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Chairman: Mr. Guillermo FLORES AVENDAÑO
 (Guatemala).

AGENDA ITEM 57

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

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

1. Mr. BARATA (Portugal), speaking on a point of order, recalled that Portugal's position with regard to the alleged conclusion of an "unholy alliance" had been clearly stated very recently. The statements of the petitioners from South West Africa had shed no new light on the question, which had become merely a pretext for empty oratory. He referred the representative of Guatemala, who had implicated the Portuguese Government in that matter, to the statements made by the Portuguese representative at the 1368th meeting of the Committee.

2. Mr. BOZOVIC (Yugoslavia) said that he did not deny that the Portuguese representative was entitled to reply to accusations levelled against his Government but he thought that it would be more useful if that Government were to supply information regarding the deportation into Angola of indigenous inhabitants of South West Africa and the manner in which they had been treated in that territory. It appeared from documents A/5212 and Add.1 and 2 that Portugal and South Africa were sharing between them the work of suppressing the political activities of the Africans in Southern Africa.

3. Mr. BARATA (Portugal) replied that his delegation would study the documents referred to by the Yugoslav representative and hoped to be able to dispel his misgivings.

4. Miss BROOKS (Liberia) invited the representative of Portugal to reflect also upon whether his Government considered the alliance to be a holy rather than an unholy one.

HEARING OF PETITIONERS (continued)

At the invitation of the Chairman, the Reverend Michael Scott, representative of the Africa Bureau, Mr. Jariretundu Kozonguizi, representative of the South West Africa National Union (SWANU), Mr. Jacob Kuhangua and Mr. Sam Nujoma, representatives of the South West Africa Peoples Organization (SWAPO) and the Reverend Markus Kooper, representative of the South West Africa United National Independence Organization (SWAUNIO) took places at the Committee table.

5. Mr. YOMEKPE (Ghana) recalled that Mr. Scott had referred to sales of armaments and munitions to South Africa by certain countries, *inter alia*, by the United States of America, the United Kingdom, Canada, France and Belgium, and that Mr. Kozonguizi had said that the offensive character of those armaments should be kept in mind. After quoting from an article in *The Times* of London of 26 October 1962, according to which Canberra aircraft supplied to South Africa were intended for combat and reconnaissance missions, he asked the petitioners whether those aircraft represented a threat to the Africans in so far as they were intended for offensive use. In the opinion of the Government of Ghana, the arms build-up by South Africa, which had a defence budget of £60 million, endangered peace and security in Africa in particular and in the world in general.

6. The Reverend Michael SCOTT (Africa Bureau) replied that aircraft of that type were used for coastal reconnaissance and observation missions; there were, however, many other types of aircraft in use by the South African Air Force, and Buccaneer-type aircraft, which were short-range bombers, might conceivably be used against the African population in South Africa or South West Africa.

7. Mr. KOZONGUIZI (South West Africa National Union) said that it was clear from statements made by ministers of the South African Government that the primary objective of the arms build-up in South Africa was the suppression of popular uprisings. In purchasing arms abroad, however, the South African Government had also in mind the need to prepare for a possible invasion by other African countries. The Finance Minister had spoken quite openly of the danger that his country might be invaded by the independent African States and had announced that the Government would continue to build up its military strength and to increase the defence budget, which might run to some £86 million. It was also a known fact that during the Algerian war several South African officers had been attached to the colonial army there in order to acquire experience of that kind of warfare. Lastly, he read a passage from the booklet entitled "The Unholy Alliance", from which it appeared that the South African army was to be substantially expanded: 10,000 Europeans had been called

up in 1961, and 15,000 more would be called up in 1962; commando units were being formed, weapons were being manufactured under foreign licence and an entire armaments industry was being set up in South Africa. There was no doubt in his mind that such military preparations were directed against the African inhabitants, especially those whom the South African Government regarded as trouble-makers.

8. The Reverend Markus KOOPER (South West Africa United National Independence Organization) said that he too was of the opinion that the military preparations in South Africa were directed not only against the Africans in South Africa and South West Africa, but also against other African States. According to the South African newspaper the Star of 17 March 1962, a military campaign against South Africa was being secretly prepared by certain African and Asian countries with arms and equipment supplied by the communist countries, and it was that fact which made an arms build-up in South Africa imperative. South Africa was said to have become the main objective in the struggle for prestige between East and West. It was in a position to provide most of its own requirements, and indeed it must do so, for it might experience difficulty in obtaining help from abroad, particularly since its withdrawal from the Commonwealth.

9. Mr. NUJOMA (South West Africa Peoples Organization) recalled that immediately following the visit of the Chairman and Vice-Chairman of the Special Committee for South West Africa to the Territory, a branch secretary of SWAPO had been arrested and deported to Ovamboland, where he was still being kept despite the petitions SWAPO had sent to the United Nations. Many Africans had also had to leave their work because they had objected to the Government's policy. The latter had continued the expropriation of the traditional land of the indigenous population of South West Africa, particularly at Windhoek. In that connexion he read out a portion of a letter addressed to the United Nations by Chief Hosea Kutako, Chief Samuel Witbooi and SWAPO (A/5212/Add.2, sec. 43), concerning the pressure the South African authorities brought to bear on the indigenous inhabitants in order to force them to settle in segregated "locations". He added that two members of his party had been arrested in the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland and extradited to South West Africa, after which they had twice been sentenced to terms of up to six months' imprisonment; they had then been taken to Ovamboland and finally escorted to Angola, where the last that had been heard of them was that they had been killed by Portuguese settlers. He urged the United Nations to put an end to such acts on the part of the South African and Portuguese Governments, which, together with the Governments of Southern Rhodesia and Katanga, were ready to fight in order to defend their policy of white domination in Southern Africa.

10. Mr. YOMEKPE (Ghana) observed that Mr. Scott had mentioned Buccaneer-type aircraft, which were designed for short-range operations, whereas he himself had had in mind the Canberra bombers, which had a range of over 3,000 miles. He asked Mr. Scott whether he thought that the latter were intended for domestic use and whether the arms build-up in South Africa had any connexion with the "unholy alliance" in so far as it could provide that alliance with a backbone in that part of Africa.

11. The Reverend Michael SCOTT (Africa Bureau) recalled that he had stressed the fact that the current military build-up in South Africa was aimed at the African population. It was possible, however, that Canberra-type bombers as well as other types of aircraft such as the French-built Mirage III, which was a long-range type, might be used against other African States. He gave a list of other types of aircraft and equipment with which the South African Air Force was equipped and outlined their characteristics.

12. Mr. YOMEKPE (Ghana) recalled General Assembly resolution 1652 (XVI) calling upon Member States to consider Africa a denuclearized zone and asked whether Mr. Scott did not consider that the arms build-up in South Africa conflicted with that resolution and that countries that supplied arms to South Africa could be accused of accelerating the armaments race.

13. The Reverend Michael SCOTT (Africa Bureau) said that the statements of the South African Defence Minister showed without a doubt that there were mutual agreements between South Africa and the countries that were providing it with arms and equipment and that South Africa would not refuse to supply arms, munitions or equipment to another friendly State. In view of the present world situation, the United Nations should take that fact into account. In Southern Rhodesia, Sir Edgar Whitehead had emphasized the urgent need to convene a conference to review the question of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland; that was a most inflammatory step. It was evident that South Africa had sent arms to the Congo and to Angola; he himself had flown over the frontier between the two countries and had seen large numbers of Angolan refugees going towards the Congo who had been terrified by the sound of an aircraft. He could also make available to the Committee a photograph showing a napalm bomb casing, with the registration marks of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), which had been used in Angola. The use of such weapons against defenceless African villagers was an act of barbarism.

14. Mr. MONGUNO (Nigeria) asked Mr. Scott whether, in his opinion, the defence budget of South Africa—which had amounted to £35 million in 1961 and was to be increased to £68 million in 1962—had not surpassed limits which could reasonably be regarded as necessary for the purposes of defence and maintenance of law and order in the country, and whether it had not reached a stage at which it could be considered as offensive and a threat to the peace and security of Africa.

15. The Reverend Michael SCOTT (Africa Bureau) replied that the military build-up in South Africa now appeared to be of an aggressive and offensive nature. It was impossible to imagine what enemies were threatening South Africa and forcing it to construct, for example, radar stations beyond its frontiers, in the British Protectorates of Basutoland and Bechuanaland. The recent announcement of the formation at Accra of a unified military command of African States could hardly be considered as a threat justifying such an increase in the military budget of South Africa and, in particular, the £20 million purchase of Buccaneer aircraft which had been reported at the end of October 1962.

16. Mr. MONGUNO (Nigeria) asked the petitioners whether they thought that the time had come to ask

the countries concerned to cease supplying South Africa with offensive weapons, in the interest of the peace and security of Africa and of the world.

17. Mr. KOZONGUIZI (South West Africa National Union) thought that it was high time that such action was taken.

18. Mr. MONGUNO (Nigeria) asked the petitioners how the general situation in South West Africa compared with the situation in other territories which had formerly been under a League of Nations mandate.

19. Mr. KOZONGUIZI (South West Africa National Union) replied that, so far as he knew, all the former Mandated Territories had already, or were going to, become independent. It was impossible to imagine any former Mandated Territory in which the indigenous population did not have the right to vote and did not take part in its government. South West Africa was the only example of such a state of affairs.

20. Mr. NUJOMA (South West Africa Peoples Organization) said that all the former Mandated Territories had become independent, with the exception of South West Africa, because South Africa wanted to annex it.

21. Mr. MONGUNO (Nigeria) thanked the petitioners and assured them that his country considered that, having gained its freedom, it had a duty to strive to help others to gain theirs.

22. Mr. EL-SHAFEI (United Arab Republic) asked the petitioners if they could give further information on the measures taken by the Government to transfer inhabitants from the Hoachanas Reserve.

23. Mr. KOZONGUIZI (South West Africa National Union) said that immediately after the departure of the Chairman and Vice-Chairman of the Special Committee things had returned to normal, i.e., the Government had thought that it had a breathing-space to put into effect its apartheid plans, particularly those concerning population transfers. It should be noted, in passing, that reprisals had been taken against persons who had contacted representatives of the Special Committee; there had been arrests and one case of unjustified dismissal. The application of some provisions of the Sabotage Act had been extended to South West Africa. All political meetings had been banned for six months.

24. Mr. KUHANGUA (South West Africa Peoples Organization) added that the Secretary of SWAPO had been deported; the Acting Secretary of SWAPO, who had led a demonstration at the time of the visit of the representatives of the Special Committee, had also been deported. Some people had apparently been kidnapped and sent to Angola.

25. Mr. EL-SHAFEI (United Arab Republic) asked what had been the situation with regard to African education before the introduction of the system of Bantu education, what policy was followed by the Government, what were the Government's aims and whether that system of education could help the indigenous population to play a role in the administration of their country.

26. Mr. KOZONGUIZI (South West Africa National Union) replied that African education had first been imparted by the missions and that the Government had formerly taken no interest in it. When some mission schools had started to give advanced education to the indigenous inhabitants, the Government had considered that such progress was not in keeping

with its policy and, in 1949, a commission had been set up to study the matter. Its conclusions had been that Africans should be given an education different from that given to Europeans, because they had to be prepared for a different social role. The Prime Minister, Mr. Verwoerd, had said that it would be pointless to prepare Africans for functions which, in view of the Government's policy, it would be impossible to assign to them. Outside the teaching profession, it was impossible for Africans to rise above the post of clerk or messenger.

27. In 1957, a commission had examined the case of South West Africa and had recommended a system of education based on apartheid. The Government had found that the work of mission schools in the Territory was not as good as in other regions and it had therefore decided to continue its policy of subsidies. He did not think that at present more than ten Africans in the Territory had university degrees and, so far as he knew, no indigenous inhabitants of South West Africa had received government aid to study at any university. There were fewer schools for over 500,000 African children than for 70,000 European children. There were at present only two schools where Africans could pursue secondary studies; one was a Catholic school and the other was a former mission school taken over by the Government.

28. It might be alleged that a five-year programme was under study and education was one of the matters being considered by the Government, but the Africans already knew what type of education the Government had in mind for them and they rejected it in advance.

29. Mr. EL-SHAFEI (United Arab Republic) concluded from that reply that the system of Bantu education, despite the publicity given to it, would not be satisfactory and would even tend to deprive Africans of some advantages of the mission system of education.

30. He asked what was the prevailing situation in South West Africa with regard to land tenure.

31. The Reverend Markus KOOPER (South West Africa United National Independence Organization), reverting to the question of the transfer of indigenous inhabitants from the Hoachanas Reserve, said that he had been born there and had lived there and that the land was inalienable under an agreement formerly signed by the German Government. However, because the region was fertile, the Government was trying to dispossess its inhabitants, in order to install in it European settlers from South Africa. Efforts in that direction had started as soon as the South African Government had received the Mandate to administer the Territory from the League of Nations. From the outset, the inhabitants of the Reserve had refused to leave the land which belonged to them and on which they intended to live. The Government was engaging in numerous manoeuvres and seeking by every possible method to dispossess the lawful owners of the land and resettle them elsewhere. It had finally stopped all aid to the region and, apart from sending police to intimidate them, showed no interest whatsoever in the population. It was therefore clear that, when Africans occupied good land, the Government tried to drive them out and replace them by Europeans.

32. Mr. KOZONGUIZI (South West Africa National Union) said that, when South Africa had taken over the administration of the Territory, the first thing

the Government had done had been to make the land laws in force in South Africa applicable to South West Africa also. The position now was that, of 82 million hectares, 40 million were owned by Whites and the Africans had to live on only 21 million. He stressed the fact that the Whites owned the land they farmed, while the Africans, who were denied the right of ownership, could not sell or dispose of their land in the reserves. In addition, the Whites were forbidden to sublet the land they owned to Africans. He confirmed the existence of an organized policy to dispossess Africans and give the land to settlers from South Africa. Moreover, the Government was doing nothing to improve the land on which the Africans lived, so that they were forced to offer their services for a pittance in farms or industrial enterprises belonging to Europeans. That was having serious consequences; men were leaving their families for one or two years and could not return home until their contracts expired. Until quite recently, their wives had not been allowed to visit them.

33. Mr. EL-SHAFEI (United Arab Republic) noted that, according to the replies just given, the situation in the Native reserves of South West Africa was still a source of conflict and a danger to peace in that region of Africa.

34. It was the understanding of his delegation that section 9 of the Sabotage Act of South Africa was also applicable to South West Africa and he asked whether there had been any consultation of the people of South West Africa before that Act had become law in the Territory.

35. The Reverend Markus KOOPER (South West Africa United National Independence Organization) said that, so far as he knew, neither the African chiefs nor the population of the Territory had been consulted. In any case, the South African authorities never contacted the leaders of political organizations and consulted only the chiefs, who were generally uneducated and with whom they hoped more easily to achieve their purposes. Fortunately, so far no chiefs had agreed to play their game.

36. The decision to make the Sabotage Act of South Africa apply also to South West Africa was similar to the measure whereby the Department of Native Affairs of South West Africa had been incorporated in the Department of Bantu Administration and Development. Similarly, the legislation passed by the South African Parliament which concerned Bantus, in particular the Bantu Education Act, was also applicable in South West Africa. In no case had the population of the Territory been consulted first.

37. South West Africa was represented in the South African Parliament by Whites elected exclusively by the Whites of the Territory and any Act passed by the South African Parliament was immediately applicable in South West Africa.

38. Mr. KOZONGUIZI (South West Africa National Union) pointed out that South West Africa was administered by the South African Government, through the South African Parliament, the Administrator of the Territory and the South West African Legislative Assembly. The Africans were not represented at any level. The South West African Legislative Assembly consisted of eighteen white members elected by the white population alone. In the South African Parliament the Territory was represented solely by Whites, elected by white residents of the Territory. At no

level, therefore, were the people of the Territory or their representatives consulted before a South African law became applicable also to South West Africa. Moreover, it was specified in the South West Africa Constitution Act that the Africans could neither elect nor be elected. That Act had been amended several times, but none of the amendments provided for African representation. Since 1949, however, the white population of the Territory had been represented in the South African Parliament. The South West African Whites had even taken part in the referendum held when South Africa had become a republic, but he did not know what constitutional justification there had been for their doing so.

39. Nevertheless, Acts of the South African Parliament did not automatically apply to South West Africa; to be applicable there they had to contain a special clause to that effect, voted by the alleged representatives of South West Africa.

40. Mr. NUJOMA (South West Africa Peoples Organization) said that Africans were not legally permitted to enjoy full ownership of land in South West Africa; the Administration could therefore move them without their consent.

41. His organization rejected the South African Government's five-year plan, along with the so-called Bantustan system which the South African authorities were trying to extend to the Territory. The object of the Bantustans was to do away with the smaller indigenous reserves in the Police Zone and send the local population to Ovamboland or the Kaokoveld, where they would form a labour force for the South African mines and industries. Action to that end had already been taken. In Ovamboland, for example, where the population had until recently been responsible for maintaining its own law and order, two police stations had been set up in 1961 to protect chiefs whose support for the Government's apartheid policy had made them extremely unpopular with the Africans. A further reason for the step was the South African Government's intention of intimidating the indigenous population of Ovamboland, which was taking an interest in politics, and its fear lest the frontier village clashes in Angola should spread to South West Africa. The police had originally been Ovambos commanded by white officers, but the Government, which had no confidence in the Ovambos, had replaced them by Bantus, some of whom had come from South Africa.

42. Under the Bantustan system the Africans had already been forced to leave their homes for a desert area without sufficient water or pasturage for their cattle. That had led to a dangerous situation and unless the United Nations acted quickly bloodshed was likely. The situation had been aggravated by the South African Government's opening offices in Europe, particularly in the Federal Republic of Germany, to attract white settlers to South Africa and so strengthen the European population in the country. The Africans would not continue indefinitely to put up with being moved at the whim of the white minority.

43. Mr. EL-SHAFEI (United Arab Republic) said it was obvious that Acts of the South African Government would be applied to South West Africa without any consultation of the local population. The situation in South West Africa had deteriorated alarmingly in less than a year and a solution was more urgently needed than ever before.

44. He thanked the petitioners for the detailed information they had supplied.

45. Mr. NDAWULA (Uganda) asked the Reverend Michael Scott how he thought the United Nations could make its influence felt more effectively in South West Africa than it had done thus far.

46. The Reverend Michael SCOTT (Africa Bureau) thought that one way would be to start United Nations projects, by way of demonstration, in neighbouring territories, as was to be done in the Kalahari with the assistance of the specialized agencies, especially FAO. Such pilot projects in adjacent territories would give the local inhabitants a better idea of the part the United Nations could play in the world. The best method, however, would be to send a team of experts and technicians to carry out a United Nations project in the Territory itself. It would be necessary to find out what support there would be for such action if it were proposed by the Fourth Committee or another United Nations organ.

47. As he had said at the previous meeting, the problem was European rather than African. The sixteen votes against and the twenty-one abstentions recorded at the 341st meeting of the Special Political Committee when that Committee had voted on a draft resolution on apartheid showed that the South African Government enjoyed the support of a majority of European States. It was to be regretted that no effective action was being taken by those essentially most responsible, namely, the countries which had been South Africa's allies in the First World War. Action by them would put an end to a situation which had been deplored for years, and would give new hope to the Africans and to other races living in South West Africa.

48. Mr. NDAWULA (Uganda), recalling that, according to the South African Government, the African petitioners present did not really represent the inhabitants of South West Africa and that certain Coloured chiefs and leaders supported the South African Government and its policy, asked Mr. Kozonguizi for clarification on that point.

49. Mr. KOZONGUIZI (South West Africa National Union) said the question was of the greatest importance. He recalled that when he had first appeared before the Committee as a petitioner in 1959, during the fourteenth session, the South African Minister for Foreign Affairs had stated that he did not really represent anybody. Yet today, both before the General Assembly and in the Committee, the Minister had stated that the petitioners represented subversive South West African organizations. Apparently even the South African Government knew perfectly well whom the petitioners represented.

50. The Chairman and Vice-Chairman of the Special Committee for South West Africa had found that the petitioners truly represented the South West African population. Conversely, those who, if the South African Minister for Foreign Affairs was to be believed, represented the Territory's population, did not in fact enjoy its respect. Moreover, most of them were government employees or retired junior officials from ministries. The Government had the support of the members of the South West African Coloured Council, who themselves admitted that they had not been elected but hoped to be elected within three years, with Government help, and proposed to persuade the population that the country's future lay

with apartheid. The petitioners present represented the Africans of South West Africa and all the peoples they represented were opposed to the Government and its apartheid policy.

51. Mr. NDAWULA (Uganda) thanked the petitioners and assured them of his delegation's unqualified support in their fight for freedom.

52. Mr. GUELLAL (Algeria) first paid a tribute to the petitioners, who represented the various liberation movements in South West Africa, and expressed his great admiration for the Reverend Michael Scott, whose work was helping to maintain a bridge between the colonial and the Western countries. He emphasized that point because of the attitude which the Western Powers had taken at the General Assembly and which Mr. Scott had mentioned. It was well to bring out from time to time the hypocrisy of certain countries and the fact that they used a double standard in their relations with other countries.

53. In regard to the military aid to South Africa, the Algerian delegation would like to ask Mr. Kozonguizi which European countries were supporting South Africa and what exactly was their responsibility in the matter. Did he think that the attempts to identify the liberation movement in South West Africa with Communism were merely an excuse to justify an unholy alliance? Lastly, was the halting of the military build-up in South Africa a pre-condition for the success of the South West African nationalist movement?

54. Mr. KOZONGUIZI (South West Africa National Union) said, in reply to the first question, that statements made by various ministers of the South African Government showed that, despite the categorical declarations made by the United States delegation before the Special Political Committee, the South African Government was enjoying the support of the NATO countries, including France, the United Kingdom and Belgium.

55. In regard to the identification of the nationalist movement with Communism, it was important to realize that the official definition of Communism in South Africa had nothing to do with the doctrine of Marx and Lenin. It was such as to allow punitive action against people who were anti-communist. The South African Government resorted to anti-communism to win the support of countries which responded to that kind of propaganda. The situation in South West Africa was such that Africans who spoke English were liable to be accused of Communism. Mr. Kerina himself, before going to the United States to continue his studies, had heard it said that he was going to a communist country.

56. In any case, the population of South West Africa did not want to engage in an ideological war and was prepared to accept any aid it could get, whatever its source, to liberate its country. He still hoped that by acting on the economic and military levels it would be possible to persuade the South African Government to change its policy.

57. In regard to the Algerian representative's last question, the halting of the military build-up was undoubtedly an indispensable step. The arms at the disposal of the South African Government were being used to keep the South West African population in bondage. The representatives of the South West African people had already spoken about that question at

conferences with the Algerian Front de liberation nationale.

58. The Reverend Michael SCOTT (Africa Bureau) stressed that Communism in South Africa, such as it was, was entirely the result of the repressive régime in South Africa. It was a reaction of despair on the part of the people, and in turn served the Government as a pretext for procuring arms. The real way to fight Communism was to bring to the people of South West Africa a better civilization and higher ideals.

59. With regard to the parallel seen by some people between South Africa and Algeria, it must not be forgotten that in terms of political geography the position of the two countries was different: Algeria was situated between two friendly countries, whereas for generations South West Africa and South Africa had been cut off from the mainstream of European history, although the South African Whites still boasted of their European origin. That should be taken into account not only by those who wanted to help the South West African people but also by the African leaders themselves. It was why he hoped it would be possible for the United Nations to intervene in the Territory. If racial war came, it would mean the destruction of everything of value in South Africa and a legacy of hatred between the Whites and the Africans that would be worse than that which had followed the Boer War. That was why he appealed to the United Nations to use every means at its disposal, including sanctions and intervention, to prevent such happenings. In his opinion it would still be possible, by

sanctions, to bring the South African Government to its senses before it was too late, for example, by blockading the ports and preventing the arrival of the oil needed for the country's industry.

60. Mr. GUELLAL (Algeria) assured the petitioners that the Algerian Government and people would do all they could to help them to attain their political objectives, whatever methods they resorted to, including armed insurrection.

61. Mr. BOZOVIC (Yugoslavia) proposed that the passage in Mr. Kozonguizi's statement at the 1373rd meeting on the economic ties between South Africa and a number of other countries, together with the passage on the possible effects of economic sanctions, either unilateral or international, to induce South Africa to respect the obligations incumbent on it under the Mandate and the United Nations Charter, should be reproduced in extenso in the usual manner.

62. In the Yugoslav delegation's opinion it would be useful at the present juncture to discover what gave South Africa the strength to defy the United Nations and mankind as a whole. It would be useful to discover at the same time who shared with the South African Government the responsibility for the present situation in South Africa and South West Africa and to see which countries were prepared to take practical action to induce the South African Government to abandon its racial policy.

The Yugoslav representative's proposal was adopted.

The meeting rose at 6.5 p.m.