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(a) Report of the Committee on South West Africa;

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*Chairman:* Miss Angie BROOKS (Liberia).

*In the absence of the Chairman, Mr. Lulo (Albania), Vice-Chairman, took the Chair.*

AGENDA ITEM 47

Question of South West Africa (*continued*):

(a) Report of the Committee on South West Africa (A/4926, A/4957, A/AC.73/4, A/AC.73/L.15);

(b) Assistance of the specialized agencies and of the United Nations Children's Fund in the economic, social and educational development of South West Africa: reports of the agencies and of the Fund (A/4956 and Add.1)

HEARING OF PETITIONERS (*continued*)

*At the invitation of the Chairman, Mr. Uatja Kaukuetu, Mr. Charles Kauraisa, Mr. Jariretundu Kozonguizi and Mr. Zedekia Ngavirue, representatives of the South West Africa National Union (SWANU), Mr. Ismail Fortune, Mr. Mburumba Kerina, Mr. Jacob Kuhangua and Mr. Zedekia Ngavirue, representatives of the South West Africa Peoples Organization (SWAPO), the Reverend Markus Kooper and the Reverend Michael Scott took places at the Committee table.*

1. Mr. BRYKIN (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) said that, by providing the additional information requested of them, the petitioners had replied in advance to the questions which his delegation had intended to ask them. He wished to thank them not only for their very detailed statements before the Committee but also for their conclusions concerning the action required to solve what was an extremely complex problem. His delegation intended to state its position during the general debate and to offer its view on the measures which the United Nations should take in order to help the people of South West Africa attain freedom and independence.

2. The people of South West Africa and the petitioners should not lose hope, for they were assured of the support and sympathy of all the peoples of the world. He asked the petitioners to tell their countrymen of the friendship and compassion which the people and Government of the Soviet Union felt for them and to

assure the people of South West Africa that the Soviet Union was prepared to help them.

3. His delegation also wished to express its admiration at the courage with which the petitioners were defending their country's cause. They could rest assured that it would do everything in its power to ensure that the United Nations took effective action to support the legitimate desire of the people of South West Africa for independence and freedom.

4. Mr. EREBIH (Mauritania) thanked the petitioners for the additional information which they had furnished to the Committee and congratulated them on their political maturity, composure and team spirit. His delegation wished to assure them that Mauritania was not maintaining relations of any kind with the South African Government and was prepared to support the inhabitants of the Territory without reservation. The statement made before the General Assembly (1056th plenary meeting) by the President of Mauritania left no doubt on that score. The United Nations would not fail to respond to the appeal which the petitioners had addressed to it.

5. In his statement at the 1218th meeting, Mr. Louw, the South African Minister for Foreign Affairs, had spoken of the tribal chiefs. His delegation would like to know how those chiefs were appointed, i.e., whether they held office on a hereditary basis or were designated by the South African Government having regard to their attitude towards that Government's policies.

6. Mr. KOZONGUIZI (South West Africa National Union) said that a number of chiefs in South West Africa had formerly held office on a hereditary basis and their position had been similar to that of many monarchs in other countries of the world. There had also been chiefs who had been elected by the people and had on that basis administered the affairs of the tribe or nation which had chosen them. The situation had changed after the establishment of colonial rule in South West Africa, for the Governments of the countries which had illegally invaded the Territory had decided to interfere in the affairs of the different nations and tribes. Strong in their military and economic power, the invaders had imposed their point of view on the peoples. Thus, a system had been established under which the occupying Power had appointed chiefs of its own choosing or had approved the election of a chief by the tribe or nation concerned if the choice was to its liking. In many cases, however, the people had recognized not the chief chosen by the Government but the one whom they themselves had elected. There had been incidents in the past when the occupying authorities had tried to impose chiefs on the indigenous population by force; one had occurred in 1959, for example, when the Chief Bantu Affairs Commissioner had decided to intervene in Ovamboland and had sent police units to impose a chief on that region.

7. Under the law imposed by the Whites, a chief could be given recognition only if he was approved by the Department of Bantu Administration and Development, i.e., by the South African Government. Sometimes, if the people maintained a united front, it could happen that the authorities found themselves helpless. Ten years ago, for example, when Chief Luthuli, now holder of the Nobel Peace Prize and head of the African National Congress, had been elected, the authorities had decided not to recognize him. Despite that decision and the fact that he was not recognized under the law as having any authority whatever, he was still regarded as chief by the people who had chosen him. In many cases, however, the South African authorities took advantage of local dissensions to impose puppet chiefs of their own choosing on the people.

8. Mr. SKALLI (Morocco) recalled that, at the 1222nd meeting, several petitioners had mentioned the material support received by the South African Government from certain Powers and the dominant position held by those Powers in South Africa's foreign trade. Before proceeding to make accusations, he would like additional information on foreign interests in South West Africa and South Africa; he would like to know, in particular, the names of the foreign companies concerned, their size, their special fields of activity, and the countries of origin of the capital invested in South West Africa and South Africa.

9. His delegation was not opposed to the investment of foreign capital in countries which needed it, provided that the operations were between independent States which negotiated on an equal footing the terms on which loans were extended. Unfortunately, in colonial territories those who provided funds all too often espoused the cause and supported the policies of the administering Power.

10. The Reverend Michael SCOTT said that it was difficult to answer such a question on the spur of the moment. Mention could be made, however, of the British South Africa Company and of the ties between the Anglo-American Corporation of South Africa and the De Beers Consolidated Mines; the last two companies had the same president. He recalled that proposals had been made to internationalize the operation of the gold mines as the price of gold was fixed on the basis of considerations other than production and not by the industry itself. The price had, incidentally, increased 97 per cent between 1931 and 1940, whereas the wages of African miners had risen only 8 per cent.

11. In his statement at the 1220th meeting he had referred to the existence of a powerful group which proposed to set up a federation dominated by Whites and stretching from Angola through the Rhodesias to Mozambique. Some had also proposed including Katanga in the federation. The economic situation of South West Africa was affected by the existence of that group, which represented powerful interests whose ramifications spread throughout the southern part of Africa. In support of his statement, he quoted an article from the October 1961 issue of the Chicago periodical *Toward Freedom*. According to that article, Tanganyika Concessions Ltd. of Salisbury, which held about 14 per cent of the shares in the Union minière du Haut Katanga, had been organized in 1899 to purchase concessions from the British South Africa Company. The article went on to say that United States interests held approximately 11 per cent of the shares in Tanganyika Concessions Ltd.

*Miss Brooks (Liberia) took the Chair.*

12. Mr. KERINA (South West Africa Peoples Organization) thought that it would be best, in order to clear up any possible doubt on the matter, for the petitioners to submit to the Committee an extensive memorandum in reply to the question put by the Moroccan representative. If the Committee accepted that proposal, the petitioners would do their best to submit a memorandum in good time.

13. Mr. NGAVIRUE (South West Africa National Union) thought that the best method would perhaps be to follow the procedure suggested by Mr. Kerina.

14. Supplementing the Reverend Michael Scott's statement, he drew the attention of the Committee members to the existence in the north of South West Africa of the Tsumeb Corporation, which operated copper mines and represented United States interests. In addition, a foreign company had prospected in Diamond Area No. 2.

15. To illustrate his point, he recalled that, in 1958, £32 million of the total capital invested in South West Africa had come from abroad, whereas only £18 million had come from local companies.

16. Mr. KOZONGUIZI (South West Africa National Union) singled out the American Metal Climax Company, which apparently had more than economic interests in South West Africa. In a memorandum submitted to the American Institute, he was mentioned as having an attitude inimical to the United States. On the other hand, according to the same memorandum, it would be in the interest of the Company and perhaps of the people of the United States to encourage the other petitioners by giving them scholarships. That attitude was revealing so far as he was concerned.

17. Mr. SKALLI (Morocco) proposed that Mr. Kerina's offer to submit to the Committee a memorandum from the petitioners on foreign economic interests in South West Africa should be accepted by the Committee and that the memorandum should be issued as a Committee document.

*It was so decided.*<sup>1/</sup>

18. Mr. SKALLI (Morocco) asked the petitioners to indicate in which countries the South African Government obtained the weapons and military equipment which it required to carry out its policy of "apartheid" and to conduct repressive operations against the indigenous population. As his delegation did not wish to condemn any one out of hand, it wished the responsibilities in the matter to be well defined.

19. Mr. KOZONGUIZI (South West Africa National Union) recalled that, according to a Reuters dispatch which he had quoted at the 1219th meeting, the French company Hotchkiss-Brandt was to provide the South African army with equipment worth 16 million francs; in addition, the South African Minister for Defence had announced the conclusion of negotiations with the French Government concerning the provision of Mirage fighter aircraft. In 1959, the Governments of South Africa, Rhodesia and Portugal had allegedly contemplated the possibility of setting up a federative military union in order to uphold the supremacy of Europeans in the southern part of Africa. The result of their talks was unknown, but the co-operation between the Portuguese and South African authorities, which the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Portugal had,

<sup>1/</sup> See A/C.4/512.

moreover, not denied, had increased. Furthermore, the armoured cars which had patrolled the streets of Windhoek after the events of 1959 were of United Kingdom origin and there was information to the effect that supplies of United States weapons had been delivered to South Africa.

20. The Reverend Michael SCOTT added that, according to a recent statement by the South African Minister for Defence, the South African Government intended to build up its army to a strength of 60,000 men and to equip it with new automatic weapons. In addition, the centre of military training activities in South West Africa was to be transferred from Windhoek to Walvis Bay, according to an article in the Windhoek Advertiser of 5 July 1961. The same paper had also reported that patrols had operated along the Bechuanaland frontier, at the time the Committee on South West Africa had been preparing to proceed to that Territory, in order to prevent the mass emigration of non-European inhabitants who wanted to talk to members of the Committee. The paper had added that the frontier had been closed along a stretch of more than 100 kilometres.

21. Mr. FORTUNE (South West Africa Peoples Organization) recalled that the South African representative, in his statement at the 1218th meeting, had categorically denied the existence of military bases in South West Africa. The speaker, however, had seen with his own eyes a military camp at Windhoek where twenty-five tanks were taking part in manoeuvres. The South African representative had obviously misrepresented the facts mentioned in paragraph 77 of the report of the Committee on South West Africa (A/4926).

22. Mr. SKALLI (Morocco), referring to the accusations of communism levelled against certain petitioners by the South African Government, pointed out that the countries which had struggled for their independence had been the victims of the well-known manoeuvre of the colonialist Powers which consisted in brandishing the threat of communism. Those countries had achieved their freedom and were represented on the Fourth Committee, and none of them had set up a communish régime on their soil. That proved that any pretext was good enough for the colonial Powers to disparage and to hinder the march of freedom of the still dependent peoples. His delegation believed in the maturity and intelligence of those who represented those peoples, and denounced the pretexts used by the colonial Powers to defend their selfish interests in contempt of human rights and the freedom of peoples.

23. He thanked the petitioners for their positive contribution to the Committee's work and assured them that their devotion, competence and patriotism would ensure the success of their efforts. The Reverend Michael Scott would certainly be a link between the races. His delegation assured the petitioners of his country's unconditional and whole-hearted support in their struggle for freedom.

24. Mr. KARSENO (Indonesia) recalled the question raised by the Irish representative at the 1222nd meeting concerning the inevitable gradual extinction of the Native population of South West Africa, mentioned in paragraph 112 of document A/4926. The question was important, not so much because Ireland was a member of the Committee on South West Africa as because a vague reply from the petitioners might lead some to question the accuracy of the information contained in the Committee's report; that was, in fact, the South African Government's objective.

25. It was difficult to reach a conclusion on the increase or decrease of the indigenous population exclusively on the basis of the figures cited by South Africa. Those figures were, in fact, only provisional estimates, and incomplete ones at that, as indicated in paragraphs 98, 99 and 100 of the regular report of the Committee on South West Africa (A/4957), and that by itself showed that the South African Government was indifferent to the welfare of the peoples in its charge. The statements in paragraph 112 of the report in document A/4926 should be analysed in the context of the report as a whole; it was apparent that the decrease in the population of the Territory was inevitable in view of the systematic measures taken by the South African Government to exterminate the indigenous population. He would like to hear the petitioners' opinions on that subject.

26. Mr. O'SULLIVAN (Ireland) agreed with the Indonesian representative that a situation of uncertainty should not be allowed to persist from which it might be concluded that the information from South African sources was necessarily to be accepted as accurate. But he could not share the view that information from sources other than the South African Government was entirely accurate. Admittedly, the South African representative's statement had helped to raise some doubt concerning certain details in the report of the Committee on South West Africa, but those details were unimportant by comparison with the general problem on which all delegations were in agreement. His delegation wished to help in bringing about a situation in which the United Nations would obtain information which no one could challenge. The statements of the South African representative and of the petitioners were often contradictory, although the petitioners had not always denied the figures cited by the South African representative. The main point, so far as the Committee was concerned, was to find ways and means of obtaining accurate information on South West Africa, and the establishment of a United Nations presence in the Territory could be one such method. Unfortunately, the existing situation would continue so long as the South African Government refused to let the United Nations carry out its own investigations in the Territory. The Irish Government would resolutely support any constructive effort to establish a United Nations presence in South West Africa by peaceful means and to obtain information which was indisputable. He believed that agreement on that point was still possible.

27. Mr. KARSENO (Indonesia) thanked the Irish representative for his clarification. His intention had not been to contest the relevance of the question put by Mr. O'Sullivan to the petitioners at the 1222nd meeting but to obtain further details, because Mr. Ngavirue's reply had left some matters in doubt.

28. Mr. KUHANGUA (South West Africa Peoples Organization) said that he did not wish to give incorrect information, but it was difficult to give a precise figure for the Territory's indigenous population. The census taken in Ovamboland in 1950 had recorded the number of kraals but not of their inhabitants and there was no official register of births and deaths.

29. Mr. KERINA (South West Africa Peoples Organization) thought that it was difficult for the petitioners to take sides in the dispute between two members of the Committee on South West Africa. The petitioners had already given all the information they could and that information had been borne out by events.

30. Mr. NGAIRUE (South West Africa National Union) pointed out that the official registers in South West Africa were never accurate and often contradictory. On the basis of a survey, an organization in South West Africa had estimated the number of Hereros living in the Police Zone as 16,311, or 7 per cent of the total population; that estimate had been reported in the *Suidwes-Afrikaner*. The Minister for Foreign Affairs of South Africa had stated that the Hereros numbered 50,000. The South African Government was doing nothing to provide accurate figures on life expectancy or the death rate and all its estimates were to be treated with reserve. The truth of the matter was that whole villages were disappearing and the cemeteries constantly increasing in size.

31. The Reverend Michael SCOTT said that the question of the gradual and inevitable extinction of the indigenous population had originated in the report of the South West Africa Commission appointed by the South African Government, which had been published in 1936 as Union Government publication No. 26. As early as 1948, when he had been in the Territory, he had been able to quote to African chiefs passages from that Commission's report and had received their comments. He referred to page 24 *et seq.* of that report.

32. According to the South African Government's own statistics, in 1948 deaths in the Police Zone had outnumbered births. It was perhaps not the intention of the South African Government to proceed systematically to exterminate the African population, but the real genocide of which it was guilty consisted in depriving the population of all hope to the point where it was, according to the report of the Union Government's own Commission, committing suicide. In 1936, venereal diseases had been found to be rampant among the Herero population, whereas those diseases had been unknown prior to the German occupation and the local language still had no words for them. Even at that time it had been noted that Herero women, frequently infected, had very few children. The loose morals of those peoples could already be attributed to the despair caused by their living conditions.

33. Mr. KAURISA (South West Africa National Union) agreed that there might be some contradiction between the various items of information provided on South West Africa and that the information was not always reliable, but he was surprised at the Irish representative's insistence on the need for obtaining accurate information and at his endless references to the "extinction" of the indigenous population. The Committee on South West Africa had not succeeded in entering the Territory, in spite of its desire to do so, and the South African Government was trying to find a loop-hole by talking of inviting three persons to check on the spot whether the situation was really explosive and whether the population was indeed dying out. The petitioners were opposed to that offer because they wanted the United Nations to take constructive measures at once. Without accurate figures, the petitioners could only keep repeating tirelessly that the authorities wanted to exterminate the population. When the Municipal Council at Walvis Bay decided to establish a quarter reserved for Coloureds, it situated it at a place where there was a risk that sand dunes might bury it in six months, on the pretext that there was no other spot available. Such facts spoke for themselves.

34. Mr. YOMEKPE (Ghana) was surprised that the expression "gradual extinction" in paragraph 112 of

the Committee's report (A/4926) was giving rise to so much controversy, since the first sentence of that paragraph indicated only that the current situation would, if it continued, inevitably lead to the gradual extinction of the population. It was impossible for whole groups of the indigenous population to prosper in the desert regions where they had been forcibly resettled. Since the population shifts had only started a few years before, the demographic growth registered since 1904 should not be used as the basis, as it had been by the South African Minister for Foreign Affairs, but rather the demographic evolution recorded since the establishment of Native reserves. The discussion would therefore be more productive if delegations were to concern themselves less with figures and more with the humanitarian aspects of the matter.

35. Mr. O'SULLIVAN (Ireland) nevertheless considered the clarifications that had been given to be useful. He assured Mr. Kerina that there was no dispute between two members of the Committee on South West Africa: the Committee had adopted its report unanimously. He explained that the Irish delegation had constantly emphasized in that Committee the need to reproduce *in toto* the testimony of persons who had been interrogated. His intention had been simply to show how important it was for the Committee to have proper means of access to information that could not give rise to any dispute.

36. Referring to Mr. Kaurisa's remark that the Irish delegation was overemphasizing that point, he regretted that he was not yet authorized to express his delegation's views on the South African Government's offer to invite three persons to visit the Territory. The petitioner described that offer as a loop-hole, but the accurate information which it could provide would certainly dispel misunderstanding.

37. Mr. BOZOVIC (Yugoslavia) remarked that much had been said about the role played by foreign economic interests in the South West African situation and in its continuance. That kind of situation caused no surprise until a white man was killed in one of those struggles which, for Africans, were the only means of protecting their right to live. It was common knowledge what oppression foreign interests could create, because the beneficiaries cared little whether blood was shed so long as it was not their own.

38. South West Africa was, however, a special case because it was considered to be under international protection and because concessions had been granted there without the consent of the indigenous population and contrary to their interests. In that case, therefore, a more detailed study should be made of foreign economic interests and the working paper which Mr. Kerina proposed to circulate among members of the Committee should contain all relevant details, i.e., the names of foreign companies, their place of incorporation, their nationality, the relations they might have with parent or other companies in South Africa and abroad, the share, if any, of public capital and that of public or semi-public companies in other countries, the taxation system applying to those companies, the way in which double taxation, if any, was settled, etc. It was not easy to carry out such a detailed study and the co-operation of the Secretariat at a later stage should not therefore be excluded. The study would be a basis for a proper judgement of the attitude of certain Governments to the South African Government's policy and to United Nations efforts in the past to protect the rights of, and at present to

protect the very lives of, the African population in South West Africa, South Africa, Angola and other colonies. The Yugoslav delegation would refer at a later stage to the action taken by certain countries in order to make it impossible for the Committee on South West Africa to fulfil its task, because, whatever the reasons advanced today, that action had been aimed at protecting the interests of the white minority of the Territory. The admirable patience shown by the Africans had its limits and it would be a disaster to leave the Africans no alternative than to lose it.

39. Mr. GERIG (United States of America) supported the Yugoslav representative's suggestion, because information on foreign interests in the Territory would be of great value to the Committee. It would be useful for the Secretariat to co-operate in the study requested so that the working paper might be comprehensive and reliable.

40. Mr. DIGGINES (United Kingdom) agreed with the United States representative.

41. Mr. ABDEL WAHAB (United Arab Republic) was gratified to note that the United Kingdom and United States supported the Yugoslav suggestion, but he thought that the Committee should first take up the information which the petitioners themselves had to submit.

42. Mr. ALWAN (Iraq) added that some delegations, in submitting a draft resolution, might request the Secretary-General to undertake a detailed study of the foreign interests which might influence South African policy in the Territory.

43. Mr. DIALLO (Mali) explained, in order to dispel any misunderstanding, that the information which Mr. Kerina proposed to submit in writing to the Committee was only a supplement to the information already provided by the petitioners in their statements. Hence the petitioners should not be involved in any study which the Secretariat might be called upon to undertake. All the petitioners' statements should be

subject to challenge by any delegation and, in the circumstances, the Secretariat must not censor the working paper in question. It was characteristic that the United Kingdom and the United States, which were the countries most directly interested in the matter, should wish the Secretariat to co-operate in that study in order to guarantee its reliability. The petitioners should be free to request the Secretariat's co-operation, but that must not be made a condition for carrying out the work.

44. Mr. BOZOVIC (Yugoslavia) was pleased that the United Kingdom and the United States supported his suggestion, but recalled that, although he had suggested several elements which might serve the petitioners as a guide in preparing their working paper, he had visualized possible co-operation by the Secretariat only at a later stage, after the petitioners had transmitted their information.

45. Mr. SKALLI (Morocco) proposed that the meeting scheduled for the afternoon should be cancelled so that the delegations could agree on how the general discussion should be conducted.

46. Mr. ALWAN (Iraq) supported the Moroccan representative's proposal.

*The Moroccan representative's proposal was adopted.*

47. Mr. KERINA (South West Africa Peoples Organization) said that Mr. Moses Garoeb, one of the representatives of the South West Africa Peoples Organization to whom the Committee had decided at its 1158th meeting to grant a hearing, had just arrived in New York and would like to be heard.

48. The CHAIRMAN said that, if there were no objections, the petitioner would be heard at the following meeting.

*It was so decided.*

The meeting rose at 1 p.m.