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Chairman: Mr. Guillermo FLORES AVENDAÑO
 (Guatemala).

AGENDA ITEM 56

Question of Southern Rhodesia: report of the Special Committee established under General Assembly resolution 1654 (XVI) (A/5238, chop.II; A/C.4/560, A/C.4/561) (continued)

HEARING OF PETITIONERS (continued)

1. The CHAIRMAN informed the members of the Committee that the Reverend Michael Scott had made available to them for consultation the Report of the Secretary for Native Affairs and Chief Native Commissioner for the Year 1961, 1/ which had been presented to the Legislative Assembly of Southern Rhodesia in 1962.

2. Mr. KIDWAI (India) proposed that the text of the statement made by Mr. Sithole at the 1337th and 1338th meetings of the Committee should be circulated in the usual manner.

It was so decided.

At the invitation of the Chairman, Mr. Josiah Chinamano, representative of the Zimbabwe African Peoples Union (ZAPU), took a place at the Committee table.

3. Mr. CHINAMANO (Zimbabwe African Peoples Union) said that in his party he was responsible, in particular, for questions relating to education, social welfare and national affairs in general. He was one of the few ZAPU leaders still at liberty and he had asked to be heard by the Committee in order to inform it of the recent events, in which he had been involved personally, to describe the feelings of the African population, to offer some observations that might help the Committee in making its decision, and to challenge, if necessary, the statements by the Multiracial group of petitioners which had also requested a hearing (A/C.4/557/Add.2). He hoped that he would be allowed to reply to them.

4. Relations between the African community and the European community had been constantly strained since the Africans had realized that the present

attempts by the Europeans to bring about a reconciliation were in fact merely hypocritical manoeuvres. All ZAPU supporters, including Europeans, could testify to the acts of frustration and intimidation to which they were subjected and the losses they had suffered through arson and sabotage. Such was the strength of ZAPU that the settlers were afraid that they might lose the privileges they had enjoyed for seventy years. When it had become obvious that a clash between the aspirations of the two communities was inevitable, a number of eminent churchmen had appealed to the Southern Rhodesian Government to convene a round-table conference for all the political leaders of the country, in order to find a common basis upon which to settle the crisis. Their appeal had not been heeded and, worse still, ZAPU had been banned on 20 September.

5. Such an attitude on the part of the European minority was inadmissible, even for tolerant people like himself. He was headmaster of the Highfield Community School, where he was trying to prepare 1,300 African children for their future responsibilities. The humiliating treatment to which he had been subjected in the presence of his pupils was but one example among many of what was happening in Southern Rhodesia and showed the negative attitude adopted by the authorities in its efforts to maintain law and order in the country.

6. In order to justify itself, the Government claimed that ZAPU was really no more than a small group of extremists which by dint of intimidation had forced the people to follow them. The triumphal welcome which Mr. Nkomo, the President of ZAPU, had received on his return to Salisbury after the banning of his party completely refuted that claim. There had been such a public outcry after his arrest that the police had not dared to intervene, which proved that Mr. Nkomo was the true leader of the Africans. Another proof of the vitality of ZAPU was the fact that recruiting was continuing despite the penalties to which its members were liable. If ZAPU was as insignificant as Sir Edgar Whitehead claimed, it was difficult to understand why the Prime Minister had sent his lieutenants to the Native reserves to incite the Africans to fill the gap created by the banning of ZAPU and form a new party. He was glad to say that the Africans were not falling into the trap laid for them and were refusing to acknowledge that ZAPU no longer existed after the arrest of almost all its leaders.

7. The Government's policy was sterile and it was difficult to see how it could expect the majority to accept laws which had been passed by a minority in its own interests, since the laws in force in the Territory primarily protected the interests of the European population. The Africans who broke the law and were imprisoned for it were welcomed as heroes by the indigenous people when they left prison. ZAPU, for its part, was resolved to ensure that all the population, Africans and Europeans alike, were obliged to obey

1/ Salisbury Government Printer, 1962.

the laws: if that was to be so, the laws had to be drawn up by true representatives of the population.

8. After ZAPU had been banned, there had been further outbreaks of incidents, arson and acts of sabotage. That appeared to indicate that, if the future of the country was to be properly safeguarded, the system of government must be reorganized in such a way as to guarantee the full participation of Africans in public life. The Government was at present trying to win Africans over to its cause and it was claiming that they were glad to be no longer subjected to intimidation by ZAPU, but the degrading methods used by its police and its army were no better than those which it claimed were used by the banned party.

9. In fact, the only hope for a solution of the crisis lay in Sir Edgar Whitehead. The Prime Minister, using force, had won the first battle by removing the Africans' means of expression and it was for him to make the next move. He hoped to solve the crisis by adopting positive measures, but the measures he had adopted so far showed how completely the Government was ignoring the aspirations of the Africans. It would like to make the Europeans believe that the Africans were preparing for war, while in fact they were asking for adequate representation in Parliament so that it could enact laws in the best interests of Southern Rhodesia. All that the Africans were asking for—and that legitimately—was universal suffrage. The settlers were opposing that claim and they saw in Southern Rhodesia the only country which could be a refuge for the Whites in Africa; they intended to dig in and fight it out. The Africans, however, realizing that Southern Rhodesia was their country, would not be willing to give in. The conflict had reached the point of no return.

10. Since negotiation had failed and the appeal to the United Kingdom had not been heeded, the Africans were now turning to the United Nations. They were not asking it to intervene directly, which would be a negative way of helping to solve the problem, but to bring pressure to bear on the United Kingdom so that it would intervene. If the United Kingdom Government persisted in its passive attitude, Africans, not only in Southern Rhodesia but throughout Africa, would lose confidence in the United Kingdom. Only that country, which had given independence to Canada, Australia, New Zealand, Nigeria, Tanganyika, Ghana and other countries with homogeneous societies, could refuse to hand Southern Rhodesia over to its European minority and could thus prevent chaos and armed conflict, with all their disastrous consequences. The Africans knew that ZAPU had been banned in order to free Sir Edgar Whitehead from any interference on the part of the Africans. The Prime Minister was also very much afraid of a group of European extremists mainly composed of farmers; that was one of the reasons why he had fixed the elections for December 1962, at which time the farmers would be busy with the harvest. The Africans were now convinced that only the United Nations could help them, by continuing the magnificent work of decolonization which it had started.

11. In conclusion, he asked the United Nations to arrange for a round-table conference to be convened at which all the political leaders of Southern Rhodesia could together work out the measures which seemed most calculated to give the country the best possible future.

12. Mr. MOUSHOUTAS (Cyprus) asked the petitioner what was the position of the Churches with regard to education and politics in Southern Rhodesia.

13. Mr. CHINAMANO (Zimbabwe African Peoples Union) replied that the Churches, whose original aim had been solely to teach their followers to read the Bible, had come to play a considerable role in education. The Government subsidized them, but African children at missionary schools were by no means on an equal footing with European children at public schools. The missionary schools did excellent work, but they lacked funds and could not accept all the children who applied for admission. The Africans therefore felt that much more could be done in the field of education.

14. As far as politics were concerned, while some Churches thought it was their duty to intervene and, if the action of the authorities was contrary to Christian principles, to denounce their attitude, others were in favour of abstention in temporal affairs. All, however, supported the idea of a round-table conference between the Government and the leaders of ZAPU.

15. Mr. MOUSHOUTAS (Cyprus) asked the petitioner for further information on the Highfield School and the difficulties he had encountered.

16. Mr. CHINAMANO (Zimbabwe African Peoples Union) explained that the Land Apportionment Act divided the country into two zones: the Africans were fully entitled to reside in one of the zones, but in the other, which was reserved for Europeans, they were regarded as visitors. Towns were placed in the second category, but as the Europeans needed indigenous labour, "locations" had been built where the Africans had to remain at night. With the increase in industrialization, the Africans from the countryside were drifting toward the urban centres. Highfield was one of the few areas around Salisbury where they had the right to buy houses and lease land. The Government provided free and compulsory education for the children of property owners only and the people living in a town as lodgers were considered to be either bachelors or childless couples. It had been in those circumstances that, at the beginning of 1962, 1,300 children of people working at Salisbury and living at Highfield had been admitted to the school of which he was headmaster and which had been started on the initiative of the Highfield residents, who had collected the money, formed a committee and asked him to run the school.

17. Mr. MOUSHOUTAS (Cyprus) asked the petitioner how the education received by African children compared with that received by European children and what differences there were in salary between indigenous teachers and European teachers.

18. Mr. CHINAMANO (Zimbabwe African Peoples Union) said that "African" education was the concern of the Territory, while "European" education was a Federal concern. The Federation was in a position to provide the necessary funds for the education of European children, for whom education was free and compulsory, while the Africans were obliged to pay fees for their children, who attended private schools. The Government paid the rural missionary schools an annual subsidy of three shillings per child for school equipment, and in urban areas the subsidy amounted to £8 per child, while the Federal Government spent £103 per child per annum in the case of European children. As far as salaries were concerned, a European teacher was paid about £100 per month, while an African teacher received only £25.

19. U TIN MAUNG (Burma) asked the petitioner whether he was more concerned about educational or political advancement and whether any organizations

other than ZAPU had asked him to take charge of the Highfield School. He would like to know who were the members of the School's board of trustees.

20. Mr. CHINAMANO (Zimbabwe African Peoples Union) replied that he took a particular interest in education; he had taught for twenty years and would continue to do his utmost to ensure his country's progress in education. If he had not been asked to take charge of the Highfield School, he would have taken a more active part in politics. As soon as the Highfield School had a permanent headmaster, he would return to active political life.

21. The Zimbabwe African Peoples Union had had no part in the foundation of the School or in his appointment to the post of headmaster. The School had been organized by residents of Highfield and its fifteen-member board of trustees represented all strata of the population and was not concerned with the political affiliations of the teachers, although there were one or two members of ZAPU among them.

22. U TIN MAUNG (Burma) expressed the hope that the countries which granted scholarships would consider providing funds for the establishment of educational institutions in Southern Rhodesia. All the members of the Committee considered that the administering Powers of the Non-Self-Governing Territories were responsible for the development of education and it would be well if the countries which granted scholarships for study abroad would consider also the establishment of primary and secondary schools in the Territory.

23. Mr. CHINAMANO (Zimbabwe African Peoples Union) expressed his appreciation of all that was being done in the matter of scholarships for study abroad. The African people of Southern Rhodesia, however, had to make an effort in the field of education which was beyond their means. Each year thousands of children were refused admittance to schools which had not enough places for them. The Territory was a country where the proportion of children of school age was extremely high; it was progressing toward a high degree of industrialization and it was essential that the young people should be given specialized training in order to prevent them from becoming useless cogs in the machinery. It would be useful if the countries which were generous enough to offer scholarships would help the Africans to build schools.

24. U TIN MAUNG (Burma) recalled that the petitioner had said that "African" education was the responsibility of the Territorial authorities, that the Federal authorities were concerned only with the non-Africans, and that education was free for Europeans only. He asked the petitioner whether he thought those inequities could be corrected in the present political context.

25. Mr. CHINAMANO (Zimbabwe African Peoples Union) replied that the Africans thought that, in order to build a nation, all young people should be educated together. The present system of separate education was a mistake; the Territory should assume responsibility for education from top to bottom and there should be a new system which would enable all young people to follow the same studies and have the same opportunities. Only a government elected by the 4 million inhabitants of the Territory could effect such a reform.

26. U TIN MAUNG (Burma) asked the petitioner if he thought it would be possible to convene a constitutional

conference in the event of the new Constitution not being rescinded.

27. Mr. CHINAMANO (Zimbabwe African Peoples Union) replied that, while respect for the established law was a British tradition, it was counterbalanced by a remarkable ability to adapt to change, as the Commonwealth itself showed. He felt that the United Kingdom could be relied on to find a way out of the situation prevailing in Southern Rhodesia, which in its urgency could be compared to a state of war, when respect for traditional legal forms tended to take second place. All that the Government of the United Kingdom was asked to do was to suspend the new Constitution and to convene a round-table conference, in which Sir Edgar Whitehead and Mr. Joshua Nkomo would take part. It was clear that the former would be subject to colonialist pressures but in the end he would probably submit to the just demands of the Africans.

28. U TIN MAUNG (Burma) took note of the petitioner's last statement and reserved the right to comment on it at a later stage.

29. Mr. GONZALEZ CALVO (Guatemala) noted that, according to a dispatch appearing in The New York Times, two churches had been destroyed during further outbreaks of violence in Rhodesia and those acts had been attributed to enemies of the racial policy of the Government of Southern Rhodesia. He asked the petitioner who he thought might have committed those acts.

30. Mr. CHINAMANO (Zimbabwe African Peoples Union) said that the people's efforts to persuade the Government to change its policy had been to no purpose; the political opposition had become organized but was muzzled by the banning of ZAPU. The people were opposed to the racial policy followed by the Government and demonstrated that opposition in any way they could. One way of doing so was to set fire to European establishments. That was, of course, a negative and regrettable way of expressing their aspirations, but if the repressive laws were rescinded there would be no such acts of violence to deplore.

31. Generally speaking, it was the Africans who had to suffer from the racial policy in Southern Rhodesia but it would not be the full truth to say that it was only the Africans who were opposed to that policy. Some courageous white people, such as Mr. Garfield Todd, were risking their careers to say openly what they thought. Some white people, including two university professors and a house-wife, were now under restriction for that reason. A considerable number of Whites were opposed to the racial policy in Southern Rhodesia, as were nearly all the Blacks.

32. Mr. GONZALEZ CALVO (Guatemala) asked the petitioner whether, in his opinion, it was the opponents of the racial policy who were responsible for the acts of sabotage and arson, and whether the saboteurs and incendiaries were merely trying to embarrass the Government or wished to aggravate the conflict.

33. Mr. CHINAMANO (Zimbabwe African Peoples Union) said that he himself had always opposed the racial policy and would continue to do so all his life. Nevertheless he refused to resort to violent methods, and in that he was in complete agreement with the ZAPU leaders, who were resolved to continue the struggle without ever stooping to such methods or urging their adherents to do so.

34. The acts of sabotage were actually the work of frustrated people. Many young people who drifted towards the towns after completing their five years of study found no work. It was often among them that the saboteurs and incendiaries were found. Furthermore, it was known that in Nyasaland some supporters of the Government had gone so far as to set fire to their own houses and then lodge complaints of sabotage. There was no reason to suppose that that could not happen in Southern Rhodesia too.

35. To sum up, it was not necessarily those who opposed the racial policy who resorted to violence.

36. Mr. RIFAI (Jordan) thought that the statements of Mr. Chinamano were the more interesting in that he had just come from Southern Rhodesia, where he had been during the latest events. Noting that the majority of the African political leaders of Southern Rhodesia were under restriction or had been arrested and that another petitioner, Mr. Sithole, had said that he himself would be arrested on his return, he asked Mr. Chinamano how he had managed to get out of Southern Rhodesia. Had the Government been aware that he intended to submit a petition on behalf of ZAPU, and did he think that he would be in difficulties on his return owing to the stand he had taken in the Committee?

37. Mr. CHINAMANO (Zimbabwe African Peoples Union) said that he was lucky enough to be one of the few who were still at large and unrestricted. The police had tried to find a pretext for arresting him; they had searched him, had carried out searches at his residence and at his office and had him followed up and down, but they had not managed to find any evidence against him.

38. The Times of London had said that he was a moderate. If The Times attached to this word the meaning that it had in Southern Rhodesia and wanted to convey the idea that he was not opposed to the maintenance of the status quo, it was wrong. His opinions were well known in his country and a large number of people had protested against the treatment to which he had been subjected.

39. It had been only on 9 October that he had decided to come before the Committee, when he had learnt that a so-called multiracial non-political group was intended to go to New York. The members of this group had formerly belonged to the "Build the Nation Campaign" started by Sir Edgar Whitehead, whose aim had been to work to create a colour-blind society. The movement had fallen through and was trying to start up again independently from the Government, in the form of a non-political organization. All the members of the delegation coming to New York were members of the United Federal Party; some of them were even officials of the Party or were to be its candidates at the elections which Sir Edgar Whitehead's Government proposed to hold shortly.

40. When he had gone to make his flight reservation, one of the airline companies had made things difficult for him. He had then decided to announce his intention of coming to New York in an afternoon newspaper; so that if he was eventually placed under restriction it would be obvious why he was being restricted. That was how he had succeeded in appearing before the Committee without Government opposition.

41. He could not be sure that trouble would not be made for him on his return to Southern Rhodesia. All

he could say was that he had already started in his own country, at public meetings, all the arguments that he was now expounding before the Committee. In fact, in order to come to New York he had been obliged to cancel four public meetings at which he had been going to speak, in one case to a religious group in a predominantly white zone. If trouble was made for him when he returned, he would be proud of it, for he had no guilty conscience and he intended to go on speaking in favour of what was, in his opinion, the most satisfactory solution both for the Whites and for the Blacks.

42. Mr. VLACHOS (Greece) asked for information on the party of the extreme right which Sir Edgar Whitehead's Government seemed to fear to the point of considering changing the date of the election. He would like to know whether it was a powerful party and whether it had many supporters.

43. Mr. CHINAMANO (Zimbabwe African Peoples Union) replied that the European party of the extreme right was largely composed of farmers, a certain number of whom came from South Africa. He did not think that the party constituted a threat to Sir Edgar Whitehead's Government. According to European friends and to some supporters of the Government with whom he had had the opportunity to talk, those white farmers thought that the granting of fifteen seats to the Africans through the 1961 Constitution was a really radical measure. The group of white farmers had voted for the new Constitution, not because of its liberal aspect but because they hoped that it would enable them to become independent owing to the disappearance of the powers hitherto reserved to the United Kingdom Government. The new Constitution represented the limit of the concessions they were prepared to make and they had anticipated that the Africans would accept it with jubilation. As the Africans had rejected the Constitution, the elements of the extreme right, determined to fight to maintain their position, had formed the Rhodesian Front. In view of that development, Sir Edgar Whitehead realized that if he made any further concessions to the Africans he would be beaten in the elections. That, no doubt, was why he contemplated holding the elections in December, because at that time they could take place with the minimum of opposition: the white farmers would be occupied on their land with farm work and the African leaders would still be under house arrest.

44. Mr. ADEYINKA (Nigeria) asked how many African leaders were being detained and what treatment Mr. Nkomo was receiving while under restriction.

45. Mr. CHINAMANO (Zimbabwe African Peoples Union) replied that at present there were approximately 215 members of ZAPU under restriction, i.e. they could only move within a radius varying from three to twelve miles round the locality to which they were restricted, or could not leave the tribal zone to which they had been sent. Fifteen or so orders for restriction had not yet been carried out and the total number of Africans who had been the object of such measures could be estimated at about 250. The number of arrests amounted to about 1,800.

46. He had recently visited Mr. Nkomo, as also his second in command, Mr. Mugabe, the chief publicity officer, both of whom were under restriction. He had been able to see for himself that Mr. Mugabe, who was under restriction in a tribal zone, was subjected to harassment by the police, who did everything possible to humiliate him. Mr. Nkomo was under restric-

tion in an arid zone where the nearest water-point was kilometres away and the population lived in extreme poverty. Far from complaining, he saw the measures to which he was subjected as the last convulsions of a dying animal. The local inhabitants thought of him as a saviour and had undertaken to make a road to enable cars to come to him, and had begun to build him a house. Unlike Mr. Mugabe, Mr. Nkomo was treated with much deference by the local police.

47. Mr. ADEYINKA (Nigeria) said he would like some further information on the brutal methods used by the police and on the reactions of the people. He asked whether the petitioner thought that there was a relationship between the racial discrimination practised in Southern Rhodesia and the developments that had led to the adoption of the Commonwealth Immigrants Act in the United Kingdom.

48. Mr. CHINAMANO (Zimbabwe African Peoples Union) replied that, in the face of the brutality of the police, he had been led to think, for the first time, that although it might be possible to trust a white person as an individual, it was not so in the case of Whites acting collectively. That, moreover, was the opinion of a great many Africans who had seen people they knew perfectly well let themselves go in incidents where they acted collectively.

49. In their anxiety to see the acts of violence brought to an end, some churchmen had appealed to Sir Edgar Whitehead to convene a round-table conference, but many Whites thought that the emancipation of the Blacks would be a threat to human dignity and to Christian principles. It was to be regretted that some missionaries allowed themselves to be influenced by that point of view. Such an attitude on their part was liable to make the Africans associate Christianity with the activities of the white population which they rejected. The churchmen had addressed their appeal to Sir Edgar Whitehead, and not to the Government of the United Kingdom.

50. As regards the laws on immigration adopted in the United Kingdom, he did not consider himself competent to speak about them.

51. Mr. ADEYINKA (Nigeria) stressed that Southern Rhodesia was a Non-Self-Governing Territory for which the United Kingdom was responsible. If the United Kingdom Government refused to intervene in

Southern Rhodesia, that was perhaps because the policy of the United Kingdom had changed and no longer aimed at racial unity. The adoption of the Immigrants Act in the United Kingdom was perhaps an indication of such a change. In any case, the General Assembly had adopted resolutions condemning discrimination, particularly discrimination in the fields of education and political rights, and as the administering Power the United Kingdom was in duty bound to ensure their implementation.

52. Mr. CHINAMANO (Zimbabwe African Peoples Union) replied that the inaction of the United Kingdom, which refused to intervene in Southern Rhodesia, was extremely serious. The Africans had used every means of appeal and the petition which they were now making to the United Nations was their last chance. If that final attempt failed, the Africans would resort to desperate measures and real chaos and bloodshed would follow.

53. It had been only when he had gone to the United Kingdom for the first time that he had been aware of being a human being like the others and had been able to enjoy the same advantages and privileges as the Whites and associate with them on an equal footing. It had been an unforgettable experience for him and if the United Kingdom Government translated into action the attitude of the British population in general the problem would be easily settled. It seemed, however, that the Government of the United Kingdom was subject to other influences. If regrettable incidents occurred, the United Kingdom Government would bear far greater responsibility than would Sir Edgar Whitehead. The latter had been elected by the Whites and it was impossible for him to ignore that fact in the policy of his Government. That was the point of view of all the Africans, with the exception of a few opportunists, and it was to be hoped that the United Kingdom Government would give it due consideration when the time came to take a decision.

54. Mr. ADEYINKA (Nigeria) thanked the petitioner and reserved the right to speak again on the rights of the Government of the United Kingdom in Southern Rhodesia and the non-implementation by that Government of the resolutions adopted by the General Assembly.

The meeting rose at 6 p.m.