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*Chairman:* Mr. George J. TOMEH (Syria).

AGENDA ITEM 23

Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples: 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: Southern Rhodesia (*continued*) (A/6700/Rev.1, chap. III)

GENERAL DEBATE (concluded)

1. Mr. EL HADI (Sudan), replying to the statement made by the Israel representative at the 1695th meeting, said that that representative had deliberately sought to undermine the unity of the free and independent States of Africa, a move calculated to sow confusion and disorder in the ranks of the liberation movements of the oppressed countries, in particular Southern Rhodesia. Africa, however, would certainly not be taken in by such a manoeuvre; it had always been a melting pot of different ethnic groups and it had now, under the auspices of the Organization of African Unity (OAU), established a unity that was the best weapon against imperialism. On the banks of the Suez Canal, the Sudanese troops stood shoulder to shoulder with the troops of the United Arab Republic in defence of African soil and they might well be called upon one day to play the same part at Salisbury.
2. The eradication of racism and colonialism was the most serious problem in Africa. The Sudan was devoting all its efforts to that task, which was part of its law and Constitution. The great enemy of Africa

in that respect was the South African Government, the Government of the advocates of apartheid. Yet the representative of Israel had not said one word in condemnation of South Africa, a fact which showed the collusion between Zionism and apartheid. It was also known that Israel had sold arms to the Portuguese forces of oppression operating in Angola; the freedom fighters of that country had made a formal statement on that subject.

3. Israel's endeavours could not undermine African unity, embodied as it was in the charter of the OAU, article II of which stated that the promotion of the unity and solidarity of the African States was its main purpose. Ever since the establishment of the OAU, the Special Fund for the Liberation of Africa, and the Co-ordination Committee for the Liberation of Africa, ever since Africa had mounted a concerted attack against the imperialists, the latter had done everything in their power to bring about the destruction of the OAU. The Israel representative's attack was clear evidence of the solidarity of Zionism with imperialism and colonialism.

4. Israel could not deceive the Africans by claiming to take their part in the question of Southern Rhodesia, nor had the Israel representative been able to refute the comparison that had been made between the part played by the racist settlers and that played by the Zionists.

5. The white foreigners of Salisbury and the Tel Aviv settlers had identical theories about racial supremacy. In an interview granted to CBS News on 11 June 1967, Moshe Dayan had stated, with regard to the absorption of the Arab refugees into Israel, that economically that was possible but that he did not think that it was in accord with Israel's aims, for it would turn Israel into a bi-national Arab-Jewish State, whereas it wanted to be a Jewish State. The people of Zimbabwe were likely to become a nation of refugees, like the Palestine Arabs, living on the charity of a United Nations Relief and Works Agency. Moshe Dayan had even said, on 16 July 1967, that the Bantustans were an interesting experiment that could be applied to the Arab refugees.

6. He drew particular attention to the role of the Jews in Southern Rhodesia, to whom, according to the London Times of 9 June 1967, Ian Smith was considering granting authority to help Israel financially by withdrawing money from a Rhodesian blocked account in London. The Times had added that the Jews of Southern Rhodesia, who had always contributed generously to the Zionist movement, were for the most part supporters of the governing Rhodesian Front.

7. In conclusion, he said that no one should be blind to the fact that Israel was an imperialist and racist State, to which the Sudan, for one, would never yield.

8. Mr. JOUEJATI (Syria), replying to the Israel representative's statement, said that that representative had tried to show that the comparison between the Ian Smith régime and Zionism which the Arab delegations had made was a fallacy. It was clear, however, that the behaviour of the Smith régime was identical with that of Zionism; both deprived the indigenous inhabitants of their rights and disregarded the resolutions adopted by the United Nations to put an end to the situation. The only difference between them was that Ian Smith had not yet expelled the Africans from their country by force and terror, as Israel had expelled a million Arabs from Palestine, nor had he committed large-scale massacres, as the Zionists had done in those places whose names were now sadly famous: Deir Yasin, Kybia, Es-Samu, etc.

9. The representative of Israel had said that the Jews, like the Africans, had the right to live in their own country. That was tantamount to identifying all the Jews of the world with Israel nationalism and it paved the way, in the countries where Jews lived, for dual nationality and dual allegiance, which were incompatible with the principles of the United Nations Charter. In order to justify his theory, the Israel representative had added that many villages in Palestine bore Jewish names. That was a thoroughly specious argument: if it were accepted, it would mean that the French would have rights to England and the Arabs to Turkey, simply because many English villages had Norman names and many Turkish villages had Arabic names.

10. Secondly, the Israel representative had maintained that the Arabs had committed crimes against the Africans, that they had "whipped" them. If any Arab, however, committed a crime against anyone, he was liable to the most severe penalties under the law of his country. The Arabs were against the exploitation of man by man; in Arab countries men of diverse races and religions—Christians, Moslems and Jews—had been living in harmony for centuries until Zionism had come to destroy that harmony.

11. As a matter of procedure, he wondered whether the representative of Israel had a mandate from any African State to speak on its behalf against that alleged Arab oppression. He recalled that the representative of Sierra Leone had pointed out (1695th meeting) that the editorial that the Israel representative had quoted did not represent the views of the Sierra Leone Government.

12. Thirdly, the representative of Israel had tried to propound a theory on the basis of the Arabic word "Abd", which meant "slave" but had no connotation of colour. The word was to be found in a number of Arab names: for instance, Abdullah was the slave of God; the President of the United Arab Republic was called Abdel Nasser.

13. The false accusations of the representative of Israel could not remain unanswered, for their purpose was to drive a wedge between Africans and Arabs. Whatever Israel might claim, however, it was Israel arms, not Arab arms, that had been captured by the

liberation movement of Angola, and 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 had seen for itself during its visit to the Democratic Republic of the Congo. Moreover, the General Assembly resolution (2253 (ES-V)) against the annexation of Jerusalem, which the Tel Aviv authorities rejected, had had the almost unanimous support of the African States.

14. In conclusion, referring to the attitude of Israel towards the indigenous inhabitants of Palestine, he quoted the opinion of Mr. Moshe Menuhin, a prominent Jew, who had stated in a letter to the *Saratoga Observer*, published on 31 August 1967, that after reducing the indigenous Arabs to the tragic status of refugees, the Jews, far from feeling ashamed of what they had done, had had the audacity to slander them and sully their name, and that instead of repenting of the terrible acts they had committed, they had justified them and even gloried in them.

15. Mr. HATTINGH (South Africa), replying to various representatives who had spoken of the presence of South African troops in Rhodesia, stated, first, that there were no South African troops in Rhodesia and, secondly, that only a small number of South African policemen were present in that country and only in order to deal with terrorists of South African origin attempting to make their way through Rhodesia to commit terrorism in South Africa. Thirdly, the presence of South African policemen in Rhodesia was not connected in any way with the dispute between the United Kingdom and Rhodesia or with the internal security of Rhodesia.

16. He emphasized that the dispatch of the policemen to Rhodesia posed no threat to anybody and that they would remain only as long as the threat to the security of South Africa remained. It was of course normal practice for States in certain conditions to take action beyond their borders to safeguard their security. Many representatives in the Committee would know of examples of steps taken by their own Governments beyond their national boundaries to safeguard their security.

17. He reminded the Committee of the statement by the South African Foreign Minister in the General Assembly, at the 1565th plenary meeting on 25 September 1967, when the Minister said that terrorism was another form of piracy and that terrorists obeyed no law, not even the laws of those who sheltered them.

18. He stressed in conclusion that those who trained and equipped terrorists of South African origin and allowed them to operate from territory under their jurisdiction needed only to stop those unlawful practices and the need to have South African policemen in Rhodesia would fall away. Until that happened, South Africa would deal firmly and resolutely with all terrorists threatening it.

19. Mr. DIARRA (Guinea) said that the object of the statement made by the representative of Israel at the 1695th meeting was to divide the Africans and it should accordingly be denounced. Furthermore, the Western countries could no longer conceal their complicity with the racist régime of Ian Smith. In particular, the reply that France had given, at the 1696th meeting,

to the accusations of the Guinean delegation had merely confirmed the fact that France still maintained official trade relations with Southern Rhodesia despite the imposition of sanctions.

20. Mr. PASHA (Pakistan) said that he too considered that the remarks made by the representative of Israel at the 1695th meeting had been designed to divide the Afro-Asian countries. Such behaviour was certainly not that of the representative of a country which sincerely supported the Zimbabwe people, for the divisions which Israel sought to bring about could only benefit the racists and colonialists.

21. He thought that the comparison that the representative of the United Arab Republic had made (1696th meeting) between Zionism and the Ian Smith régime was clearly authentic and that in fact the only difference between the two was that the Palestine Arabs had been not only deprived of their rights but expelled from their homeland.

22. Mr. BOZOVIC (Yugoslavia) recalled that his delegation was among those that had reported and condemned the presence of South African troops in Southern Rhodesia. It would like to ask the United Kingdom representative what his Government's position was on the question and what decisions it proposed to take if South African troops remained in the Territory.

23. The statement just made by the South African representative contradicted the declarations of his own Prime Minister, Mr. Vorster, who had undertaken to help Mr. Smith. Furthermore, it was difficult to see how the South African forces operating in Southern Rhodesia could distinguish between "terrorists" from South Africa and other "terrorists".

24. The principle of sending troops into a foreign country—which constituted a sort of preventive war—was unacceptable, and it was particularly disturbing to hear the South African representative declare that that situation would be maintained; his last statement had been a slap in the face of international opinion.

25. Mr. THIAM (Mali) said that the incursions by South African troops into the territory of the British colony of Southern Rhodesia were acts of piracy. Since the United Kingdom considered that the sole legal authority in Southern Rhodesia was that of the British Governor in Salisbury, Sir Humphrey Gibbs, his delegation would like to know whether there was any agreement between the latter and the South African authorities and by what right South Africa was sending its forces into the territory.

26. Mr. EILAN (Israel) was sorry to note that the Arab delegations had once again attempted to introduce their countries' dispute with Israel into the debate on Southern Rhodesia.

27. The Arab delegations continued to distort the facts; the representative of the United Arab Republic, for example, had said that the British pull-out from Palestine had been a unilateral measure, whereas in fact it had been the consequence of a United Nations decision. The British, moreover, had decided to surrender their Mandate because of the opposition of the Jews, not of the Arabs, to their colonial system.

28. With regard to the large number of quotations read out by the representative of the United Arab Republic, he pointed out that in the *British periodical Notes and Topics* of 3 July 1967, Professor Toynbee, whom that representative had quoted at such length, had said that he had always pointed out to the Arabs that West Germany's post-war policy towards refugees from Eastern Germany and from east of the Oder-Neisse line had not only been humane but had paid dividends to West Germany, economically and politically. Professor Toynbee had added that the Arabs had to face the fact that Israel had come to stay and that a three-times repeated experience had shown that they could not defeat it.

29. Mr. LUARD (United Kingdom) said, in reply to the representatives of Yugoslavia and Mali, that the South African police unit had no right to enter Southern Rhodesia. Obviously, there was no agreement on the subject between South Africa and the United Kingdom; his Government had protested to the Pretoria authorities and would do everything in its power to secure the withdrawal of the forces in question.

30. Mr. NKAMA (Zambia) considered the diplomatic protest to which the United Kingdom representative had just referred inadequate and wished that representative to indicate what his Government's decision would be if the presence of South African forces in Southern Rhodesia was prolonged.

31. The CHAIRMAN declared the debate on the question of Southern Rhodesia closed and expressed the hope that the draft resolution to be submitted to the Committee on the question would soon be prepared.

#### AGENDA ITEM 64

Question of South West Africa (hearing of petitioners)  
(A/C.4/692 and Add.1 and 2)

*At the invitation of the Chairman, Mr. Jacob Kuhanua, Secretary-General of the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO), Mr. Nathaniel Mbaeva and Mr. Mburumba Kerina, representatives of the South West Africa National United Front (SWANUF), and the Reverend Michael Scott, representative of the International League for the Rights of Man, took places at the Committee table.*

32. Mr. MBAEVA (South West Africa National United Front) said that he had requested a hearing from the United Nations Council for South West Africa. In the absence of a reply, he had applied to the Fourth Committee, which had granted his request, thus enabling him to address the Council as well.

33. Thanks to what the United Nations had accomplished, the end of the road to self-determination was now in sight. The people of South West Africa had started their struggle for self-determination at the beginning of the German occupation, after they had offered the British Government the port of Walvis Bay in exchange for protection; that offer, however, had not prevented the Germans from consolidating their position. Contrary to what the Committee had been told, Walvis Bay was part and parcel of South West Africa and any attempt to annex any part of the Territory was an act of aggression, as was made clear by United Nations resolutions and especially



by the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

34. After the defeat of Germany in the First World War, the Union of South Africa had been given full powers of administration of the Territory on behalf of His Britannic Majesty. During the Second World War, the South African Government had promised the people of South West Africa, in return for participating in the war, the land and cattle they had lost to the Germans. Despite all the sacrifices they had made, the end of the war had brought them only increased poverty and the Germans had retained the land and the cattle. But the Europeans had not yet been satisfied.

35. After General Smuts's request that South West Africa should be incorporated into the Union had been rejected by the United Nations, the South African Government had declared its intention of continuing to administer the Territory in the spirit of the Mandate. When, in 1946, the people of South West Africa had begun petitioning the United Nations through their spokesman, the Reverend Michael Scott, to place the Territory under trusteeship for an interim period before independence, the Western Powers had adopted delaying tactics. A decision by the International Court of Justice had been necessary to prevent the application of apartheid to South West Africa. The refusal of the International Court in 1966 to rule on the complaint by Ethiopia and Liberia,<sup>1/</sup> though intended to weaken the forces of progress, had succeeded in uniting all the Members of the United Nations in opposition. By its resolution 2145 (XXI) of 27 October 1966, adopted almost unanimously, the General Assembly had decided that the Mandate exercised by the Government of the Union of South Africa was terminated and that South Africa had no other right to administer the Territory, which thenceforward was placed under the direct responsibility of the United Nations. In order to discharge that responsibility, the General Assembly had established the Ad Hoc Committee for South West Africa, to recommend practical means by which the Territory should be administered. That Committee had recommended the establishment of a council for South West Africa.

36. He requested the Council to proceed to South West Africa to take over its administration. The General Assembly must authorize the Council to train South West African volunteers for a national police force immediately and to recruit volunteers from among nationalists and in all States in order to constitute a United Nations peace force to ensure, by force if necessary, the Organization's entrance into South West Africa. The people of the Territory and those who represented them were prepared to serve in that force or to help in its recruitment. For that reason, the Council should establish itself immediately in Africa, close to South West Africa—provisionally, for example, in Lusaka or Dar es Salaam—to begin the recruitment. Since the cost of the operation might be too high to be met from the regular budget of the United Nations, he suggested that the General Assembly should create United Nations freedom bonds for South

West Africa, bearing interest at the rate of not less than 4 per cent. Assuming that the maximum cost of the operation did not exceed \$600 million, South West Africa could redeem the bonds at the rate of \$25 million per year, which would not be an intolerable burden for the future independent Government. It was worth mentioning that the Windhoek Advertiser reported that the South West African rate of development of 7.5 per cent was the highest in the world. The General Assembly should further call on all States to ask their nationals with investments in South West Africa to pay their taxes directly to the United Nations Council for South West Africa, for it was illegal for South Africa to collect them. The taxes paid by the American mining corporations were sufficient to pay the costs of the administration of the Territory by the United Nations or that of the training programmes introduced before the Council entered the Territory.

37. In order to facilitate the travel of all South West Africans to be recruited for those and other programmes, SWANUF had assumed the responsibility of issuing identity documents to them. He urged the Council to recognize the validity of those documents and requested all Members of the United Nations, including South Africa, to facilitate the travel of persons with such documents. About fifty South West Africans abroad, particularly in the United States, Eastern Europe and Africa, had received travel documents of that kind.

38. The United Nations had assumed responsibility for a people which had long been deprived of their elementary rights but which had fought for generations for their inalienable right of self-determination. The allied movement, SWAPO, had already started an armed struggle for liberation.

39. Reduced to slavery in their own country and robbed of their lands, the people of South West Africa had nothing to lose but their lives—lives too wretched to be held dear.

40. In 1947, the American Federation of Labor had requested the United Nations to make a complete study of forced labour in all Member States and to take action to put an end to such labour. As a result, the Economic and Social Council had invited the International Labour Organisation and the Secretary-General to study the problem. In 1951, the Council had adopted a United States—United Kingdom proposal to set up a committee of inquiry (Council resolution 350 (XII)). On the basis of replies to a questionnaire sent to all States and of information obtained from private organizations and persons, the Ad Hoc Committee on Forced Labour had reported to the Council<sup>2/</sup> that the Soviet Union and States associated with it employed forced labour on an extensive scale. In 1957, at its fortieth session, the International Labour Conference had condemned forced labour as a method for mobilizing labour for economic development, and had mentioned Communist China in that connexion, but not South West Africa. In all those instances, no specific mention had been made of the slavery practised by the South African Government. Certainly the United Nations could not have expected that

<sup>1/</sup> South West Africa, Second Phase, Judgement, I.C.J. Reports 1966, p. 6.

<sup>2/</sup> See Official Records of the Economic and Social Council, Sixteenth Session, Supplement No. 13.



Government to confess its slave practices; that Government had substituted the word apartheid for slavery and the word Bantu for slave. Africans were no longer forced into servitude, but it was the only alternative to starvation. Even slaves had been better off, for their masters had had to feed them. The Bantus had no right either to own land or even to leave the country. The people in the reserves were not entitled to own more than five head of cattle and could not flee their misery by emigrating.

41. Centuries earlier, the United Kingdom had been the international champion of emancipation of slaves and had been a sanctuary of political refugees from all over the world. Ironically, however, the United Kingdom had been an accomplice in the schemes that led to establishment of the Government which had introduced apartheid.

42. In January 1965, the Special Committee had reported<sup>3/</sup> that foreign monopolies operating in South West Africa, all of them branches of companies operating in South Africa, were exploiting African workers in a way that amounted to slavery. The United Kingdom held about 60 per cent of the \$4,500 million invested in South Africa, the United States 11 per cent, Switzerland 6 per cent and France 4 per cent. In view of that fact, the Economic and Social Council must recommend to the General Assembly to take drastic measures to abolish slavery and practices similar to it.

43. Lastly, he expressed his movement's sympathy to its African, Asian and American brothers engaged in wars of liberation against the imperialist Powers, and particularly to the people of Viet-Nam. He regretted that the United Nations had been unable to stop such invasions of small nations by big nations, but the time had come when it must live up to its promise and maintain international peace and security. The aggressors continued to enjoy the fruits of their aggression; South Africa, like Portugal and Southern Rhodesia, had defied the United Nations, and although South West Africa had been placed under the responsibility of the United Nations, South Africa continued to arrest and kill the Territory's nationals. The South African Government had arranged for the trials of the South West African nationalists to coincide with the session of the General Assembly in order to divert the latter's attention from the basic issue, which was to remove that racist Government from the Territory.

44. The people of South West Africa had been encouraged by the last conference of the OAU, but had been shocked at the attempt to sow discord at the International Seminar on Apartheid, Racial Discrimination and Colonialism in Southern Africa organized at Kitwe, Zambia, in 1967. He regretted that at the previous session (1601st meeting) the Reverend Michael Scott had seen fit to ask the United Nations to create a committee to scrutinize the authenticity of nationalist petitioners from South West Africa; fortunately, the Fourth Committee had rejected the request. The Kitwe Seminar had recommended in its report (A/6818, para. 123) that all States should assist the national liberation movements in southern Africa

which were recognized by the OAU, and that such aid should be provided in co-operation with the OAU's Co-ordination Committee for the Liberation of Africa. He emphasized that the United Nations was an international organization set up to aid and protect all the people, whether or not they belonged to political movements. Not all the liberation movements of southern Africa were recognized by the OAU and the United Nations should take no part in internal squabbles. It was not the great Powers, but the peoples of the Third World which needed United Nations protection. Moreover, the People's Republic of China had a vital contribution to make to the United Nations.

45. In conclusion, he appealed to the United Nations Council for South West Africa to request the General Assembly to authorize it to proceed to the Territory, with or without the South African Government's co-operation, with a view to taking over the administration of the Territory until independence; to authorize it to recruit and train a national police force composed of South West African volunteers and a United Nations international peace force for South West Africa in order, if necessary, to effect its entry into the Territory by force; and to declare that any United Nations presence in South West Africa must be preceded by the evacuation of all South African police and military forces.

46. Mr. KERINA (South West Africa National United Front) thanked the Committee for the opportunity to appear before it and to convey to it in all sincerity the deep aspirations of the people of South West Africa. SWANUF also wished to express its gratitude to the African, Asian and Latin American Governments for their contribution to the cause of freedom of South West Africa and for their moral support to its people.

47. South West Africa was facing the greatest crisis of its history; it had to choose between a passive political struggle, through petitions to the United Nations, and a disciplined armed revolutionary struggle against the South African colonial Government and its supporters. The history of South West Africa was a long record of agony for the African people, victims of the brutality, callousness and absolute racial oppression and exploitation by the leaders of South Africa. Unfortunately, the latter did not lack support; Mr. Vorster, the protector of foreign investment, particularly United States investment, in South West Africa, was enjoying the good will of the United States, which felt that its profits were best protected by the white racists governing the Territory. Despite its protestations and legalistic statements to the contrary, the United States Government supported the Government of South Africa. He wished to make it clear, however, that SWANUF admired the position taken by Ambassador Goldberg on the question of South West Africa at the twenty-first session of the General Assembly.

48. He had cited those facts for the record, and not because he harboured any illusions as to the Western Powers' intention of changing their attitudes with regard to South West Africa. The profits reaped by United States, United Kingdom and West German corporations under the status quo were too high for any such change to be likely. SWANUF was well aware of the real aims and objectives of the colonial Powers

<sup>3/</sup> See Official Records of the General Assembly, Nineteenth Session, Annexes, annex No. 15, document A/5840.

and their policy in the southern African sub-continent and it would oppose by force of arms all attempts to perpetuate any form of colonialism in South West Africa. The powers which helped to finance the South African colonial Government could rest assured that the people of South West Africa would leave no stone unturned to arrive at its goal. South West Africa was ripe for a violent revolution. The workers in the mines and industrial complexes would forge the revolutionary weapons with which to liberate the Territory. Thirty-seven South West Africans had already taken up arms against the South African Government and were soon to stand trial before a Pretoria court. The South West African nationalists wished to pay a tribute to the efforts of those thirty-seven patriots, who had only exercised their inalienable right of freeing their country from racial oppression; SWANUF was solidly with them. Twenty-three years of fruitless efforts had awakened the South West African people to the realization that they themselves must fight for their right to freedom.

49. He believed that it was only through violence that the people of South West Africa would eventually be in a position to take possession of their country and government and thereby initiate basic social, political and economic changes; he was convinced that in the twentieth century no struggle could be successful without resort to violence. It was by violence that the South African Government maintained its power over the people of South West Africa. He therefore failed to see how the South African representative could have dared to say that the heroic patriots carrying on the legitimate struggle of liberation in South West Africa with a view to exercising the right of self-determination and to ending a half century of oppression and suffering at the hands of white exploiters were terrorists.

50. The racist colonialism practised by the South African Government under the names of "separate development" and "apartheid" was a new phenomenon for the people of South West Africa; it was foreign to the life, soul and spirit of that people who, it must be recalled, had never asked the European countries Members of the League of Nations to place them under South African trusteeship. Even today, it was not asking the United Nations to place it in anyone's charge.

51. The justification which Europeans gave for the colonial system was well known: they maintained that colonialism had humanitarian aims, and gave such examples as the building of railroads, hospitals, Bantu schools, etc. It might just as well be argued that it was also for humanitarian reasons that the South African occupation forces disguised as police were now in Southern Rhodesia. But were they not there rather for the purpose of kidnapping any African leaders they could find? The inhabitants of South West Africa were determined to break the chains of South African colonialism and to destroy the foreign economic interests which helped finance South Africa's policy of oppression. The time had come for them to bury a half century of humiliation.

52. South Africa could do nothing to counter the present explosive situation in South West Africa; there would be no peace unless the Territory was free

and South Africa recognized the right of its inhabitants to self-determination. Obviously, that did not mean the exercise of that right in the context of Bantustans, as the South African Government might envisage it, for that would be a fictitious self-determination. In that connexion, he drew attention to a study made by the Reverend Pierre J. Dil, who had recently been deported from South Africa because of his views on apartheid and other evils found in South Africa and South West Africa. However, no one was unaware of what the Bantustans were really like. Living conditions were terrible. The people were brought in to enable foreign industries to use them to make fantastic profits. The companies, including United States companies, acquired land belonging to the population and, what could not be stressed too strongly, there was camouflaged exploitation of child labour, which hampered the development of the unfortunate country's human potential.

53. Europeans and the South African colonial Government were not only afraid of freedom for Africans but also resented government by Africans. The people of South West Africa wished to be free and independent in order to reconstruct their country; they wished to be able to prove that, contrary to established colonial dogma, they were just as endowed as anyone else with the gift of creativeness and the sense of responsibilities. They were determined to build a new Africa, in which the black man could really demonstrate his innate qualities. Through freedom, the past of Africa would be revived and its future would become an African future. As a result of the false image of Africa invented by the colonialists out of whole cloth, people were unfortunately inclined to overlook the brilliant contributions which Africa had continuously made to world civilization, from the time of ancient Egypt down to the present; innumerable Africans had enriched the cultural heritage of humanity in the most diverse fields. The people of South West Africa were convinced that under conditions of freedom they would be able to best understand their African personality, to best express the concepts and traditions proper to the legal consciousness of Africa, to appreciate their history, the greatness of their past and their contributions to the modern world, and to acquire a national consciousness; they were convinced that they would be able to develop their political thoughts in order to create their own form of democracy and to adapt it to the imperatives of their new responsibilities. The right of the people to determine their own destiny, to make their own way to freedom and self-sufficiency, was not measured by the yardstick of colour or degree of development. It was an inalienable right of a people which it could claim at any time. A people was ready for freedom when it expressed its readiness to assume the responsibility of ruling itself. That applied to the inhabitants of South West Africa.

54. He asked the Committee to recommend to the General Assembly that the question of South West Africa be placed on the agenda of the Security Council. Thereafter, the African States must ask the Security Council to adopt positive measures to solve the problem of South West Africa, including a strong call to all Member States to request their nationals with interests in South West Africa to cease further invest-

ment in the Territory; the call must also be addressed to the Federal Republic of Germany, which had intensified investment in the Territory. It was impossible to underestimate the influence of that country in the ruling circles of South Africa, beginning with the Prime Minister, and the help it was giving the Pretoria régime to strengthen its position.

55. The Security Council should also authorize the United Nations Council for South West Africa to collect taxes from all foreign companies in the Territory; however, in order to lessen the burden of that body, the Security Council might ask the Member States whose nationals owned such companies to collect the taxes themselves and then pay them to the Council.

56. With regard to the problem of South West African refugees, he thought that the Fourth Committee should adopt a resolution establishing a United Nations boarding centre for South West African refugees. The centre, which would be situated in Zambia, would provide not only shelter for the refugees, but also educational opportunities in the primary, secondary, technical and vocational fields. The existing United Nations special educational and training programmes for South West Africa should be continued within the framework of the future centre, which should be able to count on the assistance of the specialized agencies. In order to enable it to operate effectively, provision should be made whereby the centre could work closely with the Zambian Ministry of Education. Provision must also be made for utilizing the services of South West Africans in exile who were qualified to perform certain educational duties. The Government of Zambia would thereby be relieved of the burden of the South West African refugees. Zambia was already a member of the United Nations Council for South West Africa and, as time went on, would shoulder greater responsibilities owing to the establishment of the centre.

57. The centre, whose operation would be made possible by use of the funds provided under the existing educational and training programmes for South West Africa, would also help to educate many South West African students at present dispersed over Africa and other parts of the world. His organization was prepared to make its services available to the centre on a voluntary basis. It therefore asked all the dele-

gations to consider the problem seriously and to do everything possible for the adoption of such a resolution.

58. He wished to inform the Fourth Committee that the Government of Ethiopia had generously granted scholarships, outside the United Nations scheme, to fifteen young African students awaiting transport to Ethiopia. An appeal had been made to the Director of the United Nations Special Training Programme for South West Africa to defray the travel costs of those students between Botswana and Ethiopia; he hoped that the Fourth Committee would support that appeal and that it would itself ask the Government of Botswana to co-operate with the United Nations in the matter.

59. Lastly, he wished to avail himself of the opportunity to address, through the Committee, an appeal to the Reverend Michael Scott. SWANUF was infinitely grateful to him for everything he had done for the cause of South West Africa. It asked him, however, to refrain from taking part in matters that had to be settled between the inhabitants of South West Africa or their organizations, and to use his influence solely to support the struggle which South West Africa was waging to regain its freedom and independence.

*The petitioners withdrew.*

#### Requests for hearings (continued)

#### REQUESTS CONCERNING SOUTH WEST AFRICA (AGENDA ITEM 64) (continued)

60. The CHAIRMAN informed the Committee that he had received two requests for hearings, one from Mr. Festus U. Muundjua, the chief representative in the United States of the South West Africa National Union (SWANU), and the other from Mr. Gottfried H. Geingob, representative of the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO). He suggested that the communications should be circulated as Committee documents in the usual way.

*It was so decided.<sup>4/</sup>*

*The meeting rose at 6 p.m.*

<sup>4/</sup> The requests were subsequently circulated as documents A/C.4/692/Add.3 and 4.