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Chairman: Miss Angie BROOKS (Liberia).

AGENDA ITEM 47

Question of South West Africa (*continued*):

(a) Report of the Committee on South West Africa (A/4926, A/4957, A/AC.73/4, A/AC.73/L.15);

(b) Assistance of the specialized agencies and of the United Nations Children's Fund in the economic, social and educational development of South West Africa: reports of the agencies and the Fund (A/4956 and Add.1)

PRELIMINARY STATEMENTS AND QUESTIONS ARISING THEREFROM (*continued*)

1. Mr. EDMONDS (New Zealand) said that he would like to clarify the proposal he had made at the previous meeting that the full text of the statements made by the Chairman of the Committee on South West Africa, the South African Minister for Foreign Affairs and the petitioners should be made available to the Committee. It had been a purely procedural proposal designed to facilitate the task of Committee members who might wish to refer to the statements. It had never been his intention to request that they should be circulated as Committee documents.

2. Mr. YOMEKPE (Ghana) said that in the light of the New Zealand representative's remarks he withdrew the amendment to the latter's proposal which he had put forward at the previous meeting. Instead, he would suggest that the statement made by the Chairman of the Committee on South West Africa at the 1217th meeting should be reproduced verbatim in the record, since it provided explanations additional to the reports of the Committee on South West Africa (A/4926, A/4957).

3. Mr. ACHKAR (Guinea) said that he had no objection to the course outlined by the New Zealand representative. On the other hand, he did not wish to see the statements made by the Chairman of the Committee on South West Africa and the petitioners

treated in the same way as that made by the representative of the white minority in the so-called Republic of South Africa.

4. Mr. FOURIE (South Africa) said that he had been extremely distressed at the manner in which the Guinean representative had referred to his country's Minister for Foreign Affairs. Such language was out of order and would not contribute to a fruitful discussion of the item before the Committee, which was the question of South West Africa. The Committee was not concerned with whether the South African Government represented a minority or a majority.

5. The CHAIRMAN said that she would ask the Guinean representative to confine his remarks to the question of South West Africa and refer to South Africa only in its capacity as an Administering Member. The South African representative was entitled to object to any references being made to the status of his Government. The Committee was composed of the representative of States Members of the United Nations and, out of courtesy, they should be referred to as such. That was her ruling.

6. Mr. IBE (Nigeria) said that he had noted the New Zealand representative's remarks. He did not think, however, that the United Nations should be put to any expense in connexion with the circulation, in whatever form, of the statement by the South African Minister for Foreign Affairs.

7. Mr. BOZOVIC (Yugoslavia) agreed with the Nigerian representative. He recalled that at the 1205th meeting he had suggested, with reference to a statement by the United Kingdom representative, that statements likely to interest the Committee should be circulated by the delegations making them; on that occasion the United Kingdom representative had promised to have copies of his statement made available to the Committee. There was no reason why the same procedure should not be adopted with regard to the statement by the South African Minister for Foreign Affairs. The statement by the Chairman of the Committee for South West Africa should, however, be reproduced as an official document.

8. Mr. FOURIE (South Africa) said that his delegation would willingly give copies of the statement made by his Minister for Foreign Affairs to any representative who asked for them.

9. Mr. CARPIO (Philippines) pointed out that before the Committee could decide on the manner in which the statement by the Chairman of the Committee on South West Africa should be reproduced, it must know whether its decision would have any financial implications.

10. Mr. PROTITCH (Under-Secretary for Trusteeship and Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories) explained that authority existed for the circulation in the usual manner of the statements by

petitioners. The statement by the Chairman of the Committee on South West Africa could be circulated as a Committee document without the need for seeking specific authorization. On the other hand, there was no financial provision for the reproduction of statements verbatim in the records.

11. The CHAIRMAN said that in the light of the explanation provided by the Secretariat, and if there were no objections, the statements by the petitioners would be circulated in the usual manner and the statement of the Chairman of the Committee on South West Africa would be circulated as a Committee document.

*It was so decided.*

12. Mr. DIALLO (Mali), speaking in exercise of his right of reply, said that his delegation had been incensed and indignant at the insolent words used by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Pretoria Government at the previous meeting. That representative had no right to level accusations at the Committee on South West Africa, the Chairman and members of which enjoyed the esteem of the Fourth Committee.

#### HEARING OF PETITIONERS (continued)

*At the invitation of the Chairman, Mr. Uatja Kauketu, Mr. Charles Kauraisa, Mr. Jariretundu Kozonguizi and Mr. Zedekia Ngavirue, representatives of the South West Africa National Union (SWANU), Mr. Ismail Fortune, Mr. Mburumba Kerina, Mr. Jacob Kuhangua and Mr. Sam Nujoma, representatives of the South West Africa Peoples Organization (SWAPO), the Reverend Markus Kooper and the Reverend Michael Scott took places at the Committee table.*

13. Mr. KUHANGUA (South West Africa Peoples Organization) conveyed to the Chairman and the members of the Committee on South West Africa the thanks of the people of South West Africa and of the South West Africa Peoples Organization (SWAPO) for their valuable efforts. He expressed his heartfelt appreciation to the Governments of Ghana, Tanganyika and the United Arab Republic for the assistance they had given the Committee on South West Africa which had enabled the latter to obtain valuable information. Despite the fact that the Committee had been prevented from entering the international Territory, its attempt had been a step forward towards a solution of the problem.

14. He was aware that the Committee on South West Africa had been faced with a situation of force. South African troops and military aircraft had patrolled the borders of South West Africa to prevent a United Nations investigation of the abominable living conditions in the country. In June 1961 the Windhoek Advertiser had published articles describing those border patrols and saying that one of their objectives had been to prevent a mass exodus of non-Whites to Bechuanaland, where the Committee on South West Africa had been expected to arrive. The South African Minister for Defence had told Parliament that South Africa would defend South West Africa against aggression.

15. The South African Government had established military bases in South West Africa, in violation of its international obligations, and had instituted a reign of terror in the Territory. Leaders and members of SWAPO and others had been thrown into detention camps, forced into exile or handed over to the

Portuguese authorities for execution. The purpose of the military bases was to suppress all African nationalism in South West Africa. It was legitimate to ask how long the South Africans would be allowed to continue their atrocities.

16. The application of the apartheid policy in South West Africa had created a highly explosive political situation which was likely to erupt at any moment if the United Nations failed to intervene in time. The people of South West Africa regarded apartheid as the root of all the evils in their country. The great apostle of that policy in the international Territory was Mr. Blignaut, the Chief Bantu Affairs Commissioner, who had issued orders for the deportation, detention, exile and execution of many members of SWAPO and had succeeded in transforming the Hoachanas Reserve into a concentration camp.

17. At the fifteenth session of the General Assembly the South African Minister for External Affairs had told the Committee that his Government enjoyed the complete support of the northern chiefs in South West Africa. That assertion was denied in a letter which the chiefs in question had sent from Ovamboland to the Cape Times, which had published it on 14 October 1961. In that letter they had stated that they all belonged to SWAPO and that they supported the idea of self-determination for the people of South West Africa; they were aware of the consequences of their decision but would stand by their ideals conscious of the fact that in the long run their principles would triumph. The chiefs had then spoken of the penalties facing those who criticized apartheid or mentioned freedom, and of the persecution to which young Ovambo men were subjected.

18. At the Committee's previous meeting the South African Minister for Foreign Affairs had stated that the South African authorities had issued arms to the Ovambos. That statement was not true. The attitude of the authorities towards the Ovambos could be assessed on the basis of the report in the Windhoek Advertiser on 29 May 1961 that armed police had carried out a number of searches in the kraals of Ovamboland in May 1961, terrorizing women and children. In the course of those searches some SWAPO documents had been seized.

19. The South African Government, together with its ally, the United Kingdom, had manoeuvred successfully to prevent the Committee on South West Africa from entering Bechuanaland. The United Kingdom Government's refusal to facilitate the work of the Committee did not surprise his people, for they knew that the South African Government could not stand alone without the support of the United Kingdom.

20. Ever since the establishment of the United Nations, the South African Government had defied all its resolutions concerning South West Africa. It was clear to all that the only way to get the South African Government out of South West Africa was for the United Nations to force its way into the Territory. He wished to emphasize what had already been said at the 1217th meeting by his colleagues, namely that the only way in which peace and security could be brought to South West Africa was for the General Assembly at its sixteenth session to declare South West Africa independent, pursuant to the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples (General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV)), and to establish a United Nations advisory commission for South West Africa which should go to the Territory

with or without the co-operation of the South African Government and assist the indigenous inhabitants in the establishment of an independent democratic government. The United Nations presence in the Territory should be supported by a United Nations police force.

21. SWAPO was convinced that positive political action should be undertaken along those lines and it was prepared to face the responsibilities of its decision. The people of South West Africa wanted independence now and the establishment of a United Nations presence in the Territory to ensure peaceful political transition.

22. Mr. FORTUNE (South West Africa Peoples Organization) expressed the hope that the General Assembly would adopt all the proposals which his colleagues had outlined to the Committee on behalf of his organization. Their sole objective was to expel the South African Government from South West Africa in order to enable the people to achieve complete and immediate independence.

23. The germs of violence and racial hatred which existed in other parts of Africa were present also in South West Africa. He hoped that the presence of a United Nations advisory commission in the Territory would enable the European settlers to recognize the fact that the possibility of avoiding racial hatred and violence would depend to a large extent on their willingness to co-operate with the indigenous inhabitants in a spirit of complete equality and mutual respect for each other's personality and dignity.

24. The harsh statements made by the representatives of the South African Government were but the death rattle of a fast-dying system. Once the people had become conscious of their rights, they could not be oppressed for long. The future of South West Africa would be decided ultimately by the quality of its people. The major question which South West Africa faced was whether the change would come about peacefully or by violent means.

25. The Reverend Markus KOOPER reviewed the history of the Territory of South West Africa since the beginning of the Mandate. He pointed out that although the proposals of the Good Offices Committee on South West Africa set up in 1957<sup>1/</sup> had been rejected by the General Assembly in its resolution 1243 (XIII), they were being put into practice at the present time by the South African Government. After secret consultations with the Minister for External Affairs, Sir Charles Arden-Clarke, the Chairman of the Good Offices Committee, deliberately deviating from the terms of reference of his mission, had undertaken a secret visit to South West Africa. The places which had been shown to Sir Charles Arden-Clarke in the course of his tour clearly indicated its true nature.

26. Any genuine improvement in any part of South West Africa designed to improve the living conditions of the indigenous inhabitants was always welcome. The building of a dam on the Kunene River, on the frontier between Angola and South West Africa, would therefore be welcome were there not reason to believe that the plan to construct it was in pursuance of the proposal of the Good Offices Committee that the country should be divided into two parts. That meant that when the dam was completed Africans in the

Police Zone would be removed to Ovamboland. The extension of the Police Zone during the current year to include Ovamboland and Okavango confirmed the truth of what he had said and he hoped that the United Nations would act promptly and decisively to prevent such action.

27. The fact that General Assembly resolutions 1568 (XV) and 1596 (XV) had not been implemented spoke for itself. It was hardly necessary to emphasize the urgent need to implement those resolutions.

28. The people he represented had been deeply disappointed by the refusal of the South African and United Kingdom Governments to allow the United Nations Committee to enter South West Africa and the adjacent Non-Self-Governing Territory of Bechuanaland so that it could implement the resolutions of the General Assembly. They were still more disappointed by the fact that the United Nations had remained passive and had not even considered the necessity of taking appropriate steps to assist the Committee to carry out its task. By taking such action as was warranted by the South African Government's employment of military force to prevent the United Nations Committee from entering the Territory, the United Nations could even yet enable the Committee to go to South West Africa and could save the lives of the unarmed indigenous population, which were in danger.

29. When South Africa had assumed the administration of the Territory it had continued the policy of extermination and subjugation of the indigenous people previously carried on by the German oppressors and by the time the United Nations had been established the country had already been virtually incorporated into the Union.

30. The establishment of military bases and the mobilization of military forces by the South African Government in South West Africa had rendered the situation yet more tense so that United Nations intervention was even more vital than it had been in the past. If the United Nations, which had assumed the supervisory functions exercised by the League of Nations, really wished to prevent an explosion in the Territory, action must be taken forthwith. The adoption of resolutions which were subsequently declared illegal by the United Kingdom authorities would not redeem the situation. The fact that the South African, German, British and other European settlers in the Territory were willing and ready to fight for South West Africa against all comers was a reality that could not be over-emphasized.

31. The relationship between Black and White in South West Africa had deteriorated during the past sixteen years to such an extent that it could never revert to normal. The former Chief Native Affairs Commissioner for South West Africa had told the Herero leaders that South Africa had won South West Africa by bloodshed and that it could only be won back by bloodshed, and the present Commissioner, speaking to the Nama leaders in April 1959, had maintained that the Union Government had taken the country from the Germans and that if they had to give it up to anybody they would give it to the Germans and not to the indigenous inhabitants.

32. Military preparations in the Territory had started in December 1959 after the police had brutally killed twelve innocent unarmed people and injured many others in the Windhoek Location. Shortly after-

<sup>1/</sup> For the report of this Committee, see A/3900.

wards Europeans had been warned to arm themselves and the order had been speedily carried out not only at Windhoek but in all the other towns and on farms throughout the country. Rifle ranges had been built on farms and settler women were being trained by the South African police in the handling of firearms. Military bases had been established at Walvis Bay and at Windhoek and there was a military camp on the frontier with Angola. South African Dakota aircraft daily patrolled the coast line and other borders of the country. In view of what the former and present Chief Native Affairs Commissioners had said to the indigenous leaders, it was clear that the purpose of the military preparations in South West Africa was to wipe out the real owners of the country. In connexion with the Commissioner's statement that South Africa had won South West Africa not from the indigenous people but from the Germans, the Committee should know that a campaign was being carried on to invite refugees from East Germany to move to South West Africa so that it should be given back to them.

33. The removal of the residents of the Hoachanas Reserve and Windhoek Location was still pending. In addition the people of Hoachanas had been placed in a very difficult position by the cancellation of Mr. Matheus Kooper's authority to issue passes. Anyone found in possession of a pass issued by Mr. Kooper after the notice of cancellation of his authority had been served would be arrested. Since the people now had to make a return journey of some forty miles in order to obtain a pass, they had decided to move about the Territory without passes. Eleven men had been arrested for failure to produce passes on demand and sentenced to pay £1 fine or undergo ten days' imprisonment. They had decided to go to prison rather than to pay, and instead of ten days they had been detained for five days only and released without any explanation.

34. During the current year a new constitutional status had been established for South West Africa under which a separate department for South West African affairs had been created in the South African Parliament. The fact that Mr. Van der Wath had been appointed Deputy Minister for South West African Affairs showed clearly that Mr. Verwoerd, the Prime Minister of South Africa, was also Prime Minister of South West Africa, since obviously there could not be a deputy minister unless there was a minister. It was significant that Mr. Van der Wath had been appointed to that office at a time when relations between Black and White in South West Africa had become irreparable as a result of his tyranny.

35. The problem at issue was not racial conflict resulting from the apartheid policy of the South African Government; it was a constitutional question involving the indigenous peoples' inalienable right to their land. Apartheid, evil and distasteful as it was, was only one factor in the question and ought not to overshadow the basic issue. Much had been said about the economic and political aspects of apartheid but little or nothing about its military character as applied in South West Africa. The resistance of the African peoples to the apartheid laws of South Africa, even when it was non-violent, was repressed by military force. Moreover, the planning of new Katutura Locations all over the country to which Africans were to be removed, miles away from European areas, and the manner in which the Africans were subdivided according to linguistic or colour groups and their residential areas separated by buf-

fer strips 500 yards wide, revealed the military character of that evil system. Freedom of movement was increasingly limited by strict pass laws. Even children of fourteen years of age were arrested for failure to produce a pass and ministers of religion and teachers who carried the so-called exemption certificates were not free to move about. There was no freedom of religious worship. The state of education in the Territory was disgraceful, as it always had been.

36. In conclusion, he put forward the following urgent requests: General Assembly resolutions 1568 (XV) and 1596 (XV) must be implemented; a United Nations police or military force must be sent to South West Africa to enable the Committee to carry out its work; South African troops must leave South West Africa immediately; all civilians must be disarmed; the South African Government's administration of South West Africa must be terminated; a constitutional convention of the people must be convened under the auspices of the United Nations; a census of the population must be taken; elections must be conducted under the new South West African constitution; the first African Government must be formed under an African leader; the United Nations must give all the necessary assistance to the new South West African Government.

*Mr. Lulo (Albania), Vice-Chairman, took the Chair.*

37. Mr. DIGGINES (United Kingdom), exercising his right of reply, said that he would for the time being confine himself to one point raised by the petitioner. Mr. Kooper had made a number of uncharitable and unfounded allegations about the motives and methods of the United Kingdom Government. In particular, he had referred to an alleged secret visit to South West Africa by Sir Charles Arden-Clarke in his capacity as Chairman of the United Nations Good Offices Committee on South West Africa. He had also suggested that Sir Charles had had secret talks with the South African Minister for External Affairs. Those allegations had been made before and the United Kingdom representative on the Fourth Committee had made it clear that they were entirely false; neither Sir Charles's visit to the Territory nor his discussions with Mr. Louw had been in any way secret and if the petitioner would refer to the report of the Good Offices Committee (A/3900), he would find them mentioned there. The United Kingdom delegation much regretted that such unfounded and malicious allegations of bad faith against a distinguished and liberal-minded public servant should have been made.

38. Mr. ALWAN (Iraq) said that the role of the United Kingdom as far as the question of South West Africa was concerned was well known to the members of the Fourth Committee and that he himself would deal with that matter when making his statement. He maintained that the petitioners were entitled to deal with the issue, which was within the context of the question under discussion.

39. The Reverend Markus KOOPER insisted that Sir Charles Arden-Clarke's visit to Windhoek had been made in secret, as was shown by the fact that he had not even signed the visitors' register in the hotel. Moreover, he had been taken to visit the Windhoek Location without the knowledge of the non-White people living there.

40. Mr. KOZONGUIZI (South West Africa National Union) said that the four representatives of his Union

would present their petition in four parts, covering political matters, social conditions, economic and educational aspects.

41. In 1920 the international community had reached a decision concerning South West Africa without the participation of the people involved. After the demise of the League of Nations the United Nations had taken up the issue. Although there was talk of a step forward in the United Nations every year, there appeared to be no concern over the steps the South African Government took each year to consolidate its position in South West Africa. When, in 1946, the United Nations had met to discuss the question of South West Africa there had been one single petition; in 1961 some 120 petitions had arrived from the Territory.

42. When the chiefs had first appealed to the United Nations they had requested that South West Africa should be placed under United Nations trusteeship; today the South West Africa National Union (SWANU) advocated immediate independence. The question was not whether the people of South West Africa wanted trusteeship or independence, but how any change could be brought about. If it had taken the United Nations fifteen years to realize that the situation was a threat to peace and security, how long would it take it to decide on effective action against South Africa? SWANU had come into being to challenge the docile attitude of the people of South West Africa in the past. The challenge was not directed against the authority of the chiefs, nor had there been any intention of questioning the sincerity of the United Nations; the object had been to rally and unite the people of South West Africa in one national front as against the tribal basis on which politics in the country had rested for decades, with the encouragement of the South African Administration, and to link the efforts of SWANU with the great liberation movements in Africa united by the ideals of Pan-Africanism.

43. The South West Africa National Union was opposed to colonialism and imperialism and to white domination, which under the cloak of "Western civilization" or "Christian trusteeship" had brought the people political oppression, economic exploitation and social degradation. SWANU did not reject the noble ideals of true Christianity; its aim was that Africans should be governed by Africans for Africans, and that everybody who owed loyalty only to Africa and who was prepared to accept the democratic rule of an African majority should be regarded as an African.

44. Economically SWANU aimed at the most equitable distribution of wealth; socially and educationally its aim was the full development of the human personality. The first essential was positive and effective action to remove the South African Administration from South West Africa so that white domination could be overthrown and independence secured for the people of the Territory. At the present stage SWANU was primarily engaged in the struggle for liberation and not in an election campaign, though it had its own programmes for future political and economic arrangements for the country. Disputes over future arrangements would not only defeat the immediate aim of national liberation but would consolidate the position of South Africa, the greatest enemy of African freedom on the continent of Africa. SWANU recommended that, once the South African Administration had been removed, the United Nations should convene a constituent assembly, in which representatives of the people of South West Africa would partici-

pate, to decide on the political arrangements in the country, i.e., on the form of government and its constitution and on representation in the legislature. Secondly, the United Nations would be asked to provide technicians to help in the administration, as all supporters of the present Government in the South African Republic might have to be excluded. Thirdly, with reference to the maintenance of peace and security in the Territory, initially the United Nations would be asked to provide troops to police the Territory, to be drawn from the African-Asian and other non-committed countries, i.e., countries with no treaties or other links with South Africa. Fourthly, with regard to technical assistance, the constituent assembly would decide how best the specialized agencies could be utilized in the exploitation of the resources of the country. It would also decide how best the wealth so derived could reach all the people and how the people themselves could take part in the development of the country. Fifthly, the people might agree on a United Nations committee of African States to advise the Government and assist in the administration of the Territory.

45. There seemed to be a certain misunderstanding on the part of some members of the Committee on South West Africa concerning the restoration and maintenance of peace and security in South West Africa. SWANU submitted that the question had two aspects. Firstly, the present Administration was determined to use force to maintain the status quo. That the people of South West Africa would never accept. They had learned by experience that it would never be possible to persuade the Administration to abandon its present policies; hence there could never be peace and security in South West Africa as long as the present Administration remained in power. The second aspect of the question concerned the people in South West Africa who supported the present Administration, mainly the die-hard settlers from the South African Republic. It was difficult to believe that while such people were present to sabotage and subvert the independence of South West Africa a climate of peace and security could ever be restored or maintained. Nevertheless, if a way could be found to guarantee that their presence would not constitute a danger to the security and peace of the Territory, they would always be welcome.

46. He did not think that that stage would be reached until means were available for taking effective steps against the South African Administration, either collectively by the United Nations or by individual Member States. There was no need to recount the whole history of the case; it was sufficient to say that the South African Government, by setting the resolutions of the General Assembly at defiance, had made it clear that it would never recognize the authority of the United Nations in the Territory. It was futile to expect that South Africa would ever agree to negotiate realistically on the question. Attempts had already been made to force South Africa to abandon the suicidal course of apartheid; in 1952, when the African National Congress in South Africa had embarked on a large-scale campaign of defiance, the South African Government had replied with the Criminal Law Amendment Act, under which savage penalties had been imposed on the leaders and participants in the campaign. In 1960 the world had witnessed a massacre of unarmed people merely because they had protested against the pass laws; their leaders were still languishing in gaol. The world reaction to that

event had not deterred the South Africans from pursuing their policy of racial supremacy at all costs.

47. Early in 1961 South Africa had been driven out of the Commonwealth by the other member States on account of its racial policies. South Africa had not only been left unmoved by that event: it was determined to meet the situation with more vicious measures and deadly weapons. After his recent visit to Europe, the South African Minister for Defence had announced that his Government had concluded negotiations for the supply from France of jet fighters and air tankers to refuel them in flight. According to Reuter, the French engineering company Hotchkiss-Brandt was to supply the South African army with equipment to the value of 16 million francs. It might be asked against whom those arms were to be used. A reply has been furnished by Mr. Erasmus, the former South African Minister for Defence, now Ambassador to Italy, who had said that his country was not arming against an external enemy but in order to shoot "the black masses". The South African Government's Fortnightly Digest of South African Affairs, of 17 March 1961, had stated that, according to the South African Ministers for Justice and Defence, the police and the defence force would be organized on similar lines so as to provide a single fast striking force to crush any uprising. Arrangements had already been made to manufacture Belgian automatic rifles and ammunition under license in South Africa.

48. In the light of those facts, it was surely obvious that the South African Government would never be moved by mere resolutions, however strongly worded. South Africa's determination to extend the use of those arms to South West Africa could easily be discerned in the measures taken by the South African Government against the peaceful mission of the Committee on South West Africa: all airports in South West Africa had been guarded by the South African Army. On 14 September 1961 high officers of the South African Defence Force, Navy and Air Force had visited Walvis Bay and had stated that the purpose of the visit was the establishment of a military base there.

49. A confidential report issued by a Conservative group in the United Kingdom called Africa 1961-1962 referred to the strategy of the South African Government. The report had stated inter alia that the South African Government had a highly organized army and police, the ruthlessness of which was well known: military and police planning in South Africa proceeded on the assumption that there would be incidents in which the police or the military would be outnumbered by rioting "Non-Europeans" and the South African authorities had discussed the use of poison gas and bacteriological weapons in such circumstances. The report had gone on to say that South West Africa, which it described as the Achilles heel of South Africa, would be vulnerable only if Southern Angola fell to the rebels. The alternative line of attack—it had continued—would be for the United Nations to back up its political judgement on South Africa with force: that would require great resolution and organization and could not be successful without sea transport supplied by the USSR, the United States of America or the United Kingdom. The conclusion reached by the report had been that the South African Government would not submit to threats but that it could be gravely damaged if guerrilla warfare were to begin in South West Africa.

50. Since that report made it clear that the South African Government would bow only to force, the question was whether the General Assembly at its current session would back its political judgement with force. This was a challenge to the great Powers he had mentioned: in the name of democracy would they use force against South Africa? They should notify South Africa by means of a resolution that they would not buy its gold or its wool, provide shipping or air facilities for South Africa in their countries, or permit the American Metal Climax and other companies to exploit the copper mines in South West Africa. What his organization wanted was not merely threats but action in the form of effective sanctions reinforced by invasion. Accordingly, it supported the recommendations made by the Committee on South West Africa in paragraph 164 of its report (A/4926). The time had come for a request to be made to the Security Council to decide on a course of action which could ensure the effective implementation of all the General Assembly's recommendations, resolutions and decisions with regard to South West Africa.

51. Mr. KAUKUETU (South West Africa National Union) said that he proposed to deal with social conditions as they affected the African people in South West Africa. Such a study could not be made without taking into consideration the principle on which the foreign South African Boer settler Government and its docile agent the South West Africa Administration were based, namely racialism of the worst kind. The Administration was committed to a policy of white supremacy and to the callous pursuit of political power, economic exploitation and educational and social advancement, to the total exclusion of the African population, which was to be kept in a state of utter helplessness. That had been facilitated by the savage restrictions imposed on the movement of Africans through the pass laws and other regulations.

52. By the terms of the Native Administration Proclamation of 1922, no person other than a white person was able to enter the Territory or to bring any African into it without an authorization issued by the Minister for Native Affairs. There was a mass of other restrictions, but that measure formed the basis of the entire oppressive structure. No African aged sixteen years or over, of either sex, had the right to reside for any length of time within urban areas, to seek work, to travel from town to town or from the reserves to urban areas, without a pass or special permission issued by the Administration's pass offices. The African within the Police Zone had to find work in from twelve to fourteen days; if he did not, the implication was that he would face ejection from the urban area or alternatively would have to accept any employment that was offered him.

53. The labour system was based entirely on the economic interests of the white settler element and was maintained by discriminatory labour legislation. By far the biggest source of what amounted to slave labour was to be found in the northern areas of Ovamboland, Okavango and the Kaokoveld. Further sources were the Native reserves within the Police Zone, and Angola. An African from those areas was not an independent worker; he had no right to choose the type of work he wished to do or the employer he preferred, or in any way to be a party to the terms of the contract under which he was brought into the urban areas. That barbaric system had reduced the African to a position where he was forced to accept any kind of work or wages that were offered. Further—

more, in case of accident, he was not adequately protected by the Workmen's Compensation Act; nor could his labour disputes be arbitrated by trade unions, since the organization and registration of such unions was illegal. The Native reserves had been deliberately neglected in order to provide areas of vast unemployment from which abundant cheap labour could be drawn. Labour was recruited in the main by the South West Africa Native Labour Association (SWANLA), which operated the whole system of modern slavery on behalf of the economic interests of the white settlers. Recruited labourers were required to enter into agreements with their employers, but the African labourer was not a party to such agreements, which were in fact contracts between the employer and the recruiting body. A starvation wage of 35 shillings a month was stipulated in the contract, which lasted from eighteen months to two years, during which period the labourer was nothing more than the tool of his employer.

54. Discrimination was also rife where public health was concerned. African patients, both within and outside the Police Zone, were required to produce a document signed by their employers or by the welfare officers in the reserves before they could be admitted for treatment. There were no mobile clinics to cater for the reserves; serious obstacles were placed in the way of African patients by the restrictions on their free movement to the urban areas. Hospitals were overcrowded, understaffed and inadequately equipped; there were no training facilities for African nurses in the Territory, while qualified African nurses from South Africa were not permitted to take up employment in the Territory. No African hospital had a full-time doctor. The discriminatory nature of the health facilities was illustrated by the fact that, in the 1960-1961 estimates, £150,000 had been provided for the erection of an African hospital in an area in Ovamboland, with a population of 250,000, while £1 million had been spent on the new State hospital at Windhoek, serving only 20,000 settlers.

55. Housing policy, too, reflected the avowed apartheid policy of the Administration. African residential areas were required to be separated from the so-called white areas by a strip of at least 500 yards, in which no development was allowed. In addition, Africans were kept apart on the basis of their ethnic origin and every obstacle was placed in the way of their mingling with one another. The main purpose was undoubtedly to control the urban African, to restrict his freedom of movement and to threaten or cajole him into accepting the settlers' terms for remaining in the urban areas. By law the house which an African occupied could never become his property in such areas, nor could he build and settle permanently there; he was reduced to the status of a lodger in the country of his birth. Under the regulations governing the African residential areas, any African could be ejected from his house under any one of many regulations. For instance, a residential or site permit could be cancelled by the superintendent if, *inter alia*, the holder was unemployed for a period of one month or had not been following some lawful trade or occupation within the urban area, or had left for one month without written permission from the superintendent or had, in the opinion of the superintendent, ceased to be a "fit and proper" person to reside in the Location. Upon cancellation of a residential permit, the holder was

obliged to surrender it to the superintendent and to leave the Location with the members of his family.

56. The people had been quick to recognize the housing schemes for what they were and to take appropriate measures to oppose them. Their opposition was based on the principle that the indigenous people had a legitimate right to reside anywhere in the Territory. To permit themselves to be moved to any one of the proposed new Locations would constitute an abandonment of that principle and imply acceptance of the apartheid policy to which they were unequivocally opposed. That had, in particular, been their attitude towards the removal to Katutura, which was the bloodstained symbol of alien oppression.

57. The time for concession had long ceased; the only solution to the question of South West Africa was the immediate expulsion of South Africa and its Administration from the Territory.

58. Mr. NGAVIRUE (South West Africa National Union) said that he would examine the economy of South West Africa in the light of the wording of article 2 of the Mandate, by which the Mandatory Power was called upon to promote to the utmost the material and moral well-being and the social progress of the inhabitants of the Territory.

59. There were two outstanding features of the present economy of South West Africa. The first was that it was buoyant and the financial position sound, thanks to the Territory's mineral resources, arable and grazing lands and ocean fishing grounds. The second was that the wealth of South West Africa was the monopoly of South African nationals, both within the Territory and outside it, certain white settlers, and overseas investors. That wealth existed side by side with the grinding poverty of the indigenous population.

60. The Territory produced diamonds, lead, copper, zinc and other base metals. Mineral sales had risen from £23,980,631 in 1958 to £25,397,535 in 1959. The mining industry was wholly in the hands of South African nationals and a number of overseas companies, among which were the Consolidated Diamond Mines of South West Africa Ltd., and the Tsumeb Corporation, a syndicate composed partly of American interests. Other companies, notably the Trans-American Mining Company and the Rio Tinto Mineral Search of Africa, a United Kingdom concern, had made surveys for diamonds and copper respectively.

61. In agriculture, the dominant activities were cattle breeding and karakul farming. Despite the fact that the majority of the people of South West Africa were dependent on agriculture, the Africans lived at starvation level, mainly because of insufficient land, inadequate or in many cases non-existent marketing facilities, and lack of technical assistance in animal husbandry and soil conservation. The Administration's apathy towards African agriculture had been well demonstrated by the fact that, during the recent drought, £2.6 million had been provided for relief measures to the white farmers, whereas no such assistance had been given to the Africans in the reserves. The Africans, who represented about 88 per cent of the population, possessed only 27 per cent of the 7.5 million cattle in the country. Moreover, they had no part in the karakul farming industry, which had an average annual income of approximately £5 million.

62. The fishing industry, the output of which had been valued at £8,254,887 in 1959, brought no eco-

conomic benefit to the African. The 2,177 Africans reported to have been employed in the fishing industry at Walvis Bay in 1960 merely represented cheap labour.

63. Hence it was clear that despite the substantial economic development that had taken place the material welfare of the indigenous African people had not been promoted.

64. In his view, poverty among the Africans was due to two factors: the expropriation of land, both during the period of German rule and under South African administration, and the apartheid economic system applied by the Mandatory Power. South Africa had gone even further than the Germans in the expropriation of land and had dispossessed the African people of some of the lands that the Germans had earmarked as African reserves. The area of land scheduled by the German Commander in 1902 for the people under the two Chiefs of Okahandja and Waterbert had been about two and a half times larger than the area which those people possessed at the present time, and had also been situated in a more fertile region. In the mid-1920's, when the South African Administration had proclaimed the so-called Native reserves, people had been forcibly removed from their land and property in certain areas and their houses and gardens set on fire. In the case of Hoachanas, the Administration had made several attempts to remove the people from their land by force. On the other hand, contrary to the provisions of the Mandate, South Africa had from time to time brought foreigners into the Territory and had given them land which had belonged to the Africans.

65. The evils of apartheid were well known to the Committee; he would however give some instances of how it worked as an economic policy in the Mandated Territory. The purpose of the policy was to deprive the African people of the land and of the other resources of the soil and to reduce them to a state of servitude. No proper marketing facilities were provided for produce grown by Africans; in the reserves in the Police Zone, Africans were compelled to sell their stock at public auctions, while the Africans outside the Police Zone, who constituted the majority of the population, had no market at all.

66. In addition to the fact that there were few Africans who could afford the minimum capital required to start a business, the African business man was, as a result of the apartheid policy, subjected to various handicaps: he could trade only with his own people, who had no money; he could not obtain credit, since that was prevented by law; finally, as there were no African wholesalers owing to the absence of credit and capital, the African business man was obliged to buy from white wholesalers, who in most

cases gave priority to their white customers when certain commodities were scarce.

67. As a result of apartheid, Africans were excluded from trades and professions and were in practice excluded from apprenticeship in trades traditionally reserved to Europeans. There were no schools in the Territory in which Africans could be trained for any professions, apart from the inadequate course for primary teachers.

68. Again, apartheid limited or excluded economic choice: a starving farmer had no option but to offer his services to the first labour recruiting agent and was therefore forced to work for whatever wages were offered to him.

69. He went on to give some instances of African wages taken from an official report for the district of Okahandja; they ranged from £2 a month for washer-women to £10 a month for administration labourers. In order to show how close to the subsistence level the Africans lived, he mentioned that it would cost about £4 a month to feed a family of four on "mealie-meal" alone, without any sugar, fats or meat.

70. Apartheid was also responsible for the unequal distribution of the budget. In the case of education, for instance, 78.68 per cent of the amount appropriated for the years 1958-59 had been for the white population and 18.4 per cent for the Africans. Wages and salaries in the public service were based on apartheid and Africans earned from one quarter to one eighth of what the white staff earned.

71. His organization submitted that the South African Government, far from complying with its obligation to promote the material well-being of the inhabitants, had deliberately developed an apartheid economy designed not only to prevent the economic advancement of the African people but to rob them of the resources which they had possessed at the time when the Mandate had been granted. The only conclusion that could be drawn from the consistent refusal of the South African Government to accept the assistance of the United Nations specialized agencies was that it reflected an unwillingness to promote the material well-being of the indigenous inhabitants, lest they should develop an economy which would endanger the material well-being of the white settlers and overseas investors.

72. His organization therefore held that the first step towards promoting the material well-being of the inhabitants of South West Africa must be the expulsion of the South African Administration and its replacement by a government which would represent the interests of the rightful heirs to the natural resources of the Territory.

The meeting rose at 6 p.m.