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Chairman: Mr. Majid RAHNEMA (Iran).

AGENDA ITEMS 69 AND 70

Question of South West Africa: reports of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples (continued) (A/5690 and Add.1-3; A/5781, A/5800/Rev.1, chap. IV; A/5840, A/5949, A/5993, A/6000/Rev.1, chap. IV; A/6035 and Add.1 and 2)

Special educational and training programmes for South West Africa: reports of the Secretary-General (continued) (A/5782 and Corr.1, Add.1 and Add.1/Corr.1; A/6080 and Add.1)

GENERAL DEBATE (continued)

1. Mr. THIAM (Mali) offered his delegation's condolences to the delegation of Kuwait on the death of His Highness Abdulla Al-Salah Al-Salem, Amir of the State of Kuwait.
2. He thanked the petitioners who had appeared before the Committee for their important statements, which had helped to throw light on the situation in South West Africa. His delegation wished to assure the petitioners of Mali's unconditional support for the South West Africans in their struggle.
3. The information in the reports of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples (A/5800/Rev.1, chap. IV; A/5840, A/6000/Rev.1, chap. IV) was extremely disturbing. In South West Africa, as in Angola and Mozambique, foreign monopolies, supported by the reactionary Governments of Portugal and South Africa, were plundering the natural wealth and exploiting the people, in defiance of the United Nations Charter and of the resolutions of the General Assembly.
4. The objective of the racist South African Government's policy in South West Africa was to get the

Africans herded into reserves. The Odendaal Plan, described in chapter IV, paragraphs 15-22, of document A/6000/Rev.1, was directed towards that end. Under the Plan, separate "homelands" would be established for ten "non-white" groups, which would be allocated an aggregate of 40.07 per cent of the land area of the Territory; the balance of South West Africa, to consist of a "white area" which would cover over 43 per cent of the Territory, and the remaining portions including the two large diamond areas would in effect be fully integrated with South Africa. Thus the land allocated to the few white immigrants would exceed that allocated to the people of South West Africa, and the richest parts of the Territory would become the possession of Mr. Verwoerd's South Africa. The United Nations could surely not allow such a plan to be carried out.

5. The South West African people hoped for forceful decisions from the United Nations. They wanted to recover their land, to be able to bring up their children in decent conditions and to have schools and hospitals instead of prisons, reserves and conditions of slavery which were incompatible with the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

6. During 1965 the Special Committee had taken up the question of South West Africa both in New York and at its meetings in Africa; petitioners had given it information concerning the plots of the imperialists directed against southern Africa. He referred the Committee in particular to the statement in which Mr. Make, speaking on behalf of the Pan-Africanist Congress, had spoken of the assistance South Africa was receiving from Western European countries and the United States of America in building up its military power (see A/6000/Rev.1, chap. IV, paras. 86-88).

7. There were two reasons for the interest of the colonial Powers in southern Africa; they were anxious to protect the vast profits which they obtained from their investments in the region, thanks particularly to the low cost of labour; and they regarded southern Africa as of strategic importance for preventing what was called the threat of communism in Africa. The imperialist Powers were establishing aggressive military bases directed against the African peoples. The nationalists were accused of being communist agents and were imprisoned. In order to perpetuate white domination, the United Kingdom was assisting in the establishment of an iniquitous régime in Southern Rhodesia: the unilateral declaration of independence by Mr. Smith's régime was part of the plan to maintain imperialist control over an area of Africa. At the same time, Portugal and South Africa were supported by Western countries in their defiance of the United Nations.

8. His delegation paid a tribute to Ethiopia and Liberia for their defence of the cause of the South West African people in the International Court of Justice and for having thus delayed the implementation of the Odendaal Plan, which would transform South West Africa into a kind of zoo, with the Africans kept in paddocks. Mr. Nujoma, President of the South West Africa People's Organization, had told the Special Committee that the South African Government was waiting only for the result of the Court's hearings before taking over South West Africa by force; and Mr. Kuhangua, Secretary-General of the same organization, had said that the South African régime was going ahead with the Odendaal recommendations even though the case was still before the Court.

9. The United Nations must find a solution to the problem in conformity with the legitimate aspirations of the people. It could not for ever evade its responsibilities without losing the confidence of all peace-loving and justice-loving peoples. The situation in South West Africa was intolerable and the problem must be solved rapidly in accordance with Article 73 of the Charter, which made it incumbent on administering Powers to lead peoples under their administration towards self-government. His delegation endorsed the conclusions of the Special Committee and the resolution which it had adopted on 17 June 1965 (A/6000/Rev.1, chap.IV, para. 285), and requested the South African Government to comply with that resolution and with General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV). The Malian delegation appealed to all States to give the African people of South West Africa the moral and material support necessary to enable them to achieve independence and to exercise full sovereignty over the natural resources of their country. The General Assembly should demand that South Africa remove all its military bases in South West Africa forthwith and refrain from using the Territory in any way for the concentration of weapons or armed forces. Finally, his delegation requested those Powers having financial interests in South West Africa to reconsider their attitude towards the present South African régime. The problem would be solved sooner or later, and the Africans could not be held responsible for what might happen.

10. Mr. DIABATE (Guinea) said that the facts which the Committee was now considering were without precedent in history. A Member of the United Nations which had for twenty years practised racial segregation in its most brutal form persisted in its violation of human rights, despite the appeals of the world community; ignored the Charter of the United Nations and the resolutions of the General Assembly; rejected the competence of the United Nations to deal with a matter undeniably within the purview of the international community; and, in spite of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV), refused to give freedom to a Territory which had been entrusted to it by the League of Nations, a body whose legal successor was the United Nations. South Africa was even attempting to annex the Territory, showing complete contempt for the people's aspirations.

11. South West Africa, like Togo, Cameroon and Tanganyika, had been a colony taken from Germany under the Treaty of Versailles and could have expected,

like those countries, to achieve full sovereignty in due course. South Africa claimed that the Mandate for South West Africa had lapsed with the demise of the League of Nations. It could be demonstrated, however, that the League of Nations had entrusted the Territory to South Africa on behalf of the international community. On the basis of the advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice given in 1950,^{1/} it could be stated that implementation of the terms of the Mandate was still a matter subject to international supervision. The Territory had international status and South Africa's obligations continued to exist. The basis for South Africa's obligations and for the Territory's international status was clearly the Mandate, which must therefore be regarded as still in force. Even though the Mandates conferred by the League of Nations had not been explicitly transferred to the United Nations in 1946, the party which had conferred the Mandates had not ceased to exist, since the League of Nations had merely been an agent of the international community. If that were not so, the Court's finding that South Africa's obligations continued to exist would have no basis.

12. Furthermore, South Africa had violated all the provisions of the Mandate. That had been clearly shown by Liberia and Ethiopia in their conclusions presented to the International Court in the case now pending, as also in the debates of the General Assembly and the Fourth Committee. South Africa had not only failed to fulfil its obligation, under article 2 of the Mandate, to promote the well-being of the inhabitants of the Territory but had actually impaired the people's well-being through its policy of apartheid and its denial of basic rights and freedoms, and had prevented the Territory's normal evolution towards independence. Only persons of white origin were allowed to vote or stand as candidates for election; the Africans were compelled to live in certain areas; they were prevented from joining trade unions and from taking part in a number of activities; certain workers were described under the law as "servants" and their employers as "masters", and servants could be given corporal punishment if they did not comply with their labour contracts. South Africa had violated article 4 of the Mandate by encouraging the white population to arm itself and stationing large forces in the Territory; it had systematically violated article 6 by refusing to submit to the General Assembly an annual report, an obligation which had been confirmed by the International Court in 1950; and it had violated article 7 by altering the provisions of the Mandate without consulting the United Nations.

13. For eighteen years the international community had tried to persuade the South African Government to fulfil its obligations under the Mandate. It was a generally accepted rule of law that when one party to an agreement did not fulfil its obligations the other party was no longer tied by obligations under the agreement. The Mandate entrusted to South Africa was an international treaty and the usual rules must be taken to apply. It would be absurd to claim that the League of Nations had renounced its right to supervise the Mandatory Power's activities and had left that

^{1/} International status of South-West Africa, Advisory Opinion: I.C.J. Reports 1950, p.128.

Power free to fulfil or not to fulfil its obligations, as it wished.

14. It might be asked how it was that South Africa felt able to defy the United Nations and world opinion. The responsibility of certain major Western Powers was clear. They were enabling South Africa to increase its military potential by selling powerful weapons to the régime; they were expanding trade and increasing their investments in South West Africa; they had consistently followed a policy of inaction with respect to the problems of South West Africa; they evaded their international responsibilities when it came to assisting in the solution of the problem. It was clear that there was collusion between the Western Powers and South Africa, directed against Africa and the forces of progress.

15. The situation in South West Africa was a threat to peace and stability in the region and increased the danger of imperialist aggression against the African continent. It was an insult to all Africans, who could not allow South Africa to keep a colony at a time when they were fighting to banish the colonialists. The United Nations should take the necessary steps to ensure an effective presence in the Territory for the purpose of international supervision preceding the attainment by South West Africa of full sovereignty. Meanwhile, the United Nations should enforce compliance with the requirements of its resolutions, particularly those calling for economic sanctions against South Africa, and the Security Council should make arrangements to hold a special session as soon as the International Court announced its verdict on the dispute between the international community and South Africa. The South African authorities should refrain from any direct or indirect action which could jeopardize the peaceful solution of the problem. Any attempt at annexation must be regarded by the United Nations as aggression.

16. Mr. AZIMOV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) said that the Committee was obliged to return again and again to the question of South West Africa because the racist leaders of South Africa not only had no intention of carrying out the numerous resolutions of the United Nations concerning South West Africa but were taking more and more steps to turn their *de facto* domination of the Territory into *de jure* possession and to establish in it the same racist régime as in South Africa. The history of the South West African question in the United Nations showed that resolutions and decisions were not enough; they must be backed up by action which would show that the United Nations had no intention of remaining an idle bystander.

17. Immediate action was required because the situation in South West Africa had recently become much worse and the recommendations of the Commission of Enquiry into South West Africa Affairs, known as the Odendaal Commission, showed that the Verwoerd régime intended not only to continue to deny the people of South West Africa their rights but also to extend the odious practice of apartheid to them by creating Bantustans in the Territory. Such plans were condemned by the entire African population of South West Africa, by progressive thinkers in South Africa itself and by world opinion in general. All the truly representative political parties

of South West Africa rejected the recommendations of the Odendaal Commission outright and warned that they could only lead to bloodshed. Even the government-dominated Press of South Africa acknowledged that the concept underlying the Odendaal report^{2/} was that of apartheid. The South African Government's plans for South West Africa were in flagrant contradiction of the terms of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV); moreover, the Summit Conference of Independent African States held at Addis Ababa in 1963 had adopted a resolution emphasizing that South West Africa was an African country under international mandate and that any attempt by South Africa to annex it would be regarded as an act of aggression.

18. The reason why South Africa had for over eighteen years been able to flout the United Nations resolutions and recommendations on South West Africa with impunity was that it had continued to receive moral and material support of every kind from the countries of the West—in particular the members of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)—to which the General Assembly had made yet another appeal in its resolution 1899 (XVIII). All the elements of South West Africa's economy belonged entirely to foreigners or settlers and it was the "unholy alliance" between those two groups which made it difficult to implement the United Nations resolutions, for all the companies which dominated the economy of South West Africa formed part of a vast military-industrial complex with headquarters in New York, London, Bonn and other Western capitals. Those international monopolies were in South West Africa for one reason alone: profit. A United States business man had said that profits on capital invested in South West Africa averaged 27 per cent per annum, while a respected British economic writer had revealed that investments in South West Africa paid for themselves in four years at the most. Such unheard-of profits were obtained by ruthless exploitation of the African population under a system which amounted to little better than forced labour, for workers were paid only just sufficient to prevent them from dying of hunger. For a year's exhausting work miners received only the equivalent of £ 30 sterling, while workers in the diamond industry received only £ 9. 9. 6 a month

19. Such were the reasons why the international monopolies assisting in the rape of South West Africa were so willing to support South Africa and its policies of apartheid in international circles. The United States magazine *Time* quoted one British businessman as saying that if it were not for apartheid his company would never have dreamed of investing money in South West Africa. In General Assembly resolution 1761 (XVII) the United Nations had requested Member States to take certain steps to bring about the abandonment of the practice of apartheid in South Africa, including the breaking-off of diplomatic relations with the Government of South Africa, the boycotting of all South African goods and the refusal to export any goods, including arms, to South Africa. That resolution had scarcely been adopted before the United States, the United Kingdom and the Federal Republic of

^{2/} Republic of South Africa, *Report of the Commission of Enquiry into South West Africa Affairs, 1962-1963* (Pretoria, Government Printer, 1964).

Germany, to name only the three most prominent offenders, had begun to step up their investments in South Africa so flagrantly that their action constituted an open challenge to the United Nations and a resounding vote of confidence in apartheid. Nor were the activities of the Western countries restricted to investment, for in spite of General Assembly resolution 1899 (XVIII) they were vying with each other to supply South Africa with arms for the repression and murder of defenceless Africans. In addition, as insurance against more positive action by the other members of the international community, they were helping South Africa to build up its own arms industry. Those arms were not restricted to light law-enforcement weapons; in 1958 West German technicians had helped South Africa to begin the production of fissile uranium and in 1960 the Allis-Chalmers Company of the United States had begun to build an atomic reactor in South Africa. The years 1963 and 1964 had seen the beginning of rocket research in South Africa, while the manufacture of poison gas had been started under the direction of a former Nazi.

20. In view of the above facts, it was impossible for the United Nations to place any confidence in the assurances of the countries in question that they were opposed to apartheid. The United Nations should condemn in the strongest terms not only South Africa itself but all those who supported its hateful policies openly or in secret. Every effort must be made to secure the earliest possible implementation of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) in South West Africa. Mr. Verwoerd must be warned to do nothing to prevent it and all countries must be called upon to give every possible assistance to the people of South West Africa in their struggle for freedom. Any action against the African population of South West Africa should be regarded as a deliberate violation of South Africa's Mandate and all the international companies which exploited the people and resources of South West Africa should be unequivocally condemned.

21. The General Assembly should therefore call upon the Governments of the United Kingdom, the United States and their allies to cease all assistance to such companies and to sever all relations with the Government of South Africa. The Soviet Union delegation had no illusions that such an appeal would be heeded, however, for as long as South African racists remained on South West African soil they would continue the criminal abuse of the Mandate which they had been committing for the past twenty years without any positive action on the part of the United Nations. The only action which would really bring results would be to withdraw the Mandate from South Africa so that South Africans would no longer have any excuse for their presence in South West Africa. The Soviet Union delegation's position on South West Africa was set out in document A/5949. It was based on the principle of support for all peoples struggling for freedom and independence, the energetic pursuit of positive measures, including coercive measures, against South Africa and the immediate implementation in South West Africa of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

22. Mr. O'HARA (United States of America), speaking in exercise of the right of reply, said that some of the Soviet Union representative's statements showed him

to be grievously misinformed; he hoped that the Soviet Union representative would check his sources more carefully before he spoke again. The fact was that the United States Government had imposed a complete embargo on shipments of arms to South Africa and that embargo had been strictly enforced.

23. Mr. MARIN VANEGAS (Colombia) offered his delegation's condolences to the Kuwait delegation upon the death of the Amir of Kuwait.

24. The problem of South West Africa had been much debated by United Nations bodies over the years and the time had come for the Organization to take effective, practical decisions. In spite of all the resolutions adopted by the United Nations, nothing has been done to improve the situation of the South West Africans or to lead them along the road to sovereignty. There was consequently a growing conviction that a solution must be found which would enable the people to assume control of their own destiny.

25. His delegation had no doubt regarding the legal status of South West Africa: it was a Non-Self-Governing Territory to which the provisions of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) were applicable. Under the Charter, the United Nations had full authority to intervene and to decide upon the régime to be established in the Territory. Colombia could not accept the argument of the administering Power that it was not legally obliged to place the Territory of South West Africa under the Trusteeship System and that the United Nations had no competence to intervene. Article 77 of the Charter laid down the various categories of Territories to which the Trusteeship System should apply. South West Africa clearly belonged to the first category, namely, Territories held under mandate, and in his delegation's view the placing of such Territories under trusteeship was mandatory. That interpretation was fully supported by the terms of Article 80, paragraph 2. Moreover, in its 1950 advisory opinion the International Court of Justice had upheld the view that South West Africa was a Territory subject to an international Mandate, that the provisions of Chapter XII of the Charter applied to the Territory in that they laid down the procedure for placing it under the Trusteeship System, and that South Africa was not competent to alter the status of the Territory without the consent of the United Nations.

26. The United Nations must once more seek a way of placing South West Africa under the Trusteeship System. An *ad hoc* committee might be established with the primary function of studying ways and means of extending the Trusteeship System to South West Africa. His delegation did not share the view that the United Nations could not take any decision on the question as long as the International Court was considering the matter. It had no doubt that the Court's decision would only give further support to the decisions taken by the General Assembly and the Security Council.

27. Mr. BOTNEN (Norway) observed that it had been the tragic fate of the inhabitants of southern Africa, in their efforts to realize their age-long aspirations, to be subjected to the abhorrent policy of apartheid, which not only impeded their advance towards self-determination but deprived them of basic human rights

and fundamental freedoms. The past twenty years had seen the emergence of many new States, mostly through a process of peaceful evolution, and it seemed only a matter of time before most of the remaining areas under colonial rule would be granted the right to decide their own future. The future of the people of South West Africa, however, held no such promise of independence and if the United Nations could not offer the hope of a peaceful solution to their problem, there was no knowing what consequences might ensue.

28. The Norwegian Government and people condemned the attitude of the Government of South Africa, which had consistently disregarded the decisions of United Nations bodies and the very principles for which the Organization stood.

29. The concept of racial supremacy was equally unacceptable to Norway, which considered the Odendaal report inadmissible in that it was based on the principle of apartheid. The ideas underlying the report seemed incompatible with the interests of the African population of the Territory; under the proposed system of partition, they would not receive a fair share of the country or its resources. Moreover, there was the danger that the implementation of the Odendaal recommendations would impede progress towards self-determination by facilitating the de facto incorporation of the area into South Africa.

30. There were regrettable indications that the South African Government had already begun to carry out some of the suggestions in the Odendaal report, despite its declaration that no political measures would go into effect pending the outcome of the case before the International Court of Justice.

31. Statements emphasizing the present material well-being enjoyed by the population of South West Africa had no bearing on the real issue at stake, which was the subjugation of a people and the denial of their basic human rights. A large part of the South West African population had no means of influencing the political, economic and social development of the Territory, and the long-term goal of the South African Government seemed to be their permanent subjugation. Accordingly no solution could be acceptable unless it paved the way to self-determination for the entire population of South West Africa.

32. Ethiopia and Liberia deserved a tribute for their perseverance in pursuing the case they had brought before the Court, thereby showing their faith in and respect for international law. Their action provided further evidence of the desire of the African nations to solve their continent's problems by orderly and lawful means. It was encouraging to see that the Court's difficult proceedings were nearing completion. After the verdict, the next step might be to consider measures for giving effect to the decision, if necessary.

33. Mr. HATTINGH. (South Africa) emphasized that his delegation's participation in the debates of the Committee and the General Assembly was subject to the South African Government's view that it was not accountable to the United Nations for its administration of South West Africa. Since the League of Nations, at its last meeting, in 1946, had not arranged to transfer its supervisory powers in respect of former Mandated Territories to the United Nations, the Organization

had no such powers in respect of South West Africa. To avoid any misunderstanding regarding his delegation's absence from the hearings of South West African petitioners, it should also be reiterated that South Africa did not recognize the right of the Committee to hear petitioners except in the case of Trust Territories.

34. A statement made to the Committee (1457th meeting) by the South African delegation during the eighteenth session of the General Assembly in October 1963 foreshadowed the publication of the report of the Commission of Enquiry into South West Africa Affairs, known as the Odendaal Commission. The report had been tabled in the South African House of Assembly by the Prime Minister on 27 January 1964.

35. During South Africa's administration of South West Africa some seventy commissions had investigated a variety of matters and, in pursuance of their recommendations, constant progress had been made in the Territory. The Odendaal Commission had recommended a five-year programme, costing the equivalent of some \$210 million, to promote the human and material well-being of the inhabitants of the Territory, coupled with proposals to hasten the attainment of self-government by all sections of the population.

36. The decisions of the South African Government on those recommendations had been announced on 29 April 1964. Priority would be given to recommendations entailing the expenditure of the equivalent of some \$101 million on the provision of irrigation water and electricity from the Kunene River Scheme. The Government had also agreed to place agriculture outside the white areas on a firmer and more scientific basis. Professional research education and guidance were to be extended by providing experimental and demonstration farms and training facilities for the non-white groups. Plans were being made for the efficient marketing of livestock from the Northern non-white areas with the help of the Bantu Investment Corporation. A furniture factory had been set up in Ovamboland and jute cultivation undertaken in Okavango. Roads and communications were being improved and the inhabitants of non-white areas would be given assistance and encouragement in prospecting for and exploiting their local mineral resources.

37. Education featured prominently in the development plan. The Commission found that the 1962 school enrolment figure in respect of the Coloured and Baster communities represented approximately 90 per cent of the possible school population and the Commission's recommendation was accepted that efforts should be made to increase school attendance for non-whites as a whole, which had more than doubled between 1950 and 1962, to 60 per cent in all reserves or homelands by 1970. About \$5 million would be spent in the first five years on the provision of more and better schools, hostel facilities and teacher-training facilities.

38. The Odendaal Commission had noted the active attention that the Government had been giving to the improvement and extension of South West Africa's health services. In addition to the Okatana tuberculosis and general hospital—the largest of its kind in Africa—the Government had approved recommendations to build at

least twenty new hospitals and clinics for the non-white population and to expand existing establishments. Comprehensive anti-malaria campaigns had been initiated and extensive medical services would be provided to outlying areas by aircraft and by radio. Moreover, the Government would, apart from those direct services, continue to subsidize religious missions so that they could provide complementary health services.

39. The foregoing was a brief outline of the recommendations of the Commission on which the Government's decisions had been announced.

40. The Odendaal Commission had also recommended the creation of homelands in which each population group would have residential, political and language rights so as to develop towards self-determination without dominating, or being dominated by, any other group. Under the plan, the non-white groups would gain over 11 million hectares made up of Government land, game reserves and hundreds of white-owned farms, required for the extension and consolidation of the homelands.

41. It should be emphasized that the South African Government had not announced its final decision on the recommendations relating to the constitution of the homelands as self-governing areas. One of the reasons was that recommendations concerning the homelands were affected by considerations pertaining to the case pending before the International Court. Since it had been suggested that South Africa had gone ahead with the establishment of the homelands, he would draw the Committee's attention to paragraph 22 of the White Paper issued by the Government on 29 April 1964, stating that until the case had been concluded it would refrain from any action which might be regarded even theoretically as detrimental or prejudicial to the alleged rights of the Applicant States or might aggravate or extend the dispute before the Court.

42. The South African representative drew the attention of the representative of Norway to the quotation, as the latter had just referred to that matter. As the proceedings at the International Court had not yet ended, the South African delegation, in accordance with past practice would not make statements on aspects before the International Court, except in so far as those matters had already been submitted to the Court and had become public property.

43. As for the reports of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, much of the subject matter was based on statements made by petitioners or by members of the Special Committee who derived their information from them. It should be reiterated that all allegations regarding so-called atrocities, slavery, the extermination of the population, the establishment of bases and the like were quite unfounded. The South African delegation would merely draw attention to the tactics which lay behind the monotonous repetition of such false charges, which would presumably find their way into the Committee's resolutions. In fact, at the present meeting some of those charges had been repeated and had already elicited a denial from the United States representative as far as his delegation

was concerned. The South African delegation reserved its right to speak at greater length on that aspect of the question when it had had time to study the statements made. Against the background sketched, it would point out, however, that the Applicants in the Court case had significantly failed to avail themselves of the ample opportunities they had had to call some or all of the South West African petitioners to the Court, where they could have testified under oath and have been cross-examined. His delegation would leave it to the Committee to draw the necessary conclusion from that.

44. Mr. ANDRE (Dahomey) hoped that no misconceptions would be engendered by the statement just made. The circumstances clearly showed that South West Africa was a Territory which still needed to be liberated.

45. Miss BROOKS (Liberia) observed that, despite his assertion that his delegation could not discuss the case before the International Court, the representative of South Africa had none the less made statements on that subject that called for a reply. In filing their case, Ethiopia and Liberia had been concerned primarily with the legal aspects of the situation. That was why they had not produced so many witnesses as South Africa.

46. Mr. DIABATE (Guinea) said he would leave it to the Committee to appraise the fallacious and arrogant statement just made by the person who claimed to represent South Africa.

47. Mr. DE CASTRO (Philippines) expressed his sorrow over the bereavement suffered by Kuwait and hoped that the representative of that country would convey to his people the condolences of the Philippine Government and people.

48. On the subject of South West Africa, it was to be deplored that not one provision of the various General Assembly resolutions had been implemented, although there was almost complete unanimity in the Assembly's condemnation of apartheid and discrimination in South West Africa. The Philippines could not subscribe to the view that the General Assembly was not competent to deal with the question. Indeed, in view of the South African Government's non-co-operation and the consequent deterioration of the situation in South West Africa, the Assembly should pursue its discussion with even greater vigour.

49. It was South Africa's duty, as the Mandatory Power, to guide the inhabitants of the Territory towards progress and self-government. Yet the policy of the South African Government ran directly counter to those objectives; it spelled retrogression and discrimination instead of progress and equality.

50. The Philippines continued to condemn apartheid. As for the Odendaal Commission, there was every indication that its recommendations would represent a step away from self-determination, instead of promoting the progressive development of South West Africa. The idea of dismembering the Territory into homelands, where the inhabitants would be segregated like wild animals in reserves, was divisive and discriminatory. No right-thinking person could consider such a policy progressive. With regard to the proposed

administrative changes in the Territory, it was clear from paragraphs 26 and 29 of the Special Committee's 1964 report (A/5800/Rev.1, chap.IV) that they would reduce the non-whites to the position of being allowed no participation whatever in government affairs. It was therefore to be hoped that the Odendaal recommendations, which were contrary to the Mandate, would not be carried out—although there was evidence to show that some of them were already being put into effect.

51. In view of those circumstances there was small wonder that the situation in South West Africa was critical and explosive. The petitioners had stated that the South West Africans would not submit passively but would take up arms to liberate themselves if necessary. The Assembly would therefore have to take effective steps to prevent a threat to world peace.

52. The Philippine delegation would support any resolution designed to facilitate the attainment by the South West African people of their legitimate aspirations. It hoped that the recommendations of the United Nations would be heeded by the South African Government.

53. Mr. ALDESCU (Romania) said that in South West Africa the destiny of a colonial people asking and fighting for its right to self-determination and independence was at stake. What was more, the policy of apartheid, which was condemned by all mankind and constituted a danger to international peace and security, was being practised in the Territory. Thus the concern of the African countries regarding the situation in South West Africa was legitimate and was shared by almost all the peoples of the world.

54. The United Nations had discussed the question of South West Africa for almost twenty years and had adopted many recommendations and resolutions which, had they been heeded, would have eliminated the item from the agenda. The South African Government, however, had systematically refused to take into account the opinion of the international community and had shown complete disregard for its international responsibilities towards South West Africa.

55. Every action of the Republic of South Africa had been aimed at the annexation of the Territory to South Africa, but it went without saying that such annexation and the implementation of the policy of apartheid in the Territory were in flagrant contradiction of the provisions of the United Nations Charter.

56. The Committee had heard from petitioners how the South African authorities were striving to divide the organizations representing the people of South West Africa so as to disrupt their unity with a view to partitioning the Territory.

57. In recent sessions of the General Assembly, the Romanian delegation had stressed that the South African Government's desire to annex South West

Africa and establish the principle of apartheid there were dictated by the economic and strategic importance of the Territory for South Africa and for the international monopolies which the South African Government represented. Thus the situation in South West Africa proved once more that the motive force behind colonialism was not its so-called civilizing mission but the desire to protect the economic interests of the colonial Powers.

58. In its report on the implications of the activities of the mining industry and of the other international companies having interests in South West Africa (A/5840), the Special Committee had concluded that the foreign companies having considerable capital investments in South Africa and in South West Africa shared with the South African Government the responsibility for the sufferings of the people of South West Africa, and that their activities constituted one of the main obstacles to South West Africa's progress towards independence. There was no doubt that if the South African Government did not receive support from the Powers interested in maintaining the status quo in South West Africa, it would not be able to violate its international obligations so systematically.

59. The African population of South West Africa had an inalienable right to self-determination and independence. The petitioners had described most eloquently the sufferings imposed upon the African population by the Government of South Africa. The Romanian delegation therefore considered that the Mandate granted to South Africa in respect of South West Africa must be withdrawn. The provisions of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples fully applied to South West Africa. The racist Government of South Africa, which had for many years been condemned by the international community for its policy of apartheid, had no moral justification for continuing to enjoy the privileges of a Mandatory Power.

60. The States which maintained close political and economic relations with South Africa should be resolutely called upon to comply with the recommendations of the United Nations. Some of the proposals made by the petitioners should be taken into consideration when the Committee drew up its resolution on the matter. The Romanian delegation would be happy to support such a resolution, as it had supported all the resolutions so far adopted on the matter by the General Assembly.

61. Mr. AL-SHAHEEN (Kuwait) extended his delegation's sincere thanks to the delegations which had offered their condolences on the death of Kuwait's Head of State and assured them that their messages would be duly conveyed to the Government and people of Kuwait.

The meeting rose at 1.15 p.m.