic field, they had no share in the profits derived from commerce and industry or in the utilization or exploitation of the resources of the Territory, their sole rôle being to provide a source of labour for the Whites; they were not allowed to own land and only 26 per cent of the total area of the Territory had been set aside for them; nor were they allowed to enter the liberal professions, to carry on trade or industry or to establish trade unions. In the social field, the Africans were discriminated against. They were treated like foreigners in their own land and confined to reserves, which were usually situated in the poorest parts of the country; moreover, the reserves were often reduced in area or even transferred to another place in order to give the white settlers room for expansion. An atmosphere of interracial fear and hatred had thus been engendered in the Territory. Under the so-called Bantu education system, the indigenous inhabitants were given only a rudimentary education and training, so that they would remain in subjection to the white minority; they were denied access to higher education and were consequently debarred from the liberal professions and from acquaintance with progressive ideas which would arouse in them a desire for better living conditions.

3. Those conclusions had been confirmed by the Special Committee for South West Africa, which had pointed out in paragraphs 63 and 64 of its report (A/5212) that the situation in the Territory continued to be dominated by the policy of apartheid, which had been intensified and made more systematic. Outside the areas reserved for the indigenous groups, the country was regarded as belonging to the white population; the movements of the indigenous inhabitants were regulated by a pass system; and the Africans had no economic possibilities other than wage labour. In the political field, only Europeans could vote in the elections for the Territorial Legislative Assembly, which had a wide field of legislative autonomy, or for the six seats which were provided for the Territory in the South African House of Assembly. In the elections to the House of Assembly held in 1961, the Nationalist Party, which unconditionally supported apartheid, had won all the seats though the opposition United National South West Party, which favoured a gradual extension of political rights to the non-European population, had been supported by 40 per cent of the electorate.

4. Such a policy was inadmissible in the twentieth century, for it made a mockery of the dignity of man and hence of the fundamental principles underlying the United Nations. In the face of the sufferings of an entire people which was despairingly invoking its right to existence and to freedom, there seemed little point

in asking whether the South African Government was or was not legally entitled to go on exercising its Mandate in South West Africa. How could the international community, at a time when it had condemned colonialism and proclaimed the inalienable right of colonized people to self-determination and independence, postpone the solution of the problem of South West Africa's future by invoking legal arguments? Although they had the greatest respect for the decisions of the International Court of Justice, the Government and people of Cameroon remained unshakably attached to the principles of self-determination and freedom for all peoples. His delegation could not, therefore, agree that recourse to the International Court of Justice should have the effect of postponing the decisions that the United Nations must take on that question at the close of the current debate. It considered that, irrespective of what the Court's decision might be, the people of South West Africa had an inalienable and inalienable right to decide their own future and that nothing should prevent them from exercising that right.

5. It had been suggested in some quarters that the United Nations must remain satisfied with merely voicing pious hopes, without ever expecting tangible results. Such a negative view of the Organization, particularly in the matter of the implementation of its decisions in the field of decolonization, provided good reason to fear for the future of the United Nations. If the law of the strongest were to prevail, that would spell the end of civilization, for there would be no means of safeguarding the territorial integrity of small States, let alone of colonized countries.

6. The revelations of the Reverend Michael Scott had confirmed previous information regarding the baneful influence and diabolical machinations of the tycoons of international finance in South West Africa. He appealed to the countries concerned to put an end to the shameful task that was being accomplished in South West Africa; those countries should understand that the independent African States could not long remain inactive in the face of the outrageous policy of apartheid and of the interference by certain Western countries in the affairs of South West Africa. His delegation was aware that "divide and rule" was still the basic consideration shaping the policy of certain great Powers, which were doing their utmost to keep the under-developed countries in a state of poverty and thereby to render them more vulnerable to their sordid machinations. It would, however, be a serious mistake to think that Africa would allow such a situation to go on indefinitely; the day was not far off when Africa would rise up and overwhelm the secret forces on which the South African Government was relying. It was time that those who waxed wealthy while Africans died adopted an attitude that was more in keeping with present-day realities. Firmly attached as it was to the principles of the peaceful settlement of disputes, the self-determination of peoples and respect for the dignity of man, his delegation appealed once again to those Powers that were supporting the South African Government, in the hope that the question of South West Africa might be solved otherwise than through recourse to violence.

7. Cameroon was not only willing to lend its assistance in furthering the liberation of South West Africa but would also do everything possible to assist in the training of cadres in the Territory and would give favourable consideration to any requests that might be made to it in that connexion. It considered, however,

that the great Powers which derived benefit from the raw material resources of South West Africa were in duty bound to take the greatest part in the rapid training of the cadres which would be needed to ensure the proper administration of the Territory.

8. In order to achieve that aim, the dishonest and undemocratic activities of the South African Government must be brought to an end. His delegation would therefore support any draft resolution providing for the withdrawal of the Mandate under which that Government was administering South West Africa and for the attainment of independence by that Territory at the earliest possible date, and inviting the United Nations to assist South West Africa in training the indispensable senior staff and in exploiting the resources of the country. The South African Government should understand that it would not gain anything by trying to complicate the task of the United Nations. Should it be so ill-advised as to persist in that attitude, his delegation would not hesitate to join with other delegations in asking the General Assembly to apply Article 6 of the Charter.

9. Mr. WALL (United Kingdom) first paid a tribute to his predecessor, Sir Hugh Foot, who had spent his life working for the Commonwealth. He, too, had spent his political life studying that great association of free peoples, and in particular the countries of East, Central and Southern Africa. He mentioned that simply to demonstrate that he had done his best to understand the problems confronting the United Nations in Africa.

10. The problem of South West Africa was unique in that South West Africa was the only Mandated Territory of the former League of Nations which had neither achieved independence nor become a Trust Territory. It was also a juridical problem in that the question of its administration was now before the International Court of Justice; a human problem in that it was the scene of the denial to men by other men of the exercise of fundamental human rights; and a problem of development in that the Territory was poor both in the working of its resources and in the level of technical skill of its inhabitants. The real problem, however, was the oppression of one group of people by another. The charge against the Government of South Africa was clear enough in that it deliberately denied basic human rights to the people of the Territory. Unsubstantiated accusations of genocide and threats to world peace, and fables about industrial plots designed to keep the indigenous people in subjection, merely fogged the issues and by their extravagance undermined the clear case against the South African Government.

11. He felt that the petitioners had a good case but they had damaged it by exaggeration and innuendo. His delegation had always felt sympathy for the petitioners from South West Africa and it considered their pleading of their countrymen's cause to be an act of courage. At the same time, it felt that the petitioners did their case little good by dragging in charges against other Member States, including the United Kingdom, which had nothing to do with the question before the Committee. He urged them to concentrate on the facts and not to lessen their impact by allegations which were sometimes imprecise, sometimes completely untrue and nearly always without bearing on the matter before the Committee. If the Committee accepted at face value much of what the petitioners had said, it would be in danger of diverting its energies from a difficult but relatively straightforward issue into countless sterile by-ways.

12. It was inevitable that in discussing the question of South West Africa reference should be made to the policy of the South African Government. It was, however, irrelevant to include in the discussions events in Southern Rhodesia, Angola or the Congo, as a number of petitioners and even members of the Committee had done. As charges had been made, it was right that they should be rebutted. The Governments of Sir Roy Welensky and Sir Edgar Whitehead had been equated with that of Mr. Verwoerd, whereas any impartial observer could see at once that the policies of the Rhodesian Government and those of the South African Government were completely opposed. In Rhodesia a common voters' roll had been adopted, whereas in South Africa the "Cape-Coloured" were taken off the common roll with the Whites. Africans were to be represented in the four Parliaments of the Federation and would have a majority in two; they were not represented in South Africa and even the seats of the Europeans appointed to represent them in Parliament had been abolished. In Southern Rhodesia, the Land Apportionment Act, which limited the areas where Africans could buy land or settle, was to be abolished, whereas in South Africa the Group Areas Act was ruthlessly applied. In Southern Rhodesia, discrimination was to be abolished by law; in South Africa, it was enforced by law throughout the country. Sir Edgar Whitehead had described to the Committee (1366th meeting) his policy of building a non-racial community in which all races would be free to compete equally with each other; the South African Government's policy was to create distinct racial communities, so that there could be no direct competition between Europeans and non-Whites. Admittedly, some might feel that the pace of evolution in Rhodesia was too slow, but after hearing Sir Edgar Whitehead the Committee should recognize that his Government's policy was moving in exactly the opposite direction to that taken by the South African Government.

13. Turning to the statements made by one of the petitioners, the Reverend Michael Scott, he said that he did not doubt the latter's devotion to the cause of African independence. In the view of the United Kingdom delegation, however, most of the arguments which the Reverend Michael Scott had produced were unacceptable. In particular, his theories about the influence of interlocking business cartels on the policies of countries in Southern and Central Africa were not substantiated by any concrete evidence. The theory that the large companies supported the policy of apartheid because it resulted in a supply of cheap labour did not stand up to serious examination. It was in the interests of a modern enterprise to have its labour force well paid, well fed and well housed, since that was the only way in which production could be maintained at an economic level. Mining industries had reached their highest level of efficiency in the United States, where labour was neither plentiful nor cheap, and yet there was no country in the world that could export coal at such competitive prices as did the United States. Apart from that practical point, could it be said that South African policy would be substantially different if the country's economy were still of the type that prevailed in the old farmers' republic at the turn of the century? The strongest champions of apartheid were and had always been the traditional elements in the rural areas. Generally, the large industrial complexes in the country had a long tradition of liberalism.

14. The Reverend Michael Scott had adduced another argument which was as fallacious as the first—the

allegation that the policies of other countries in Southern Africa, and particularly those of the United Kingdom, were dictated by the same all-powerful business and financial interests. That was one of the myths of communist propaganda. He would only say that foreign investment had played a major role in the under-developed countries, in Africa and elsewhere during the last hundred years. Some days earlier, the representative of the Federation of Malaya had remarked that capital investment from the United Kingdom had existed in his country in large quantities before independence and that after independence the figure had not fallen but had risen and had been welcomed by his Government as one of the best means of promoting his country's prosperity. Generally speaking, large companies of the type mentioned by the Reverend Michael Scott contributed to the diversification of the economy and to a rise in the level of living. It could of course happen that a company, left to itself, might wish to exploit labour, but he doubted whether there was any Government in the world which would not insist on that company's following the laws on conditions of employment to the letter. Persons and organizations living under the protection of a State must pay and obey, and he saw no reason for that general rule to be less true in Africa than elsewhere. Whether or not they were independent, in most cases Governments welcomed the presence of large industrial enterprises in their countries. South West Africa did not suffer from the unbridled operation of capital investment but from the fact that there had been no significant investment at all. If South West Africa developed politically, as it deserved, the companies condemned by the petitioners would be the first to be asked to assist in raising the Territory's level of prosperity.

15. With regard to the many statements made on the armaments supplied by the United Kingdom to the South African Government, allegedly strengthening that Government's ability to repress the legitimate aspirations of the people of South West Africa and to strike, should the need arise, against other African States, the Committee must face facts. The United Kingdom Government had a defence agreement with South Africa. That agreement was part of a general defence system which had been effective in two world wars. It had been established against the danger of an aggression aimed at denying the United Kingdom the use of the South Atlantic sea routes, which were vital to the defence of the Commonwealth and of the free world. Recently, in the Caribbean Sea, the world had seen an example of the sort of situation which could suddenly arise. Part of the United Kingdom's policy was to be prepared for sudden emergencies of any kind. Such arms as it had supplied to South Africa had been to meet that aim. The purpose for which they had been supplied was maritime defence and had nothing to do with internal security. No one could seriously contend that a naval reconnaissance aircraft such as the Shackleton or a sonic bomber such as the Buccaneer had any relevance at all to the question of the maintenance of order in South West Africa. The Prime Minister of the United Kingdom had in fact made it clear that their supply was entirely consistent with the United Kingdom's policy of selling to South Africa only those types of arms which would be unsuitable for measures of internal repression.

16. He had dwelt on the major allegations of the petitioners in some detail because he believed that the tenor of their statements only served to spoil their

case. For instance, the word "genocide" was not applicable at all. The South African Government was repressing the aspirations of the indigenous African population, but no one could substantiate the charge that it was exterminating them as Hitler had done with the Jews—and that was what the word "genocide" meant. There was likewise no evidence that what was happening in South West Africa constituted a threat to world peace. In his estimation, the petitioners were doing a disservice to their cause by such an overstatement. South Africa could not be accused of genocide, or of threatening the peace of the world, or of enlisting the aid of international cartels in order to exploit a territory.

17. The truth was much simpler. It was that for over forty years, whatever the material progress that might have been made, the South African Government had deprived the indigenous inhabitants of the Territory of their basic human rights. His Government's position was quite clear: it could not accept a system which set men on different levels because of colour, or which enabled the men of one race to have complete power over the men of another by denying them the rights that should be theirs. Apartheid was morally abominable, intellectually grotesque and spiritually indefensible. Thus, the Government of South Africa was sufficiently to be blamed for the existence in South West Africa of a situation in which the rights of the individual were set at nought unless his skin was of the right colour. To exaggerate and embroider those charges, as had been done by some of the petitioners or some delegations, was to weaken the argument.

18. However, his delegation did not consider the position wholly desperate. It should be remembered that church leaders, such as Archbishops Hurley, McCann, Reeves and Jooste de Blank, as well as certain political parties, had stood out against the indignities imposed on the non-Whites. Moreover, the South African Government had not finally shut the door. The Committee had therefore been wise to cut short argument about Mr. Carpio's visit and the Pretoria communiqué. What was important was that the South African Government had voluntarily allowed a visit to the Territory by representatives of the United Nations. That was a hopeful element which deserved some thought.

19. The United Kingdom delegation had consistently maintained that the General Assembly should not take definitive steps until and unless the conclusions of the International Court of Justice justified them. It also believed that the South African Government should be bound by whatever ruling the International Court might make on the contentious proceedings submitted by the Governments of Ethiopia and Liberia. However, it did not believe that the General Assembly should jump ahead of the International Court's findings and assume that they would necessarily correspond to the wishes of the majority. The contacts between the United Nations and the Government of South Africa should therefore continue. In addition, it was necessary to continue to urge the South African Government to provide information about the Territory to the United Nations. The Government of the United Kingdom was convinced that the indigenous population of South West Africa must eventually exercise its right to self-determination. However, a period of preparation would be necessary, either under United Nations supervision or under a reformed South African administration which would recognize the equal rights of all the inhabitants of the Territory. As his delegation saw it, the only solution which stood a chance of success was one which con-

tinued to associate the United Nations with the Territory in the intervening period before judgement was given by the International Court.

20. His delegation had to make it clear, however, that while it was prepared to support a solution on those lines, it would not support any solution which sought to impose sanctions, whether economic or military, since it was opposed to their imposition on legal and practical grounds and did not think them appropriate to the present case.

21. The Government of the United Kingdom was prepared to appeal to the Government of South Africa to listen to what the United Nations was saying; it was also prepared to ask that Government not to reject any reasonable solution and to admit the international character of its administration by consenting to keep in touch with the United Nations by whatever method the General Assembly would consider appropriate.

22. Miss BROOKS (Liberia) noted with satisfaction that the United Kingdom delegation, which had in the past opposed referral of the question of South West Africa to the International Court of Justice, admitted that South Africa was one of the last bastions of colonialism and that its policies ought to be condemned. On the other hand, she could not agree that the petitioners should not allude to Southern Rhodesia or Portugal when speaking about South West Africa. The Committee would remember the recent case of a student, Mr. Bassingthwaite, who had been arrested in Southern Rhodesia while trying to reach New York in order to take advantage of a scholarship there. She was certain that the Government of Southern Rhodesia had not been unaware of the fact that the South African Government had refused the student the necessary travel documents. If the policy of the Government of Southern Rhodesia had been as liberal as the United Kingdom representative had made out, it would have been natural for that Government to authorize the student concerned to pass through the country. The United Kingdom representative had referred to what Sir Edgar Whitehead had said concerning respect for traditions in Southern Rhodesia. However, the Fourth Committee was interested in the real situation, and it seemed that arguments were being centred more on personalities than on policies. There was reason to ask what would happen tomorrow if Sir Edgar was unable, either because of not being re-elected or for some other reason, to carry out his professed policy. The rights he mentioned were not guaranteed to the people by the Constitution. Again, the petitioners had spoken of imprisoned Africans who had been taken to the frontier of Portuguese territories; some were said to have been shot and others had disappeared. The question, therefore, was how the petitioners could plead their case without mentioning the fact that Southern Rhodesia had apparently formed some kind of alliance with Portugal aimed at repression. There had been mention at another meeting of the arms supplied to Portugal by the Powers of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), arms that had been used in Angola against the people. What the Liberian delegation was asking of the NATO Powers was that the arms they furnished should not be diverted for use against Africans fighting for their liberation.

23. Mr. WALL (United Kingdom) replied that his delegation did not question the right of the petitioners to touch on such matters; what it contended was that by trying to prove too much they weakened their own case. As to the case of Mr. Bassingthwaite, he again

recalled that steps had been taken to obtain the necessary documents for his journey, but that he had decided of his own accord to start out without waiting for them. Consequently, there was nothing outrageous about his arrest. Whether Sir Edgar Whitehead was sincere, only the future could tell, but it was his own opinion that Sir Edgar would keep his promises and that those promises would soon be given effect.

24. Mr. SZILAGYI (Hungary) said that his delegation had made a careful study of the report of the Special Committee established under General Assembly resolution 1654 (XVI) (A/5238, chap. IX), the report of the Special Committee for South West Africa (A/5212 and Add.1-3) and the statements made by the petitioners. It had looked forward with expectation to the speeches of the Foreign Minister of the Republic of South Africa in the plenary meeting and the Fourth Committee; it had appeared to his delegation that the Government of South Africa would at last realize the futility of continuing a policy in South West Africa which was solidly opposed by an overwhelming majority of nations having the most diverse political allegiances. Only a few days before (1165th plenary meeting), the General Assembly had adopted, by 67 votes to 16, resolution 1761 (XVII), which The New York Times had called the strongest condemnation ever voted against a Member in the Assembly.

25. In the face of the innumerable attempts that had been made to free the indigenous population of South West Africa from the hold of the South African colonialists, the South African Government had done everything it could to discredit the authority of the United Nations. The speech of the South African Minister for Foreign Affairs before the 1128th plenary meeting of the Assembly, on 24 September 1962, had been characteristic of that attitude, which could only be explained by the fact that the United Nations constituted one of the main obstacles to the ambitions of South African imperialism with regard to South West Africa. The Government of South Africa continued to apply in the Territory its policy of apartheid, which was aimed at the extinction of the indigenous population, and it was militarizing and preparing to annex the Territory.

26. That policy was dictated to the South African Government by the South African white imperialists, who were trying to take possession of South West Africa and other Territories in order to impose their political domination and thereby be in a position to make profitable investments and to exploit the natural resources and the cheap labour of those countries. In that endeavour, South African imperialism was assisted by the other colonial Powers, which were interested in maintaining the present status of South West Africa and that of the neighbouring territories that were still colonies. Another factor that should not be overlooked was the role which had been assigned to the "unholy alliance", already attacked by many speakers, for the purpose of maintaining the existing colonial system.

27. The responsibility for the happenings in South West Africa thus did not rest exclusively upon the South African Government. The active support of the colonial Powers had allowed apartheid to be applied in South West Africa as it had been, and the South African Government was sure that it would have nothing to fear from United Nations resolutions while it received that support. It should be noted that the colonial Powers had done nothing to make the South African Government see reason in respect of its apartheid policy. The

explanation of that passivity was not far to seek: the Minister for Foreign Affairs of South Africa himself had stated at a press conference before leaving New York that countries such as the United States, the United Kingdom and the Netherlands were not eager to lose an essential source of raw materials. In 1961, the Minister had gone on to say, 63.7 per cent of South African imports, including gold transfers, had come from the countries which had voted in the General Assembly against the resolution condemning apartheid, and those same countries had absorbed 79.8 per cent of South Africa's exports, again including gold transfers.

28. Like anyone preparing for aggression, the Government of South Africa was concealing its intentions behind high-sounding statements. The booklet entitled "The Unholy Alliance" gave details of the military preparations which the South African Government was conducting in co-operation with the Western Powers. It was clear that those measures by far exceeded the defence needs of the average country and might be called preparations for aggression, which represented a serious threat to the population of South West Africa and to Africa as a whole.

29. In those circumstances, great responsibility devolved upon the United Nations as the Organization responsible for the maintenance of international peace and security, particularly since the Committee and the General Assembly could greatly influence the course of events in South West Africa by their decisions. The Hungarian delegation considered that it was high time for the United Nations to put an end to the inadmissible practices of the South African Government, which was threatening the indigenous population of South West Africa with extinction and was a menace to peace in Africa and in the whole world.

30. The provisions of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) were fully applicable to the South African Government also; the people of South West Africa were ripe for independence, and the policy of the South African Government had been condemned by the overwhelming majority of States Members of the Organization. Thus, it was essential that South West Africa should be enabled to become independent within the shortest possible time. The All-African Peoples' Conference of 1958 had taken an unambiguous stand on the matter, calling for the revocation of South Africa's Mandate over South West Africa and for immediate independence for that country, and that standpoint had been confirmed the following year by the Conference of Independent African States. The Hungarian delegation fully agreed with that view and was convinced that there was no time to be lost. There was, after all, no indication that the South African Government was willing to change its policies. The expulsion of South Africa from the Commonwealth should have been a serious enough warning, but the South African Government had disregarded it completely and, on the contrary, had speeded up its policy of apartheid. To wait any further would merely be to encourage South Africa to increase its aggressive preparations.

31. The Hungarian delegation therefore considered that the Mandate for South West Africa which had been conferred on South Africa should be revoked immediately and that South West Africa should be proclaimed independent without delay. All powers would then be transferred to the representatives of the indigenous population. The Fourth Committee should request the Special Committee established under General Assem-

bly resolution 1654 (XVI) to take practical measures to that end and towards the application of General Assembly resolution 1702 (XVI). At the same time, all Member States should be invited to render assistance to the indigenous population of South West Africa and to its representatives or its representative bodies in securing the earliest possible granting of independence to the Territory. Such a solution would be possible only if all Member States refused to support the South African Government or any action on its part which could prevent the application of the General Assembly resolutions on South West Africa. Finally, considering that the co-operation of the South African Government could not be counted upon, the Security Council should be asked to take all the necessary measures to ensure the application of the General Assembly resolutions.

32. The Hungarian delegation was sure that the suggestions it had just made would ensure the settlement of the question of South West Africa. It was therefore prepared to support any draft resolution providing for the revocation of the Mandate for South West Africa and the transfer of all powers to representatives of the indigenous population, and urging Member States to take action to further those aims.

33. The Hungarian delegation congratulated the Special Committee for South West Africa on its extremely interesting report and wished to stress that the Hungarian people resolutely supported the people of South West Africa in their struggle for independence.

34. Mr. LAMANI (Albania) recalled that the question of South West Africa had been on the Committee's agenda for sixteen years and that his delegation had expressed its views on the subject on a number of occasions. The people and Government of Albania, ever faithful to the principles of freedom and of the sacred right of peoples to self-determination, had given full support to the people of South West Africa in their struggle to cast off the colonial yoke of the racist Government of South Africa.

35. In the opinion of the Albanian delegation, the United Nations should take all the necessary measures to ensure full independence for the people of South West Africa; that was why Albania had supported the many resolutions adopted by the General Assembly which urged that the oppression and terror which reigned in the Territory should be brought to an end.

36. One speaker had pointed out that the United Nations had already adopted sixty-three resolutions condemning the policy pursued by South Africa in the Territory of South West Africa, and yet those resolutions had not brought about the least change or improvement in the situation. The South African Government was even now intending to annex the Territory and to confront the world with a *fait accompli*, keeping, for its own ends, over 5 million Africans isolated from the world in the wretchedness of Native reserves, where they suffered incredible physical and moral hardships.

37. The Committee had before it an abundance of documentation on the question of South West Africa. After having studied carefully the reports of the Special Committee on South West Africa and of the Special Committee established under General Assembly resolution 1654 (XVI) and after having heard the statements of the petitioners, the Albanian delegation could not refrain from expressing its profound indignation at the fact that the shameful policy and negative attitude of the South African Government had not only prevented all progress towards a solution, but had

made the problem even more poignant and acute. It was impossible to remain unmoved by the fate of millions of human beings who were being subjected to the most merciless oppression, and it had been revolting to hear South African representatives say cynically that their Government had done much to improve the living conditions of the indigenous population and would have done still more if it had not been hampered by the criticism of the United Nations. Those statements had been made, moreover, at a time when the South African Government was taking measures to perpetuate its stranglehold over the Territory and, as was stated in the Special Committee's report, was contemplating no change in the policy of apartheid that it was applying in South West Africa.

38. In the light of the existing conditions in South West Africa and of laws such as the one which authorized secret courts to sentence to death any person who protested against the Government's policy of racial discrimination, it was not hard to understand why the African population saw no other way out than a fight to the bitter end for freedom, and was becoming increasingly convinced that that was its only hope. The people of South West Africa were awakening to the facts of the situation, and they now realized that the decisive factor in attaining independence and freedom was their own struggle, in which they would benefit by the solidarity of all freedom- and peace-loving countries and peoples, and also by assistance from the United Nations, whose duty it was to help speed up the inevitable process of liberating colonial and dependent peoples.

39. The racist Government of South Africa, sensing that the time was at hand when it would have to loosen its hold, was committing provocative acts against the people of South West Africa. Thus, the Minister of Justice of South Africa had quite recently declared "a fight to the death" against all Africans who called for a repeal of the racist laws. According to information received from Johannesburg, a South African organization had accepted that challenge, declaring that it would meet force with force and would fight until the domination of the white racials had been brought to an end. Arms and wealth were at present in the hands of the colonizers, but nothing was more powerful than the explosion of the anger and hatred of a subject people.

40. The population of South West Africa was deprived of all its political, social, economic and cultural rights. The white settlers had taken over all wealth and held absolute political and police power. The indigenous population suffered every imaginable persecution and lived in slavery comparable to that of the darkest times of human history. In order to install white settlers, the Government moved the African population to desert lands, where it was dying out. The best land was occupied by the white farmers, who surrounded themselves with a "no man's land" where only settlers and the police were entitled to go. As for public education, the picture painted in the Special Committee's report contradicted all the assertions of the South African Government's spokesmen; he particularly referred members of the Committee to document A/5212/Add.1, paragraph 51. The inhumanity of the South African administration emerged strikingly from the case of Mr. Kausana, described in document A/5212/Add.1, paragraph 34. Mr. Kausana had been deported for three years to Angola, where he had suffered a veritable hell.

41. Yet the Minister for Foreign Affairs of South Africa had dared to speak at the 1164th plenary meeting on 6 November, against the draft resolution adopted by the Special Political Committee strongly condemning the policy of apartheid, and had affirmed that some delegations cared little for the welfare and prosperity of the affected populations. How could the representative of South Africa speak of prosperity, when the whole world knew thousands of facts showing the real situation in the Territory? Such statements showed a profound scorn for truth and defiance of international opinion.

42. His delegation was sure that the situation could not last much longer, and that the day was not far distant when the people of South West Africa would be free and independent. The United Nations was in duty bound to help to reduce to the minimum the time separating South West Africa from freedom, and the African population of the Territory expected the United Nations to take measures to put an end both to the South African Government's policy of racial discrimination and oppression and to its designs to annex the Territory.

43. South Africa thought it would be able to carry out its diabolical plans, perpetuate its domination over South West Africa, and become a rampart of colonialism in Africa because of the moral and material support which it received from the colonialist and imperialist Powers, particularly from the United States and the United Kingdom. The imperialist NATO Powers, which had financial interests in several African countries, sought to camouflage their relations with South Africa by statements intended to mislead those who believed easily in promises. It was impossible to trust the imperialist Powers' statements when, while publicly condemning the policy of apartheid and racial discrimination in South West Africa, they obstructed all practical measures to end that intolerable situation. That the decisions of the United Nations concerning South West Africa were still ineffective was due to the opposition of the colonialist and imperialist Powers.

44. The United Nations could no longer be content to watch the situation in South West Africa passively. The report of the Special Committee showed once more that all means of persuasion had been useless; and the Committee had concluded that, without recourse to the coercive measures prescribed by the United Nations Charter, it would not be possible to implement General Assembly resolution 1702 (XVI), which required that all South African military forces should be removed from South West Africa and all political prisoners freed.

45. His delegation considered that, since the Government of South Africa had taken no notice of the requests and demands of the General Assembly, had defied world opinion by refusing to abandon its racist policy, and had grossly violated its obligations under the Charter, the United Nations should revoke the Mandate for South West Africa conferred upon South Africa and grant independence to the population of the Territory. If the Republic of South Africa would not heed the decisions taken during the present session of the General Assembly, the Security Council should resort to the coercive measures provided by Chapter VII of the Charter. His delegation considered that the time had come to take energetic measures to put an immediate end to the colonial régime in South West Africa, and would support without reservation any resolution having that purpose.

46. Mr. RANA (Nepal) formally proposed on behalf of his delegation that South West Africa should be placed under the International Trusteeship System after the immediate revocation of the Mandate held at present by the Republic of South Africa. His delegation took that attitude without ambiguity in view of the obligations voluntarily assumed by all Members of the United Nations. It saw nothing to justify further procrastination, nor any reason to continue debate on the item before the Committee. The problem had been settled in a way when it had been first considered by the General Assembly in 1946; and the sixteen years which had passed since then had seemed long to the human beings whose welfare the United Nations sought to secure.

47. His delegation was convinced that all attempts to make South Africa fulfil its duties under the Mandate would be futile. In fact, as a Member of the United Nations South Africa had flagrantly violated the provisions of the Charter by disregarding its responsibilities and obligations as the Power administering a Non-Self-Governing Territory. Moreover, it had always insolently refused any co-operation with the United Nations, and had taken no notice of the recommendations of the General Assembly or the opinions of the International Court of Justice. Lastly, because of its national policy of apartheid, it was manifestly incompetent to watch over the interests and welfare of the indigenous population of South West Africa. If members of the Committee genuinely cared about the future of the populations of South West Africa, they would be ready to admit that it would be both unrealistic and irresponsible to agree to negotiate with South Africa or to accept any promises its Government might make.

48. His delegation was convinced that the best way of developing South West Africa and enabling it to make the necessary economic, social and cultural progress was to place it under the International Trusteeship System. That system would allow the great majority of the Territory's inhabitants to enjoy at last the freedoms which should be theirs.

49. The case of South West Africa had major significance in many respects. In fact the prestige of the United Nations was at stake, because, in spite of a long sequence of resolutions adopted by the General Assembly, it had not yet obtained any positive results affecting that Territory. Furthermore, in South West Africa a Member of the United Nations was neglecting the welfare of several hundred thousand people whom it had solemnly undertaken to protect. Indeed, there was no evidence that South Africa had ever done anything at all for the welfare of the peoples of the Territory. The United Nations had no doubt shown commendable patience in its efforts to find a peaceful solution to the problem. However, because it had not acted more energetically it was actually responsible for the fact that for sixteen years thousands of human beings had been virtually condemned to a life in prison while they could have been improving their standard of living.

50. His delegation considered that the solution the Committee applied to the problem of South West Africa could become a milestone in the history of mankind. The population of South West Africa was poor and isolated and could not easily voice its grievances. Never before had the nations of the world troubled about the fate of defenceless communities. The United Nations could not let itself fail in an endeavour of such historical value.

51. Mr. PUREVJAL (Mongolia), speaking on a point of order, formally moved that the next afternoon's meeting should begin at 4 p.m. instead of 3 p.m., to allow the members of the African-Asian group to

complete the draft resolution which they were preparing on South West Africa.

It was so decided.

The meeting rose at 5.15 p.m.