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Chairman: Mr. ACHKAR Marof (Guinea).

AGENDA ITEM 55

Question of South West Africa (continued):

- (a) Report 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/5446/Rev.1, chap. IV; A/C.4/613);
- (b) Special educational and training programmes for South West Africa: report of the Secretary-General (A/5526 and Add.1)

GENERAL DEBATE (continued)

1. Mr. DEMETROPOULOS (Greece) said that his delegation felt that, in a matter in which the accumulated weight of world public opinion was bound ultimately to have as strong an impact as any specific action by the General Assembly, it should restate clearly the position of the Greek Government.

2. It was the Greek Government's considered opinion, firstly, that South West Africa was a Non-Self-Governing Territory and as such entitled to self-determination and, secondly, that South Africa was accountable to the United Nations and should administer South West Africa in a manner designed to lead the Territory to self-government or independence according to the freely expressed wishes of its inhabitants. Greece was in full sympathy with the proceedings initiated by the Governments of Ethiopia and Liberia before the International Court of Justice and was confident that the outcome of that action would fully vindicate the opinion consistently held by the General Assembly.

3. He was certain that the Committee must have been impressed by the arguments advanced by the Brazilian representative at the 1457th meeting that the policies of apartheid lay at the root of the problem. While the exact definition of the present legal status of South West Africa could be open to debate, his delegation, which had repeatedly expressed its strong opposition to the policies and practice of apartheid, was disturbed by the fact that more than half a million people outside South Africa proper were being administered by an authority actuated by a racialist doctrine which had been condemned by the entire civilized world. It was a matter of deep regret that the Government of a country whose soldiers had fought valiantly side by side with the Greeks in a world conflict brought about by a similar doctrine should have succumbed at that late date to its nefarious influence.

4. Those circumstances left no room for hope that, given time, the situation in South West Africa might improve. Nor did his delegation think that the Committee should await the report of the Commission of Inquiry set up by the South African Government under the chairmanship of Mr. F. H. Odendaal and the action to be taken on that report by an Administration which had given no indication that it might suspend or alter its practice of full segregation or depart from its doctrine of white supremacy.

5. His delegation, which felt that the sub judice argument had much merit, earnestly hoped that the draft resolutions to be submitted to the Committee would confine themselves to the purely political aspects of the question, as urged by the Brazilian representative. At the same time, he found it hard to understand how the sub judice rule could be invoked by a party which still seemed to refuse to recognize the jurisdiction of the Court and had already rejected its advisory opinions.

6. The South African Government, which had broken its promise to the United Nations in 1946 that it would continue to administer the Territory in the spirit of the Mandate and would submit reports on its administration to the United Nations, and which had since adopted an increasingly uncompromising attitude, should realize that it was proceeding on a course which could only lead to strife and disaster. Before it was too late, it should heed the voice not only of its opponents but also of its oldest friends.

7. The solution of the admittedly complex problems of South West Africa would require a reversal of basic policies and a gradual alteration of practice. It would also require a change of heart on the part of South Africa's leadership and patience and understanding on the part of the rest of Africa. He was certain that, even after seventeen years, there was still a considerable reserve of patience and understanding in the United Nations. Before it could be put to good use, however, the United Nations must receive from South Africa an unmistakable sign that it recognized the fact

that the problems were affecting the entire world community and that it was willing to co-operate in order to remove the very grave dangers inherent in the situation. As previous experience with apparently hopeless situations had shown, negotiation and compromise were always possible. He appealed to the South African Government to heed the writing on the wall. He hoped that the moderation shown by the South African delegation at the eighteenth session of the General Assembly would eventually be reflected in South Africa's actions.

8. Mr. LANNUNG (Denmark) said that his delegation had always taken a special interest in the question of South West Africa, which had been before the United Nations ever since its foundation. When, in 1946, the South African Government had pleaded for the incorporation of South West Africa in the Union of South Africa, Denmark, among other countries, had emphatically opposed that plea. The Danish delegation had also been among those which had taken the initiative in securing the advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice, given in 1950. His delegation had also served on the Committee on South West Africa and was now a member 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. Finally, the views expressed and the suggestions made by his delegation in the General Assembly and the Special Political Committee in connexion with the related problem of the racial policies of South Africa were well known.

9. The tragic plight of the people of South West Africa and their fervent desire for freedom and independence had been amply described in the statements of petitioners and in the many reports on the question of South West Africa. Again during the present session his delegation had listened with great interest to the testimony of the petitioners who had appeared before the Committee.

10. Denmark's basic position had always been that South West Africa was an international Territory towards which the Government of South Africa had a number of obligations under the Mandate which it was not fulfilling. In that connexion, it should be stressed that if, as South Africa contended, the Mandate had lapsed, the authority of the Mandatory Power would also have lapsed. The policies of the South African Government were contrary to the principles and purposes of the Mandate, to the Charter of the United Nations and to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. South Africa was not promoting the material and moral well-being and the social progress of the inhabitants of the Territory and it was extending to South West Africa the abhorrent policy of apartheid. His country had repeatedly urged South Africa to abandon that policy.

11. Denmark considered that the establishment of an effective United Nations presence in the Territory, perhaps combined with visits by United Nations representatives, would be a constructive step towards a solution in accordance with the principles and purposes of the Charter.

12. In his statement at the 1236th plenary meeting of the General Assembly, the South African representative had proclaimed his Government's intention to pursue the objective of political independence for the "emerging Bantu nations" in South Africa. The majority of Member States, including his own country, considered the South African policy unacceptable be-

cause *inter alia* it meant partition and the confinement of large sections of the indigenous population in certain areas known as Bantustans. At the same time, the assurances of the South African Government regarding self-government and independence for the Africans must be put to the test, and it was to be hoped that that Government would prove its good faith in the case of South West Africa. If, as the South African representative had claimed, ultimate self-determination for every "Bantu nation" was an objective of governmental policy, it might be asked why steps had not been taken to develop self-government in South West Africa.

13. He assumed that the draft resolution which the Committee would eventually adopt on the question would follow the pattern of that adopted by the Special Committee on 10 May 1963 (A/5446/Rev.1, chap. IV, para. 213). Denmark had voted in favour of that resolution as an expression of its full agreement with the basic purpose and tenor of the resolution, although it had had reservations regarding the penultimate preambular paragraph, which it felt to be too sweeping, and operative paragraph 3, which in its view was not sufficiently clear and prejudged a question which was not within the competence of the Special Committee. He hoped that those views would be borne in mind by any delegations drafting a resolution for the Committee's consideration.

14. His delegation was particularly interested in the question of special educational and training programmes for South West Africa, as discussed in document A/5526 and Add.1. He was glad to learn of the efforts which had been made and of the several offers of scholarships by Member States. It was highly regrettable that in some instances the South African authorities had placed obstacles in the way of South West Africans who had been granted scholarships abroad. His delegation urged the South African Government to demonstrate its professed good faith by refraining in future from hindering those who wished to take advantage of the educational opportunities offered them.

15. He shared the hope that the forthcoming decision of the International Court of Justice would constitute an important step towards freedom for South West Africa and he agreed with the Brazilian representative that the United Nations should confine itself to the political aspects of the problem during the present session.

16. He considered that an important juncture had been reached in the question of South West Africa and he urged the Government of the Republic of South Africa to demonstrate its goodwill forthwith by beginning to co-operate positively with the United Nations.

17. Mr. MONGONO (Nigeria) said that at the present day, in contrast with the general improvement in international relations, the question of South West Africa had become increasingly critical and, as the Special Committee had stated in the resolution it had adopted on 10 May, the continuation of the situation constituted a serious threat to international peace and security. During the present debate, the representative of the minority Government of South Africa had once again claimed that the question of South West Africa was sub judice. His delegation held that the United Nations was competent to discuss the question of South West Africa, without prejudice to the decision of the International Court of Justice on the legal issues before it. The Nigerian delegation would like South Africa to

state categorically whether it would accept an unfavourable decision of the Court.

18. South Africa had embarked upon a major arms build-up in order to safeguard its criminal policies in South West Africa. Under article 2 of the Mandate, South Africa was in duty bound to promote the material and moral well-being and social progress of the Territory's inhabitants, but in fact the South African Government, in utter disregard for human dignity, had established a régime of slavery and terror in the Mandated Territory. The massive arms build-up and the training of men, women and children in military tactics could only be seen as preparation for warfare against neighbouring African States. That was why all friends of South Africa must do everything to discourage the arming of South Africa.

19. The conditions in which the Africans lived were becoming increasingly intolerable, as had been testified by petitioners. The calmness, sincerity and resolution of those petitioners had convinced his delegation that they could not fail in their struggle for the liberation of South West Africa; if they did fail, then the United Nations itself would fail in the quest for peace and justice. It was unthinkable that the United Nations should allow a Government to trample on the principles of the Charter and to continue to flout the resolutions of the General Assembly with impunity.

20. The report of the Special Committee (A/5446/Rev.1, chap. IV) recorded recent developments in South West Africa: the application of the General Law Amendment Act and the Suppression of Communism Act, which enabled the authorities to arrest whomever they wished, the illegal convictions of the Ovambo workers, and other brutal acts which proved that South Africa was worse than a police State. The plight of Mr. Januarie and Mr. Beukes, as described in the Secretary-General's report (A/5526), confirmed that the South African authorities were making every effort to deny Africans the right to education. He hoped that the Secretary-General would continue to bring pressure to bear on the South African minority Government in pursuance of General Assembly resolution 1705 (XVI), in order to ensure that Africans offered scholarships through the United Nations were enabled to take advantage of them.

21. For Nigerians, their own independence had little meaning as long as any of their brother Africans were still being oppressed. It was in that spirit that Nigeria had joined with other African States at the Summit Conference of Independent African States held at Addis Ababa in May 1963 in reaffirming the right of the South West African people to self-determination and independence; his country would always be ready to offer those people both moral and financial support.

22. At the previous session, the Reverend Michael Scott, appearing as a petitioner, had testified to the influence of business interests in South West Africa, and at the present session the same petitioner had informed the Committee that those interests were still behind some of the inhuman policies of the South African authorities. Mr. Scott had also stressed the need for effective sanctions against the South African authorities. A number of countries, including Nigeria, had taken steps to implement General Assembly resolution 1761 (XVII) in that connexion. So far such action had been ineffectual because certain leading Western nations had not co-operated in implementing the resolution. Nigeria was glad to note, however, that the United Kingdom and the United States had both voted

in favour of resolution 1881 (XVII) recently adopted by the General Assembly in relation to South Africa's apartheid policies, and he hoped that that was an indication that South Africa's chief trading partners intended to proceed to implement resolution 1761 (XVII) and the Security Council resolution of 7 August 1963.^{1/}

23. It was ironical that it was the leaders of the West whose inaction enabled South Africa to continue its policies, though those policies violated the principles on which the civilization of the West was based. The struggle of the South West African people was a struggle for freedom and justice and deserved the support of all nations which cherished freedom.

24. His delegation congratulated the Special Committee on its report and supported in principle the resolutions it had adopted. It wished to thank the petitioners for their lucid statements and was particularly grateful to Mr. Scott, who had worked untiringly in support of lovers of freedom everywhere.

25. Mr. NGANDO-BLACK (Cameroon) said that his delegation attached great importance to the legal aspect of the question of South West Africa, which had been brilliantly analysed by the Mexican representative at the Committee's 1376th and 1387th meetings, held during that seventeenth session, and by the representative of Ceylon at the 1459th meeting, held the previous day. However, his delegation doubted whether any hopes could be placed in the forthcoming judgement of the International Court of Justice in view of the fact that one of the parties to the current proceedings, namely South Africa, denied the Court's competence and went so far as to refuse to comply with any unfavourable decision that the Court might make.

26. The problem of South West Africa was a problem of decolonization which should be considered in its political context, for it was in that context that an acceptable solution was likely to be found more rapidly. The international community, through the United Nations, had solemnly and repeatedly proclaimed every people's right to self-determination and had unanimously called for freedom and independence for the people of South West Africa, but South Africa's racist Government obstinately refused to regard the Territory and its inhabitants as anything but chattels to be disposed of at will.

27. It would be useless to deny all the evidence, including first-hand accounts by the petitioners, which showed clearly that the régime prevailing in South West Africa endangered the world peace. The South African Government did not conceal its determination to ignore the United Nations and to annex South West Africa. Both in private and in public South Africa's racist leaders had stated that the United Nations was their worst enemy and that if the International Court of Justice decided to abrogate the Mandate, South Africa's Whites would shed their blood to defend what they regarded as their property. The attempt made by the Secretary-General, on behalf of the United Nations, to secure a United Nations presence in South West Africa had met with a categorical refusal on the part of the South African Government.

28. It was incumbent upon the international community to accept the challenge of the South African Government. It was not enough to go on, year after year, making statements and declarations. The question was whether the international community would consent to

^{1/} See Official Records of the Security Council, Eighteenth Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1963, document S/5386.

be the accomplice of South Africa's racialists or whether it was resolved to respect the noble principles enunciated in the Preamble to the Charter and to use every means at its disposal to free a people living in the most pitiful conditions ever experienced by man.

29. It was the duty of every Power, great or small, to deprive South Africa of the material and moral means responsible for its arrogance. It was the support received from Western Europe and the United States that enabled South Africa's Government to defy the international community. The days of regretting and even condemning the South African Government's attitude were over: from now on, only specific action would have any effect. It was incumbent upon all Member States to implement the numerous resolutions adopted by the United Nations, in particular General Assembly resolution 1761 (XVII).

30. The African States were in the forefront of the fight against South Africa's racist Government. After the Addis Ababa Conference, at which a decision had been taken to regard any attempt by South Africa to annex South West Africa as an act of aggression, the African States had taken specific action in accordance with resolution 1761 (XVII); they had broken off diplomatic and economic relations with South Africa and had closed their ports and airfields to all South African shipping and aircraft. Unless the South African Government modified its odious policy, more radical action, which unfortunately would be less peaceful, would be taken without delay. Similarly, there was no doubt about the determination of most Asian and Latin American countries to sever all economic relations with South Africa.

31. Most of South Africa's trade was, however, with the Western countries, and in particular with the United States, the United Kingdom—which alone accounted for 36 per cent of South Africa's imports and 40 per cent of its exports—France and Belgium. In view of the volume of United Kingdom and United States investments in South Africa, the will of those Governments to influence South Africa by means of a trade boycott was open to doubt. The Anglo American Corporation, through its affiliates and subsidiaries, controlled one third of South Africa's output of gold and more than 60 per cent of Rhodesia's production of copper and had an important stake in diamonds. Considering that the United Kingdom and United States mining companies had made a net profit of almost £22.6 million in 1962 from the working of new mines alone, the difficulties which the United Kingdom and the United States Governments would encounter in imposing an economic boycott of South Africa became apparent. It should be recalled in that connexion that the head of South Africa's racist Government had stated that the countries which had voted against the resolution calling for an economic boycott of his country were precisely those which accounted for most of its trade.

32. It was difficult to expect the United Kingdom and United States' capitalists, supported by their Governments, to write off their immense stake in that part of Africa. A particularly disturbing feature of the situation was the fact that, not satisfied with their profits, they were intervening in South Africa's policies. For instance, Mr. Harry Oppenheimer, as reported in the *Johannesburg Star* of 30 March 1963, had argued that, whereas in the past defence had rested wholly on South Africa's Whites, the authorities should see to it that in future the other races should be fully represented too, since otherwise world opinion would not believe that

South Africa's efficient defence system was intended to protect the people against outside aggression. Such statements indicated the financial magnates' complicity in the Verwoerd Government's plans to maintain white domination over the millions of Africans whose only crime was to ask for freedom.

33. His delegation was also seriously disturbed by the sales of arms to the South African Government. As could be seen from the report of the Special Committee on the Policies of apartheid of the Government of the Republic of South Africa (A/5497 and Add.1), the United Kingdom had been South Africa's main supplier of weapons. The former United Kingdom Foreign Secretary, Lord Home, as he had then been, had said that the United Kingdom agreed that no arms which might serve for the enforcement of apartheid policies should be exported to South Africa. His delegation would welcome a statement by the United Kingdom representative concerning the steps taken by his Government to prevent the oppression of indigenous inhabitants in South West Africa by the South African authorities. His delegation welcomed the United States Government's decision not to export any more weapons to South Africa after the end of 1963. It was also happy to note that the Scandinavian countries had decided to join the African countries in their struggle against South Africa. He hoped that the United Kingdom, which bore enormous responsibility for the problem of South West Africa, together with France and Belgium would put an early end to the sale of weapons to the South African Government.

34. Although the South African Government had adopted an attitude which was far from conciliatory or constructive, it was incumbent upon the international community, and hence on the United Nations, to take holding action while awaiting the decision of the International Court of Justice. The United Nations should redouble its efforts to induce the South African Government and the great Powers supporting it to pay greater attention to the South West African people's desire for freedom. There must be a United Nations presence in the Territory. If the South African Government continued to refuse to co-operate with the United Nations, the matter would have to be brought before the Security Council, where the great Powers would have to shoulder their responsibilities.

35. If developments did not follow the harmonious course desired by his delegation, the South African Government and its supporters should realize that they would have to bear a heavy responsibility for contributing to the outbreak of racial strife in Africa that would have immeasurable consequences.

36. In so far as the independent African States were concerned, the situation was clear. They were certain that, like all other African territories still under alien domination, South West Africa would be free, regardless of the sacrifices that its liberation would entail. The subjugated peoples could rest assured that they would receive moral and material support from the African peoples, including Cameroonians, and from all the countries which loved peace and justice. The Western Powers should examine their conscience before it was too late.

37. His delegation was ready to support any draft resolution which would: firstly, condemn the South African Government in unequivocal terms for its failure to implement previous United Nations resolutions on South West Africa; secondly, express regret concerning the attitude of certain Powers

which continued to sell arms to the South African Government; thirdly, appeal to Member States to implement United Nations resolutions concerning South West Africa; fourthly, request the Secretary-General to take all necessary action to secure a United Nations presence in the Territory; fifthly, request the Security Council to pay close attention to the situation in South West Africa; and sixthly, set up a committee of inquiry which would study in detail the complicity of international financial and Anglo-American monopolies in the policies of the South African Government.

38. He hoped that the great Powers responsible for safeguarding world peace would understand, while there was still time, that the elimination of colonialism and of the domination of man by man was essential to peace.

39. Mr. YATES (United States of America) said that in his Government's view the Mandatory Power, by extending the apartheid laws to South West Africa, was betraying its obligations to the international community and to the population of the Territory, which were set forth explicitly in article 2 of the Mandate.

40. In the view of the United States delegation there was neither a legal nor a political basis for the apartheid laws in South Africa; nor was there any moral basis for such laws anywhere in the world, and more particularly in a Territory which had a clear international character and which had been given to South Africa as a sacred trust of civilization. The United States delegation believed in the right of the peoples of South West Africa to self-determination as soon as it was possible for the people freely and responsibly to express their wishes. It would be strongly opposed to any division of the Territory without the freely expressed consent of the people, or to the annexation by any State of all or any part of the Territory without such consent.

41. His delegation had been encouraged by a recent article in the publication Forum, a South African periodical, which had urged the application of reason and realism by the people of South Africa to the racial situation. The author of the article had reminded the white South Africans that they were the only actors in the tragedy who might be able to avert the onset of violence, and had suggested that they should hold fast to the principles of Western civilization, denounce at every opportunity the philosophy, the policy and the administrative practices of apartheid, oppose it and frustrate it by all legal means. The article was important, firstly because it affirmed what was too easily forgotten, namely, that in the white community of South Africa there were people who were revolted by the Government's policies and were not afraid to say so, and secondly because it emphasized the need for the rule of reason rather than passion and emotion.

42. Quite properly the Government of South Africa had apparently accepted the decision of the International Court of Justice that it had jurisdiction to adjudicate upon the merits of the dispute in the case brought by Liberia and Ethiopia, inasmuch as it had maintained its participation in the case. As the United States delegation had said in the past, it considered that the General Assembly should take no action which would affect the status of the Mandate while proceedings were pending before the Court. His delegation felt strongly that the Members of the United Nations should, and that most of them did, attach great importance to

the rule of law in the conduct of international affairs. It was generally recognized that in the case of South West Africa it was of the highest importance that any action taken by the United Nations should rest upon a solid legal foundation commensurate with the obligations of the world towards the peoples of the Territory. Only in that way could the United Nations hope to mobilize the necessary support to enable it to attain its objective.

43. In that connexion he emphasized the importance of Member States respecting the judgements of the International Court of Justice as the principal judicial organ of the United Nations. Under Article 94 of the Charter Member States undertook to comply with the decision of the Court in any case to which they were parties, and the Article included provisions for giving effect to the Court's decisions. The United States would therefore expect compliance with the Court's judgement.

44. The United States Government attached particular importance to the recommendation made by the General Assembly at its seventeenth session in resolution 1805 (XVII), that an effective United Nations presence should be established in the Territory. It was particularly interested in the need for a United Nations Technical Assistance Resident Representative in South West Africa and was much disappointed that the Government of South Africa had not as yet consented to the appointment of such a representative. During the year his Government had discussed the matter with the South African Government at a high level and on several occasions had outlined the advantages the people of South West Africa, as also those of South Africa, would derive from such a presence. He understood that the South African Government had not yet come to a final decision and he hoped that it would be willing to enter into conversations with the Secretary-General on the subject. On previous occasions his delegation had pointed out the advantages that United Nations technical assistance could offer not only to the people of South West Africa but to the Government of South Africa in fulfilling the spirit of the Mandate. The South African Government had argued that it was itself in a position to provide whatever technical assistance was needed, but at the present day no nation was so self-sufficient in knowledge or skill that it could not benefit from the resources of the international community, and the unfortunate condition of the great majority of the population of South West Africa was urgent testimony to that fact. He strongly urged the South African Government to reconsider its position in the matter.

45. With regard to the special educational and training programmes for South West Africa established by the General Assembly at its sixteenth session, he said that in his Government's view there was no better way to prepare a people for the exercise of self-determination or to give practical expression to concern for their well-being than to raise their level of education. The United States Government had contributed to the programme by the provision of scholarships for South West Africans and was at present considering what additional assistance it could furnish. He drew the attention of members of the Committee to the emphasis placed by the Secretary-General in his second report on the subject (A/5526) on the need for secondary school training. He felt that all countries might give higher priority to that need.

46. His Government noted with regret that many of those seeking to take advantage of the scholarships

offered had been unable to obtain the necessary travel documents from the South African Government. That lack of co-operation had not prevented the United States Government from assisting in the educational development of the Mandated Territory, since it had made scholarships available to South West Africans residing outside the Territory. He urged the South African Government to reconsider its position in the matter. A change in that respect would be a great encouragement to the people of South West Africa and to all those who were working for a peaceful solution of the problem.

47. The international community was urgently concerned with the future of South West Africa and its people. The United States Government firmly believed that South Africa's obligations under the Mandate should be fulfilled. It also believed that the people of South West Africa must have the opportunity freely to exercise their right of self-determination. Neither the United States nor the United Nations could rest until those goals had been achieved.

48. Mr. USTUN (Turkey) said that his country had made clear its repudiation of colonialism and its belief that the United Nations must make every effort to bring about the accession to independence of the remaining dependent territories through peaceful means. His delegation had studied the Special Committee's report on South West Africa (A/5446/Rev.1, chap. IV), which provided a clear picture of the situation in the Mandated Territory. His delegation supported the Special Committee's resolutions of 10 May as a whole, though it had reservations on the ninth preambular paragraph and on operative paragraph 3. As his delegation had made clear in the debates on apartheid in the Special Political Committee, it was categorically opposed to all practices involving inequalities based on religion, race or origin. It therefore supported the claims of the South West African people to equal rights and to self-determination in accordance with General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV).

49. It was regrettable that the visit of the Chairman and the Vice-Chairman of the Special Committee for South West Africa in 1962, which had seemed likely to constitute a step forward, had not achieved the results hoped from it. He trusted, however, that under the pressure of world opinion the South African Government would see fit to co-operate with the United Nations in seeking a solution to the question of South West Africa, without waiting for the forthcoming decision of the International Court of Justice on the substance of the problem.

50. His delegation welcomed the granting of scholarships to South West Africans and the fact that the special educational programmes called for by the General Assembly were being applied in spite of the difficulties being placed in their way.

51. Mr. LULO (Albania) said that the fact that the question of South West Africa had been debated in the United Nations for seventeen years and that it had been impossible to compel South Africa to fulfil its obligations under the Mandate was a source of anxiety to all those who were concerned with the authority and prestige of the United Nations and the preservation of peace.

52. It was clear from the report on South West Africa 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 and the detailed statements made by the petitioners that the situation in South West Africa was critical and that the South African Government had no intention of abandoning its present policies. That Government had disregarded the appeals of the General Assembly and the opinions of the International Court of Justice, violated the generally accepted principles of international law, flouted the Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and treated the resolutions of the General Assembly as "scraps of paper". All those representatives who had spoken in the debate had expressed the view that the United Nations should put an end to that state of affairs. After seventeen years of efforts, the problem today appeared more complex and more serious than it had ever been. The racist Government of South Africa had proceeded from a policy of discrimination through economic exploitation to the annexation of the Territory of South West Africa, with a view to presenting the United Nations and international public opinion with a *fait accompli* and perpetuating its domination over the Territory.

53. The people of South West Africa were in a perilous situation; their existence as an African people was threatened by the South African Government. They were pitilessly oppressed by that Government because they dared to claim the right to self-determination. They were subjected to racial discrimination and slavery. They were not allowed to vote and were represented in the organs of the State by Whites who did their utmost to impede their political, economic and cultural progress. In accordance with a systematic policy of racial discrimination and apartheid, they were subjected to oppressive measures which recalled those of the German Nazis. They were deprived of all human rights and fundamental freedoms. They were regarded and treated as inferior beings whose only role in life was to serve the white people. They were not allowed any part in trade, industry, agriculture or the exploitation of the mineral resources of their own country. They were treated simply as cheap labour and exploited by the Whites, who owned all the mines, farms and other sources of wealth.

54. As was stated in paragraph 37 of the Special Committee's report (A/5446/Rev.1, chap. IV), one alarming aspect of the situation in South West Africa was the inordinate rise in the level of armaments. The Government was arming all the white inhabitants of the Territory and was even training secondary school pupils and women in the use of weapons to enable them to kill the men, women and children of South West Africa because they were black.

55. The Albanian delegation, like a number of other delegations, had already denounced the root of the evil. Nevertheless it should be emphasized once again that the responsibility for the situation rested largely with certain great Powers which had completely disregarded the request in paragraph 8 of General Assembly resolution 1805 (XVII) that Member States should refrain from any action likely to hinder the implementation of that resolution and were supplying the South African Government with weapons and military equipment to enable it to maintain the colonialist and racist régime in the Territory. Peace-loving countries, and progressive humanity as a whole, could not remain indifferent to such dangerous activities.

56. In the circumstances it was easy to understand the desperation of the African population and the fear felt by the Whites. The racists of South Africa knew

by experience that the struggle of a people of a just cause was unconquerable. It was for that reason that a plan had been drawn up and put into execution by the South African Government and the other white Governments in Africa, the purpose of which was to crush the African independence movement.

57. It could no longer be tolerated that the Africans in their own country should be treated as slaves and regarded as foreigners by the white settlers, who were the real foreigners. It would be natural for the people of South West Africa to lose patience and take the only remaining way out, that of war, from which they would emerge victorious since their cause was just and was supported by the whole of progressive humanity.

58. At a time when the colonial system was crumbling, the question of immediate independence for the people of South West Africa should be settled. The resolutions of General Assembly must no longer remain a dead letter. The question had reached a stage at which the United Nations should take effective steps in accordance with the aspirations of the people, thus ensuring their immediate and total independence. The United Nations should act without delay to prevent the outbreak of a large-scale armed conflict in that part of Africa which might seriously threaten peace in Africa and in the world. The Albanian delegation would regard any attempt further to delay a settlement of the question as an attack on the existence of the people of South West Africa, or the United Nations and of world peace. His delegation would unreservedly support any action taken in that spirit.

59. Mr. Zaid RIFAI (Jordan) said that the question at issue was the denial of human rights and South Africa's defiance of the United Nations and refusal to participate in the Committee's deliberations whenever petitioners, who were the true representatives of the people, appeared before it. In spite of the restrained terms of the petitioners' statements, the facts of the case were obviously deplorable. The situation in South Africa had stirred the conscience of the whole world; the name of South Africa had come to mean persecution, discrimination and humiliation. The General Assembly must decide what steps it should take in the face of South Africa's persistent violation of the Charter. The problem involved not only the well-being but the freedom, the independence and the very existence of half a million people. Those people were not aliens or foreigners in South West Africa; it was their own country and they were entitled to all the rights and privileges of any people in its own country. They were the real Africans, not the settlers who had come from abroad to persecute them and deprive them of their national existence. The people of Jordan could understand their feelings since their own kin, the Arabs of Palestine, had suffered and were still suffering from the same misfortune.

60. The time had come to solve the problem of South West Africa. The solution would be based upon the decision of the International Court of Justice, which his delegation was confident would accurately reflect the facts of the case and confirm the continued existence of the Mandate and the non-compliance with its terms by the Mandatory Power. The United Nations would then be able to revoke the Mandate with full political and juridical justification. His delegation considered that that should be done before the nineteenth session of the General Assembly. If South Africa continued in its recalcitrant attitude, recourse could be had to the Security Council. The Charter provided for politi-

cal, economic and other sanctions and for suspension of membership and even expulsion. The South African Government should be informed that such steps would be considered should it continue its policy of defying the United Nations. That did not mean, however, that no political action should be taken at the present session. The delegation of Jordan would co-operate with the African, Asian and other delegations in presenting a draft resolution which would recommend steps to be taken at the present session, including the establishment of an effective United Nations presence in South West Africa.

61. The tragedy of South West Africa must be brought to an end. In Africa the destiny of a people was at stake; in the United Nations the prestige and authority of the Organization were at stake. The people of the Territory were looking for support not only in words but in deeds. The time had come for the United Nations to redeem its authority and save its integrity. As the last hope of peoples all over the world, it must rise to its responsibilities and answer the cry of the peoples for justice, freedom and independence.

AGENDA ITEM 75

Question of Southern Rhodesia: report of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence of Colonial Countries and Peoples (continued)

COMMUNICATIONS FROM THE REVEREND MICHAEL SCOTT (concluded)

62. Mr. AMACHREE (Under-Secretary for Trusteeship and Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories) recalled that at its 1457th meeting the Committee had decided to request the Secretariat to make a detailed study of the matter raised in the letter from the Reverend Michael Scott (A/C.4/614) and to inform the Committee of the circumstances surrounding the reported arrest and imprisonment of Mr. Phineas Ferani Sithole. In a letter dated 25 October 1963 he had requested information on the matter from the United Kingdom delegation. The reply from the United Kingdom representative, dated 29 October, stated that the matter in question was an internal affair of the Government of Southern Rhodesia and did not fall within the responsibility of the United Kingdom Government, but that the United Kingdom representative at Salisbury had nevertheless contacted the Rhodesian authorities, who had given the following details. Mr. Sithole had been convicted in Salisbury Magistrates' Court on 22 October on a charge of contravening certain provisions of the Law and Order Maintenance Act and had been sentenced to one year's imprisonment. The subject of the charge had been possession of a subversive publication—a cyclostyled document apparently prepared by the Pan-African Socialist Union in connexion with the appearance of Mr. Sithole and the late Mr. Paul Mushonga as petitioners before the Fourth Committee in 1962. It was not a United Nations document. Mr. Sithole's Defence Counsel was reported to have conceded that parts of the document were subversive and his case had rested on arguments that it was not a publication. An appeal had been lodged on that point and Mr. Sithole had been released on bail. The letter added that the information was supplied as a matter of courtesy to the Committee and without prejudice to the United Kingdom Government's views

on the question of the competence of the United Nations to discuss the internal affairs of Southern Rhodesia.

63. Mr. YOMEKPE (Ghana) proposed that the full text of the statement just made by the Under-Secretary as well as of the statement he had made at the 1458th meeting, should be circulated as a Committee document.

64. The CHAIRMAN said that if there were no objections he would take it that the Committee agreed to that proposal.

It was so decided.^{2/}

The meeting rose at 12.45 p.m.

^{2/} See A/C.4/616.