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Chairman: Mr. Majid RAHNEMA (Iran).

## AGENDA ITEMS 69 AND 70

Question of South West Africa: reports of the Special Committee on the Situation with Regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples (continued) (A/5960 and Add.1-3; A/5781, A/5800/Rev.1, chap. IV; A/5840, A/5949, A/5993, A/6000/Rev.1, chap. IV; A/6035 and Add.1 and 2)

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

### GENERAL DEBATE (continued)

1. Mr. URRUTIA (Argentina) said that the question of South West Africa could be studied from two points of view: the legal and what might be described as the political. His delegation did not propose to analyse the legal aspect, since it had been fully demonstrated on many occasions that the Republic of South Africa was flagrantly violating its obligations under Chapters XI and XII of the United Nations Charter, as it had done with respect to Article 22 of the Covenant of the League of Nations, by its reprehensible policy in the Territory entrusted to it. Similarly, it had been shown that there was a flagrant contradiction between the policy of apartheid practised in South West Africa and the principles of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. The advisory opinions of the International Court of Justice, particularly that of 11 July 1950,<sup>1/</sup> and the judgement handed down by the Court on 21 December 1962<sup>2/</sup> were in themselves enough to make it unnecessary to dwell

<sup>1/</sup> International status of South-West Africa, Advisory Opinion: I. C. J. Reports 1950, p. 128.

<sup>2/</sup> South West Africa Cases (Ethiopia v. South Africa; Liberia v. South Africa), Preliminary Objections, Judgement of 21 December 1962: I. C. J. Reports 1962, p. 319.

on the legal aspects of the question. The Argentine delegation was confident that the Court not only would reaffirm that the Mandate given by the League of Nations was still in force, but would decide that the Mandatory Power had flagrantly violated the obligations it has assumed towards the Territory.

2. Turning to the political aspect of the question, he declared that the United Nations had the right and the duty to act promptly in a situation which affected all human beings. The Fourth Committee could not confine itself to producing yet another resolution on South West Africa; it must try to show more effectively that the people of the Territory could rely on the support of the international community in that tragic hour of their history.

3. His delegation accordingly supported the proposal made at the 1564th meeting by the Venezuelan representative to the effect that consideration should be given to the possibility of setting up an *ad hoc* committee to study the most appropriate ways and means of putting an end to South Africa's Mandate and of administering South West Africa until it achieved independence. His delegation was convinced that the United Nations would shortly have to undertake a serious study of the problems that the Territory would face. It would therefore be appropriate that a small committee should make such a comprehensive study.

4. His delegation would support any draft resolution along those lines and any others that would promote real progress in the question of South West Africa and make it possible to put an end to barbarous practices which were a violation of the most elementary human rights.

5. Mr. SLOWIKOWSKI (Poland) reaffirmed his delegation's unchanging position with respect to the question of South West Africa: recognition that the people and territory of South West Africa constituted a separate entity as distinct from the Republic of South Africa, and recognition of the competence and responsibility of the United Nations in respect of South West Africa, and of the full applicability of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples to the Territory.

6. The basic elements of the question remained unchanged: a steady, systematic and practical annexation of South West Africa by the Republic of South Africa; continued attempts, through the invocation of the *sub judice* rule, to prevent the United Nations from taking action; the subjugation of the people of South West Africa; and the support of South Africa by external forces which enabled that country to

continue its policies. What had changed, however, and was continuing to change was the dimension and intensity of those elements. Some of the particularly disturbing aspects included the feverish military build-up of South West Africa, preparations for the suppression of any opposition by the people of South West Africa, the cordoning off of the Territory from its independent neighbours, and the establishment of a strong military presence in the Territory. In view of the abundant evidence concerning the production of poison gases, it was obvious that those military preparations were directed against any attempt to oppose the policy of apartheid and racial oppression in the Republic of South Africa and in South West Africa.

7. Another cause for concern was the presence in South Africa and South West Africa of a large number of Nazi criminals, a fact which had been confirmed by the petitioners and by other sources such as the Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee in the German Democratic Republic. Poland, which had lost six million of its citizens in the Second World War, knew how the Nazis had specialized in suppressing national movements and entire nations and peoples. Not only had those Nazis not paid for the crimes they had committed in Europe but they were once more involved in new crimes against humanity in South Africa and South West Africa. It was well known that the Nazis were ardent supporters of the doctrine of racial superiority and it would be in keeping with their ideology and practice to suppress any national liberation movement, especially of Africans.

8. The conclusions in the report on the implications of the activities of the mining industry and of the other international companies having interests in South West Africa (A/5840) constituted the most comprehensive accusation against foreign economic interests in South West Africa for their role in maintaining and strengthening the régime of apartheid in South Africa. Furthermore, the report gave new details about the mechanism of the relationship between South Africa and the Western countries, and particularly the countries of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). It showed that without the active co-operation and support of the Western and NATO countries South Africa would not have been in a position to persist in its racist policy, to defy the United Nations and world opinion as consistently as it had done or to acquire the military potential which now constituted a threat, not only to the indigenous inhabitants of South Africa and South West Africa and to neighbouring African States, but to international peace and security. The report showed the extent to which United Kingdom, United States and West German monopolies were involved in the exploitation and plunder of the human and natural resources of South West Africa. Those countries bore a considerable share of the responsibility for the situation prevailing in South West Africa. Hence any solution of the problem in accordance with the principles of the United Nations depended to a great extent on whether or not those countries continued their assistance to the Government of South Africa.

9. For many years the United Nations had sought South Africa's co-operation in seeking a solution of the problem of South West Africa, but South Africa had continued its abominable policy of oppression in clear defiance of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

10. By solemnly proclaiming in resolution 1702 (XVI) the inalienable right of the people of South West Africa to independence and national sovereignty, the General Assembly had reiterated its position that the provisions of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples were fully applicable to the Territory. In view of the intransigent attitude of the Government of South Africa, its non-compliance with United Nations resolutions and its declaration that it would not recognize any ruling of the International Court of Justice which differed from its own view, the Polish delegation considered that the General Assembly should take vigorous steps to terminate South Africa's Mandate for the Territory. The South African Government had failed to discharge its obligations; there was therefore no legal or moral justification for it to continue to administer South West Africa. His delegation therefore supported the proposal that the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples should be entrusted with the task of studying appropriate ways and means of terminating South Africa's Mandate for South West Africa.

11. In the meantime, his delegation considered it necessary for the General Assembly to call upon the Government of South Africa to refrain from putting into effect the recommendations of the Commission of Enquiry into South West Africa Affairs, known as the Odendaal Commission. In order to prevent the merciless exploitation and plunder of the natural resources of South West Africa, the General Assembly should declare that any future agreement which might be concluded between foreign monopolies and the Government of South Africa or its authorities in South West Africa would be null and void, since the Government of South Africa was not acting in the interests of the indigenous population. Any such agreement should not be regarded as binding on the government that would emerge as a result of the freely expressed will of the indigenous inhabitants of the Territory.

12. The Polish delegation, which firmly upheld the right of the people of South West Africa to independence and self-determination, would support any resolution designed to achieve that objective.

13. Mr. DASHTSEREN (Mongolia) said that, although the question of South West Africa had been on the agenda of the United Nations for many years and numerous resolutions had been adopted, the situation in the Territory was deteriorating from year to year and the time had come to take effective steps to ensure compliance with resolutions.

14. The Government of the Republic of South Africa, in complete disregard of its obligations as the Mandatory Power and in violation of the United

Nations Charter, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, had converted South West Africa into another area of racial segregation and colonial oppression. Instead of ensuring the political, economic, social and educational advancement of the people of the Territory, the Republic of South Africa was denying them their fundamental rights and forcing them to live in labour concentration camps. South Africa had an obligation to develop self-government in the Territory and to take account of the political aspirations of the people. Yet the recommendations in the report of the Odendaal Commission<sup>3/</sup> were aimed at perpetuating the slavery of the African people of South West Africa and annexing the Territory through complete administrative absorption and economic integration with the Republic of South Africa; under the Odendaal Plan, the administration of the so-called homelands would be entrusted entirely to the South African authorities.

15. The Republic of South Africa was clearly engaged in preparing a colonial war not only against the indigenous population of South West Africa, but also against other freedom-loving nations in Africa. Its defence budget was reported to have trebled in the past five years, numerous military bases had been established in South West Africa and emergency military airfields equipped to handle jet fighters were being constructed there. A campaign had already been started to mobilize white settlers between the ages of seventeen and sixty for training in the use of arms. Such preparations constituted a threat to the peace and security of the African continent. In organizing its military build-up, the Republic of South Africa was encouraged and supported by certain Western Powers, especially the United States of America, the United Kingdom and the Federal Republic of Germany, all of which had large investments in South Africa and South West Africa. In particular, the West German development of poison gases and rockets in South West Africa was a serious danger. A statement had appeared in the United Kingdom periodical *The Economist* of 7 August 1965 to the effect that the security of Europe and America, in a strictly military sense, would undoubtedly be best secured by making sure that the politically "safe" Whites kept control over the southern part of Africa. That statement revealed the hypocrisy of the Western Powers in pretending to support the African peoples while continuing to support the racist minority régime in South Africa. One result had been the illegal unilateral declaration of independence in Southern Rhodesia. The same must not be allowed to happen in South West Africa.

16. His delegation endorsed all the recommendations of the Special Committee and considered that the Western Powers which continued to resist the implementation of General Assembly resolutions concerning South West Africa and to assist the racist régime of South Africa in carrying out its policy of apartheid should be condemned by the United Nations. The Committee's recommendations should envisage meas-

ures designed to end the harmful activities of foreign monopolies, which were ruthlessly exploiting the Territory's natural resources and strengthening the Verwoerd régime. All military bases should be withdrawn from the Territory, in particular the West German and United States rocket bases and nuclear installations, and the Western Powers concerned should be asked to take immediate steps towards the unconditional implementation of all United Nations resolutions calling upon Member States to stop supplying arms or military equipment to the Republic of South Africa and to impose political and economic sanctions against that country. Furthermore, the question of South Africa's Mandate for South West Africa should be reviewed.

17. His country resolutely condemned colonialism in all its forms and was ready to support any measures aimed at the speedy elimination of apartheid and the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples with regard to South West Africa.

18. He thanked the petitioners for their statements and expressed the sympathy and solidarity of the Mongolian people with the people of South West Africa in their struggle for freedom and national independence.

19. Mr. GOLOVKO (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic) said that the question of South West Africa was one of the most acute problems on the Fourth Committee's agenda not only because it concerned the extermination of the indigenous inhabitants of that country and the denial of their human rights but also because it involved the authority and prestige of the United Nations.

20. The question of South West Africa had been before the United Nations for almost twenty years and the General Assembly had adopted numerous resolutions on the subject. It could be said without exaggeration that if only a few of them had been implemented the United Nations would not now be taking up the question and the people of South West Africa would long since have been living in the same circumstances as the majority of nations of the world. It was clear, however, from the reports of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples (A/5800/Rev.1, chap. IV; A/5840; A/6000/Rev.1, chap. IV) and the statements of the petitioners that events had taken a different course. Mr. Verwoerd's racist clique, flouting world public opinion and the decisions of the United Nations, was continuing to practise the barbarous policy of apartheid in South West Africa and to exploit and oppress the indigenous inhabitants of the Territory. The South African leaders had obviously learned nothing and such concepts as legality and humanity were foreign to them.

21. Abundant evidence had been provided to show that the South African racists had transformed South West Africa into a huge police torture-chamber, where the indigenous inhabitants were deprived of elementary human rights and freedoms and where the slightest attempt to defend their dignity as human

<sup>3/</sup> Republic of South Africa, *Report of the Commission of Enquiry into South West Africa Affairs, 1962-1963* (Pretoria, Government Printer, 1964).

beings was paid for with their lives. It was impossible to listen unmoved to the description given by the petitioners of the horrors and sufferings which the people of South West Africa were undergoing.

22. The Ukrainian people fully understood the concern which the petitioners felt for the future of their country. They had suffered under fascism for three years during the Second World War and had endured the same barbarous practices as those now being applied by the South African racists in respect of the black people of South West Africa. The Ukrainian people had not been regarded as human beings but as slaves to be transported to fascist Germany in freight trains, to do forced labour. Although the fascist occupation was a thing of the past, it could never be forgotten. The Ukrainian people could not, therefore, be indifferent to the events that were taking place in southern Africa.

23. He had been particularly disturbed by the statement made at the previous meeting by the South African representative, who had tried to demonstrate South Africa's right to the Mandate and thus to justify that Government's policy in South West Africa. There could be no question of a right to a mandate, when people who were fighting for their human rights and against racism and fascism were being annihilated in the Territory; when thousands of patriots, languishing in jail without trial, were being subjected to brutal torture; when each year 17,000 Africans were subjected to degrading corporal punishment, not to mention mob rule by the white racists.

24. The plans proposed by the infamous Odendaal Commission gave cause for special concern, in particular the proposal for the division of the country into separate Bantustans. It was obvious that the United Nations could not permit the creation of such ghettos or fascist concentration camps.

25. It was the duty of the General Assembly to help the people of South West Africa to gain their long-awaited freedom. The authority and prestige of the United Nations called for more than the mere expression of wishes and the adoption of resolutions: what was needed was immediate action.

26. In General Assembly resolution 1899 (XVIII), all States had been urged to refrain from supplying arms or petroleum to South Africa. It was clear from the Secretary-General's report (A/6035 and Add.1 and 2) that few States were heeding that recommendation and that the Western Powers were continuing to trade actively with South Africa and to provide the racist régime with necessary goods, including petroleum products and weapons.

27. At the previous meeting the representative of the United States had denied that the United States was supplying arms to the South African Republic. Moreover, as stated in paragraph 176 of the Special Committee's report (A/6000/Rev.1, chap. IV) the United States representative in the Special Committee, in an attempt to deny the fact that NATO was providing arms to South Africa, had said that if individual members of NATO were supplying arms to that country, the matter was a bilateral one. It did not matter whether the NATO members

had agreed to supply arms to Mr. Verwoerd individually or collectively; the fact remained that he was receiving arms.

28. The reports of the Special Committee and the statements of the petitioners, confirmed that, with the assistance of Western Powers, the South African racists were arming themselves, increasing their land, air and naval forces, and building military bases, airfields and fortifications in South Africa and in South West Africa. The Federal Republic of Germany played a particularly active role in the matter, rendering military assistance to Mr. Verwoerd in the manufacture of poison gas and guided missiles. It was clear that the Government of South Africa would not have been able to pursue its reprehensible policy of apartheid for so long without the economic, political and military support of the NATO countries. The concern shown by the Western Powers for the leaders of that racist preserve arose, of course, from the fact that the imperialist monopolies were deriving fabulous profits from exploiting the people and wealth of South Africa and South West Africa.

29. His delegation thanked Sub-Committee I of the Special Committee for its report (A/5840, annex), which showed the sinister role which foreign monopolies were playing in the economic and political life of South West Africa. According to the report, foreign capital held a dominant position in the economy of South West Africa and the main sectors of production were controlled by foreign enterprises or by settlers of European descent; the desire of the Government of South Africa to annex South West Africa was directly connected with the activities of international companies which were interested in keeping the Territory as a field for the investment of their capital, a source of raw materials and cheap labour.

30. It was clear from the statement made by the South African representative at the previous meeting that that Government had no intention of complying with the decisions of the United Nations. In the Ukrainian delegation's opinion, the Committee should condemn not only the South African racists but the Governments of other countries which were stubbornly refusing to comply with the numerous United Nations resolutions on the question of South Africa. It was odd that the States which had fought together against fascism in the Second World War were now directly or indirectly defending the inhuman policies of the racist Verwoerd régime.

31. The history of the question of South West Africa in the United Nations and the fate of all the resolutions adopted in respect of the Territory showed that appeals and recommendations were not enough. What was needed was action that would demonstrate that the United Nations would no longer tolerate the policy which the South African Government was pursuing in South West Africa and was fully determined to take steps that would compel that Government to respect the United Nations and its decisions.

32. It was imperative, therefore, to revoke South Africa's Mandate for South West Africa and to call upon all States Members of the United Nations to

assist the indigenous inhabitants of the Territory in their struggle for independence. His delegation supported the proposal made by a number of countries for the application of more decisive measures, including enforcement measures, against the Government of South Africa. It would also support any other recommendations designed to put an end to the monstrous policies of apartheid pursued by the South African racists in South West Africa and to ensure that the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples in the Territory.

33. The people of South West Africa had suffered under the dark night of colonialism far too long; his delegation demanded that they should be granted freedom and independence immediately without any conditions or reservations whatever.

34. Mr. LORINC (Hungary) said that the outrageous deeds being committed by the South African authorities in South West Africa called to mind the acts committed by Hitler's Germany. It was significant that, according to an article published in the periodical The Nationalist, the task of carrying out the secret agreement concluded between West Germany and South Africa in 1961 had been entrusted to a former member of Hitler's General Staff now living in Johannesburg, who could avail himself of the assistance of the more than 2,000 former Wehrmacht and SS officers who had found refuge in South Africa. The methods used by South Africa in its threats to annex South West Africa were almost identical with Hitler's manoeuvres in bringing about the Anschluss with Austria. It was with the help of the Nazi officers and of West German scientists formerly employed by the firm of I.G. Farben—the notorious poison gas research firm associated with Hitler's concentration camps—that poison gas was being produced in South Africa, perhaps for use against the population of South West Africa.

35. The "unholy alliance", with NATO as its military arm, was consolidating its position in southern Africa. No further proof was needed of the gravity of the situation in South Africa, South West Africa and the adjacent Portuguese colonies. The monopolists' lobby was putting pressure on the United Kingdom Government to water down the already weak measures it had announced against the racist settler minority in Southern Rhodesia. As reported in The New York Times of 26 November 1965, Portugal had refused to co-operate in the blockade of Southern Rhodesia.

36. The lengthy proceedings in the International Court of Justice had so far merely delayed the solution of the South West African problem. The atrocities being committed by the racist South African Government against the people of South West Africa, with the support of foreign monopolies, violated every declaration, convention and covenant drawn up by the United Nations in the matter of human rights. He drew attention to the text recently adopted by the Third Committee for the preamble of the draft International Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Racial Discrimination (A/C.3/L.1249); in the tenth paragraph, the States Parties would

resolve to adopt all necessary measures for eliminating racial discrimination in all its forms and manifestations. In the text of article I, also recently adopted, the term "racial discrimination" was defined to mean any distinction, exclusion, restriction or preference based on race, colour, descent, national or ethnic origin which impaired the equal exercise of human rights and fundamental freedoms in the political, economic, social, cultural or any other field of public life; and, under article II, paragraph 1 (b), each State Party would undertake not to sponsor, defend or support racial discrimination by any persons or organizations (A/C.3/L.1239). The term "organizations" presumably included commercial concerns. The countries implicated in the inhumanities committed in South West Africa could not be allowed at the same time to parade as champions of freedom and human rights.

37. The Committee should rid itself of all illusions concerning the purposes pursued by South Africa and its Western allies in South West Africa: they were doing their utmost to consolidate their empire in southern Africa. The United Nations should demand the immediate withdrawal from South West Africa of all South African military bases and personnel. It should openly condemn not only the racists of South Africa but also their hypocritical accomplices. Finally, it should take steps to divest South Africa of its Mandate for South West Africa, to which it had fortified every right.

38. Mr. LAMANI (Albania) thanked the petitioners who had appeared before the Committee for their valuable information and assured them of the solidarity of the Albanian people in their struggle for freedom.

39. Twenty years of consideration of the problem by the United Nations had led to no results, owing to the stubbornness of the South African Government and the complacent attitude of the imperialist countries. The South African Government was continuing to defy United Nations decisions and redoubling its efforts to annex South West Africa. It had naturally derived encouragement from recent events in Southern Rhodesia and the attitude adopted by the imperialist Powers towards those events. There was no longer any doubt regarding the collusion between United States, United Kingdom and West German monopolies and the racist régimes in South Africa and Southern Rhodesia or regarding the assistance given to the Verwoerd régime by certain NATO countries with the aim of safeguarding the profits derived by those monopolies and retaining southern Africa as a base for their aggressive plans. It was the support of the Western Powers that encouraged the South African régime to ignore the United Nations. The imperialist Powers continued to supply weapons to South Africa and to build rocket bases in South West Africa, thus creating a situation which was a threat, not only to the people of South West Africa, but to other countries and to the peace of the whole world. The alliance between Portugal, Southern Rhodesia and South Africa was now fully apparent. It was also important to realize that the presence of foreign monopolies was not welcomed by the South West African people. The petitioners had made it clear

that they did not regard such concerns, which derived huge profits from the exploitation of cheap labour, as promoting the well-being of the people.

40. To ensure the continued exploitation of the Africans, new plans were being introduced to confine the Africans to so-called Bantustans, retaining the best land for Europeans; and efforts were being made to recruit new European settlers, especially from West Germany, with the hope that they would eventually outnumber the Africans in the Territory. Oppression was more brutal than ever. Africans were forbidden to form trade unions; they were deprived of all political rights; their freedom of movement was restricted; and they were continually harassed by the police in an effort to destroy their morale.

41. It was clear that the Mandate under which South Africa ruled the Territory could no longer be regarded as valid and that South Africa was attempting to annex South West Africa. The South African administration must be immediately removed from the Territory; the urgency of the situation made it impossible to wait for the decision of the International Court of Justice. The demand of the South West African people for the establishment of a régime free from all discrimination and the transfer of all powers to the people was a legitimate one. His delegation would support any measure proposed to bring about those objectives.

42. Mr. IZADI (Iran) said that his delegation had been impressed by the account given by the petitioners of conditions in South West Africa and wished to assure them of the Iranian delegation's continued support for their struggle for independence and freedom.

43. South Africa, in defiance of the world community and of the numerous resolutions adopted over the years by United Nations bodies, still refused to discharge its responsibilities as a State Member of the United Nations. It had violated not only the United Nations Charter but also the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

44. According to the evidence supplied by petitioners, both in 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 in the Fourth Committee, the South African Government was continuing to exploit and oppress the African population, with the aim of demoralizing the Africans in their struggle for freedom and facilitating the annexation of the Territory. The blueprint for the Territory's annexation appeared in the Odendaal Plan, under which the African population would be divided and confined in "homelands", which would provide a permanent source of cheap labour.

45. South Africa's policies had created a situation which, if allowed to continue, would endanger international peace and security. To forestall an outbreak of violence, the United Nations must take action to ensure South Africa's compliance with General Assembly resolutions. The Committee should adopt a reso-

lution which would ensure and expedite the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples in respect of the Territory. The effectiveness of any firm measures, however, would depend on the universality of their implementation and the duration of their enforcement. Every effort should be made to bring about a solution through a unanimous vote. The Committee should reaffirm both the right of the people to self-determination and independence and the need for the observance of human rights in the Territory.

46. Mr. KORHONEN (Finland) said that his delegation recognized that during the past two years there had been no real change in the administration of South West Africa or in general conditions there. As the International Court of Justice had stated in its advisory opinion in 1950, the Government of the Republic of South Africa had the obligation to administer the Territory in the spirit of the Mandate and in the interests of its inhabitants. That had obviously not been done and it appeared that all the efforts of the United Nations had failed.

47. His delegation expressed its deep concern that the Government of the Republic of South Africa had taken the first steps towards the implementation of the recommendations of the Odendaal Commission. The system of separate "homelands" for coloured citizens of the Territory was inspired by the policy of apartheid. The inhabitants of those homelands would be permanently deprived of their democratic right to influence decisions concerning defence, internal security and matters related to water and transport in their own country. In short, the political and economic inequality of the inhabitants of South West Africa would be perpetuated.

48. The principal task of the Committee was to seek constructive measures which would bring about a change in the administration of South West Africa. The Government of the Republic of South Africa had no right to implement the recommendations of the Odendaal Commission until the International Court of Justice had finished its consideration of the case. At the same time, the United Nations should not take any steps which might make the work of the International Court of Justice more difficult. Any resolution adopted by the Committee concerning South West Africa should reflect both those considerations.

49. Mr. DMITRUK (Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic) said that no nation could remain indifferent to the alarming situation which had been created in South West Africa as a result of the racist policy of the Verwoerd régime and the activities of the international imperialist forces which supported that policy. In spite of all the United Nations resolutions concerning the Territory, the situation had only deteriorated. It represented a serious international problem which demanded an immediate solution. As a result of the policy of racial discrimination and apartheid, the indigenous population of the Territory was deprived of the most elementary rights and forced to live in reserves. An African could only leave his reserve if he signed a labour contract which doomed him to forced labour. The police in



South West Africa still acted in accordance with an order given in 1952 by the then South African Minister of Justice to the effect that if they saw Africans assembled in a group they should fire upon them.

50. The recommendations of the Odendaal Commission were aimed at securing the formal annexation of South West Africa by the Republic of South Africa and the extension of the policy of apartheid. They provided for the settlement of Africans in ten ethnic regions on the model of the South African Bantustans, which would in effect be concentration camps. The possibility of establishing a central governing body for the Territory on the basis of universal suffrage had been rejected by the Commission on the pretext that it would lead to constant friction. The plan represented a challenge to the United Nations, which in General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) had condemned any attempt to disrupt the national unity and territorial integrity of a country. The South African Government had admittedly declared its intention of postponing implementation of the Odendaal Plan until the International Court of Justice had made its decision known, but that was only a tactical manoeuvre designed to lull the African population of South West Africa.

51. The latest 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/6000/Rev.1, chap. IV) showed clearly that racial discrimination was practised in education, social matters and the wage system. That was admittedly an internal problem for the people of South West Africa, but no one could fail to protest at the disregard for human dignity and the attempt to turn a whole nation into slaves of a white minority. The policy of racial discrimination pursued by the South African Government in South West Africa was a crime against humanity and the United Nations should take effective steps to punish its perpetrators. Such action would be in the interests not only of the people of South West Africa but of the whole African continent and all mankind.

52. The policy of the Verwoerd régime was actively supported by Western reactionary imperialist forces. There was a close kinship of ideas between the West German leaders and the South African racists. The former had openly declared their approval of apartheid, which in fact echoed Hitler's theory of the supremacy of the Aryan race. In 1956 Mr. Erhard, the present Chancellor of the Federal Republic of Germany, on a visit to South Africa, had stated that the same spirit existed in the two countries and that both were working on the same principles. In March 1959 Mr. Lübke, the present President of the Federal Republic of Germany, had stated that the problems of the indigenous African population were in the good hands of the Government, whose experiment might usefully be applied throughout the whole continent. Serious thought should be given to such statements. The progressive forces of Africa and the whole world would not permit Africa to be used as a field for racist experiments.

53. His delegation was concerned that South West Africa might be turned into yet another area of

tension. In violation of the League of Nations Mandate, the Government of the Republic of South Africa was establishing military bases in South West Africa which represented a threat to peace and security in the African continent. As was pointed out in the Special Committee's report (A/6000/Rev.1, chap. IV), the South African Government, with the help of West German specialists, had constructed a rocket base in the Namib desert. More than 2,000 Nazi criminals had found refuge in the Republic of South Africa and many served as instructors in the South African army. On 3 June 1965 the President of Zambia, speaking at a press conference, had stated that the South African authorities were constructing a military air base in the Caprivi region at a cost of £ 8 million and that such a step was a threat to the security of his country. The South African Government denied all such reports, but the situation in South West Africa was known to the whole world.

54. Despite United Nations resolutions, the Western Powers continued to offer military assistance to the Republic of South Africa, in order to suppress the people of South Africa and South West Africa. The United Nations should therefore take more practical steps. Any action would be ineffective if it did not affect the material basis of the Verwoerd régime, which would be unable to carry out its policy of annexing South West Africa and extending apartheid without the support of the Western Powers and international monopolies. The Special Committee's report on the activities of the foreign monopolies in South West Africa (A/5840) showed that all the Territory's natural resources were controlled by United Kingdom and United States monopolies for their own profit. Diamond mining was controlled by an Anglo-American company, Consolidated Diamond Mines of South West Africa, a subsidiary of De Beers Consolidated Mines of South Africa, which had drawn enormous profits from its operations. The interests of the foreign monopolies in the Republic of South Africa and South West Africa and of the South African régime were closely linked; the monopolies earned vast profits, partly as a result of cheap labour, and the South African racists benefited as a result of revenue from taxes and concessions. His delegation fully supported the conclusions and recommendations in the report (A/5840, paras. 157-178), which correctly assessed the role of the Western monopolies in all aspects of life in South West Africa and the relationship between those monopolies and apartheid. The removal of the foreign monopolies would undermine the economic basis of the Verwoerd régime.

55. Another effective measure would be a boycott of trade with the Republic of South Africa; instead, however, South Africa's foreign trade continued to increase, especially with the United States of America, United Kingdom, United States, West German, French, Italian and other Western companies continued to build industrial concerns in the Republic of South Africa. The Federal Republic of Germany was strengthening its economic relations with the Republic of South Africa. It was clear that the members of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization were supporting the racist régime in the Republic of South Africa, developing close relations with it and sabotaging

the implementation of United Nations resolutions on the policy of apartheid and the situation in South West Africa, especially with regard to sanctions.

56. The United Nations was in duty bound to take steps without delay to ensure the speedy implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples in South West Africa. There must be complete condemnation and boycott of the South African leaders. Without waiting for the decision of the International Court of Justice, the United Nations should ask the South African leaders to refrain from any action directed towards the annexation or dismemberment of South West Africa and should call upon all States to help the indigenous people of South West Africa in every way possible in their struggle for freedom and independence. The Security Council should consider the situation in South West Africa, which was a threat to peace and security, and should take the necessary steps to ensure the implementation of United Nations resolutions on South West Africa, especially the enforcement of sanctions. The United States, the United Kingdom and the other Western Powers should be asked to discontinue their economic and military support of the Verwoerd régime and to use their influence to stop the activities of international companies in South West Africa which were contrary to the interests of the indigenous population of the Territory.

57. The Byelorussian delegation would support any proposal designed to restrain the racists and to offer effective help and support to the people of South West Africa in their struggle for freedom and independence.

58. Mrs. HENESES DE ALBIZU CAMPOS (Cuba) said that at the previous meeting the Committee had heard a certain speaker offer, in a voice of frightening serenity, what was supposed to be information on the present situation in South West Africa. His words had been wasted, however, and following his speech the Committee had heard other voices, those of the representatives of African States, making it clear that Africa was not prepared to remain a land of suppressed and exploited peoples.

59. South Africa was supported by powerful accomplices, which, like it, had no qualms about invoking the United Nations Charter and international law. The true picture was provided by documents such as the Special Committee's report on the implications of the activities of the mining industry and other international companies having interests in South West Africa (A/5840).

60. The Committee had heard it claimed that commissions sent to South West Africa over the years had reported steady progress there and that the latest commission had recommended the division of the Territory on an ethnic basis and its speedy integration with South Africa. Surely the presence in the United Nations of those who still believed that territories could be divided up and annexed could no longer be tolerated.

61. When asked about the significance of recent events in Southern Rhodesia for the people of South

West Africa, the petitioners had stressed the serious implications of those events for the peace and security of all Africa. In connexion with Southern Rhodesia, the Cuban Minister for Foreign Affairs had said in a statement reproduced in document A/6112 that the Revolutionary Government of Cuba fully recognized the right of the black people of Southern Rhodesia to seize their independence by force, and that Cuba would offer the necessary assistance to the people in their struggle against imperialism and its agents. On 12 May 1964 the President of the Republic of Cuba had sent a letter to the Chairman of the Special Committee on the Policies of apartheid of the Government of the Republic of South Africa (A/AC.115/L.70/Add.1), in which he had stated that the Cuban Government was prepared to support effective measures aimed at preventing the South African Government from continuing to apply the brutal laws of apartheid.

62. Her delegation considered that the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples could continue directly or through a subordinate body to be of assistance in considering the case of South West Africa, whose people had a right to claim compensation for the plunder of their wealth by the colonial Powers.

63. The Cuban delegation would support any draft resolutions in line with the ideas which she had expressed.

64. Mr. HATTINGH (South Africa) said that the representative of Hungary had rather uncomfortably referred to the attacks on South Africa which had been made, one after the other, by a number of socialist countries during the meeting. Some of the representatives of socialist countries who had spoken had been fighting the Second World War against the Nazis all over again—which was not on the Committee's agenda. He would remind those representatives that South African force, too, had fought against the Nazis, a fact to which the many South African war graves in Europe and North Africa bore witness.

65. To try to equate South Africa's policies in South West Africa with nazism was preposterous as the nazi policies attacked were synonymous with genocide. The facts in South West Africa spoke for themselves: during South Africa's administration all population groups in the Territory had increased at approximately the same rate as in Africa south of the Sahara as would be seen *inter alia* from the United Nations Statistical Yearbook and the Demographic Yearbook.

66. Mr. THIAM (Mali) said that in the Republic of South Africa men were denied the right to be men, just as they had been under nazism in Europe.

67. Mr. KISAKA (Kenya) said that his delegation, which did not recognize the physical presence in the Committee of the person who claimed to speak for the Republic of South Africa, recognized still less his verbal misrepresentation of facts.

The meeting rose at 1 p.m.